



SOULBOOK

SOUL BOOK 1

jazz

economics

poetry

anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

p.o. box 1097

berkeley, calif. (racist u.s.a.)

editorial board: donald freeman, issac moore, ernest allen jr.,
carroll holmes, kenn m. freeman, bobb hamilton.

east coast representative: bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new york,
n.y.

volume I

number 1

cable address: EMIR

winter, 1964

annual subscription by ordinary mail; \$2.25 inside u.s.a., out-
side u.s.a. \$3.50. annual subscription by airmail; u.s.a. \$4.00,
outside u.s.a. \$5.00. there are four issues in an annual sub-
scription.

this issue \$0.65

Copyright, 1964 by the Afroamerican Research Institution, p.
o. box 1097, berkeley, calif. 94701. all rights reserved.
all correspondence concerning manuscripts and business matters
should be addressed to SOULBOOK c/o kenn m. freeman or bobb
hamilton, 350 bowery, new york, n.y. non-fiction manuscripts
should conform to University of Chicago Manual of Style.

~~the editors~~

To the Peoples of Afroamerica, Africa, and to all the Peoples of the World:

We the Editors of SOULBOOK subscribe to the view expressed by the great Black martyr Patrice Lumumba that; "...without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and with independence there are no free men." Furthermore, we adhere to the view that it will take a radical socio-economic transformation within the United States before the freedom of the Black man in the U. S. , the Congo, and anywhere else the victims of racial discrimination have been maimed by this gorgonesque practice can be won and guaranteed for all time.

Thus to further the cause of the liberation of Black peoples we feel that this Journal and all ensuing issues of it must be produced, controlled, published and edited by people who are sons and daughters of Africa.

By this control we feel we can more freely present to the world the widest scope and the highest quality of thoughts, ideas and works that will most accurately describe racial oppression and how best it is being and/or how it can be fought against and destroyed.

We feel by having Black control of SOULBOOK we can be sure that the poetry and prose presented in this Journal will give the most meaningful understanding of what Blackness is, and be sure that it is expressed, as much as possible, as a natural fact of experience. We are certain that the necessary prerequisite to achieve these two ends is that the authors of this literature be Black.

Black American literature has tended to be parochial simply because most Black writers did not actually believe that their experience and understanding of the world was valuable merely because it was theirs (and real), but rather because they were Black or half-Black or "passing" or even because they could pretend not to be any of these, and by such act make a display of "culture" in the White man's hopeless world.

The Blackness of the best Black writing is not only in the fact of its creating myth and emotion that has legitimately been got by translating into art the peculiar emotional life of the Black man...but as world gesture that should be understood by any human....

being.

Lastly, to be sure that no one misunderstands where our commitment lies, we publically dedicate our publication to Felix Moumié, Medgar Evers, Reuban Um Nyobé, the six child-martyrs of the Birmingham bombings of 1963, Patrice Lumumba, Ronald Stokes, Antonio Maceo, the dead Freedom Fighters of Kenya and Algeria, and the endless number of other known and unknown Black Freedom Fighters who have been gunned down by the imperialist oppressors in Afroamerica, Africa, Latin America and Asia. *

the editors

*Reuban Um Nyobé was the co-founder of the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), a militant political party and guerilla force which fought against colonial oppression in the U. N. Trusteeship of the "French" Camerouns (located in West Africa). In 1958 Um Nyobe was killed fighting to free his country from Gallic imperialism. Felix Moumié along with Um Nyobé founded the UPC in 1948. The French feared Moumié so much that they had him poisoned to death while he was attending a conference in Geneva, Switzerland in 1960. Medgar Evers was the secretary of the Mississippi branch of the NAACP until he was murdered by a White American racist in 1963. The six child-martyrs of the Birmingham bombings of 1963 were massacred while praying in a church in Birmingham, Alabama; two of the six were killed in the ensuing violence after the church bombing. Ronald Stokes was murdered in 1962 in Los Angeles, Calif. by the local police. He was obviously killed because he was a black man who practiced the faith of Islam in Christian, white America. Patrice Lumumba was the unforgettable Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo (Leo) who was assassinated because he wanted to guarantee that the Congo would benefit primarily the Congolese people. Antonio Maceo was born of Afro-Cuban parents in 1848. In 1896 he had beaten every contemporary top Spanish General and he was on the verge of destroying Spanish rule in Cuba. However he was murdered by Spanish soldiers before he could complete his patriotic mission.

table of contents

1. black nationalism on the right...by ernie allon.....p.7
2. u.s., the congo and the c.a.s....by the editors of SOULBOOK and the editor of The Spark.....p.21
3. reject notes.....poetry by george murray, w. best, carol freeman, wm. patterson.....p.25
4. the real reasons tanganyika and zanzibar united and became tanzania.....by kenn m. freeman.....p. 37
5. on methods on leadership.... a review by mamadou lumumba...p. 46
6. puddn' head and the negro, a study of mark twain's anti-"negro" attitudes.....by bob hamilton.....p.47
7. memorandum to the united nations on political detainees and political prisoners in south africa...by the world campaign for the release of south african political prisoners.....p.55
8. annotated bibliography on the south african situation by kenn m. freemanp.64
9. the masters and the slaves ...a review by donald freeman....p.67
10. a short history of africa...a review by kenn m. freeman...p.69
11. delicate child.....by marvin e. jackmon.....p.73

permission to quote freely granted provided that authorship credit be given to author of article quoted from and that in addition the following insert will be carried:

reprinted by permission from SOULBOOK

p.o.Box 1097

berkeley, calif.,(racist u.s.a.)



reprinted from The California Eagle

black nationalism on the right: *

an exposé of "cullud" opportunism in the
los angeles and san francisco bay areas

by

ernie allen

: all footnotes will be found at the end of this
article..this includes the definition of any
words from the afroamerican dialect that are used
in this paper.

During the past two years there has arisen on the West Coast a hybrid, reactionary sort of so-called "black-nationalism" which has confused the concept of Black Nationalism, and in particular, the concept of Revolutionary Black Nationalism. In the present paper this opprobrious phenomenon which we are tentatively describing as "cullud nationalism" will be analyzed; in a future paper an alternative to Black Opportunism will be offered.

"Black nationalism on the right" has its roots in the post-slavery program of Booker T. Washington.¹ The greatest differences between Washington and his modern-day counterparts, however, are the stronger identification of these "nationalists" with Mother Africa and, also, their seeming militancy (which can only be interpreted as "loud-mouth" conservatism) when it comes to speaking out on "Black" issues. Just as Washington had thoughts of establishing trade with Africa during his time, "nationalists" today are often heard spout their schemes of "trade" between the Afroamerican Community and developing African nations. What variety of trade proposed is for the most part left vague, but one is given the impression that this "trade" centers upon African art imports to the U.S. (which we will purchase with our \$20 billion, naturally!).

In order to establish a stronger identification with Africa it is customary for "cullud" nationalists to take on African names; this is seemingly a militant position (and can be) inasmuch as it is "radical" for Black people in the context of the "American way of thinking." However, when we consider the opportunistic policies which these "nationalists" pursue, it can only be concluded that their names should be relegated to the class of the Tubman's, Kasavubu's, Mobutu's, and Tshombe's, all of them reactionary, African "leaders."

The seeming militancy of reactionary "nationalism" arises when

we consider the manner in which these "nationalist" groups vociferously denounce both the so-called "black bourgeoisio" and the present "Civil Rites"² movement. It is certainly true that these bourgeois elements within the Black Community should be denounced (as well as have their "heads whipped"); it is equally true that the "Civil Rites" program is leading itself up a "blind alley" to the extent that it depends on the Federal Government to step in at the point where the movement has reached a "dead end"³, or where it relies upon the morality of "Hunkies"⁴ to bring about a solution to the multitude of antagonistic contradictions inherent in the Black man's presence in America. Thus, criticism of the "Civil Rites" movement is indeed justified in many cases.

The greatest contradictions of reactionary "black nationalism," however, present themselves when we examine the "nationalist's" program for the solution of the dilemma of the Afroamerican; what most of our "cullud nationalists" propose is some sort of ambiguous "self-help" program⁵, complete with befuddled slogans as "each one teach one," "Pride and Dignity," etc., as if "self-help" by itself were going to solve the basic problems of Afroamericans (let alone slogans). It is our belief that these "nationalists" expect "Pride and Dignity" to arise from a vacuum, especially when we consider that self-hatred among Afroamericans will disappear only when Black people either establish some sort of control over the white-oriented mass media or at least have the power to project a satisfactory Black Image to the masses.⁶ Our position on "self-help" as expounded by these reactionary "nationalists" is that their program has not developed to such a point that it might benefit the masses of Black people in the racist U. S. In fact, "Pride," "Dignity," and "self-help" alone cannot and will not accomplish the arduous task of Black Liberation, a point upon which we shall elaborate later.

One implication of the "self-help" program is that Afroamericans ought to pursue the same path that virtually every minority group of the U. S. has followed at one time or another during its history in this racist quagmire; that is, by rejuvenating the ghettos in which they live (in terms of improvement of building and of stimulating greater economic activity in the Black Community), going through the "bootstrap scene," and eventually becoming an integral part of the so-called "affluent society." Now, all of this above nonsense would make prolific material for a very interesting Horatio Alger novel (as applied to the "success story" of a mass of people), but in terms of economic realities it is strictly "not on the case."⁷ First point: during the time which mino-

...
 rity groups made their "debut into the mainstream," the U. S. Economy was in a state of expansion therefore affording the members of these groups ample opportunity for "upward mobility." Today we find U. S. reactionary capitalism in its highest stage of development (that of Imperialism) and totally inadequate to provide a sufficient number of jobs for white workers (let alone black workers).⁹

Even if racial discrimination in the U. S. were to be abolished, Afroamericans would have few areas of the economic sphere into which they could expand (besides those decadent, economic wastelands of real estate, mortuaries, and drinking establishments).¹⁰ Second point: Jews, Italians, Poles, Germans, and others who came to this country of their own volition always had a group which they could exploit economically in order to "make it" on the American scene; that group was the Afroamerican Community. Presently, the only group which Afroamericans can exploit is themselves (who else is on the bottom?). This does, in fact, occur, and thus arise the internal class contradictions within the captive nation of Afroamerica, with the result of further entrenchment, economically, of the "black bourgeoisie" into "Whitey's" economy (and the relative economic downfall of the Black masses).

It is characteristic of these reactionary "nationalists" to spout cliches about a non-existent, American "free-enterprize;" if our brothers had done their reading on economics faithfully, they would perhaps realize that "free-enterprize" was dead in Europe in the late 1800's and got "whipped on back"¹¹ in the U. S. during the early 1900's (along with the formation of the first billion-dollar trust in history, United States Steel). The "free-enterprize" which is spoken of as if it were still a reality in the racist U. S. A. just "don't hardly exist no more," and in actuality exerted itself only for a short period of time during the Industrial Revolution in the U. S.

Let's "bring it down front": "self-help" for brutalized Afroamericans at the present stage (of development) of "Whitey's" economic system is a necessary but not sufficient condition for Black Liberation. Evidently, some Afroamericans feel that Black people need only pool their financial "resources," establish "Black-owned-and-controlled" banks, and from this dream (and it is a dream) create a vast network of Black businesses in the spirit of the "American Ethic," which, by the way, is an ethic of demagoguery and "trick-nology." We shall now proceed to "pull the covers off" these myths.

In the first place, we "ain't hardly got no bread"¹² with which to invest in the dubious undertaking outlined above. Oftentimes the figure of approximately 20 billion dollars is offered as

being the purchasing power of Black people in the U.S. This is quite an impressive sum," especially when we consider the fact that it is at present greater than the Gross National Product of Canada. But where does this \$20 billion go? The answer is that this sum is dissipated in the Afroamerican's expenditures for basic necessities. This "purchasing power" merely goes toward maintaining Black people on a subsistence level: that is, the majority of this \$20 billion pays for an oftentimes inadequate supply of food for the Black family, rent payments (which on the average are higher than those for white families), and for the cost of utilities. In 1959, according to the latest Bureau of the Census Report, the median income of non-white households (families and unrelated individuals) was \$2,520, or 49.5% of the median for white households (which was \$5,088). This disparity is shocking, but the brutal reality of the Black man's position in the "wilderness of North America" is even more startling when we consider that, economically speaking, Afroamericans are in virtually the same position that they were ten years ago; "The previous Census (of 1950) didn't collect similar figures by color. But the Census did conduct a comparable sample survey. It showed for 1949, a median of \$1,533 for non-white households, or 48.9% of the \$3,138 for white households."¹³ "No matter how one measures it, Negro incomes are still less than half those of whites, and have not made any significant gains in narrowing the margin during the past decade. When allowance made for the larger size of the average Negro household, it turns out that the median per capita income of non-whites is only around 44% by a first approximation of that of whites. The effective difference is also increased by the fact that Negroes generally have to pay more for poorer quality goods and services, and by other considerations."¹⁴ And in order to substantiate our position further that "self-help" is a necessary but not sufficient condition for Black Liberation, let us for a moment examine the situation of Afroamericans in that degenerate jungle known as Mississippi; The per capita income of Mississippi is \$1,173, the lowest per capita income of any state in the union. "If, however, you are a Negro living in one of five or six counties studied by the Commission (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights), you may have an income of only \$531 a year."¹⁵ "In the last 77 years there have been 578 lynchings of which 538 were of Negroes."¹⁶

"If you have children in one of the 151 school districts (none desegregated) the state will expend \$174 a year on your child. Less than any other state. Federal funds for the Negro

Mallen

Public Schools amounted to 42% of \$193,061.¹⁷ "If you are a Negro woman and had a child in 1959 and the child died at birth, it was one of 51.3% per 1,000 Negro infants who died that year in Mississippi."¹⁸

Finally, if we consider that from approximately June to October of 1964, 34 churches were either bombed or set on fire by white-racist, two-legged dogs in Mississippi, we can well imagine what might occur if any appreciable number of "self-help" businesses were established by Afroamericans in the "deep" South.

Excuse the expression, but "how in the hell" could a program of "self-help" function under the conditions of such a decadent "society" as this, unless one is speaking of "helping-self" to bazookas, cannons, and mortars? These facts underline the bankruptcy of the "cullud nationalist's" program which is out of touch with economic realities in the North and completely impotent in the South.

This paper has pointed out previously that "Whitey" has found himself in a "trick bag" relative to the prospects of continually expanding the U. S. Economy (at least with respect to the present job situation); U. S. Imperialism is suffering more and more each day as a result of the "head whippings" it is receiving in Southeast Asia. At a recent conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo, "Whitey" was denounced for his involvement in the Congo fiasco. Now, "The Beast" needs markets and cheap sources of labor and natural resources in order to insure his continued realization of super-profits, but because of his past "trickery" he finds that many nations now close their doors when they see him coming. What is the solution to his problem? At least with regard to Africa, "Whitey" is attempting to gain a greater economic foothold through the "patriotic" acts of "cullud," bourgeois mercenaries (including such Negro Mythologists as publisher John H. Johnson of Ebony Magazine and Uncle Ralph Bunche, Emerson Player, et. al). "Big Charlie" is not particular which Afroamerican lackey he sends abroad as long as this lackey "brings home the ham hocks." He would logically, therefore, be willing to send reactionary "nationalists" to Africa as well as Uncle Toms in order to do his bidding; as a matter of fact, this has already occurred.¹⁹

Now, we realize that the American "black bourgeoisie" would like very much to reap the economic "goodies" from the Motherland, but let us not overlook another important fact: it is precisely the markets of Africa, also upon which our "nationalists" focus intense interest. Thus, concomitant with their "self-help" program they wish to help themselves to Africa's magnificent source of wealth; their desire to exploit our "Blood Brothers" and Blood Sisters" in

the Motherland in order to raise the economic level of "Bloods" (mainly themselves) in the U.S. takes on the characteristics of reactionary, "cullud" opportunism.

Brother James Lacy, an Afroamerican presently living in Accra, Ghana, had this to say in an unpublished paper: "Why should Africans help a segment of the largest capitalist country in the world, even a Black segment, to strengthen its position and in that economy? Doesn't their entrenched economic interests represent another source by which Africans will be exploited? Doesn't the strengthening of the Black man's economic position in America imply that American government action in Cuba, South Vietnam, the Congo, South Africa, and Latin America have to be supported by all who have interests in the American Economy?"²⁰

Let us keep in mind that the racist U.S.A. did not become a "have" nation and the vast, Black World²¹ become a group of "have-not" nations simply because "Whitey" worked diligently while the rest of the world set back on its hind quarters; the role of U.S. "tricknology" and imperialism with respect to the Black World is well documented,²² and need not be belabored here. However, the point which we have scored in preceding paragraphs is not irrelevant to our present discussion. As will be demonstrated later, Afroamericans will definitely find it necessary to procure support for their struggle from peoples through out the world, particularly the Black World. In order to achieve this support it is imperative that Afroamericans not only denounce, but boycott (among other things) the system which seeks to destroy humanity.²³ Any other position taken by Afroamerica offers only a reactionary myth-solution to its problems, a "solution" which, because of other realities, is destined to fail.

Now, evidently our "cullud nationalists" don't really care to "tell it like it is," otherwise they would not "shuffle" into the pitfalls and contradictions inherent in their programs; either they are grossly ignorant of the "economic facts of life," receive "kickbacks" from reactionary "ofays," or both. There is evidence to support the fact they are receiving these monetary "crumbs" from right-wing "Beasts"; therefore, we accuse them (in the words of a militant Brother) of "spreading ignorance, perpetuating confusion, and fostering illusions" about "Whitey's" so-called "free enterprize," chiefly in order to bolster their own economic position in racist, U.S. "society."

Previously the relationship of the "black bourgeoisie" to the white power structure was given in regards to the role of U.S. vis-à-vis African nations. We shall now examine this "black bourgeoisie"

in greater detail and discuss its relationship with opportunistic "nationalism."

The late E. Franklin Frazier pointed out in Black Bourgeoisie that "there are only eleven Negro banks in the United States" and also that these "Blood" banks had "total assets amounting to less than a single white bank in many small cities."²⁴ This disclosure should have relegated the fable of "Black Economic Power" to the realm of "Negro Mythology," but the myth evidently has not yet been buried, for the "black bourgeoisie" as well as "nationalists" still act as if they had never heard of Frazier. And further, it is a fact that the small amount of surplus capital "controlled" by the "black bourgeoisie" is virtually dependant upon the white power structure (this surplus capital must eventually trace its source to white-controlled banks)-so much for "Black Economic Power."

However, Frazier also mentioned the fact of expenditure of "large sums of money" by the "cullud" bourgeoisie towards "conspicuous consumption."²⁵ For example, the "black bourgeoisie" in the Los Angeles area intends to spend \$25,000 for a float in the 1965 Rose Bowl Parade this coming January. Reactionary "nationalists" argue that we should obtain funds from this black middle-class for the Black Liberation Movement-funds such as those which are being wasted in the above manner. It is our contention that the "nationalists" cannot really be serious about this matter. Now, let's be realistic; in order for Black, middle-class "freaks" to have obtained their "fortunes" in the first place (as well as maintain them after acquisition) it was necessary for these bourgeois "Bloods" to climb on the backs of others in order to achieve their goals. We ask the "nationalists": Do you really expect Black "buzhies" to give up "coins" to their less fortunate "Blood Brothers?" As a matter of fact, one of the main connections that middle-class "Bloods" have with the Black masses²⁶ lies in the establishment of service enterprises (owned either by the Black middle-class or Jewish-dominated, "cullud-corporation" facades) in the Black Community: funeral parlors, "fry shops"²⁷ restaurants, and the "numbers business." Another connection would be the concern that both the black masses and the "buzhies" have with regard to "Civil Rites," though the interpretation of the mystic phenomena by either group would depend upon class perspective and interests. If the Black middle-class gave appreciable "coin" to help the masses it would certainly result in their taking of a contradictory position, for their economic level with respect to the Black masses would obviously be lowered, and as was pointed out previously, they did not accumulate surplus capital in order to give it away. The "nationalist's" position is

that Afroamericans should support "Black Business," but this merely presents another dilemma to the Afroamerican: Would you rather be exploited by your "Black Brother's" private enterprise or by "Whitey's" monopoly capital? These are the only alternatives available within the context of the present system.²⁸ Further, "nationalist's" decry the fact that bourgeois "Bloods" live outside the ghetto areas while still obtaining revenue from their Black Brothers in the ghetto. The only alternative given by "nationalists" is that the "black bourgeoisie" maintain their homes in the Black Community and work to "make the ghetto respectable." Thus the problem of exploitation of Blacks by Blacks is neither resolved or fully brought to light by "nationalists," and business continues as usual.....Today the masses of Afroamericans are floundering in virtually the same conditions of poverty that they've always known and experienced, while bourgeois elements of the Black Community "flee to the suburbs" (.....to practice integration²⁹) in order to enjoy and perpetuate the "American way of life." "Crumbs" fall to the masses of black from the "cullud" bourgeoisie just as "crumbs" fall from the tables of White America to Black America (which means virtually no "crumbs" at all).

Quiet as it's kept, our "nationalists" are not really "anti-bourgeoisie." In fact, they oftentimes exhibit a bourgeois outlook themselves (in terms of their own "conspicuous consumption," i.e., the ownership of "fine" cars and suits, etc.), and we have already discussed the similarities of "nationalists" and the bourgeois "Bloods" with respect to "Whitey's" role of world-wide imperialism.

Let's examine one last "bag" in the repertoire of the "nationalist"; this is another "stick" from the "self-help" tree, and it's called "education." According to our brothers, "education" is virtually a panacea for problems of Afroamericans (and they of course are speaking of that stilted, bourgeois education characteristic of American "freak-factory" schooling). The "cullud nationalist's" position on education is that Black students should stay home and study so that they might receive "honor grades." During the riots of the summer of 1964, one of these "nationalists" was heard to say, "If these Black students who were rioting had been home studying to make 'honor grades,' riots would not have been necessary." This statement merely illuminates once more the complete ridiculousness of the "cullud nationalist" "self-help" program. Was not 15 year old James Powell³⁰ on his way to a remedial reading class when viciously shot down by the thug-cop Lt. Gilligan? Was not Lemuel Penn, a noted Black educator,

murdered by a white racist who fired a shotgun into the car in which Penn was riding? What good did "honor grades" do for him? Being "good old darkies" did not save Afroamericans from being brutally extirpated during slavery, and acting as "good Negroes" today does not keep Afroamericans from being "whipped" by either racist thug-cops in the North or the Ku Klux Klan in the South. As before, our position on education is that it forms a necessary but not sufficient condition for liberation of Afroamericans. It is absurd to speak of education for Afroamericans when survival is becoming one of the most basic problems.

Now that we have "wasted" the reactionary program of bourgeois "nationalists," let us discuss their opprobrious connection with the American right wing faction. First, let us note that the "self-help" program for Afroamericans plays right into the hip-pocket of the "white-wing" conservatives.³¹ As long as "Whitey" can keep Black people running after a non-existent "free-enterprise" he can keep the real issue "under the covers," that is, the issue of economic and political power; hence "Whitey" hopes to avoid the eventual and imminent clash with the "have-nots" of the U.S. (and, in fact, the "have-nots" of the rest of the world). For this reason "cullud" opportunism (with its false and misleading "philosophy") is necessary for "Whitey's" purposes, and also for this reason it is necessary that groups of this sort be crushed. Those "nationalists" involved are not important enough to mention in this paper³², however, many of the illusions which they have spread in the Afroamerican community are misconceptions important enough to get "wasted" in the above text. In conclusion, we say to these opportunists with regard to accusations made in this paper: "if the drawers fit, wear 'em!"

FOOTNOTES

1. The most significant parallel between Washington's program of "race uplifting" and that of modern-day Booker T.'s lies in the fact that both received support from whites who had become alienated to Afroamericans possessing more militant programs, programs which placed the burden of the "Negro problem" on "Whitey" for its solution. Just as Washington urged black people to "cast down their buckets.....", modern-day Booker T.'s exhort black people to demonstrate "responsibility," practice "self-help," and not to ask "Whitey" for jobs, but to develop their own industries. "Whitey" is delighted to hear talk of "free enterprise" from "responsible Negro leaders," and rewards his lackeys well.
2. This movement formerly went under the name of "Civil Rights." However, as this movement in the past few years has been led for the most part by Masochistic Mystics, Ghandi Hunchers, and other lackeys of the

white power structure, we wish to preserve the sanctity of their "non-violent" program by blessing it with the appropriate name, "Civil Rites."

3. We need only point out the failure of SNCC in the South this past summer; unfortunately, SNCC's summer program was dependent upon the protection of voter-registration workers by the U.S. justice Department and F.B.I. The deaths of three SNCC workers and two other apolitical Blacks (not even counting the 36 churches burnt in the State) in Mississippi last summer testifies to the impotency of a program which depends upon the help of the racist Federal Government (in spite of all of LBJ's "humanitarian" concern).

4. white people

5. "Self-help" in the current use of the term implies that Afroamericans should unite to pool their economic resources to establish factories, service enterprises, etc., in order to strengthen their economic position in the U.S.

6. Kardiner and Ovesey, Mark of Oppression, pp. 309-10

7. has no basis in reality

8. This expansion occurred about the same time the U.S. embarked upon its role of overseas imperialism.

9. According to Michael Munk in the National Guardian of April 18, 1964, p.5, the annual Manpower Report of 1963 revealed "that the private sector of the economy was responsible for a net loss of jobs since 1957 and that what job growth has occurred is due to the public sector." The net contribution of private enterprise to total national employment since 1957 has been a loss of 600,000 jobs. Also, the report states that "unemployment among Negroes, at 10.9%, remained more than double the white rate, which increased slightly from 4.9% in 1962 to 5.1% last year."

10. This is due to the advanced state of the U.S. Economy; under the present system it is ludicrous for Afroamericans to think in terms of owning or controlling their own industries, particularly heavy industries. The naked, white reality of already-existing, huge trusts and holding companies, plus the relative lack of surplus capital in the Afroamerican Community clearly illustrate the Black man's dilemma; this is not defeatism-it is an honest appraisal of actual economic conditions in America. Note that we have not even considered the problem of competition of Black industry with U.S. monopoly capital in the form of existing "automated and cybernated" industries even if sufficient surplus capital were obtained by the Black Community, nor did we consider the obvious dependency that these industries would have on "Whitey's" stockpile of raw materials.

18. allen
11. was on the decline
12. the term "bread" refers to surplus capital used for purposes of investment.
13. Perlo, Victor. Negro Income is still less than half of White, p.5 People's World (October 6, 1962)
14. loc. cit. (emphasis added by the author of this paper)
15. Profile of a State: If You Lived In Mississippi, This is What It Would Be Like, p. 5 People's World (October 6, 1962).
16. loc. cit.
17. loc. cit.
18. loc. cit.
19. Recently, one such "nationalist" took a trip to the Motherland and was given a "cold" treatment upon his arrival, the reason being Africans were quite aware of the implications vis-à-vis Africa of his reactionary program. And on his return to the U.S. the "nationalist" reported that "Africans hate American Negroes."
20. James Lacy, An Open Letter to the Afro-American Association, p.13
21. meaning African, Asian, and Latin-American nations
22. For example see Snyder, Louis L. The Imperialism Reader: Documents and Readings on Modern Expansionism.
23. As a result of "Whitoy's" machinations involving genocide, savagery, barbarism, and "tricknology" (à la "humanitarian" missions in Stanleyville, Congo) which have occurred over the past 400 years, we cannot honestly justify at present the inclusion of his race under the definition of "humanity."
24. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, p.134
25. The purchasing of goods chiefly for ostentatious display.
26. A secondary relationship between the masses and middle class is that of "Blackness" (much less important to the "Black Bourgeoisie")
27. "Cullud" hairdressing establishments
28. On the other hand, if our Brothers are speaking of "Black Businesses" in terms of having Black-owned cooperatives (such as supermarkets and shopping centers) where prices will be lowered for co-op members (who, for the most part, will be Black), then they will be beginning to make progressive moves towards betterment of the despairing and wretched conditions in which Afroamericans find themselves today.
29. That period of time during which the first Negro moves in and the last white moves out.
30. An Afroamerican who was murdered in the streets of Harlem, New York on July 16, 1964.
31. Recently an opportunistic "cullud" group in the Los Angeles area went about campaigning for Goldwater among the Black Community, however, most of their speeches were made in the presence of predominantly

white audiences. In fact, when this group finally did go down to the Black ghetto in order to spread ignorance, they "got their heads whipped"-much like the John F. Kennedy Library which recently got "wasted" in Cairo, Egypt.

32. For they will fall to the wayside as their programs become more reactionary (and this will be even more necessary as the economy "tightens up" and "Whitey" gets scared), and thereby cause greater indignation of the oppressed Afro-American nation to these programs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Cruse, Harold. "Negro Nationalism and the Left", Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution. (reprinted from 'Studies on the Left') Vol. 1 Nos. 4-5 (Aug.-Sept. 1963. pages 27-34
2. Frazier, E. Franklin. Black Bourgeoisie. New York: Macmillan Company (Collier Books) 1962.
3. Kardiner, and Ovesey, A&L. Mark of Oppression.
4. Lacy, James. "An Open Letter to the Afro-American Association", an unpublished paper from Accra, Ghana.
5. Munk, Michael. "U.S. Report Explodes the 'free economy' Myth", National Guardian. (April 18, 1964) p.5.
6. People's World. "Profile of a State: If You Lived in Mississippi, This is What it Would be Like," (October 6, 1962) p.5
7. Parlo, Victor. "Negro Income is Still Less than Half of White," People's World. (October 6, 1962) p.5.
8. Snyder, Louis L. The Imperialism Reader: Documents and Readings on Modern Expansionism. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962.

"THE NEGROES SHOULD BE LEFT TO BECOME EXTINCT THE NATURAL WAY. A GOOD NEGRO IS A DEAD NEGRO." Senator Goldwater April, 1964. This quote was contained in a brochure published by the United States Information Agency which was sent to several influential African leaders.

20 the editors

To: Eric Hoffer, a true believer in the ideology of the white man's burden.

From: The editors of SOULBOOK.

Re: Your erudite article in the New York Times Magazine.*

We are amused to know that you call Kwame Nkrumah, the President of the Republic of Ghana a "pseudo-intellectual." We thought about writing you a long letter criticizing and condemning your ludicrous, condescending statement but we felt it was enough to inform you of the following facts:

- 1) In 1927 Kwame Nkrumah graduated from the Government Training College in Achimota, Accra.
- 2) In 1939 He graduated from Lincoln University with B.A.
- 3) In 1942 Mr. Nkrumah graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with M.Sc. AND He also graduated from Lincoln University with B.Th.
- 4) In 1943 He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with M.A.
- 5) in 1947 He wrote Towards Colonial Freedom.
- 6) In 1948 He founded the Accra Evening News.
- 7) In the year 1957 the President of Ghana published His autobiography, Ghana.
- 8) I speak of Freedom, a collection of His speeches was published in 1960.
- 9) In 1963 His Africa Must Unite was published.
- 10) In 1964, Consciencism- Philosophy and Ideology of Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution- which is probably President Nkrumah's greatest work to date, appeared in English, French and Arabic editions.

Sincerely,

The Editors of SOULBOOK

* Hoffer, Eric. "The Negro is Prejudiced Against Himself." New York Times Magazine, (November, 29, 1964) p.113

In each issue of SOULBOOK there will be a selection from the African press concerning some controversial subject in Africa.

In this issue we present the viewpoint of The Spark which is published weekly in Accra, Ghana. The subject of this article is the United States intervention in the Congo, and the U.S. State Department's subsequent snub of the Reconciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity.

The Commission, appointed by all the African governments is headed by the eminent African Statesman, Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta of the Government of Kenya. It has been this group of African Leaders who have attempted to bring an end to the Congolese civil war (despite the American government).

It is true that after this article was printed in The Spark the State Department decided to meet with the Commission. But this was a pharisaical, superficial gesture because they still refused to confer with the Commission on the issues of United States intervention and white thug-mercenaries slaying Blacks in the Congo. Therefore in substance this editorial is still valid.

Indeed the recent events at Stanleyville, Congo only prove conclusively the thesis put forth by The Spark. IT IS NOW MORE APPARENT THAN EVER THAT THE "HUMANITARIAN" ORIENTATED U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT (ALONG WITH "SOCIALIST" ENGLAND, AND BELGIUM) ARE INTERESTED PRIMARILY IN PROTECTING WHITE LIVES AND WHITE OWNERSHIP OF THE RICHES THAT RIGHTFULLY BELONG TO THE BLACK CONGOLESE. IT IS NOW MORE APPARENT THAN EVER THAT MOST AFRICAN STATES ARE INTERESTED IN SAVING BLACK LIVES AS WELL AS WHITE LIVES AND AT THE SAME TIME SEEING TO IT THAT ALL THE RIGHTS OF THE CONGOLESE NATION BE PROTECTED.

Therefore this is clearly a confrontation of epic proportions. For it is a battle that has been fought many times through history; it is that struggle of the forces of righteousness against the dung-infested rabble of iniquity.

Who will win? Patrice Lumumba answered this question in the last letter he ever wrote:

"I know and feel deep in my heart that sooner or later my people will rid themselves of their internal and external enemies, that they will rise up as one in

order to say "No" to colonialism, to brazen,
dying colonialism, in order to win their dignity
in a clean land." *

We agree completely with our late Brother Lumumba.

-the editors-

U.S. and the O.A.U.

The Leader of the "un-holy alliance" of the imperialist powers, the United States of America, has unmasked its mailed fist.

The last moment refusal of the United States to meet and confer with the Reconciliation Commission of the O.A.U. which was due to leave for the United States within the next twenty-four hours, constitutes one of the best object lessons for the whole of Africa and indeed, for the whole of the decent world.

We are neither surprised nor impressed. Under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, who knows imperialism for what it is, we have never been taken in by the double talk, and hollow claims on the part of the United States. The claim that their country stands for world peace!

There can hardly be any leader in Africa today, having observed the activities of the United States in the Congo, who will still remain unconverted about the dangers which imperialism hold over our heads in Africa and the world. Which African leader, seeing the manner in which the United States has presented one affront after another to Africa over the question of the Congo, can hold back the wrath of the people of our continent? He will be a brave man indeed who will continue to pretend that the interests of the people of Africa coincide with those of the United States.

With the ruling class in a country like the United States which is without conscience, and without scruple, the interests of the people of the Congo can go hang, so long as the puppet Government does the imperial bidding, and opens the door wide for capitalist exploitation. What does the United States care for the welfare of the people of Latin America and nations like the Congo, so long as the resources of these countries are exposed to foreign investment.

Had the interests of our people in the Congo not been our concern, we would have like to sit back, and permit the United States to reveal its selfish designs some more. We should have let the arch-imperialist nation, the United States, invite by its actions the intervention of the only powers which are its match.

But, alas, the people of the Congo are our own people. Their misery is our misery. This being so, we cannot stand idle while the United States spins Tshombe and Kasavubu around as if they were so many tops in the hands of children at play.

Now that there can be no doubt as to the intentions of the United States on the Congo, viz., to foment trouble in the area, and prevent the much needed reconciliation. Let all the African peoples rally together in unity and throw off the evil influence.

In a spirit of compromise, African leaders have admitted M. Tshombe to the meeting of African Foreign Ministers. We will not regret the decision. But, M. Tshombe has yet to prove that the hands outstretched to him are not repulsed.

We see that power, a heady stuff, can get into the heads of peoples. Thus, the United States has dared to flout the will of a whole continent. OUR power in Africa lies in our morality and in our unity.

(reprinted from The Spark, No. 93 (Friday, September 25, 1964) page 8. The right to reprint this article was given by the Editor of The Spark, Brother Kofi Batsa to the Brother Editors of the SOULBOOK.

*Patrice Lumumba, fighter for Africa's Freedom.
Moscow: Progress Publishers. translated from the Russian, p.156.

"THIS BATTLE (the Congolese people's war against imperialism) NOT ONLY CONCERNS THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE. IT IS A BATTLE OF ALL AFRICAN PEOPLES FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND DIGNITY, THE DIGNITY OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE." Modibo Keita, the President of Mali

REJECT NOTES

george murray

w. best

carol freeman

wm. patterson

christmas morning i
got up before the others and
ran
naked across the plank
floor into the front
room to see grandmama
sewing a new
button on my last year
ragdoll.

carol freeman

Pure Soul

Deep, black multitude
Of beautiful spirits,
With jazz overtones
Of angels' wings;
Prepare tomorrow's creations
From invisible matter.
Sunlight browning the wheat
In atomic chain-like rhythm.
Finally, coming to rest
In a bosom of pure soul.

w. best

i saw them lynch festus whiteside and
all the limp white women with lymphatic greasy eyelids came
to watch silent silent in the dusty burning noon
shifting noiselessly from heavy foot to heavy
foot licking beast lips showing beast teeth in
anticipation of the feast
and they all plodded forward after the
lynching to grab and snatch the choice
pieces, rending them with their bloody teeth crunching on his hollow
bones.

carol freeman

mr. willie Frelow died
getting some off my
mother while i watched
through the crack he
was straining and hauling his skinny
white ass in the air like
he was pulling up one
of our mules

carol freeman

when
my uncle willie saw
aunt mimmies new baby he
look at his big cracked black hands the thick
pink nails split then
he looked at black mimmie with her gold teeth flashing and
he look at the baby

then
later on he brag to every body how he
got indin blood from his grand mama _____

thenwhen
my uncle willie and aunt tee mimmie had
nother baby he
look at auntee then he
look out the window he
look at the midwife who smilling a little
shaking her head a

little

and he say it albinodontyall member us got albinirs on mah cudin Tim side?

Aunt tee she grinsome then she laugh then she say williesherrif merriweather

say ef this a boy if ah names his merriweather he gon give you fi' dollars?

then

i seen uncle willie cry some.

carol freeman

Beyond the shadows with red skies.

Beyond the lonely.

Above the proud.

There is a state.

The meek are its dwellers

The poor bask outside of its walls

Beyond the shadows of the twilight where grasses bow and sway
laden with dew.

There is a state.

Above the mountain and below the sea, there is a mode of life,
most sadly forgotten, as lost as yesterday, and as unyield-
ing as tomorrow.

george m. murray

Message to Brother's

This is an uncertain transformed truth
The eagle wings speak of voluptuous pleasures
Breaking boundaries given birth by genocide.
Lice become lice constantly pulling away from pretentious
Evolution, accepting the role of bigot Kings.

Tomorrow's slender winds bring reality the ultimate avenue
Patronized in nightmares.
A cup of wine sweetens as swaying hips keep time in calculated
Unawareness.
Harmonious claws grow artful in sacrificing politics to become
Cringing worms attacking sacrificial wounds.
The knot untangles; the guilty looks to desperation's aid
Lurking in the last corner of darkness the Lion licks a paw
Eyes saying come on down.

wm. patterson

Sam's Moment

Lady Day moaned for somewhere
Sam sat wanting a reason
Reaching out with her
Somewhere gently.....gently carressing
Brief rhythmical echoes.....pregnant sighs
Folly.....tears.....loneliness
Now shrilling.....now piercing
Tight drawn sinews.....Sam whispering
Hush Billie, let my bad times be
I saw Sam cover his soul with his elbow

wm. patterson

When i-was young and small with ashy grey legs, that had little rivulets of black from 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

"FOR THE WHITE MAN HAS, FOR THREE THOUSAND YEARS, ENJOYED THE PRIVILEGE OF SEEING WITHOUT BEING SEEN; HE WAS THE PURE VISION; THE LIGHT OF HIS EYES RESCUED EVERYTHING FROM ITS NATIVE SHADOW, THE WHITENESS OF HIS SKIN WAS ALSO A VISION LIKE THAT OF CONDENSED LIGHT. WHITE MAN, WHITE BECAUSE HE WAS MAN, WHITE LIKE DAY TRUTH AND VIRTUE, ENLIGHTENED ALL OF CREATION LIKE A TORCH, UNVEILED THE SECRET ESSENCE AND WHITENESS OF THINGS. TODAY, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE REGARDS OF THESE BLACK MEN OUR REGARD RE-ENTERS OUR EYES; BLACK TORCHES LIGHT THE WORLD AND OUR WHITE HEADS ARE NOTHING MORE THAN SMALL FLAMES BALANCING IN THE WIND."

jean paul sartre

the real reasons tanganyika and zanzibar
united and became tanzania

by

kenn m. freeman

On April 23, 1964 President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanganyika, President Abeid Amani Karume of Zanzibar signed articles of "Umoja" in which both of their nations became one sovereign state under the name of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar¹ (in October, 1964 it was changed to Tanzania).

Geographically it was a natural union. Both of them lie on the edge of the Indian Ocean on the East Coast of Africa. The islands that make up the Peoples Republic of Zanzibar lie less than 25 miles off of the coast of Tanganyika. Thus one must start with the fact of the proximity of these territories, the inhabitants common fear and experience of being victims of European Imperialism, U. S. Imperialism and Arab slavery, and the common tongue spoken by all the people living in this area virtually proscribes a political union of these African peoples.

Of course there were many other reasons that motivated this East African federation, but the reasons already mentioned are those which make this political union at least acceptable to the peasants, proletariat, intellectuals and politicians in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

To the majority of people in both of these historically rich lands the boundaries were the means by which the imperialists egregiously "legalized" the traumatic effects of the resultant separation of African mother in Tanganyika from her African son who had often gone to Zanzibar to find means for a meager livelihood for his large, extended family. Also African politicians and intellectuals realize that these same boundaries had divided Africans to such an extent that it was relatively easy for Europeans to conquer and rule Africans for generation after generation. (this does not imply Africans did not fight against European Imperialism)

Thus this newest move towards African unity (and most African unification schemes) is motivated by a desire to find a way to insure that Africans will never be enslaved and conquered by non-Blacks.²

In addition to these motivations behind the East African merger one must always consider at least three more motivations of Black African intellectuals and politicians which are probable causes in any merger between Africans: (1) African political unifications are looked upon as a means that would prove the political genius of the Black race. Thus Blacks would merit and achieve--it

is hoped--the respect of the world, (2) the desire that Blacks shed their "colonial mentality" imposed on them by imperialist educational institutions and regain their self-confidence in African abilities and respect in their African past and culture,³ and (3) to find more successful means to industrialize and raise the living standards of the mass of African peoples. Usually a merger is specifically designed to enlarge the internal market and to eliminate competition between the African countries for development aid from the developed countries. The implication here is that this will also strengthen the bargaining position of the underdeveloped African country vis-à-vis the developed countries.

As far as Karume's motives are concerned he was probably influenced more by his friendship to Nyerere, and the fact that Nyerere had long helped Karume's Afro-Shirazi Party oust Arab feudal rule in Zanzibar (Nyerere sent 300 Tanganyikan police to Zanzibar to help maintain order after the pro-Black, anti-imperialist revolutionaries succeeded in ousting the Arab feudal regime). Probably Karume felt that he owed Nyerere something that would help Nyerere maintain his government. In fact there is evidence indicating that Nyerere "helped" Karume come to this understanding. Because a few days before the announced union Nyerere publically threatened to withdraw the Tanganyikan police from Zanzibar. Since it is common knowledge that Zanzibar had no immediate source of police protection (which was greatly needed at the time because all other Zanzibari military forces were busy curbing counterrevolutionary moves on the islands) other than the Tanganyikan force, one could suggest that Nyerere was applying pressure on Karume in order to gain concessions that primarily benefited Tanganyika and Nyerere.

Certainly there is little question that Nyerere needed, at that particular time, something to rebuild his past image as a Black Nationalist leader. And certainly Nyerere realized the union would rebuild his political reputation (and the confidence of the Tanganyikan people in their government) after it was virtually destroyed on account of the Tanganyikan army mutiny***, and his government's subsequent failure to successfully use its own, or African resources, to quell the disturbances. The disgrace was complete when Nyerere brought in imperialist White English troops--the army of Tanganyika's former colonial oppressors--to crush the Black African troop rebellion, and bring order to Tanganyika.

Thus one of the obvious results of this East African federation is Nyerere's image as a Black Nationalist, African Nationalist

and PanAfricanist has been considerably rebuilt.³ Sheik Karume of Zanzibar, riding on the crest of a wave of enthusiasm engendered by the recent African Revolution in Zanzibar, certainly had no personal need comparable to Nyerere's to enhance his political image. Thus one must conclude that it was Nyerere who had more personal motives and did gain more personally out of the merger.

The reactionary, conservative, and "liberal" U.S. press purposely proscribed mentioning one of the chief reasons behind the timing of this spectacular merger. The American mass media, with their attitudes of monolithic condescension towards any efforts by darker-skinned people to do anything on the intellectual level, started squealing the ludicrous assertion that the real cause of Zanzibar's and Tanganyika's merger was to avert a Communist takeover and/or Communist influence in Zanzibar. The facts do not justify this interpretation.

The reasons that the U.S. "experts" on Africa give for their prognostication that Communism was imminent in Zanzibar can be summarized in the following points: (1) The Vice President of Zanzibar, Abdulla Kassim Hanga is a graduate of Friendship University in Moscow. (2) The Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Babu is one of the Editors of the Marxist-orientated monthly magazine Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution. (3) The revolutionary regime had redeemed all pawn tickets on the islands without paying the pawnbrokers. (4) They had started grocery cooperatives all over the islands, along with nationalizing all the former feudal land holdings. (5) They had destroyed all rickshaws because they were symbols of human servitude. (6) They had understood the neo-colonialist role of English technicians in Zanzibar and therefore they had deported all of them, and subsequently asked for technicians from socialist countries in order to help build socialism in an African context on Zanzibar. (7) They had taken over the U.S. missile tracking station on Zanzibar and completely dismantled it.⁴****

Certainly there is no evidence to suggest that the Union was designed to eliminate these reforms and positive trends. In fact if one looks a little closer one finds that Oscar Kambona, Tanganyika's Foreign and Defence Minister, and former roommate of Zanzibar's "Communist" Vice President Kassim Hanga, is described by one U.S. Africanist as "a militant PanAfricanist who is considerably (sentence and paragraph continued on page 42)

a (and at the same time rebuilt the confidence of the Tanganyikan ---people in their Government.)

to the left of Nyerere...and is not and anti-Communist..."⁵ was the leader in the discussions that worked out the basis of the merger. Indications are that he is one of the biggest fans in Tanganyika for the progressive trends in Zanzibar.

Even more significant in this context is the fact that most competent Africanists agree that Kambona is right now the man who actually controls Tanganyikan political power. Thus we must say that it is very unlikely that Anti-Kommunism was a significant factor or motivation in the causes of the East African merger. And what further supports this view is that both Hanga and Babu have been given important posts in the new cabinet of the Republic of Tanzania. Therefore their influence has increased since it is now not only in Zanzibar, but also in Tanganyika.*****

Just a few days before the merger U.S. Naval Fleet movements in the Indian Ocean had angered most people in East Africa to such a high pitch that even Nyerere (who up to this time was not known to make strong, anti-American statements) was publicly calling these yanqui intrusions off the Tanganyikan coast an insult to Africa. Even a correspondent in Tanganyika of a conservative, English periodical called the U.S. Naval maneuvers in that area "ostentatious and rather pointless."⁶ But what was clear to both Tanganyikan and Zanzibari officials was that Washington's politicians were close to dragging Africa into the cold war. Naturally, none of the African parties involved wanted any part of this kind of harassment and aggression that the U.S. has inflicted upon revolutionary Cuba (in this sense no militant African nationalist wants a "Cuba" in Africa). Therefore both Tanganyika and Zanzibar felt--and rightly so--that by politically uniting their respective countries they could insulate themselves from the COLD WAR, and stop U.S. red-baiting of (and an imminent invasion) Zanzibar. At least on a short range basis they have succeeded in averting an immediate threat of a Bahia de Cochinos*****invasion in East Africa.

The above reason, and the need to resuscitate the much-needed confidence of East Africans in their respective governments were probably the most important motivations of Tanganyika's and Zanzibar's timing of their announcement of unification. And amazingly enough they went a long way in achieving both of these objectives concomitantly with the objectives that are everpresent in the hearts of all East Africans, and for that matter all PanAfricanists throughout Africa, and other parts of the world inhabited by the sons and daughters of Africa.

FOOTNOTES

*It means unity in Kiswahili, the lingua franca of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, northern Mozambique, Eastern Congo, and parts of Uganda.

1. "Tanganyika and Zanzibar sign agreement to unite." New York Times, April 24, 1964 (an unsigned news story) p. 1.

2. Freeman, Kenn M. "Notes on Relationship between Black Nationalism, African Nationalism and Pan-Africanism." (an unpublished paper) p. 5.

3. Ibid.,

** It means brother in Kiswahili.

*** Certain Marxists who are short on knowledge about underdeveloped countries, and especially African countries, have stated that Nyerere's crushing of this troop mutiny was solely a counter-revolutionary act. This position is worth keeping in mind, but it is at best an oversimplification because it cannot be assumed the mutiny of this army was an index to the popular tide in East Africa. This army-like most armies in nations just liberated from the colonial yoke- was mercenary in character. It had been trained by the British imperialist to remain apart and antagonistic to the interests of the people and especially vis-a-vis the African Nationalist movements. e.g. It was virtually the same Black troops that rebelled in Kenya that fought against the Mau Mau revolt there. Also it must be remembered that the Tanganyikan troops' demands (higher wages, replacement of white officers with Black officers, -all legitimate, progressive demands- were granted by Nyerere's government).

**** This author has learned from reliable sources that the missile "tracking" station in Zanzibar in actuality was a missile base and within a few hours could be set up for the latter purpose.

4. "The Zanzibar Move." New York Times, April 25, 1964, (unsigned editorial) p. 26.

5. Sterling, Claire. "Tanganyika: The Tribulations of a Good Man." The Reporter. (April 9, 1964) pp. 21-25.

FOOTNOTES cont.

6. "Everybody climbs on the Zanzibar Dhow," Africa 1964, No. 9 (May 1, 1964), p. 3,4.

***** The fact that none of the social reforms achieved by the Zanzibari revolution, and that many more radical measures have been added since the merger shows that the Union was not a counterrevolutionary move against Zanzibar. In fact the recent decision to bring Chinese arms and military advisors into Tanganyika is certainly an index to the growing Zanzibari influence on Tanganyika. Also President Nyerere's public denunciation of the uncovered U.S. plot to overthrow his government, and his censure of U.S. and Belgium's "humanitarian" intervention in the Congolese Civil war are also indices to the heightened political consciousness of the Dar es Salaam officials.

The unresolved problem of whether to recognize West Germany or East Germany seems to be at an impasse with West Germany technically the only one recognized by Tanzania, but Zanzibari officials are still demanding diplomatic status on Zanzibar for the East Germans. Indications are that this problem-created by West Germany- will be solved by Tanzanians to the advantage of all Tanzanians & all Germans.

***** The site of the April, 1961, U.S.-backed invasion of free Cuba.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

African Recorder. p. 810, (July 2-15, 1964). Excerpts from articles in he Times, London; The Times of India; and the East African Standard.

Africa 1964. " Everybody Climbs on the Zanzibar Dhow." P. 3,4, (May 1, 1964)

Christian Science Monitor. "Tanganyika and Zanzibar." p. 16 (an unsigned editorial, July 7, 1964).

New Africa. "TanZan's Path to Unity." p 7, 8, Vol. 6, No. 9, by Idris Cox (September, 1964).

New York Times. "Tanganyika and Zanzibar sign agreement to Unite." p. 1 (an unsigned news dispatch from The Times, London (April 24, 1964).

BIBLIOGRAPHY cont.

-----, "The Zanzibar Move." p. 25 (an unsigned editorial),
(April 25, 1964).

Notes on the Relationship between Black Nationalism,
African Nationalism and PanAfricanism: An International
Relations Viewpoint. an unpublished paper by Kenn M.
Freeman.

The Reporter. "Tanganyika: The Tribulations of a Good
Man." pp. 21-25, (April 9, 1964).

TseTung, Mao. On Methods of Leadership, Peking: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1960.

This short, concise pamphlet by the leading Marxist theoretician of the day is a must for all Afroamerican leaders, non-communist and communist alike.

The author states two rules that Leaders should employ in carrying out any task: (1) linking the general with the specific, (2) linking the leadership with the rank and file.

He tells us that general directives when linked with specific guidance (e.g. attending to details, investigating a few branches and giving personal guidance to some) they were carried out successfully, however when this was not done failure occurred.

"The scattered and unsystematic views of the masses are summed up, that is, brought together and unsystematized after examination, and then the summing-up is explained and popularized until the summarized ideas become more nearly correct, more vital and more meaningful." This is the only way Mao sees the leadership can be linked with the rank and file. At this point one begins to wonder, what does he mean by "more nearly correct, more vital and more meaningful"? On this phrase there is a wide latitude for divergency, especially between Marxists and non-Marxists.

There are two particular points that are of especial interests to the emerging revolutionary, Black leadership in the U.S. : "The harder the struggle, the greater is the necessity of closely linking the leadership with the demands of the rank and file (p.9)." The second important point is: "Not more than one central task should be assigned at any one time to any one locality-though the central task may be supplemented by tasks of secondary and tertiary importance." (p.8)

In such a short work this great thinker renders in poetically-precise language what many were never taught in four year courses of political science in racist, bourgeois, western Universities.

reviewed by mamadou lumumba

"puddn'head" and the negro

by

bobb hamilton

The purpose of this paper is to discuss Mark Twain's anti-Negro sentiments in his novелlette, "PUDDN'HEAD WILSON." Before doing that, I shall clear the air lest the reader contest me on issues which are not the concern of this paper. Whenever Twain is criticized for the way he treats the Negro in his works, his disciples start to wildly wave "documents" which show that he dearly loved "spirituals" and that he was against slavery, but we cannot assume that anti-slavery means pro-Negro. Harriet Stowe's "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" was an anti-slavery tract, but she certainly felt that the Blacks were inferior and should be turned out to pasture back in their native Africa. To her slavery was cruel in the same way that fox hunting and bear-baiting were cruel. "It's true they were inferior, but that's no reason to enslave them," is the way the sentiment goes. Therefore we must not assume that anti-slave means pro-Negro, nor does it mean that we should overlook the race insults of a man, merely because he is, or was against slavery, a dead system that the Negro himself would not allow to be re-established anyway.

Of course the last resort of Twain's defendants is to cite his paying the expenses of a black student for four years at Yale. Yet "PUDDN'HEAD" was written after he, "held himself responsible for the wrong which the white race had done to the black race in slavery."¹ This is the same man who later said, "The idea of making Negroes citizens was startling and disagreeable to me, but I have become reconciled to it..."² To be reconciled is to quietly submit, to acquiesce, to adjust, hardly a description of a committed "liberal," let alone passionate radical. The point that Twain had a guilty conscience about his attitude, and I suppose the black man at Yale should have been grateful for that, as I suppose the present day Negro should be grateful for a successful NAACP law suit, though some of the funds come from white people, who would be horrified at the thought of one of those "poor oppressed people" buying a house next to theirs. Well so much for the introduction. I shall have to refer to some of Twain's other writings in the body of this paper for the obvious reason that a social issue which is taken up in a novel, cannot be taken up in (sentence cont on page 49)

one piece, if the writer has done other works which treat on the same subject,

PUDDN'HEAD WILSON

"PUDDN'HEAD WILSON" is a contrived, predictable work which tells the story of a slave woman who has a baby boy of her own, and who takes care of the master's infant, born at the same time as hers. She switches babies, since they both look alike, and rears her own child as that of the master's and that master's son as her own slave child. The rest of the book is devoted to recording the fortunes and behavior of the "imposter" who grows up as the ward of his patrician-gentleman uncle after the death of his own "parents."

There is a significant irony in the fact that the above novel is an anti-slavery piece; the novel was written in 1894, the blacks had been free since 1865 when Twain was thirty years old! The period of anti-slavery fiction began in 1838 with a fictionalized biography titled, "A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, A Black Man."³ Anti-slavery literature, both fact and fiction went out of business in 1865 for obvious reasons. What characterized anti-slavery fiction beyond the portrayal of abuse and the degradation of the black was that the slave heroes, who were insurrectionists, outlaws and fugitives, were always of mixed blood. The "pure" blacks were servile and content. The white writers could not bring themselves to portray dignity and courage in the black persons over whose plight they did so much breast-beating and self righteous finger pointing! Those Reconstruction writers who were not out to glorify the good old ante-bellum south continued to put the destiny and dignity of black Americans in the personages of mixed bloods. Mark Twain in 1894 was anachronism, in the sense that the cause was passé, but he was current and true to form in his smug and patronizing attitude toward the black man. You don't have to be a psychologist to discern that you only patronize people about whom you harbor negative emotions.

Of course the red flag which arouses the bull in black people and most liberal whites is the use of the term nigger. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary has this to say about the term: "A substandard term, 1. A Negro-often used familiarly, now chiefly contemptuously. 2. Loosely, a member of any dark-skinned race(See Negro)." For the term "Negro" it says:"1.A person of the typical African branch of the black race (formerly called Ethiopian)

inhabiting the Sudan, or loosely, any of the black races, including, besides the Negroes proper, Bantus, Pygmies, Hottentots, and Bushmen. ". A black man; ssp, a person having more or less Negro blood." We see that the terms are both redundant and fuzzy as far as true definition is concerned. The slaves brought here were taken from various tribes: Hausa, Ibo, Fan, Yoruba, etc.,. There was no Negro tribe. The Portuguese first applied the term as an adjective; it meant black. After the destruction of the civilization found there, and the taking of slaves, the term underwent a transformation, a social metonymy for economic reason, a transformation which focused on a detail, which substituted a part for the whole in order to justify the degradation and subjugation on which the slave system was based. This illuminates the "ingenuity" of the Medieval European for though slavery was an old institution, it had never before been based on skin color. The term "nigger" then is a further degradation of a term which was already corrupt by the time the colonization of the New World reached its peak. It is no defense then to say that the term nigger did not mean the same in Twain's time as it does now, nor is it true; it was both familiar and derogatory.

Roxanna who is one-sixteenth African, uses the term throughout the book, of course she is for all practical purposes white, but the physically black slave, who is in the tradition of the anti-slavery-Abolitionist writers is seldom given the dignity of an insurrectionist, a hero, also uses the term. The only realistic explanation for this "phenomenon" must lie in the psychological attitude of the authors themselves and that attitude is anti-black, white supremacist in origin, residual though it may be.

Roxy's son who, it turns out, was sired by a white patrician-gentleman, grows up with all the advantages of a white man, but Twain gives him the mean traits that are supposed to be the birthright of the black slaves. He is selfish, he cheats, wastes his uncle's money, and he even sells his mother down the river into slavery again in order to get money to cover his losses at gambling; Roxy had been freed by her master on his death-bed. Twain has Roxy say of her son that there, "aint nigger enough in him to show in his finger nails, en dat takes mighty little-yit dey's enough to paint his soul."⁴ This can be explained you may say in the historical fact that the blacks were received in a slave environment and naturally they repeated the stereotypes of their masters. Perhaps so. Then again perhaps not; remember that according to (sentence and paragraph continued on page 51)

the friendly critics, Roxy is supposed to be an heroic figure, rebellious and proud. In any event Twain gives his game away in an earlier chapter where he says that "Tom was a bad boy from the very beginning of his usurpation."⁵ Of course, blood does tell in the end and Tom's "curse" drives him from one blunder and misdeed to another, he kills his uncle and is exposed by Pudd'n'head Wilson, who had taken both his and the real Tom's fingerprints at various stages of their childhood and youth. The usurper, Tom, is sold back into slavery to pay for the losses and the real Tom is out of place because he has been brought up as a slave. This last has been frantically grasped as "proof" that Twain did not believe in inherent inferiority, but that he was showing the effects of environment. The "proof" is rather tenuous though; we must remember that Roxy and her son, a "nigger" who was raised as white are the central characters.

Twain's supporters always speak of his erudition and keen sense of perception; I can either accept or doubt this. If I accept the appraisal, I say then that Twain could not overcome his racial history of four hundred years of cultural and racial arrogance (add six more centuries if you want to include the crusades against the Moslems) in his encounter with other people; perhaps it is too much to expect. But there were records despite those that were "lost" through censorship of real slave mulattoes or octoroons, who fit so nicely into the romantic patterns of the abolitionist anti-slavery writers. Between 1526 and 1864 there were at least 126 recorded uprisings. After 1759 there was at least one slave revolt somewhere in the country every year. Nine took place in Missouri during Twain's lifetime. He can forgive the others, but Twain was "learned," where did he get his picture of the rebellious slave while he was busy "eruditing" himself? On the other hand if I doubt his erudition, I can dismiss him as a provincial writer who committed the cardinal sin of writing about things he was ignorant!

Twain has disparaging remarks to make about the French, Italians and Turks too.⁶ I suppose the passages cited in the footnotes can be dismissed as true, or they can be used to show that he was not "anti-Negro" that he was "anti-everybody." But then the Turks and French and Italians do not have to live in America as an oppressed minority. He does speak briefly of an expatriate in Italy, who has become a guide and who feels no compulsion to come to America again. Twain says his judgement is

right. Another time he speaks of his friend "Fred Douglas," whom he admires for his spunk. But Twain only gets mellow and nostalgic over his Aunt Hannahs, his Aunt Rachels,⁷ to say nothing of his colored spirituals. I love the spirituals too but I am sure my reasons are not those of Mark Twain.

To get back to Roxy, she goes to a job on a riverboat after she gains her freedom and becomes the good old servant gal, happy in her job, dressed in new clothes; she becomes the darling of white travelers, who go up and down the Mississippi. Good old Roxy! What happened to all that pride, fire, and defiance she is supposed to have had earlier? Foner makes much ado over Twain's "boldly" asserting that the slaves were justified in stealing from their masters--the passage is from "PUDDIN' HEAD" and it is too long to be quoted here. "Thus" he says "Twain rejected the concepts of literary figures in the post-Civil War in America, who glorified the plantation tradition... happy and faithful slaves...Kind and considerate masters..."⁸ Perhaps so, but Foner is confusing the issue; as I said in the beginning, Mark Twain's anti-slavery is not the issue. His "anti-Negro sentiment is;

Certainly stealing "massa's" chickens and pilfering his larder are not "bold" defiant acts and "massa" Twain's "justifying" doesn't make them any bolder! This is not the stuff of rebellion. Where does Twain "boldly" glorify Nat Turner or Denmark Vesey, to name two? He had plenty to praise about the French Revolution, but nothing to say about the ones going on in his own back yard during his life-time;

In the final analysis, I say that it is unjust to the white writer, in this country, to expect of him a wholesome and accurate picture of the Afro-American; after all he has to live with the sin he is still committing! The problem is not literary, but social.

Mark Twain is up for canonization again. Yes literature has its saints just as surely as the church has saints. I am one of those who sides with the devil's advocate. I grudgingly concede, with important reservations, that he is an outstanding writer. I need more evidence of his greatness. He is not less great because of his treatment of blacks in his works anymore than is Shakespeare for his "Merchant" or Dickens for his "Fagin." That weight I won't put on Twain; he has enough "literary" shortcomings without the lead of that extra straw. What I have been discussing here is a blind-spot common to all white American writers. The Jew does not look to the gentile to honestly round out his character in literature; the Catholic does not look to the Protestant for the same, blacks must not wallow in this error either. We shall have to make our own image; this one of the hard facts of life. On the other

hand we can discuss what has been said about us, and we must not be fooled!

I am reminded of the story of the Devil, who was taking a walk with his friend; up ahead they observed a man pick up an object, look at it, and put it in his pocket. "What was that?" the companion asked his friend, "A piece of truth," replied the Devil, laughing. "Why are you laughing?" the companion asked "That's too bad for you." "Oh no " said the Devil, "just wait and see what he does with it!

Though I went into some detail about the terms "nigger" and "Negro", I still used the latter term in places where it could have been avoided. I had both clarity and convenience in mind. After all I am an American of sorts and a fish finds it difficult to live out of its waters, middy though they may be.

FOOTNOTES

1. Foner, P., "Mark Twain: Social Critic," P. 192.
2. Ibid.,
3. Brown, S. "Negro in American Fiction," P. 31, P. 2.
4. Twain, M. , "Puddn'Head Wilson," Chap. XIV, p. 87.
5. Ibid., chap. IV, p. 19.
6. Twain, M. "The Innocents Abroad," Vol 1, Chap. II P. 91; Chap.13, p. 120; Chap. 21, P. 209; Chap. 25, p.271; Vol. 2, Chap. 6, PP. 67 and 68.
7. Brashear, M. "The Art and Humanity of Mark Twain," p. 10.
8. Foner, P. S. "Mark Twain: Social Critic," P. 99.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Brashear, M., The Art and Humanity of Mark Twain. University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.
- II Brown, S., Negro in American Fiction. Assoc. in Negro Folk Edac., 1937.
- III Foner, P. S. , Mark Twain: Social Critic. New York: International Publishers, 1958.
- IV Neider, C., Life as I Find it: Twain, Garden City, L. I.: Hanover House, 1961.
- V Smith, J., Mark Twain, on the Damned Human Race. Hill and Wang, 1962.
- VI Twain, M., Puddn'Head Wilson. New York: Benton Books, 1959.
- VII Twain, M., Innocents Abroad.

MEMORANDUM TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON POLITICAL DETAINEES
AND POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH AFRICA (sent to the
Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government
of the Republic of South Africa)

editors' note: A few days ago (Dec. 1) the 19th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations was convened. Again in this body the brutal system of racial discrimination that exists in South Africa will be an important (euphemistically speaking) issue. Again the African, Asian, and Socialist countries will fight to put sharp, crushing teeth into the myriad, U.N. resolutions against Verwoerd's freak government. Again the U.S. and most NATO countries will shout platitudes about how they "deplore" apartheid, but again they probably will not take any action against the South African beasts-on-two-legs.

The western nations will of course be shocked when the offended parties involved (and many bystanders) call them hypocrites and devils. As far as this editorial board is concerned "you are what you do", and the so-called, free-world governments are co-operating, subsidizing and at the same time verbally "condemning" the racists of South Africa. How else are the oppressed of the world to interpret these individuals and governments who "constitutionally" proclaim the lofty ideals of the Sermon on the Mount but at the same time are helping and shielding gangsters? Fred Cook (a white man) put it quite aptly: "If World War I had undermined the fibre of western man and led to the depravity of Hitler, World War II had marked the virtual death of western morality. The fascist dictator began it and democracy, giving only lip service to the principles of Christianity, had aped the ways of the dictators."* Small wonder that so many of "the damned of the earth" describe the governments and the majority of the people of the paradoxical "free" world as devils!

How does the U.S. Government and its allies help South Africa? It is the U.S. Government and its allies who encourage their flourishing, and rapidly expanding trade with South Africa. It is the industrial aristocracies of the U.S. and Western Europe which are cramming investments into South Africa to reap one of the highest average annual net profits in the world.** This wealth is bringing affluence into South Africa so that these thugs can build one of the most cruel, efficient, police-state (to page 56)

56 political prisoners in south africa
apparatus ever known to mankind.

If you doubt the thoroughness of the police state (in its most perverse form) existing in South Africa, just read the following memorandum which has presented to the United Nations at this General Assembly Session (19th). If you doubt U.S. and other capitalist countries complicity with these "civilized" criminals in South Africa read the annotated bibliography on the South African Situation, and then read and study every work that you find on this compilation. If you are not then convinced of the hypocrisy of the "free" world then most likely you yourself are a hypocrite.

-the editors

* Cook, Fred. The Warfare State. New York: Macmillan Co., 1964, (Collier Books).

** A recent United Nations investigation revealed American Companies were reaping a fantastic 27% average annual profit in South Africa.

The World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners wishes to bring to the urgent attention of your Committee new details of the treatment of political prisoners and detainees in South Africa. The situation there, far from improving, has deteriorated and may deteriorate further, if positive action is not taken against the South African Government.

With the introduction of the 90-day Detention Law, in terms of the General Laws Amendment Act 1963, law itself was destroyed in South Africa. People have been taken into custody for successive terms of 90 days for questioning by members of the Security Police to obtain information from them about themselves or others in connection with alleged offences. However, many of the people so detained have been held on the whim of police officers, merely "to keep them out of the way", as stated by a police witness in the Rivonia trial.* Their conditions during this detention and the methods used to extract information are arbitrarily decided by members of the Security Police and those detained have no access to the Courts. In a judgment given on 14th August, 1964, when the wife of a detainee, Ivan Schermbrucker, applied to have her husband brought to Court to verify a message smuggled out regarding his treatment, Mr. Justice Snyman in dismissing the application stated that the interruption of the detention and that the Act specifically excluded access by the detainees to the Courts and transferred the power of protecting citizens-normally the province of the Courts-to the Minister of Justice, Commissioner of Police and his commissioned officers. (Star, Johannesburg 14.8.64)

A Magistrate visits detainees once a week, but these visits have afforded the detainees no protection whatever against physical and mental torture. All complaints are referred back to the Security Police who in some instances have used them as additional reasons for ill-treatment. The magistrates themselves are powerless to alleviate conditions.

With the operations of the Act, the Security Police have become the SS men and the Gestapo of South Africa. They are omnipotent and have their victims entirely at their mercy. The methods used by them to extract information have the ultimate aim of "breaking" the detainees. "It is not a very nice thing to see a human being broken. I have seen it.....The man taking these powers must take the responsibility for them," said Mr. D. J. Vorster, Minister of Justice, during the debate in Parliament on the 90-day detention clause. However, his police have been given the go-ahead for the hideous and brutal breaking of any person it pleases them to detain.

All 90-day detainees are kept in solitary confinement throughout their period of detention and despite the fact that the Geneva Convention lays down 30 days as the maximum for solitary confinement, at least 60 people have been detained for more than 90 days and 8 persons, including 3 women, for more than 180 days. One man, Alfred Nze, was detained for 247 days before being released unconditionally. Reading matter, other than the Bible, is denied them and they are kept in black painted cells with the light on all the time.

Immediately the law came into operation, the Security Police used physical torture in addition to the mental torture of these prolonged periods of solitary confinement and interrogation. Reports smuggled out and evidence by affidavits of former detainees alleged that African detainees were being subjected to electric shocks to make them "confess." They claimed that their heads were covered with sacks, while electrodes were attached to their fingers. As a result of this treatment Looksmart Ngudle committed suicide in his prison cell in September, 1963. After his death he was "banned" so that no statement made by him could be used publicly. In January, 1964 Sipho James Tyitya also hanged(sentence and paragraph continued on page 58)

58 political prisoners in south africa
himself in his cell to end the unendurable tortures to which he was subjected. Ebrahim Siynvala, a former 90-day detainee, was arrested for a traffic offence, but afraid that he was again being held under the 90-day Act, he escaped and was found drowned in a river. On September 9th, 1964 Suliman (Babla) Salojee threw himself to his death from the seventh floor of the Security Police Headquarters in Johannesburg. Brigadier H. J. van den Bergh, Chief of the Security Police, stated in connection with Mr. Salojee's death, "Yes, it is true, Salojee jumped." When asked whether it was true that the man was being interrogated when he jumped, Brigadier van den Bergh stated, "He must have been because he jumped from the C.I.D offices." (Rand Daily Mail, Johannesburg 10.9.64).

Many detainees have required psychiatric help after their release and at least 6 were so successfully "broken" that they were admitted to mental hospitals after their release. Mrs. Norma Kitson suffered severely from claustrophobia while in detention, feeling that the black-painted walls were closing in on her. Her screams and pleas had no results and she attempted to commit suicide by cutting her wrists. At this stage she was sent to a mental hospital and subsequently released from detention. Her husband is still in detention in his second 90-day period.

John Harris, champion of non-racial sport and Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, was brought to Court after seven weeks under 90-day detention, charged with the bomb incident at the Johannesburg Railway Station. He is being charged with murder and sabotage. His council said they were not arguing that he was not fit to plead, but that he was in no condition to concentrate on any evidence placed before the Court. In an affidavit he alleged that he suffered a broken jaw while in detention and from reports reaching London it is alleged that both Harris and Hugh Lewin, another 90-day detainee and former features editor of the newspaper Golden City Post, were both assaulted by members of the Special Branch.

Miss Stephanie Kemp, who has been detained under the 90-day law for more than two months, was required as a State witness, but declined to give evidence. A Security Branch officer told Mrs. Kemp that if her daughter agreed to become a State witness she would be released. Mrs. Kemp has raised the question as to whether the police are entitled to detain her daughter once interrogation has ceased, as the law permits detention only for the purpose of (turn to p59)

interrogation. Miss Kemp's attorney said he had received information that she had been assaulted by a policeman. Mr. Alan Brooks, who is also being detained, and who is a British subject, complained of a police assault on 2nd August. (Sunday Times, 20.9.64).

Recently a more subtle form of torture was introduced, known as the "statue" torture, the detainees are forced to stand in a small chalk square for periods which have ranged from 7 to 57 consecutive hours. Should they try to sit down they are jerked to their feet again and should they faint or lose consciousness they are revived and forced to stand again.

This "statue" torture was described in a letter smuggled out of jail by Ivan Schermbrucker and formed the basis of the application to Court later dismissed by Mr. Justice Snyman. He stated inter alia, "I stood for 28 hours without moving an inch from 12 p.m. yesterday till 4 p.m. this afternoon....Questioning under these conditions is the most terrible and cruel form of torture... I nearly committed suicide by jumping out of the window...But the main thing is that I don't think that anyone can stand on their feet for more than 36 continuous hours and NOT BREAK DOWN....." (Photostatic copy of letter attached).** His application is now on appeal.

Further details of the "statue" torture are contained in sworn affidavits by detainees Norman Levy, Paul Trewhela and Dr. Costa Gazides. The Magistrate refused the application to hand these affidavits to the Courts. To comply with the provisions of the Prisons Act, the Sunday Times approached the prison and police authorities about the allegations contained in the affidavits. Neither of the two authorities denied the correctness of the contents of the affidavits. Norman Levy stated, "I was shown a copy of the Sunday Times of July 26th which featured on its front page pictures and news of a bomb explosion at the Johannesburg Station on July 24th. I said I had nothing to do with the incident and as I was not prepared to answer any questions as these might prejudice my position in the event of a trial....."

"At 4 o'clock that afternoon the interrogating team of about 9 men split into pairs and interrogated me by throwing "facts" at me for stretches of 4 hours at a time. I remained standing all the time. When I confronted Detective-Sergeant----with the cruel nature of this method of interrogation (meaning the virtual torture of making the victim stand), he replied that the number of consecutive (sentence and paragraph continued on page 60)

60 political prisoners in south africa

hours during which a detainee may be questioned at one session had never been stipulated.

"The same procedure continued throughout the night. I advised each interrogating team that I had a cardiac complaint."

Despite the medical certificates submitted by his wife confirming his cardiac condition the interrogation continued for 42 consecutive hours.

In the affidavit of Paul Trewhala he said he was interrogated from 8 a.m. on 23rd July until 5 a.m. of 26th July. This was a period of 69 hours. During this time he was able to sit for about 12 hours and to snatch about 4 hours sleep at intervals.

Dr. Costa Gazides alleged in his affidavit that he was kept standing for 43 hours. During that time he was given 3 meals a day but nothing at night and he was allowed to drink from a water jar. (Sunday Times, 13.9.64)

In desperate efforts to end their detention many of the detainees have gone on hunger strike. Mrs. Ester Barsel fasted for 35 days despite the fact that she, too, suffers from a cardiac complaint and Mrs. Pixie Benjamin fasted for 48 days. Mrs. Benjamin's husband visited her with the intention of persuading her to stop her hunger strike. When he heard what she had to say and realized that was her only weapon he agreed that she was correct to continue with her hunger strike. The terrible isolation and silence of 90-day detention made it imperative for her to use this weapon for her own well-being, psychologically, although physically it was harming her. She weighed 90 lbs. when she appeared with Mrs. Barsel, Messrs Levy and Trewhala, Dr. Gazides and five others. Since then five others have been joined to the original ten, including Abram Fischer Q.C. and Ivan Schermbrucker.

It should be noted that the position at the moment is that detainees cannot bring evidence to Court of their ill-treatment while they are detainees and when they are charged the methods of obtaining "information" from them cannot be used as evidence in their defence.

A total of 3,355 people of all races have been detained in

(continued on page 61)

South Africa under various security laws during 1963, including 592 in the Transkei.***More than 800 people of all races are known to have been held in solitary confinement under the 90-day Act. Many of these are prominent members of the Liberal Party, a lawful Parliamentary party. 60 detainees have been held for more than 90 days and 8, including 3 women, for more than 180 days. (These last figures arise in a different context earlier in the memorandum). 400 have been charged in Court but more than 300 have been released without being charged. These people are therefore completely innocent of any offence, yet they have been subjected to intense mental and physical torture. 26 former detainees alleged that they had been kicked and beaten, 19 claim that they also suffered electric shock treatment in addition to being kicked and beaten. Many of these ill-treated have refused to give any details as they are in mortal fear that they will be detained again as a reprisal. More than 100 at the moment are being held under the no-trial Act.

Since March 1963 and August 1964 there have been 111 political trials in which 1,315 persons have been charged. Their fate is as follows:-

- 44 sentenced to death
- 12 sentenced to life imprisonment
- 994 sentenced to a total of 5,713 years imprisonment
- 1 sentenced to 6 lashes
- 340 acquitted.

These men and women in South Africa who have been tried and found guilty and are serving offences for political offences are treated differently from ordinary prisoners. They are automatically placed into the lowest of all categories-D Category- which, according to the report of the Commissioner of prisons ending 1962, is "for the type of prisoners with a previous record and/or convictions of serious crime of a daring or aggressive nature or convictions of rape, robbery or violence..." or of attempting to escape. The prisoner is kept in isolation for the first month and observed, to decide in which category he should be placed and to which of the 234 prisons in South Africa he should be sent. There are 5 Prison Boards who decide but for all political prisoners there is blanket treatment regardless whether their behaviour is good or not. The pattern has been that they are kept in D Category for the first year, in C Category for the second year and in B Category for the third year. From reports reaching us we now understand that prisoners(sentenced continued on page 62)

62 political prisoners in south africa

who have served up to 2 years are still not necessarily being recategorized. All political prisoners in Pretoria Central are kept in their cells for 23 out of 24 hours each day. At one stage they were allowed to work with other white prisoners, but this is no longer the case and they now sow mailbags in their cells. During the exercise period each prisoner exercises in isolation in his own particular area.

The vast majority of ordinary prisoners are placed in B Category after the period of observation is over, when all privileges are very much improved, but politicals, because they are categorized as D prisoners, can receive only one visit and one letter every 6 months, in some instances their clothing is inferior and they can receive nothing from outside with the exception of study books in certain cases. All privileges are at a bare minimum. Information from Robben Island indicates that political prisoners are in cells 7' X 5' and they are locked in there for 16 hours a day. The water they are given is inadequate for drinking and washing and they are allowed only one shower per week. Prison regulations provide for a daily shower but even these regulations are disregarded, and prisoners are not all acquainted with their rights and are not always shown the regulations when they ask for them.

Affidavits have already been sent to your organization in connection with the brutal and degrading assaults to which some Robben Island prisoners have been subjected. However copies of three affidavits are attached**** and the following incident included in one of the affidavits is mentioned here to highlight the horrors that have taken place. This was an affidavit sworn before Mrs. Helen Suzman M.P. "...Minor assaults took place often, so we did not take much notice when a warder started to hit one of the prisoners, but then we saw he was being buried in a hole up to his neck. He called for water, but as usual not enough water had been brought. One of our span, whom the warders feared because they were so tough they would rather die than fail to resist manhandling, walked across to give him water, but before he got there Piet (the warder) began to urinate into the man's mouth". Subsequently three warders were dismissed from the prison service and eleven were transferred from Robben Island. A new Governor was appointed and, according to one of the prisoners, there was slight improvement in conditions.

The operation of "breaking" people is being extended from detainees to serving prisoners, Mr. Vorster must indeed take the (sentence and paragraph continued on page 63--)

----- political prisoners in south africa -----63-----
responsibility for them all.

World opinion has been stirred on the question of political prisoners in South Africa. In spite of the vote of the United Nations (when only South Africa voted against the resolution) calling for the abandonment of political trials and the release of political prisoners and in spite of all the pressures, the South African Government has not only completely disregarded world opinion, but in many ways she has increased her activities against her political opponents. The plight of political detainees and prisoners deserves the immediate and urgent attention of your organization. We call on you to use whatever pressure is possible and to take whatever action is necessary in order to ensure that the South African Government stops its killings and maltreatment of political prisoners and detainees.

* The Rivonia "trial" took place in May and June of 1964. Virtually all the leaders, who were not already in prison, of Black Africans in South Africa, the Indian and Jewish Communities were on trial for "attempting to overthrow the South African Government and instituting a Communist State." Actually it was an attempt to destroy as many of the top leaders of the militant anti-apartheid movement within South Africa as possible. Eight of the nine accused were found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment. The other defendant, Rusty Bernstein, was acquitted but he was immediately re-arrested to face new charges under South Africa's Suppression of Communism (!!!!!) Act.

** This letter was attached to the copy given to the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid.

*** The Transkei is the so-called "self-governing" territory for Xhosa speaking Africans in South Africa. Actually almost all the levers of power within this colony are controlled by South African Whites.

****These affidavits were attached to the copy given to United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid.

-the editors---

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON
THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION
-for those who are going to
solve it-

Apartheid in South Africa: Summary of the Report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. New York: United Nations Office of Public Information. (Document A15497) This a definitive, pervasive report by the U.N. Committee which was chaired by the present Secretary General of the Organization of African States, Diallo Telli.

Bunting, Brian. The Rise of the South African Reich. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1964. A provocative, thorough comparative study of Hitler's Germany to Verwoerd's South Africa.

Fasulo, G. "The Powers Behind Apartheid." Africa, Latin America, Asia, Revolution, Vol. 1, Nos. 4-5 (Aug-Sept. 1963), 175-94. Probably the best analysis of who has power in South Africa, and how this power is being used in economic relations in that country.

Feit, Edward. South Africa, The Dynamics of the African National Congress. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. Good information into the organizational quality of one of the leading African movements against apartheid in South Africa.

Halpern, Jack. "Enclaves of Trouble in South Africa." The Nation, Vol. 197 (July 27, 1963), 49-52. A righteous analysis of contemporary relations between Republic of South Africa, and the "British" High-Commissioned Territories of Swaziland, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland.

Harmel, Michael. "High Drama in Pretoria." Labour Monthly, Vol XLVI No. 6 (June, 1964) 277-81. An expose of the egregious machinations of the Verwoerd Regime in the Rivonia "trial."

La Guma, Alex. And A Threefold Cord. Berlin: Seven Seas Publisher, 1964. A new novel about apartheid. It is a flesh and blood drama set in a black ghetto on the fringe of a South African town where hate and love, and the despair of poverty throb in unison with a passionate determination for release from apartheid which strangles all hope. Please read this in conjunction with M. Jackson's DELICATE CHILD which appears on page 73 in this issue of SOULBOOK.

 Legum, Colin. "The West at Bay." The Nation, Vol. 197 (Aug. 10, 1963), 70-73. An ominent Africanist-journalist describes NATO powers' hypocrisy vis-a-vis South African racism.

Legassick, Martin. "The South African Police Agents of Fascist Repression." Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution. Vol 1, No. 10 (February, 1964), 106-15. A commentary on the South African police apparatus.

McKay, Vernon. "The Impact of World Opinion on South Africa," (Chapter 5 of McKay's Book, Africa in World Politics). New York: Harper & Row. 1963. An excellent and virtually unique work in this area.

Marquard, Leo. The Peoples and Policies of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1962. A general survey of South Africa and its problems.

Matshikaza, Todd T. "Protest Through Music in South Africa." Africa, Asia, Latin America Revolution. Vol. 1 No. 8 (December, 1963), 126-36. The one and only essay on how Africans in South Africa culturally express their hatred for racial oppression in this sad country where white people are uncivilized.

Molnar, Thomas. "The Transkei: International Decolonization." World View. Vol. 7 No. 6 (June, 1964) 7-11. This is an interesting view of the first "self-governing" Bantustan in South Africa.

Mphahlele, Ezekiel. Down Second Avenue. Berlin: Seven Seas Publisher. The autobiography of a Black South African. It is one that makes Black men proud and gives white men trepidations. But as Bobby Blue Bland says "Take it like ya' find it, or leave it like it tis'."

Rivo, Richard. African Songs. Berlin: Seven Seas Publishers, 1963. Short stories by a South African coloured writer. The scene is Capetown, South Africa, but the same stories have been relived in Harlem, U. S. A. many times.

Neame, L. E. The History of Apartheid: The Story of the Colour War in South Africa. New York: London House and Maxwell. 1963. A good history of racism in South Africa, the bastion of western depravity.

Ngubane, Jordan K. An African Explains Apartheid. New York: Frederick Praeger, 1963. This book is a better than average index to western educated Black African's attitude toward the South African race problem. His proposed solutions are ludicrous. He is a liberal, and decidedly anti-PanAfricanist!!!!!!

"Partners in Apartheid: United States Policy on South Africa." Africa Today, Vol. XI, No. 3 (March, 1964) This is the best survey that has been done on U.S. government's and U.S. investor's complicity with the South African thug-racist regime. It exposes the U.S. State Department's chronic lies about U.S. innocence vis-a-vis Apartheid.

Reeves, Ambrose. Shooting at Sharpeville; The agony of South Africa. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company. 1961. It is a first-class account of what really happened at Sharpeville, South Africa in 1961.

Tlale, P. "The Apartheid Economy Today." The African Communist, No. 18(July, September, 1964), 48-59. This article is superb account of how whites get rich off Black labor in South Africa, and at the same time the poverty of the African population increases.

by kenn m. freeman

"NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES, NOT ONLY ECONOMIC DOMINATION, BUT ALSO ALL KINDS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY MEANS TO MAINTAIN OR RESTORE DOMINATION AFTER THE GRANTING OF FORMAL SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE TO A FORMER COLONY. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES THE IMPOSITION OF PARTITION OR TWISTED CONSTITUTIONS TO MAINTAIN REACTIONARY COLLABORATORS WITH IMPERIALISM IN POWER AFTER THE RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES THE MAINTENANCE OF IMPERIALIST MILITARY BASES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. NEO-COLONIALISM INCLUDES ENTANGLEMENT IN IMPERIALIST MILITARY ALLIANCES LIKE CENTO OR SEATO, OR EVEN DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION TO RESTORE AN OVERTHROWN HATED DICTATOR, AS BY FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN GABON, OR TO DESTROY AN ELECTED PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY AND MAJORITY PREMIER AND ESTABLISH MERCENARY MILITARY GANGSTER RULE, AS IN THE CONGO, OR AS PRACTISED WHOLESALE BY UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND EASTERN ASIA, AND BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST." Dutt, Palme. "Who Said Neo-Colonialism?", Labour Monthly, Vol. XLVI No. 6 (June, 1964) p.242.

Freyre, Gilberto. The Masters and Slaves, A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization. d. freeman67

This book is in four sections: the general characteristics of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil; the native in the formation of the Brazilian family; the Portuguese colonizer; the Afro-Brazilian in the sexual family life of the Brazilian.

The Masters and Slaves is beautifully written in an almost "semi-poetic" style, with flowing and often very colorful sentences. Freyre shows himself to be a true artist and The Masters and Slaves a true masterpiece.

This book looks at Brazilian civilization as it developed through its three major ethnic groups, The Brazilian Indian (the natural inhabitant of the land), the African (brought to Brazil as a slave) and the Portuguese colonizer.

Freyre shows the effect of each group on the other, and their entire effect on contemporary Brazilian culture: the Indian woman giving herself to the Portuguese sailor, whom she thought was a god; the Portuguese clergy forcing Christian values on the Indians, the consequences often meaning death; the African, brought to replace the diminishing Indian in the Fields. Freyre notes the tremendous impact that the African had on Brazilian culture. The African, coming from a culture superior to that of the Indian and often to that of the Portuguese, was relegated to a subservient position.

Much of this book is spent destroying myths. For instance the provarication that it was the African who destroyed the morals of the Portuguese. He shows how it was the Portuguese who were the bearers of venereal diseases; he shows the Indian bathing six or seven times a day while the Portuguese often never bathed.

Freyre often gives the psychological as well as the historical causes. He is even at times philosophical, and it is at these moments that he becomes particularly inspiring.

Throughout Freyre's book, the author makes constant reference to the importance of the sexual union between races. According to Freyre, the Portuguese was indeed quite a promiscuous person. One of the reasons he gives for this seems quite factitious. He says that the Portuguese, lacking manpower consciously used his (paragraph continued on the next page)

68-d.-freeman

AS -----
sexual promiscuity as a colonizing device. It is true that a byproduct of his promiscuity the "branco" did find future allies among the "mamelucos," but it would seem to me that the author placed too much importance on the sexual union of the Indians, Portuguese and Africans in their development of contemporary Brazilian culture. The Masters and Slaves, in my opinion, might be better subtitled "A study in the Development of the Brazilian Civilization through the Sexual Promiscuity of its Races."

-reviewed by donald freeman-

Oliver, and Fage, R. and J. D. A Short History of Africa. Baltimore: Penguin African Library, 1962.

Doctors Oliver and Fage, the Editors of The Journal of African History, decided to take a vacation from that more esoteric type of writing in order to enter the ranks of the composers that are more interested in diffusion than scholarship. These authors recent creation, A Short History of Africa, is a work obviously done with the latter purpose.

A Short History of Africa is done with a minimum of scholarly documentation and a maximum of subjective interpretation. This impression is supported by the fact that the authors depend, throughout the publication on phrases to preface most of their interpretations such as: "it is possible that.....," "it would seem that."

One of the more propitious characteristics of the book is that the chronological scope of it is all-encompassing. It includes all the various epochs of African history up to and including the present national revolution. Since this is done any reader who was previously ignorant of African history is well aware of Africa's diversity, the fact that the continent passed through myriad stages of development and practically all of its heritage is non-european and worthy of the utmost respect. Of course this negates the European stereotype of Africa as being a group of societies that has always been in a state of "monolithic primitiveness."

Unfortunately the authors seem to have a penchant to assume that "caucasoid" Africans were the creators of the African cultural tradition. Thus the authors assume that the Egyptians and Kushites were "proto-hamites" (meaning for one thing they were not "negroes") who brought their cultural and political institutions to the "Negroes" of subsaharan Africa. The real facts of the matter are that by present Western standards of race and that is the standard used by Fage and Oliver-both Egyptians at the time of the creation of the great Nile civilization, and the people of subsaharan Africa would probably be called Niggers in London, England, Jackson, Mississippi or San Francisco, Calif.

When the authors write of colonialism they imply that the main reasons for establishing the colonies were non-economic. Here is an example of this tactic: "The colonial powers had partitioned Africa as an insurance for the future, not because they had any present plans for its exploitation." Of course they never explain what kind of insurance sentence certain

for the future that was. I suggest the latter point, by these eminent journalists-Africanists, is merely an escape hatch from analyzing conclusively what were the real reasons Europeans decided in the late 19th century to conquer and politically rule Africa.

Given the fact that practically all of Africa was conquered by trading companies, backed by their respective governments, one wonders why they were not principally motivated to conquer for the purpose of creating and protecting more trade and investment opportunities. Trading companies are primarily interested in trade.

Of course statements like the above (The colonial powers had partitioned Africa as an insurance for the future..."etc.)-and they are quite numerous in the book-are designed to suggest that the concepts of imperialism and neo-colonialism are irrelevant to understanding African relations with respect to western Europe and the U.S. But the disparagement of these concepts becomes ludicrous when one picks up the newspaper and reads about the struggle for the control of Congolese copper, cobalt and uranium mines, the sight of an American racist-supported puppet Congolese government encouraging fascist South African mercenaries to murder Congolese citizens, and uncle tom Tshombe concerning himself with the welfare of a few white missionaries while the Congolese masses are forced to starve because they must pay for Tshombe's army of murderers, and at the same time the Congolese people are able to buy only the absurdly high-cost U.S. "food-for-peace"!

The authors' chronic use of the word "negro" to describe Black Africans indicates further their European prejudices and insensitivity towards the African. Any historian of Africa should know that this word is glutted with derogatory connotations and that Africans react to it as such. For as President Kwame Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana recently said to the Editorial Board of the Encyclopedia Africana:

"I hope that in(...) Encyclopedia Africana the term "Negro", whatever meaning or connotation has been given to it, will not find a place, except perhaps in a specific article proving its opprobrious origin and redundancy. I would like that people of African descent and Africans in general should be described as black men, or Africans.* I personally would like to be referred to as a black man, African or Ghanaian and not referred to as a "Negro". (The Spark, September 25, 1964, p. 2)*emphasis added by author

In summary it can be said that I left this book with ambivalent feelings and a candid hope that the authors henceforward concentrate only on their positions as editors of the English-orientated Journal of African History.

by kenn m. freeman

Subscribe to



A Weekly Magazine of Chinese News and Views
General Distributors:

GUOZI SHUDIAN

China Publications Centre

P. O. Box 399, Peking, China

....with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle.

Mao Tsetung

delicate child

by

marvin e. jackmon

Life meant jammin'. And jammin'? That meant everything. It meant fuckin' every and any girl you could--fuckin' so much, so long and so hard that it made you sick, but you still wanted more. It meant drinking wine: drinking wine until you was damn near dead; drinking 'til yo head was so bad and yo gut so full that when you walked, or tried to walk, everything around you looked like it was comin' toward, over, and under you; you drank so much that when you got up the next mornin' yo breath was funky, yo clothes was funky, and everything looked and smelled funky too. It meant blowin' weed. Sometimes it'd take you on a trip; sometimes it didn't; but you'd smoke the hell out of it, anyway. Life was jazz, and jazz was life: you listened to jazz so long, it took you so far out and so deep down that you damn near went crazy. The sex, the drums, and the piano played your song, your sadness, your joy, your hate, your love, your pain, your fear; over and over; day after day, you listened to the music that was you and you only; the music that told your story, that cried your cry, that preached your sermon, that was the soul of your soul, and you kept on jammin'.

Life was the crap game: seven and eleven, two numbers that was more holy to you than all the angels yo mama told you was in heaven; seven and eleven-- you got on yo knees, you prayed, "Lord, Lord, have mercy on ma soul"; and you let the dice roll, "C'mon little joe," you cried--the dice hit; you pick up the change; new point is eight--"Shoot a half, baby? Fuck it, borrow it a quarter then;" you shake the dice, pray like a motherfucker, sweat runnin' down yo face, you straighten yo shirt, give the dice another shake: "C'mon, baby, don't git ta jiven' now, treat me right one mo' time!"; you let them roll: six, then nine, four, then ten--"Where you at eight? Don't be late; c'mon, baby git straight!"--six again, then five, eleven, five one mo time, you crap--six-ace saves the borrow, so you git up an' jam: anyway, Mama sent ya after a pound of ground beef and a can of tomato sauce. Life meant stealin': stealin' ta eat, to git some rags, ta git where you wanted to go, ta keep from working, stealin' just for the hell of it. And you kept on jammin'.

Life meant fightin'. Fightin' everybody: yo brother, yo mother, yo friends--and the man. You fought the man with murder in yo heart--thank God it wasn't in yo hands; you fought everywhere you went; not because you had to, but 'cause you felt like, and you felt like it 'cause you was mad, and you was mad 'cause you was drunk, and why you was drunk, you didn't know; after the dance you fought: wit yo fists and feet and razors and rods, you fought: some nites them motherfuckers beat the shit out of you and some nites you put the hurt on them--but you kept on jammin'.

And then you blew yo cools. Yo fuckin' crap shootin', wine drinkin', pot smokin', jazz playin', gang fightin, and stealin' ceased: you got busted. The punk-ass cop smiled the first time you was there, smiled and told you you'd be back. You cracked up and told that motherfucker to fuck his self--but you came back. You damn near shitted when that judge gave yo black ass ninety days. You didn't crack up then. You sat in that cell like a goddam fool: day after day, you sat on yo bunk readin' last year's magazine, readin' 'bout what the no-good president said 'bout some country you'd never heard of; you throw the magazine down and stepped to the window; the sky was the same, the same way you'd left it--an hour ago? a few minutes ago? a day ago? last week? when in the hell was it? Shit, you don't know; all you know is that the sky looks the same goddam way. You come from the window and you go to yo cell door; you grab it, but it won't give; you snatch it, but won't give; you beat on it like a goddam fool, but it won't give; discouraged, you fall on the floor cryin; crying like you will the day yo mama dies; you crawl to yo bunk, pull yoself up, sit wit yo head between yo hands; the punk-ass tears fall from yo blood-shot eyes and run down yo black scary face--you think: why, why is you trapped in yo goddam cell; like a goddam animal: eatin' and sleepin' and pissin' when Charlie lets you; why is you there? Did the scheme have you? The scheme that beat you, that starved you, that raped you, that exploited you, that cursed you, that will kill you....Was it the scheme? Them chicken-shit days, funky nites, them shitty hours that passed like motherfuckin' centuries, them four goddam pale-ass walls that stared at you, that checked out every fuckin' move you made--gave you time to git yoself together, to figure out some trickology for the scheme. Now you gotta git out. So you pray. You pray like you never prayed before; you pray like you knew J.C. was comin' down the next mornin' to open yo cell door; you pray 'cause it ain't a goddam thing else you can do; you swear to God you won't come

76 jackmon

back, "Just git me out, Lord, just git me out; I won't mess up no
mo, Lord, I swear I won't mess up no mo"; and you believe He hears
you--you've got ta believe it, you make yoself believe it.....



**S
O
U
L
B
O
O
K**

SOULBOOK 2



jazz
economics
poetry
anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

p.o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. (racist u.s.a.)

editorial board : donald freeman, issac moore, ernest
allen jr., carroll holmes, kenn m. freeman, bobb hamilton.

new york representative : bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new
york, new york .

distribution manager : bobby seale

volume I

number 2

cable address : EMIR

spring, 1965

annual subscription by ordinary mail; \$2.25 inside u.s.a.,
outside u.s.a. \$3.50 . annual subscription by airmail;
u.s.a. \$4.50, outside u.s.a. \$7.50 . there are four issues
in an annual subscription. one copy costs: \$0.65

Copyright, 1965, by the Afroamerican Research Institution,
p.o. box 1097, berkeley, calif. 94701. all rights reserved.
all correspondence concerning manuscripts and business
matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p.o. box 1097,
berkeley, calif. 94701, or SOULBOOK, 350 bowery, new york 3,
new york. non-fiction manuscripts should conform to the
University of Chicago Manual of Style.

Written permission to reprint whole articles from SOULBOOK must be obtained in written form from the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK.

Permission to quote in part is freely granted provided that authorship credit be given to author of article quoted from and that in addition the following insert will be carried:

Reprinted by permission from
SOULBOOK
p.o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. 94701 (racist u.s.a.)

The cover was drawn especially for SOULBOOK 2 by Donald Freeman, and all printing was done by Bobby Seale.

Only the articles by Bobb Hamilton and Kenn M. Freeman necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK.

ERRATA

1. page 88: 'agressive' should be aggressive; and 'agression' should be aggression; line 14 & line line 18 respectively.
2. page 93: 'usgestion' should be suggestion -- on line 5
3. page 97: line 3 should read; "....Lumumba never subscribed.."
4. page 102: 'complet' should be complete -- on line 6
5. page 103: line 20 'Bustin E.' should appear after 'Page 18'
6. page 112: line 38; should read; "...Stackolee would be horrified.
7. page 125: line 8; 'go na' should read gonna
8. page 129: line 8; 'cill' should be chill
9. page 137: lines: 21 & 24: 'Niagera' should be Niagara on former 'publi' should be publicity on the latter line

1. el hajji malik shabazz: leader, prophet, martyr. ...by bobb hamilton..... page 81
2. did the united nations benefit congo(1)?...by kenn m. freeman page 87
3. american savagery and the future.....by elizabeth anne rhodes page 105
4. "the toilet": is it a masterpiece, or is it trash? a debate between langston hughes and bobb hamilton..... page 111
5. to all the freedom loving peoples of the world:.....
.....by charles simmons..... page 117
6. reject notes..poetry by rolland snellings, w. best, t.r. horne, marvin e. jackmon, bobb hamilton, carol freeman, ernie allen, ronald stone, wm. patterson, sherley a. williams..... page 121
7. letter to draft board 100, wayne county, detroit, michigan...
by general g. baker, jr..... page 133
8. w. e. b. dubois: black militant or negro leader?..... by..
ted vincent..... page 135
9. apartheid is doomed! by the editors of SOULBOOK and
the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS..... page 143
- 10.the negro image in western art....by bobb hamilton.....
..... page 146

EL HAJJI MALIK SHABAZZ: LEADER, PROPHET, MARTYR.

by bobb hamilton

"If I die in Atlanta, look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for with God's grace, I shall come and bring with me the countless millions of blacks slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for liberty, freedom and life."

So wrote Garvey from a federal prison cell in Atlanta, Georgia--they didn't kill him; they smeared his name, his cause, his people, us! "Tray, I will not kill thee," said the "good" Quaker, "but I will give thee a bad name!" And then they exiled his husk. They were more sure of the immortality of their power. Had not Garvey himself said, "No law but Strength; No Justice but Power"? He was right, and white folks knew it because they had the power; there was no need to kill a black revolutionary then, for whites would rule as long as the sun rolled from East to West. But then one day the sun cast its life-giving light on a boy-child whose mother named him Malcolm, Malcolm Little whose deeds would one day belie his surname, who would cast off the surname as a proud prophet, a mountain of a man, who would loom large and black, who would become our greatest and, as it is in the nature of things, outshine his "father!" They had cast out Garvey, lest his people should see his example and emulate him to the detriment of White America! They had failed in their purpose--and besides, most of Africa and most of Asia had thrown off the shackles. Garvey had come back with his millions of black souls; prison would not work this time--they had to make an example of Malcolm, and so they murdered him, as surely as they murdered Lumumba in Africa, as surely as they murder our brothers in Viet Nam.

Black hands pulled the triggers as they did with Lumumba, but they were greasy with white American money. Malcolm had asked the white

82 hamilton

power structure, which willed his death, for "police protection"; there were at least a half a dozen cops "incognito" present when he was assassinated. Were they there to protect or to make sure that the deed was done well -- of course it was the latter! His house was fire bombed first, and they said it was the work of "Black Muslims" who threw the bombs from a moving automobile--into the kitchen and into the living room? Did they also throw a bottle of poison ONTO THE bureau of his childrens' room? And are we expected to believe that they (the "Muslims") also left two or three cards on the SIDEWALK in FRONT OF THE HOUSE ? "The people from Muhammad's group did it," screamed that scabrous bar-room bitch, the white press, in chorus, on cue! Maybe so, probably so, possibly so, but who paid them off! If the "Black Muslims" did it, why has Elijah NOT BEEN QUESTIONED , not subpoenaed? Was there a deal with the power structure when he became more than the spokesman of a "ridiculous" sect?

"I will not kiss your fucking flag.....there is some shit I will not eat." So said e.e. cummings in "I sing of Olaf."

Washington (cracker Johnson included) breathed a sigh of relief when Malcolm's life was blown out. He had broken out of the unrealistic three states nonsense; he had gone to Africa and garnered the support of our black brothers there; he had become an orthodox Muslim--they could no longer call him a cultist but he had done a much more dangerous thing! He had shown US black males HOW to be MEN! And America cannot tolerate men, not even WHITE MEN . Afro-American males live only as long as they are content with not being men. Only as long as they pray and sing hymns while their women are abused, beaten, and raped, their children brain washed, spat upon on the way to a decent school, shocked with cattle prods by crackers!

Malcolm X showed us that we did have to "prove" ourselves worthy of the title, "Humanity," that it was better to be unpopular (with two balls) than to be loved with none. This is not the time for delicacy--if there are readers here who are still weighed down with white sensibilities, white standards of niceness, let them turn the page, for I am writing, naught for your comfort.

"The Negro baby born in America today--regardless of the section or State in which he is born--has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 per year, life expectancy which is seven years less, and the

prospects of earning only half as much."

"Here we have in a capsule a prescription for permanent dependency and an indictment of our society. At a time when the world condemns the crime of genocide, how can we tolerate the destruction of an entire race by means less swift, perhaps, but in the long run as effective as those used by the Nazis?

Now Malcolm X didn't say this. These are statements by J. F. Kennedy--of course he was courting the black vote; nevertheless, they are true-- and Deputy Commissioner Sokol, see the December, 1963 issue of the "Welfarer," put out by the New York City Department of Welfare!

Malcolm showed us that the white man in America was engaged in a state of total warfare against black people.

Even in death whitey tried to make Malcolm on with nothingness! They juggled the figures of the number of people who marched past his bier. 22,000 they say. The count was 60,920 before his funeral! And the funeral, I was there. I was in line at 7:00 o'clock that bleak bonecracking cold morning of February 27th; cops all around, mostly black, "guarded" the church; I stood in line--a line that went clear around the block--and we waited thirty minutes past the funeral time. They tried to freeze us out, until they let us in. In spite of statements by the New York Times, America's secular bible, there were not 600, but a full 1000 in the church auditorium. They would not let the 500 capacity basement be filled, on the grounds of security! There he lay, our fallen fortress, encased in glass and dull bronze, just below the choir loft, the choir loft full of white and carbon copy photographers, whispering and burning out flash bulbs. White folks in brogans and work clothes stringing wires and floodlights up and down the aisles, and then a soul brother went up to the pulpit and said, "There were some agreements made with the press and the communications people about this funeral; all television camera-men and photographers were supposed to be here, in the choir section; there were to be no wires and cameras down in the congregation--now get these wires and floodlights out of the aisles--right now. You seem to have forgotten or misunderstood our agreement. Get that equipment out of the aisles right now, and come up here where you belong!" And I shouted out loud, "Right!" And when an ofay reached across me to get his camera pouch, I said, "get that stuff out of here; respect our church like you would a service at St. Patrick's or a synagogue!" Like a church or a synagogue; the place was swarming with black lackey cops--male and female--if this had been a

funeral in a white house of worship, the Irish or Jewish fuzz would made sure that no circus atmosphere would have intruded into the place. White folks set the standards, but they are for us. They acted like pigs at Malcolm's funeral and pigs they were! The whorish press did not mention this. They were too eager to bury Malcolm! To bury our martyr beneath the offal of white newsprint and black ink! The rest you know. Ossie Davis' magnificent eulogy, Ruby Dee's readings, the speech by the Muslim Student. Need I tell you about the heart-piercing wails of Betty Shabazz as they closed the coffin? Need I tell you about my bitter and profuse tears, my breathlessness, my running nose? Need I describe my pride--even in the sorrowful circumstances--of my pride at being a black man? Outside there were at least another 5000 black folks watching "them" shove a shell into a hearse and speed away at 70 miles per hour. They think they buried Malcolm; they buried a husk. He lives, He breathes! He walks and talks twenty-five million strong! Look for us in the whirlwind!!

"The murder of Malcolm X, led to a tide of fury everywhere, and the demonstrations in Selma, Alabama have won the admiration of the entire world. In my August 17th speech two years ago, I said without the slightest hesitation: 'the negroes in America are now in a process of revolution.' As in the case of all revolutions, their revolution too will be victorious in the end." President Sukarno of Indonesia, Black Flag, No. 6, (April 29, 1965), pp. 7-8 .

FOR MALCOLM

Ageless time and mother earth
 Endless cotton and despair
 False promise
 Punctured tambourine
 Truth-eloquence
 Hibernating ghetto come alive

Truth
 Blood
 Death
 Divide and

But the undeniable message had been given

In the pallid house-cave
 amid deserted and decaying ruins

an idict babbles

incoherently, toying incessantly
 with tiger cutouts on bandung floors
 Liar-Beast-Jingoist
 filthywhoresondecadentmf

Suddenly

Under a cover of dawn

faint throbs of stirring life

yes

Slowrising waves of enveloping black fire
 encased in hollowed shells of scarred human lives
 become one

Yes

Saberteeth crack and fall in the
 intense heat of black whirlwinds,
 and life's new hope is revealed to me

Yes!

Hear the mighty pulse of the drum!
 Universal heartbeat of black soul-
 vibrant with angry black palms
 angry with vibrant black palms
 Of wood and dried sheepskin and scarred
 as if in witness of previous battle

but

86 allen

A message-the same message

A Message of Truth
and of Blood and

A Message:

Awaken, Sleeping Warriors!

Arise, My Brothers, Arise!

Let us, with the flaming torches of Revolutionary Justice,
heed the call

of the drum

of Chaka

of Vesey

of Prosser

of Turner

of Garvey

of Lumumba

of Malcolm

of Blackness!

by ernie allen

DID THE UNITED NATIONS BENEFIT THE CONGO?

SOME IMPORTANT MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THE RESULTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CONGO (L)

Colin Legum admits that the U.N. made many serious mistakes in the Congo, but he goes on to say with apparent candor:

"If there is neither chaos nor anarchy today, it is solely due to the UN operations. If the Belgians are now able to return in large numbers it is because of the security provided by the UN forces. If the Congo has, so far, avoided being swept into the arena of an armed conflict between rival foreign powers it is owing to the UN presence. These successes overshadow all its weaknesses and failures."

Although this statement (or because of) was written well before the return of Tshombe and the departure of the UN troops from the Congo, it is fraught with untruths and gross exaggerations. On the other hand it is a very important position because it is the view of the most intelligent liberal milieu in the western European and American circles of African studies. The credentials of Colin Legum as an Africanist are very impressive. His book, Pan-Africanism, is the best English language work on that subject. His other books, if not as good, certainly approach the best in the field of African Studies from a western viewpoint. But! The farcical nature of the contentions that he maintains in his defense of the UN operation mirrors how backward western thought is in interpreting African realities--particularly when it regards African relations with things the west considers sacrosanct.

In the first place, since he wrote the above statement in 1961, how could he state conclusively that the UN operation in the Congo was a success when it was not even finished? It is obvious Mr. Legum, with all his fine latitudinarian credentials, is begging the question. It is only now, when the UN operation in the Congo is over, that one can assess whether the successes of the UN "peace-keeping" operation in the Congo(L) "overshadow all its weaknesses and failures."

Now it is obvious that the UN operation in the Congo did not eliminate chaos and anarchy from Congo (L). Even before the UN operation left the

Congo, Kwilu province was in open rebellion and it was not long before the rebellion had extended to virtually half of the Congo. Thus the UN not only did not stop the anarchy and chaos in the Congo, but as we shall see later in this paper it encouraged disorder and disrespect for authority.

Legum feels that the UN saved the Congo from being "swept into the arena of an armed conflict between rival foreign powers." It is true that there has been no mass confrontation in the Congo a la Korea. But how would any objective person classify Thombe's declaration of an "open season" policy on Congolese mothers and children and his giving an exclusive hunting license to decadent Cuban exiles, mammon-mad Congolese quislings, and the arch-enemies of all Black people: South African fascists? This sort of action and the murderous hypocritical onslaught on Stanleyville is the reality of the armed conflict between aggressive foreign powers and innocent Congolese people.

Because of the U.S.-Belgium chronic intervention in the Congo(L), their nationals are no more safe in the Congo than at the time of the 1959 anti-Belgian riots that swept the Congo. The Stanleyville aggression and the inhuman record of White mercenaries in Congo(L) have revived the hatred for Whites in the Congo. Right after the Stanleyville episode a Dutch employee from Stanleyville was quoted as saying: "Something has happened in the Congo in the last few months. It more than a political struggle; the natives are different. They seem to hate all whites. I left because my life was in danger. The Congo will never be the same again."2. M. Lejeune, a French Correspondent in Leopoldville, stated the causes of this situation with more lucidity: "Massacred by the American and Belgian military, the insurgents threatened to revenge themselves on American and Belgian civilians."3. In the way just indicated it is ironic that those who condemn the Congolese for hating whites have precipitated this very phenomenon(There is much evidence which suggests that they wanted it this way so that the "free" world would have an excuse to intervene in the Congo).

But the main point here is that despite all the elaborate precautions by the UN military operation to protect lives in the Congo, Belgians (and all other people) are still not safe in the Congo. It must be added that with the hired South African killers attempting (with the Congolese government's approval and encouragement*) to put an end to the very existence of the Congolese people there is easily a hundred times the danger of murder of Blacks in Congo(L) than a similar fate for whites in the same area!!!!

THE CONGO AGGRESSION: A THREAT TO ALL OF AFRICA

The presence of South African and other white racist mercenaries in Congo(L) is extremely ominous in another sense. There can be no doubt that this South African penetration represents one of the spectres of a counter-offensive by Verwoerd and his aparta-hate gang against all of Africa. The African National Congress expressed this precisely in a recent issue of its weekly publication, SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA:

"The presence of South African mercenaries in the Congo.....as well as other economic and political manoeuvres by Verwoerd are part of a grand imperialist plan to dig the military trenches and fortifications of the Verwoerd regime far beyond the borders of South Africa." 4.

It is quite clear that the white mercenaries are working very closely with the South African Government. Just recently it was reported that "colonel" Mike Hoare, leader of the mercenaries in the Congo, flew to Pretoria, South Africa for top-level conferences with the leaders of the South African Government.⁵

One thing we assess from this is that it is as plain as the nose on our Afroamerican faces that the attempted imperialist rape of the Congo(L) is the pivotal point of the African Revolution. For if the plundering of Congo(L) succeeds, South Africa, in order to make its fascism secure and supreme on the African Continent, will attempt to destroy or weaken all of Independent Africa. The United States will be (and is) more than happy to assist in recarving up Africa in order to supplement its chronic "banana republic"* diet with Africa's copper-coated, alumina-filled, diamond-studded, cobalt-cased pills. Then we must realize that there are also many other guests with insatiable desires that will be at South Africa's proposed political consumption of Africa. We must be alarmed at France's craving for Gabonese wealth and Algerian oil along with Bonn's lust for any deal to get a hold of South African uranium; not to mention London's cupidity to hold on at any cost to their lucrative trade and investments in South Africa. All of these omnivorous nations are proven enemies of Africa, and willing allies of South African Hitlerism. Who can deny it? Certainly NATO's open complicity with white supremacist Africa in Congo(L) proscribes the possibility of Washington passing these facts off to the world as mere Marxist jargon!

But the other side of the African Revolutionary coin illustrates that the filthy imperialists have not won the fight in Congo(L); on the contrary, their diabolical actions in the Congo have thoroughly exposed their true purposes, and because of this the African forces that have been progressive for a long time have won much of the continent over to

the militant anti-imperialist camp. At the same time, the Congolese people have learned valuable lessons in their fight against the forces antagonistic to their interests, and are now fighting more successfully against the foreign military pressure in the Congo(L).⁶.

But the struggle will be difficult and bloody, and (as this paper will indicate) the U.N. Congo operation had much to do with the present intensity of the difficulties that beset the ravaged Congo.

"No matter how events shape out, even if they are unfavourable for us, it will be useful for Africa, which is now watching us and closely following what is happening here -- it will be a university of struggle for it.." Patrice Lumumba, Fighter For Africa's Freedom. (Moscow), page 79--quote is by Lumumba--



Patrice Lumumba's last photograph with his three children
—François, Patrice and Juliana—before they were sent to
Cairo

LUMUMBA'S OBJECTIVES AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UN IN CONGO(L) CONFLICT:
THE SEEDS OF THE CONGO DISASTER ARE SOWN.

After all the stench-filled smoke sent up by the Western press has been cleared, it is obvious to even the naive that the U.N. Congo Operation was framed from the beginning, as seen in the following context expressed by President Kwame Nkrumah:

"First, the Security Council, in particular, and to some extent also the General Assembly has allowed itself to become mesmerized by the problem of the cold war. Every solution to the Congo problem was therefore worked out in terms of cold war politics....." 7.

And it was Ralph Bunche who exposed to the world how crassly paternalistic he was toward his own race, and also made it clear how this cold war perspective was to be carried out when he told the U.N. civil staff in the Congo that: "You are here in the Congo to pacify the Congo and then to administer it." 8.

Is this what Prime Minister Lumumba wanted the U.N. to do in the Congo? Absolutely not. When Lumumba asked the U.N. to enter the Congo he wanted: (1) to force the withdrawal of Belgian military personnel from the Congo, (2) maintain Congolese territorial integrity and the establishment of the Central Government's authority throughout the country, (3) to protect lives and property in the Congo and, (4) the restoration of the status quo BEFORE THE BELGIAN AGGRESSION against the Congo (L) Republic. 9.&10.

The fact of Belgian aggression is extremely important because it is the key to Lumumba's understanding of the Congo's problems and also his fatal differences with the UN. Here is how the late Patrice Lumumba expressed it:

"One fact must be understood: but for the flagrant intervention of Belgian troops we could have gradually normalized the situation.

The following fact still remains true: peace and security in the Congo can be restored only when the last Belgian soldier is withdrawn." 11.

From the outset it must be realized that Lumumba correctly saw the problem as a war between the Congo(L) and a foreign aggressor-state, which had established its military regime in Katanga Province. By all the standards of universally-accepted International Law, Belgium had committed aggression against Congo(L), and all available evidence showed that it was the military backbone of the Katangese secession movement. 12.

But the U.N. Security Council and Hammerskoljd had other interpretations and "solutions" for the Congolese crisis. In its Resolution of July 14, 1960 the Security Council did not name Belgium as the aggressor; it merely "called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo." 13.

This variation from the Congolese Government's point of view was significant, but it was Hammerskoljd who interpreted the July 14th Resolution in such a way that both Lumumba's position and that of the U.N. Security Council became so irreconcilable that Lumumba's government and the U.N. Congo Operation were put on a collision course; the Secretary-General, displaying the usual western european attitudes of pro-NATOism and anti-Blackism, reasoned that the nature of the Katangese secession did not stem from Belgian aggression or the presence of Belgian troops in any part of the Congo, nor from "a wish of the authorities of the province to secede from the Republic of the Congo. THE QUESTION IS A CONSTITUTIONAL ONE WITH STRONG UNDER CURRENTS OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE POLITICAL AIMS."¹⁴.

So here we see Hammerskoljd not only exonerating white Belgium for the blame of the upheaval in Congo(L),¹⁵ & ¹⁶. but he goes on to blatantly ignore the tomes of facts that showed that the motives behind the Katangese leaders definitely had 'a wish to secede from the Republic of the Congo; and then he interferes in a most contemptuous manner in Congolese internal affairs by questioning the VALIDITY of the Congolese FUNDAMENTAL LAW and the AUTHORITY of the Congolese National Government. One can only wonder what would have happened if Hammerskoljd had ever questioned the validity of the U.S. Constitution, and the authority of the U.S. Federal Government--it would have been surprising if he would not have lost his cushy U. N. job.

But Hammerskoljd was not about to lose his job because he interfered in Congolese politics; on the contrary, all the available evidence points to the view that he held his job and was revered by the west BECAUSE his actions and views were consistent with western interests--primarily U.S. interests--and antithetical to enlightened African interests, specifically the interests of the Congo (Lumumba's) Government.

UNITED STATES CONTROL OF THE UN CONGO MISSION: HOW IT WAS DONE

In fact, Hammerskoljd had organized the UN secretariat so that it was controlled completely by U.S. personnel. This was done in such a way that Macchiavelli probably turned over in his grave with envy. To make the important decisions vis-a-vis the Congo, Hammerskoljd not only passed over the General Assembly selected Congo Advisory Committee, but also special care was taken to ensure that all correspondence received by the United Nations Secretariat from the Congo was kept out of the hands of the General Assembly, Security Council, and Mr. Arkadev, the undersecretary from the Soviet Union.

To pull this off Hammerskoljd broke every rule in the proverbial book; he knew that the General Assembly and the Security Council needed this information from the Congo in order to make correct and timely decisions, but he confided in those that most maliciously subverted the

authority of the U.N. legislative bodies.¹⁷ For example, when Lumumba was illegally deposed by Mobutu and Kasavubu, Hammerskoljd's "Congo Club" recommended that the UN recognize the "government" of Joseph Ileo. However, the head of the UN Congo Mission, Rajeshwar Dayal, balked at this dictatorial suggestion and instead took steps to protect the Congolese Parliament--which was the repository of legal authority in Congo(L). As if Dayal crucified Jesus Christ, the U.S. press let loose a tirade against him that would make any independent observer think that McCarthyite tactics --by McCarthyites--had been brought to the Congo: They called Dayal a "pro-Communist and an advocate of an "Indian Policy" in the Congo. Not unexpectedly, Dayal soon resigned from his post, and predictably it was not long before the Kasavubu delegation (Ileo's political pals) was recognized by the U.N. General Assembly.¹⁸

Who were these U.S. officials who posed as international civil servants and who called themselves the "Congo Club"? They were:

Andrew Cordier, who is now the head of Columbia University's School of International Affairs. Apparently Cordier made no bones about his allegiance to Washington in any important situation, because O'Brien in his classic, To Katanga And Back, says: "A man like Andrew Cordier, so far from 'not giving a damn what Washington said', was an expert at judging the force and probably duration of gusts from the Potomac, and therein precisely lay his main value to the organization."¹⁹ It is undeniable that this type of person from every country is necessary in the UN insofar as the UN, being an international organization, needs to assay very carefully the positions of the various national capitals of the world (This is particularly important with capitals such as Washington, Moscow and whether Washington likes it or not, Peking). But should a person the likes of Cordier be put into a position such as a member of the "Congo Club"? The negative answer was obvious to the aware Afro-Asians, the Socialist Camp, and to Lumumba.

If there were any doubts about Cordier's commitment to an anti-Congolese policy they were completely expunged when he used UN troops to close down Radio Leopoldville so Lumumba could not speak to the Congolese Nation. It really does not have to be mentioned that he (Cordier) did not close down Tshombe's Elizabethville radio nor stop Kasavubu from using the Brazzaville Radio. At the time, this was of decisive importance in contributing to Lumumba's political downfall (and the temporary collapse of the effectiveness of the Congolese anti-imperialist movement) because Cordier saw to it that Lumumba could not mobilize people (who were--and still are-- passionately pro-Lumumbist; in fact he has been the only Congolese leader who could appeal and obtain the allegiance of Black Congolese regardless of their tribal background.²⁰) in behalf of their chosen government. In fact, Cordier's action was so destructive that

O'Brien states : "Had it not been for Mr. Cordier's vigorous action, there is little doubt that the support Lumumba could have rallied at this crucial moment would have been most formidable."21.

Some people have asked that if the UN was so detrimental to the Congo, then why didn't Lumumba attempt to get more help from sources other than the UN. He did try. But again, it was Cordier who, being forever faithful to his racist Washington masters, closed all the Congo Airports to non-UN traffic, thus rendering it impossible for Lumumba to obtain outside aid for the Congo.22.

The next member of the group was the previously-mentioned nigger of niggers, Ralph Bunche; he started playing "d'fink" quite early in the game, for he was reported to have been in the Congo at the time of the independence celebrations and apparently was quite alarmed because he notified Hammerskoljd in Geneva that "trouble" was around the corner in the Congo and that the Western powers should be informed so that they could take the initiative (meaning so they could commit aggression).23.

Bunche was also very instrumental in eliminating one of the best opportunities to eradicate a major source of disorder in Congo(L), but first I want to give some background into this problem; one of Lumumba's main problems was the mutinous Congolese Army which was more interested in pay checks than in protecting their own country. So it was obvious to all informed persons that at the time the Congolese National Army needed to be disarmed and retrained. But when the Ghanaian UN contingent attempted to disarm the "Force Publique," Bunche stopped them from doing so.24.

So it is a sorry commentary on the "responsible" American Negro "leadership" that one of its most prestigious members played a decisive role in frustrating the heroic Black Leadership in the richest land of Afroamerica's ancestors. As a result of Bunche's asininity the creation of a strong disciplined Congolese Army, which was one of the best tools for the elimination of chaos and anarchy in Congo(L), was not attempted until it was too late; and it was too late when Lumumba was killed, because he was (and has been) the only principal--up until now--who could fashion the very necessary mechanism of a strong Congolese National Party.

Not only did Bunche contribute to Lumumba's political (and also physical?) demise, but he supported those who were the Congolese minions of unscrupulous foreign powers (birds of a feather really do flock together!). It was Bunche who ordered the December, 1962 ceasefire that enabled Tshombe's shattered troops to reorganize. And many believe he was responsible for Tshombe's success in upsetting the December, 1961 Congo Unity Conference that was held at Kitona.

Heinz Weischoff was the last thug-member of the "Congo Club" who had control over Congo Policy of the UN. He was the "international" civil

servant who was responsible for keeping relevant information out of the reach of his superior, the Russian Undersecretary Arkadev, who actually had more right of access to the information than any of the members of the so-called "Congo Club."²⁶

Apparently Wierschoff was not only politically ultra-conservative, but was an out-and-out racist. He and his friends were accused by Afro-Asians as chronically referring to all Afro-Asians as "Mau-Mau."²⁷ In the frame of reference of an American Goldwaterite this could only have negative connotations.

It must be added that when the Afro-Asian and Socialist press started to effectively criticize the American monopoly of Congo Policy, Hammerskoljd quickly included 3 neutrals (from countries all friendly to the U.S.) and an Englishman in the "Congo Club." But they were never included into more than the integument of this group of machiavellian clowns.

Through this clique, the U.S. controlled the UN Congo "mission" policy until the death of Hammerskoljd. Upon Hammerskoljd's death, the U.S. had to often use different octopus-like methods to achieve their greedy aims, but subsequent events proved that on a short-range basis they have been just as successful as when they had their number one lackey Dog Hammerskoljd in charge.

SUMMARY OF POINTS MADE SO FAR

"Humbling, too, was the realization that the United Nations, in which we had all put our facile school boy hopes, was nothing more or less than another manipulable factor in the cold war, at the moment in the hands of the almighty dollar."Armah, Aryee-quaye, "Lumumba Still Speaks," Drum (Ghana Edition), February, 1965 *.

I have already demonstrated, by refuting Legum's thesis, that the UN failed in the Congo much more than it succeeded. I have also shown that the U.S. not only gained complete control of the UN policy in the Congo, but also that U.S. Government's agents masquerading as U.N. officials saw to it that U.S. interests were paramount at all important turns of events in Congo(L). I have also argued that the Security Council's Resolutions vis-a-vis the Congo compromised severely the position of the Congo(L) Government; and Hammerskoljd twisted the resolutions in such a way that the UN position on the Congo crisis and the position held by Lumumba's government became absolutely irreconcilable. But Hammerskoljd did not stop there; he actually condemned the legality of the authority of the Congolese Central Government, thus guaranteeing him the necessary legal fiction to back those policies and people which his masters in the White House so desired. One can argue that I cannot know Hammerskoljd's motives in intervening in the internal and constitutional affairs of Congo(L). This is true, but in spite of that, he DID back pro-US policies and

people at decisive times--and it was precisely his denial of the authority of the Congolese National Government that gave him the legal precedent and sanction to usurp the legitimate leaders of the Congo and support Congolese traitors. That is why I stated that when the conflicting interpretations by Lumumba and Hammerskoljd of the Security Council's resolutions came into existence, the seeds of disaster for Congo(L) were sown; specifically this meant that it was the beginning of the actual U.S. aggression against the Congo with the complete support of the UN policy makers and most of the executors. Now we shall go on and see how the "Onusians"*** supported the 'negro stooges' in the Congo.

U. N. SUPPORT OF CONGOLESE TRAITORS

In the manner explained above, the United Nations was catering to the interests of the west--led by the United States; moreover it was establishing Congolese sycophants of the U.S. into control of the Congo(L) Government.

I have already mentioned how Ralph Bunche helped Tshombe's separatist cause. But there is much more to this story than that.

The U.N. civil operation in the Congo, despite all the platitudes which have been raised about how much it eliminated disease, etc. in Congo(L), it contributed substantially to the inflicting of the very emasculating disease of subjugation of the Congolese people to traitors who have eagerly handed their people over to U.S. dollarism. This is how it happened :

After Congo(L) had achieved independence, Lumumba's Government was bankrupt because the Bank of Belgium had run off with the Congo's gold and currency reserves so as to paralyze this government's monetary policy in favor of the Belgians. But after the U.N. civil staff entered Congo(L) they, for some unexplained reason, never saw fit while Lumumba was in power to eliminate this blatant foreign intervention in the Congo's monetary policy.*

However when the 'persona grata' of the U.S., Mobutu staged his successful U.S. inspired coup d'etat^{28&29} the U.S. "just happened" to start co-operating with Mobutu's appointed head of the Congolese Monetary Council, M. Ndele. Although the treasury was empty when Ndele took over, the UN promptly filled it with 250 million brand new Belgian Francs.³⁰

But this was not all; according to the London Times³¹ the UN civil staff saw to it that Ndele was also made the head of the then newly formed Congolese National Bank. So under the pretext that it was instituting "monetary reform" in Congo(L), the United Nations financed the overthrow of the legitimate Congolese Government and the usurpation and maintenance of political power by the Congolese stooges of the CIA.

Some people have said that Lumumba was not extended financial aid by the UN because he was antagonistic and hostile to aspects of the UN operation in Congo(L). But to set the record straight, Lumumba subscribed to an anti-United Nations position. Lumumba made his position quite clear on this subject: "The Government and the people of the Congo continue to trust the U.N. and its Security Council. What we have condemned, and that can be proved, is only the method by which the UN Secretary-General sought to implement the Security Council's resolutions. He acted as though there were no Government of the Republic."³².

Be that as it may, If I do accept, for argument's sake, the supposition that Lumumba was hostile to aspects of the UN Congo operation, it must be mentioned that it was Mobutu who attacked the UN forces at Matadi, Congo³³. It is also instructive to note that when Hammerskoljd wrote to Kasavubu requesting that Lumumba be given all the rights and immunities of a legally-elected representative of parliament and the Red Cross be granted permission to examine Lumumba, Mobutu exposed his own colonial mentality by replying to Hammerskoljd with this ludicrous rebuttal: "Why does not the United Nations send an investigation commission to Hungary?"³⁴.

So now we see that in spite of the fact that both had talked and worked in opposition to the UN at various times Lumumba was politically destroyed with the help of the UN, and Mobutu was virtually installed in power by the UN.

Why the difference? I suggest that the only possible reasons were: that the U.S. State Department via the UN's American-controlled "Congo Club" had decided to freeze out Lumumba and raise 'strong man' Mobutu. In addition it must be remembered that it was the US who not only controlled the purse strings of the UN Congo Operation (actually the word should be surgery--that opened wounds-- instead of an operation), but "whitey," the international slavemaster, was also the underwriter of most of the UN budget³⁵. Consequently any checks to finance any UN Congo activity had to have the White House's OK plainly inscribed on it before it could be cashed in; and what is certain is that the U.S. had a cupidity to fill Mobutu's baggy pockets with gold, and the only thing they wanted to fill Lumumba with was bullets--and that is exactly what they did.

Now we will return to Legum's thesis and ask ourselves: What did the UN's civil

"It should be well known by now that Americans have no great love for Black men, and they love a militant Black man even less. And whatever else Lumumba was, He certainly was a militant Black man." Armah, Drum, (Ghana Edition)

staff's financial support of Mobutu's cabal do to eliminate chaos and anarchy in the Congo, help make it safe for lives and property in the Congo, and aid in avoiding an armed conflict between rival foreign powers in Congo(L)?

To back Mobutu was to bet on a lame, useless horse; he no more has the ability to organize a puppet army than he has the desire or ability to lead an army for a sovereign, independent Congo(L). Even his fans call him a "dilatatory commander-in-chief" who spends more time in Brussels, Belgium than in Leopoldville.³⁶ Even when in Leopoldville he wastes most of his time in the "Binza" district, the European quarter of the city.

Can a man of such inferior caliber eliminate the chaos and anarchy that has existed in Congo(L) since independence? The answer to this question is implicit in the fact that since the Congolese "army" (led by Mobutu) was being beaten so badly by the Congolese Freedom Fighters Tshombe called in the white fascist-thug mercenaries to lead the butchery of his own people.³⁷

Therefore we see that by the UN fully backing Mobutu they actually jarred the door wide open for an upsurge of foreign aggression in the Congo; and foreign aggression has always been the root cause of the chaos, anarchy, insecurity of lives and property in Congo(L).³⁸ At various times in this paper I have substantiated these charges against Belgium, the US, and South Africa; and it will not be long before I finish my case against the UN.

In all probability, one of the most hypocritical political moves of the 20th century has to be the UN's "integration" of the Katanga 'state' into the Congolese National Government, and the "overthrow" of Moïse Tshombe and his gang of imbecilic cutthroats.

Apparently AFTER the assassination of Patrice Lumumba the primary objective of the UN in Congo(L) became keeping a not-too-strong, pro-western government in power in Leopoldville, and at the same time restoring Afro-Asian confidence in the UN which had been severely shaken by Lumumba's death and the up-to-then UN fiasco of attempting to end the Katangese secession. So at a crippled snail's pace the UN started to move against Tshombe's stronghold.

The 'deal' was apparently closed when Union Minière, the erstwhile unchallenged monopoly in the Congo, saw that U.S. financial interests were going to be sure that profits would be divided by U.S. stooges in Leopoldville instead of by Belgium's uncle toms in Elizabethville, Katanga. So Belgium's slave-magnets decided to refuse to back Tshombe's Katanga State anymore. In this fashion the Congo reunification put together by the U.N. meant in its truest sense, "a rally around the stars and stripes"!

So in January, 1963, Tshombe gracefully bowed out of his secessionist role and, ostensibly, lost political power. Yet when the Katangese secession was crushed, the UN could have easily brought Tshombe and his rat-pack, led by Godefroid Munongo, to trial. In fact, this had been prescribed by paragraph 4 of the Security Council's resolution of February 21, 1961 and also by the findings of the Investigative Committee of the International Commission of Jurists (under the authority of the UN) which

clearly implicates Tshombe, Munongo and Kibwe in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues.³⁹ Nevertheless, U Thant, following in the muddy footsteps of the late Secretary-General Hammerskoljd, went along with the sympathies of the west--particularly the Ivey League "liberals" of Washington. This both White, and White-oriented junto side-stepped and blocked all attempts to bury "Bank-drawer"⁴⁰. Tshombe and his stooge-friends.

Why were they so interested in saving Tshombe and his gang of political racketeers? Dean, "clean-head" Rusk 'let the rat out of the bag' at the time of the U. N.'s takeover of Katanga, when he told the U.S. senate Foreign Relations Committee that it was decided to save Tshombe for a major role in the Congolese Government.⁴¹ Apparently the U. S. was--and still is--convinced that Moise Tshombe was the 'boy' who would be sure to deliver the wealth of the Congo to the altar of U.S. racist democracy---they were and still are demonstrably correct. What else is there to say? The events in the past 8 months in Congo(L) make Rusk look like a prophet in the most diabolical sense. The same events expose the United Nations Operation in Congo(L) and the activities of the U. N. Secretariat vis-à-vis Congo(L) as nothing less than accomplices in the conspiracy which was called "peace-keeping", but in the final analysis has precipitated the death of thousands of Black Congolese mothers, children and Freedom-fighters, and opened the door of the Congo to U. S. racist paternalism, greed, and filthy decadence.

SUMMARY

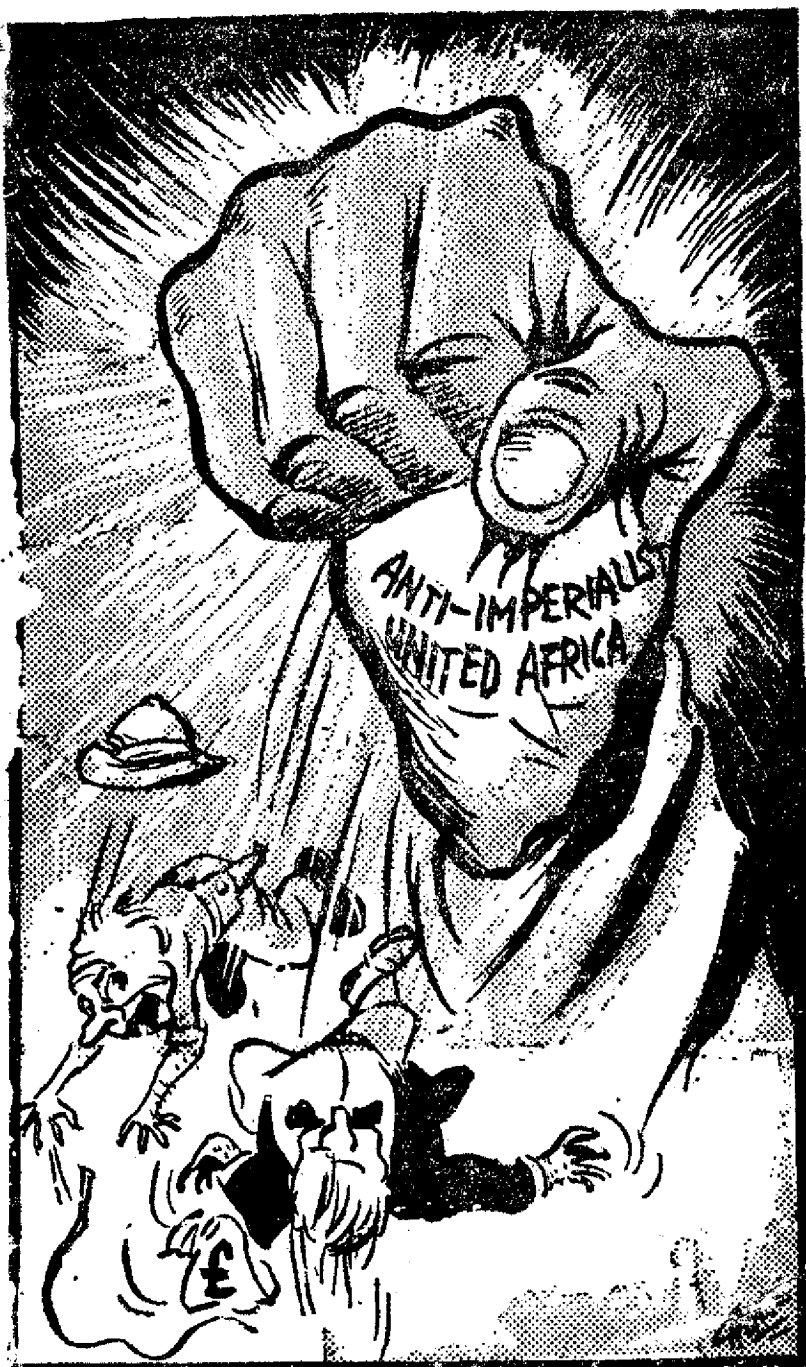
"To deceive the people is the same as trying to wrap fire in paper....
.....an African Proverb

I started out saying in this paper that I would indicate that the United Nations Congo Operation had much to do with the present intensity of the difficulties that beset the ravaged Congo(L). I must say I have overshot my objective; I have proven that the United Nations was the main vehicle for the continual anarchy and imperialist blood-sucking of the people and riches of the land which many of my ancestors most assuredly walked with pride, dignity and independence....My dead Brothers we shall walk in like manner again, again, again, again.....

So I am convinced that my Brothers and Sisters in the Congo will not in the final analysis be deceived by the likes of Tshombe, Cordier, Carl Rowan or Ralph Bunche. They will be strengthened by the memory of Lumumba, Malcolm X and the support of all Black Peoples of the world; and they will win their guerrilla war against the dirty white imperialists. Then, and only then in Harlem, U.S.A. and Leopoldville, Congo, as Frantz Fanon says:"The time for dancing in the streets has come."

"As so many of us were shocked and outraged at the reports of Dr. Ralph Bunche's apologies for the demonstrators (at the United Nations) we were also curious as to his mandate from our people to do so. In face of it, and apparently, on as much authority, I hasten publicly to apologize to Mme. Pauline Lumumba and the Congolese People for our Dr. Bunche." The late Lorraine Hansberry, New York Times, (March 26, 1961).

"What we had not known before, but came to realize with increasing force as the Congo crisis unfolded, was that in the isolation of the un-African, and at the time, increasingly anti-African context, we were living in, each of us was rapidly being pushed to consider himself a piece of Africa, carrying within himself a sort of African integrity." Ammah, Drum (Ghana edition), Feb., 1965.



reprinted from
The Spark (Ghana)

UNITY PUNCH:

FOOTNOTES

PART ONE: Some important misconceptions about the results of the U. N. operation in Congo(L)

1. Legum, Colin, Congo Disaster, Page 11
2. "Brussels Pressing Plans to Withdraw," New York Times, 11-27-64 page 1
(an unsigned news story)
3. Lejeune, M. , I. F. Stone's Weekly, 12-7-64 (translated from Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris, France)
- * page 88; not only does Tshombe have white supremacists from southern Africa, Cuba and the U. S. working for him, but his personal security guard is lead by Captain Faulques, a torture specialist, who's previous assignment was to apply his trade on Algerian Muslims for the French army. Small wonder Ben Bella is one of the leaders in the struggle to destroy Tshombe!

PART TWO : The Congo aggression: A threat to all of Africa

4. Editorial (unsigned), Spotlight On South Africa , January 15, 1965, page 2.
5. Sunday Express, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1/24/65
- * This term refers to the U.S. controlled central American States which are known for their export of large U.S.- owned crops of bananas; page 89
6. See the New York Times, 12-20-64

PART THREE : Lumumba's objectives and the objectives of the UN in Congo(L) conflict: the seeds of the Congo disaster are sown.

7. Nkrumah, Kwame. "Address to the United Nations" Freedomways, Spring, 1961, page 51.
8. See the New York Times, 7-31-60
- 9&10. Hoffman, Stanley, "Congo Labyrinth" International Organization, (Spring, 1962) pp. 334 & 335; Oithata, Kgang, "The Congo: The Legal Aspect," African Communist, p. 63.
11. Patrice Lumumba, Fighter For Africa's Freedom, Moscow: translated from the French by the Publishers, page 41
12. Bustin, Edouard. "The Congo" ; Five African States, page 118; (New York, 1963).
13. Resolution adopted by the Security Council on July 14, 1960, S/4387.
14. Hoffman, page 336, from UN Document S/4417 (emphasis was added by the author(K.M. Freeman)
15. & 16. This put them in gross opposition to the Congolese Prime Minister, and thus guaranteed friction with the only entity which gave legality to the UN presence in Congo(L). In fact Hoffman says that it is doubtful if there was any legal basis for the UN operation; he at least is sure that the legal basis was not made clear. (Hoffman, page 333) But he asks the most revealing question when he says: "If the restoration of law and order required a smaller degree of UN dependence on the consent of the host state (once consent to the

creation of the force had been received), would it not require a revision of other principles as well-- such as the defensive nature of the operation and its commitment to nonintervention? page 334.

Dithata in his article in African Communist deals with the same questions with more confinement to the legal aspect and more follow through in order to obtain answers, and he does come with the most complete answer: that Lumumba's government's invitation to the UN to enter the Congo was the only legal basis for UN presence in Congo(L), and that it had no authority to do anything in the Congo without Lumumba's Government's consent--that is according to contemporary international law. Dithata, Kgang, "Congo: The Legal Aspect" African Communist, (July, Sept. 1964)pp. 60-70.

PART FOUR: U.S. control of the Congo Mission: How it was done

17. Lagos Study Circle, "What is Happening in the Congo", Part 1 Reprinted in the Spark, (Accra, Ghana 1964), page 7.
18. Ibid., page 6.
19. O'Brien, Conor Cruise. To Katanga and Back, (New York, 1962) page 56. (all quotations from this book were given permission to publish in SOULBOOK 2 by the publisher of O'Brien's book, Simon and Schuster.
20. Bustin, page 105.
21. O'Brien, Conor, To Katanga and Back, page 93.
22. Ibid., page 96
23. Harpers, 11/60
24. Goshal, Kumar. "Ishombe Losing Fight for A Separate Katanga," National Guardian, 1/17/63, page 2.
25. Ibid.,
26. O'Brien, page 57
27. Ibid., page 56

PART FOUR: Summary of points so far

* All quotes taken from this article were granted permission to reprint in SOULBOOK 2 by Cameron Duodoo, the Editor of Drum (Ghana Edition)

PART FIVE: U. N. Support of Congolese Traitors

28. Tully, Andrew. CIA, The Inside Story, (New York, 1962), page 180.
29. Wolfe, Alvin. W., "The Economics of the Jungle", Liberation, (January, 1962), page 10.
30. Nkrumah, page 53.
31. London Times, February 25, 1961
32. Patrice Lumumba: Fighter for Africa's Freedom, page 61
33. Nkrumah, page 46
34. "Torture of Lumumba Brings Bitter Protest," The Militant, (an unsigned news article) page 1 12/12/60
35. O'Brien, page 56.
36. "Can the Congo Go It Alone?" The Reporter by Claire Sterling, 6/18/64, pp. 28&30
37. Apparently Ishombe feels that because the white racists are motivated to kill all Blacks

that struggle for freedom they could have more success fighting for an anti-popular struggle in the Congo; at any rate he can be sure that they have something to fight for, kill all Blacks who could possibly be sympathetic to the Congolese liberation struggle -- including little babies -- and that they will not defect to the Congolese Freedom Fighters like so many of Tshombe's best troops have done.

* page 98; The charges of aggression.

38. Most western scholars have attempted to say that tribalism is the root cause of the chaos in Congo(L). However it should be recognized that no one has ever bothered to define tribalism; and there is no valid study of the social and political significance of 'tribal' divisions.

In the case of Congo(L), ethnic divisions are certainly tempered by the facts that there are 3 lingua francas in the country (Kiswahili, Lingala, and Kikongo), and every Congolese can at least understand one of them.

Also one of the more objective Africanists on the western scene states another relevant point about Congolese 'tribalism': "It is worth remembering, however, that many of the present tensions have more recent causes...The belief that too many of the well paid jobs offered by the Union Miniere and other Companies operating in Katanga somehow seemed to be occupied by immigrants from Kasai (most of them Baluba) has been partly responsible for the xenophobic ring in 1959 Conakat...platform a fact which led in turn to the momentous rapprochement between one of the Katangese Baluba and those who had migrated from Kasai." page 18.

So we see that often when there is inter (or intra)- 'tribal' friction in Congo(L) western European influence (and interference) is at the root of the trouble. (the chaos)

39. "Nkrumah Rips UN U Thant Side Steps" Muhammad Speaks, 2/4/63, page 10

40. This was Lumumba's appropriate nickname of this freakish "house-nigger."

41. Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 12, 1963

* Page 96; Onusian is the English derivative of the French noun 'Onusien'. Both words have become part of the common vocabulary of U. N. people.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For an excellent bibliography on Congo(L) check out the Bibliography to Bustin's article: "The Congo," which is found in Five African States : Responses to Diversity, Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1963

Another excellent bibliography on Congo(L) is: Catherin Hoskyns, "Sources for a Study of the Congo Since Independence," p. 373, The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Sept, 1963).

In the back of O'Brien's To Katanga and Back, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962) there are all the UN resolutions on the Congo up to and including the resolution passed by the Security Council on November 24, 1961. There are also some other useful UN Documents in his appendix. For more thorough study of the UN involvement in the Congo it is best to use: Hovet, Chamberlin, Wall and Brimmer. A Guide to the Use of United Nations Documents, (Including Reference to the Specialized Agencies and Special U.N. Bodies) New York: Oceana Publications, 1962. Also the book published by Progress Publishers in Moscow on Lumumba is an excellent source of Lumumba's attitude towards the UN and the UN's relations with Lumumba. See footnote number 11 for complete title of this book.

AMERICAN SAVAGERY AND THE FUTURE

After I'd finished reading the editorial entitled, "Congo Savagery and the Future," in the Los Angeles Times on Wednesday Nov. 25, 1964, I realized if I ever was to experience peace of mind again, I would have to answer in rebuttal, so completely did the article raise my ire. Although what I have to say will never be published in the L. A. Times, it will afford me the gratification of knowing some of your staff will read it, and you will know that Afro-Americans also THINK!

Pillaging, murder, rape, theft, etc. are all crimes abhorred by society, and the guilty of such should be apprehended and brought to justice as quickly as possible. It's always regrettable when innocent people are victimized, regardless of race, creed or color. Whether the people who are killed recently in the Congo were guilty or innocent is something that no one here can affirm or deny. However, if they were there in the best interest of the Congolese people, then their fate is sad one indeed. And I, for one, am certainly not devoid of compassion for those who have lost their lives when fighting for a cause.

But there is another side to this story that will be revealed only by a non-white. For hundreds of years the white man has infiltrated the African Continent for the sole purpose of exploitation. In one hand he carried a pick, shovel, and lynching rope -- in the other a bible. The latter was under the guise of missionary, teacher, and general do-gooder. This was to divert the African while he was robbed, cheated, enslaved, and his birth right stolen from under his very nose in his own country. During the process he was supposed to concentrate on how to save his immortal soul and go to heaven, but how in the hell was he expected to exist on earth when he was being exploited out of his very eyeballs?

The African has awakened! The Congolese made it plain several years ago that whites were no longer welcome in their country. Like all dark races the world over, They'd had it! Yet, the whites ignored the warning to stay out! Spurred on by their fierce greed for the vast wealth in the Congo, their omnivorous egos, and the myth of white supremacy, they just knew nothing could happen to them!



In your editorial you speak of what the West considers civilized attitudes and behaviors. It would be interesting to know just what is meant by such a statement, as well as: Quote -- "The day still seems far off when humanitarianism will be valued in the Congo as it is in the civilized world." End of quote. What civilized world? Where is this civilized world of which you speak? You couldn't possibly mean North America! But if you do -- here's news for you!

To begin with, ALL persons on this continent are aliens, in effect, except the Indian. Or didn't you know? According to YOUR history books, the European, or Pilgrim landed here in search of freedom of worship and a new way of

life. But not so with the African; these people were captured, imported from the Motherland, brought in and sold at public auctions in the slave market like so much cattle. Only savages could have performed such inhuman acts upon other human beings, and savages they were! -- White Ones!

You say the African "savage" comes from the bush country. Well, I'll tell you where he comes from in this country!! : from the southern backwoods and hills, the small towns and cities, and from every conceivable place in the confines of your land of the free and home of the Brave! Mississippi is the American Congo in reverse. She has to her credit more lynchings, burnings, and atrocities in general heaped upon the heads of defenseless Afro-Americans than any other known place, even though every state in the Union does its share of dirt to black folk either openly or discreetly.

The brutal, bestial slaying of little Emmett Till, a minor, during the mid-fifties in the state of Mississippi, shocked and enraged the vast Black world. The dark American witnessed the same grief-stricken pangs as a similar fate befell Mack Parker, Medgar Evers, and an American educator who when enroute to his home, was brutally murdered for no other reason than the Black color of his skin. The wounds were no less grievous back in '63 when four little girls were slaughtered in Alabama on a Sunday A.M. in a church -- of all places -- trying to worship God. Then again, the hearts of black folk dripped blood this past summer when a black youth was felled by a bullet from the gun of a race-hating policeman.

Time and space could never permit anyone to tell of the innumerable

and unaccounted-for murders and atrocities that have been inflicted upon black folk the world over for hundreds of years by heathen whites. And what has your white law ever done about any of these crimes? ----- Exactly nothing! Would you mind telling me if this is the 'civilized' world of which you speak? If so, the entire universe is in one sorry mess! And you call this humanitarianism? Just how ridiculous can you get?

In your feeling of self-righteous indignation for the Congo massacre, the statement has been publicized that "the rebels will be tracked down very quickly and brought to justice." My! -- oh my! How can all of this be done so quickly in a foreign country, and the law hasn't been able to bring to justice the killers of three civil rights workers that took place back in June, 1964 in Philadelphia, Mississippi? Medgar Evers was murdered almost two years ago, and his killing has yet to be vindicated. But of course it would be sheer nonsense to expect any consideration to be shown to your so-called pressure groups (Whatever that means, and whoever they are). It would be enlightening, though, to know exactly how such pressure will be brought to bear in the Congo; will blood hounds be flown from old Miss, or will Uncle Tom Tshombe supply them? It will be bloodhounds I'm sure, since they seem to have the keenest scent for black folk. But don't you think it would be advisable to clean up your own dirty linen here at home first before trotting off to track down freedom-loving people in their own country? For your fate could easily become the same as the people you are so determined to vindicate.

As for the Congolese who are reported to have been slain with the whites, in all probability they had been thoroughly brain-washed by the white oppressors, so their slayers felt they were traitors and the country would be better off without them. How you can be so up in arms about this incident and completely ignore what the Africans suffer at the hands of the white intruders is beyond all non-whites. Conditions in South Africa for the African are deplorable to say the least, and the Portuguese have massacred and held a reign of terror over the people of Angola for decades. By the way, what about all the Black Congolese that are being murdered by South African racists and Cuban traitors who both use American guns and American planes? But never a word about any of this appears in any white paper nor are these facts heard about on the radio or seen on the television; however the information does reach this country -- through the media of the Black press!

Don't you realize that because of this the whole non-white world is one seething, boiling volcano of hatred that can erupt at anytime? You are hated for your superficial air of superiority, arrogance, and of your condescension and all-around perfidy towards other human beings. You can murder, lie, steal, and commit every heinous crime under the white sun, and get away with it -- you think! Why bother to keep hiding behind the 'dirty' skirt of Communism? This excuse is so worn out it smells to high heaven -- and the stench is sickening! The instant anybody (cont.)

108 rhodes
 attempts to de-
 fend himself a-
 gainst your in-
 justices you
 scream COMMUNIST!
 We Afro-Americans
 are still wroth
 over the slave
 issue. Were the
 Communists re-
 sponsible for
 that? Indeed not!
 Your ancestors
 were! The echo of
 log chains about
 the wrists and
 ankles of our
 forefathers rank-
 les in our ears
 even today, along
 with the moans of
 innocent black
 males whose roped
 necks hung sus-
 pended in midair
 from the tops of
 southern trees be-
 cause some lying
 white woman who
 desired him ---
 and was rebuffed--
 hollered RAPE!

But by the same
 token it's quite
 alright for those
 filthy white swine
 to rape helpless
Black women! Can
 you deny this af-
 ter one of your
 very own, John
 Howard Griffin,
 has made the



exposed in his novel, Black Like Me? In the dwarfed minds of those who commit these filthy acts such must never be thought of or referred to again -- once its over. For in their miniature world, white is right!; black step back! But it isn't that way at all. There comes a time of reaping for all wrong doers, and the white man isn't going to get away unscathed.

In view of all this it would be advisable if you people would awaken from your Rip Van Winkle sleep and decipher the handwriting on the wall. You have lived luxuriously for more than two thousand years from the labors and fat of other people's lands, but your fiesta is rapidly coming to a close. You will scoff at this because you cannot conceive of it happening to you -- neither could the Romans, or the people of Pompeii, or of ancient Carthage and Babylon. But it happened to all of these people; every one of their civilizations fell in due time. The white world today is a modern Babylon, so for you especially now there should be a time of atonement and restitution instead of your continued bitter hatred and determination to dominate the darker races. Reprisals are the order of the day. Therefore, you had better prepare to face more and more of them.... A hint to the wise should be sufficient.

Mrs. Rhodes is a member of the Writer's Workshop of the Afro-American Cultural Association, Los Angeles, Calif.

Reality makes my heart
almost stop.
But life makes it beat.

w bast

'THE GREAT SOCIETY'



THAT BOY LeROI

Seemingly it has become the lot of the versatile young actor, Al Freeman Jr., to bring to being in the theater the most obnoxious Negroes ever seen on stage or screen. Al Freeman is an excellent actor who has the ability to make his obnoxious characters even more obnoxious on stage than they are in the published texts. Mr. Freeman is perfection at snarling, sneering, cursing, sniveling, complaining, bullying and browbeating. Indeed Al Freeman is such a good actor in the roles in which he has lately been cast in "Blues for Mister Charlie" and "The Slave" that every time I see his name in print, I get slightly sick at the stomach.

It is the fashion for young authors of Negro plays nowadays to make their heroes all villains of the darkest hue, or crazy, living in crazy houses. The whites are for the most part villains or neurotics, too; so I gather that contemporary Negro playwrights do not like anybody any more -- neither their stage characters, their audiences, their mothers, nor themselves. For poetry in the theater, some of them substitute bad language, obscenities of the foulest sort, and basic filth which seemingly is intended to evoke the sickest of reactions in an audience.

Certainly, "times do change," as the saying goes. I remember a quarter of a century ago when a few scattered damns in the theater were considered most advanced. When the word God was coupled with damn in Broadway's "What Price Glory?" it caused consternation. But in this Year of our Lord, 1965, four-letter words are flung across the footlights with impunity. A few seasons ago, such words might have been taken as adding a bit of spice to the dramatic cake. Why Lenny Bruce should go to jail alone while playwrights and actors from Broadway to Off-Broadway are having a field day with graffiti, I do not know. Since many novelists and playwrights, white and negro, nowadays make no bones about printing the unprintable and speaking the unspeakable (in so far as good taste, decency and good manners go), why, in nightclubs, where the risqué has long been acceptable, should Lenny Bruce be shackled, muzzled and put behind bars? Did Mr. Bruce invent

112 hughes

some new bad words?

In a talk I made in Paris concerning American Negro poetry, I said that I am glad Negro poets are doing everything other American poets are doing, and that their styles range from Harlemlense to Villagesese, from the conventional to the beatnik, from Pulitzer Prize winning Gwendolyn Brooks to Obie Award Winner LeRoi Jones. Mr. Jones is currently the white-haired black boy of American poetry. Talented in other forms of writing as well, particularly theater, Mr. Jones might become America's new Eugene O'Neill -- provided he does not knock himself out with pure manure. His current offering, "The Toilet," a (sic) full of verbal excrement.

I remember that much vaunted realism of David Belasco in my youth. None of the Belasco productions I saw on Broadway can hold a candle to "The Toilet," scenic or acting-wise. The set for "The Toilet" consists largely of a series of urinals, and the first thing the first actor does when he comes onstage is to use one. All the facilities of a high school toilet are used by the other performers, too, at various times. The bold and brilliant bunch of young Negro actors look as if they all come directly from Shirley Clark's rough-neck film, "The Cool World," whose leading man now plays, as if to the manner born, the leading role in "The Toilet." So realistic is both acting and direction in this play that the leading white boy, beaten to his knees by a gang of Negroes, drools spittle upon the stage as he tries to rise. The triumphant black boys end up sticking the white student's head into a urinal. What all this does for race relations (as if it mattered at this late date) I do not know.

Both "The Toilet" and "The Slave" may be taken as serious exercises in masochism and sadism, fully of bloody kicks, and better than "The Brig" for thrills. Certainly the whites at the St. Marks Playhouse are well beaten up in both plays before the evening ends. In "The Slave" Al Freeman Jr., as a black nationalist violently opposed to white liberals, slaps, kicks, punches, shoots and physically does in all the whites on stage. At one point in the proceedings, he pointed his pistol dead at Nat Hentoff in the first row of the auditorium. Long ago, the bully boy of Southern folklore, Stackolee, used to boast, "I'm the baddest Negro God's got." But Stackolee grew up in the good old days before the era of James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones, so Stackolee never laid eyes on Al Freeman Jr. in a New York theater. I think that Stackolee, as a horrified, especially at the language used before ladies.

Therefore, for the sake of today's sensitive Negroes and battered white liberals, I would like to offer the producers at St. Mark's Playhouse a suggestion-double cast both plays, and alternate performances racially. Every other night let all the present Negro characters be played by white actors, and vice versa. Four times a week I would like

to see WHITE school boys in "The Toilet" beating up a COLORED boy and sticking his head into a urinal. In "The Slave" let a bullying man kick, curse, browbeat and shoot a nice liberal BLACK professor and his wife in their suburban living room.

To reverse the complexions on stage every other night by alternating casts would make for a very intriguing theatrical evening. Black would then be white -- and white, black -- which alternately would cancel out each other -- since some critics (like the able Michael Smith in The Village Voice) claim that LeRoi Jones may not really be writing about color at all, but instead is concerned with no group "smaller than mankind." God help us all! *

A REPLY

by
bobb hamilton

An open letter to the editors: New York Post re: Your "Boy" Langston Hughes

I've just read a "put down" in your liberal newspaper on LeRoi Jones by "Unca" Hughes -- as a black writer I was nauseated and disgusted! It has been rumored in reliable circles that whitey was searching for a black writer to nail LeRoi to the cross. Now I know who was doing the searching for a house boy; I also know that you wasted several weeks abroad when all you had to do was to look in YOUR "toilet". I also KNOW that Langston has chafed for over six years because of an unfavorable review that LeRoi wrote on a "booklet" by Hughes purportedly giving the low-down on jive talk and jazz. The review was accurately cutting and necessary. Well, Hughes finally "back-capped" -- be sure to give him his mess of pottage along with his payola! I HAVE SEEN ALL three of LeRoi's plays and I say that he is the only black playwright alive in this cesspool who is telling it like it is. You, Sirs, have a knack for pulling out your house niggers to condemn any black person who has the guts to stand up and shout the truth about America! At the United Nations you pulled out good old Ralph Bunche to condemn the riots. Last summer, old reliable ...

(cont. on next page)

ll4 hamilton

Roy Wilkins was given his script! And now you have "descended" to the arts. Jones has no need to be a black Eugene O'Neil. It would behoove Hughes, rather, to admonish his bosses to strive for the stature of John Brown in whatever their pursuits. If LeRoi spouts verbal excrement, consider the fact that this culture is mired in manure, and that the role of the artist is to hold up a lens so that his society might better see itself. If Langston wants to see a play that pleases his masters - - and I am sure he does, let him write one of his own. I am sure he'll make Broadway -- again -- and I am sure that he will console those white, and white-thinking sensibilities who find this crappy society too much for them to face up to honestly. Let Langston and his ilk keep silent in the face of real artists. Theatre 1965 is not for left-over Lazaruses from the so-called "Negro Renaissance," nor is it for prissy puritans. Jesse B. Simple should take his well-deserved place along side the Brontosaurus and the Dodo bird!!

"racistly" yours,

Bobb Hamilton: Co-Editor of
SOULBOOK

" 'Negro' or 'nigger', it is all the same. Homo Sapiens deformed by crossed sticks, corpulent greenbacks and the myth of white woman, meshes of my psyche boomerang with centuries of seaweed. Scars of oppression barbwire my people's personalities like sword slits in the profile. And I put it into poems...."
.....By Calvin Hernton, "The Umbra Poets," Mainstream, page 4, July, 1963.

AN APPEAL FOR

SISTER BETTY SHABAZZ

LET US NOT FORGET THE
NEEDS OF THE WIDOW AND
CHILDREN OF OUR MARTYRED
LEADER, EL HAJJI MALIK SHABAZZ,
(MALCOLM X.) MAKE ALL CON-
TRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO BETTY
SHABAZZ; SEND THEM TO:

BETTY SHABAZZ
MOSLEM MOSQUE INC.
2090 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

TO ALL THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD:

It is no coincidence that the large portion of white America is both affluent, misinformed; apathetic, decadent and racist. It is no coincidence that the youth of Black America are forsaking non-violence after a long history of injustice from White America. And although we meet opposition from older generations of Black America, we see no other solutions to our problems.

History has shown us that in four-hundred years that we will not liberate ourselves through peaceful means. If we were dealing with a peaceful people that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who believed in justice, that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who were intelligent enough to realize that history is on the side of those who fight for liberation and justice, that might be possible. If we were dealing with a people who could realize that societies based on slavery, based on decadence, based on corruption, based on lynching, based on lying and mass murder -- if we were dealing with people who could realize that such a society is doomed to decay like foul meat -- then that might be possible. Then we could think in peaceful terms. But we are not dealing with such people. We are dealing with people who condone slavery, aggression and corruption; people who have been educated on Tarzan movies and comic books; people who regard pirates as heroes; people who condone lynching. We are dealing with a people who have a long history of piracy, witch hunting and burning people at stakes -- and of course the brutal oppression of Black America. So we are dealing with a people who think nothing of bombing a church or a hundred churches. Its only another loud noise and another building to them, and in spite of the most elaborate and expensive crime detection and secret service network in the world the white racist F. B. I. , can never find the criminal who killed a Negro or bombed a Negro church. Instead they supposedly spend their time considering the ' communist threat.' So it matters not to them (The F. B. I.) how many Blacks are killed, how many youthful(cont. next page)

black lives are destroyed. These are really the people with whom we must deal.

The world has known us as a patient people, they have seen us as a patient people, they have seen us on our knees in prayer for freedom, marching up and down in peaceful demonstrations, campaigning and petitioning for freedom, negotiating for liberation, or voting for one candidate or another or appealing for jobs, for higher wages, more security and less police brutality. Often they have seen us being bloodied by a policeman's club or bitten by a dog. They have seen us lynched by the KKK, and still fighting in the dirty wars of the US and hoping that the US would hand us our freedom when we returned home.

This year, however, there has been a qualitative change in the nature of the struggle of Black America. In nearly every city in the north and south, Black America took to the streets and fought the armed forces of the state. At the same time the US carried the dirty war of Vietnam from south to north, the white racist carried the war from Birmingham to Harlem. At the same time the mothers in the Congo were losing their homes to the bombs and napalm made in the US, Black American mothers in Mississippi were losing their homes to the bombs of the KKK.

For the same reason "Mr. Charlie"* murdered Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, he murdered Medgar Evers in Mississippi. Thus Liberation Movements know no geographical boundaries. They may occur in a rice paddy in Vietnam, or in the jungle streets of Harlem. They may occur in the Sierra Maestra as easily as in the South Side, Chicago. -- Brooklyn is no different than Johannesburg -- except distance. We feel that armed struggle is applicable in all cases. Why do we say this? Because some people argue that we should peacefully coexist with white America. We answer that as long as we live under oppression and imperialism, there can be no peace other than the peace which exists between slave and slave-master. We have had no peace in four hundred years, but we will obtain peace through organized self-defense. Some argue that we are racists. However these people fail to understand the difference between fighting for superiority and fighting for freedom and justice. And they fail to understand the principles of the Bandung (Afro-Asian) World.

We are Black revolutionary internationalists and we seek the support of all the justice and freedom loving peoples of the world. We speak from experience when we say that white America is apathetic, decadent and racist. This year, after the riots across the country, white Americans of both major political parties demanded that black rioters be punished as criminals, they have demanded more brutal (cont. on p. 119)

and savage policemen, more vicious dogs, and more informers, stooges and lap dogs painted black for the racist, low-down FBI. Yet, at the same time churches, homes and schools were being bombed by the hundreds in Mississippi, and not a word of significant protest was uttered by white America.

As Black youth fought police around the country, the Communist Party of the US, publicly endorsed Martin Luther King as saviour of the Negroes, and publicly denounced Robert F. Williams, the exiled

leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement. This came as no shock to us, as the CPUSA has a history of siding with the power structure on most issues involving Black America. Since the power structure had declared Robert F. Williams an outlaw the CPUSA followed suit. But when representative of the Soviet Union also denounced Robert F. Williams, we realized the true significance of their phrase, "Peaceful Coexistence." Since Martin Luther King is no more or less than a puppet for US imperialism, the citadel of World counter-revolution, he is protected by the CIA, receives millions of dollars yearly from White America and the Power Structure. Both the Soviet Union and the CPUSA have forsaken principle for unity, and have condescended to aluding King. Since when did leaders of liberation movements receive a Nobel Peace Prize, or support from the C.I.A? We think that because he received the Nobel Prize they also should pin a label on his nose marked "made in the USA"!.....So we must pose the question before the new leaders of the Soviet Union: What is your

(cont. on next
page)

intention, and where do you stand in regard to the Negroes' struggle for freedom and justice? Do you support our movement of organized self-defense, or do you support the C. I. A.? Do you want us to peacefully coexist with our oppressors, or will you support our movement publicly and denounce US racism? We are waiting to hear from you.

Be that as it may, we have already received the public support from the Peoples of Vietnam, the Peoples of Venezuela, the Peoples Republic of China, Indonesia, and the Peoples of Ghana. Hence we call on and welcome the public support of our cause by all peoples who believe in freedom and justice, and who desire to publicly denounce US racism and imperialism.

We realize that other peoples have supported our just cause, but due to the closed mass media of the racist USA, Black America is not informed by AP or UPI about our supporters. We also request financial support for our cause, which as it is developing, will increase and intensify the contradictions inherent in the heartland of racist US imperialism, -- a blow that it cannot take. We remind the Bandung brothers that accepting American Dollarism is accepting "blood" money; it is the same money spent for napalm in Vietnam and white mercenaries in the Congo. We join hands with the Bandung world and with all the freedom loving peoples of the world revolution to eliminate exploitation, injustice and misery; and then to build the world anew.

Editors' note: This work has appeared in the French Edition of Africa, Latin America, Asia, REVOLUTION. But this is the first time it has been published in the English language. Opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK.

Emphasis of the last paragraph was in the original.

- * "Mr. Charlie" is an Afroamerican term denoting American Whites -- particularly the American white ruling aristocracy.

REJECT NOTES

by
rolland snellings
carol freeman
t r horne
marvin e jackmon
bobb hamilton
ernie allen
ronald stone
wm patterson
w best
sherley a williams



i am a poet.
it is my fist you hear beating
against your ear.

.....from The Distant Drums
by Calvin Hernton

All My Yesterdays

The six o'clock bus is a jungle of faces
A tangle of women going home after cleaning
Other people's houses; tending other people's kids
While across town in the slums, in the quarters
Jimmy Lees and Annies run wild.
(And their yesterdays are all my own)

That bus is crowded with women
Whose faces are etched in the likeness
Of a long forgotten past
Women whose shoulders are bowed
With a well remembered now
And each face is my mother
Their bitter now is my own.

That woman sitting there, down the aisle
And next to the window, the one
With harsh lines running from mouth to nose,

I know her.
Hattie, Mary or Mae?
No matter. I know you
And all your yesterdays are my own

You got up one morning or turned over
In the night; perhaps waited in the cooling dusk
Of sunset and knew he wasn't coming back

Was it summer or winter
Green leaved spring
Or leafless fall?
No matter. I was there
And all your yesterdays are my own

You work in a white kitchen
And live in a black slum
You leave each morning
And return each night
To a boy wanting too hard to be a man
And a girl leaving childhood
Suddenly, too soon behind.
(And their yesterdays are also my own)

'Give us this day our daily bread,'
We prayed each morning
And mama went out each day to earn it.

I watched our Annie fall in love;
Heard her soft sighing words in the sweet night air.
I saw Annie come to love him;
Knew of their hot brusing kisses in the thick night air.

But Annie loved with a love that couldn't hold him
And I hear her pitiful whimpering in the cool night air.
Yes, I watched our Annie fall in love
And felt her pain when he left
And knew of her fear in the cold night air.
Joey was on the way; a Joey with no father
And a mother no more than a child
A Joey conceived in the darkness of the sweet night air.

And Jimmy Lee is my brother
Junior for a father we'd never known
A boy with a shy smile and voice
Cracking unexpectedly with the echoes
Of childhood, his body grown large
Mostly arms and legs, still awkward somehow
He was always in trouble and sometimes in jail
And mama loved him.
She worried over him
And prayed for him
And now Mamma's dead.
Good. For who could bear to tell her
That prayer, worry, even love weren't enough.
They shot my brother James as he left the store
He'd just held up.

The six o'clock bus is a jungle of faces
A sea of harsh memories
Each face is my mother
And every memory my own

The white kitchen employs you
But pride keeps you there
Pride and the knowledge that your children
Your beloved soon lost children
Must somehow exist
And because of ageless necessity, a necessary pride
Jimmy Lees and Annies run wild.

The woman up front rises
 And goes toward the rear door.
 I see her dark face in full now
 And I recognize a childhood friend
 Her brief, bitter smile as she goes out the door,
 Tells me that she knows what I'm thinking,
 Knows because it's happening to her.

Yes, she knows me.
 Knows that I am Annie
 And all her yesterdays are my own.

by sherley a williams

MALCOLM EXSICCATED

No sooner than I heard them holler out in Harlem,
 The well is dry, did I crave a drink from it...
 I remember I used to spurn it when it brimmed--
 pointing out how rife it was with impurities,
 choosing the well distilled--and dearer--libations.
 I waited for it to settle, which it seemed to be doing,
 gradually becoming much clearer and more enticing.
 Frankly, impressed that it refreshed so many others,
 I often approached a pail that passed before me,
 poised a dipper to take a draught, then put it off..
 I hesitated too long: the source has died.
 Was it really the oasis they said it was?
 Though I thought not, now I will never know.
 Perhaps a mere sip might have been something to savor...
 Now, with fancied unquenchable thirst, afire with the regrets
 of an inferno-fated spectre, I creep to the wall of the well
 and peer into its pitch-black depth at a desert;
 sand stopples my throat, and froth unparts my lips.

by t r horne

I'm scared to open up a letter
Lord knows I got the blues

I'm scared to open up a letter
Lord knows I got the blues

Mr. Edison done told me, I better
Catch up on my monthly dues

2

He said if you don't send me some money
I'm go na put you in the dark.

He said if you don't send me some money
I'm gonna put you in the dark.

Steam runs a dynamo honey
But it takes gold to make 'em spark.

3

You been frying up lots of bacon
Boilin' greens and sassafras

You been frying up lots of bacon
Boilin' greens and sassafras

You gimme some money baby,
or else stop burning up my gas.

4

Now when the mail man came a knocking
I was lying on the floor

Now when the mail man came a knocking
I was lying on the floor

I was sleeping off my goodtimes
Couldn't make it to the door.

126 freeman

5

Now I'm not no lazy person
Work everyday from nine to five,

Now I'm not no lazy person
Work everyday from nine to five,

Seems like harder I try to make it,
Harder it gets to stay alive.

6

Nothin but trouble, trouble, trouble,
More trouble then I can use

Nothin but trouble, trouble, trouble,
more trouble than I can use

If you want to know my story
Consolidated Edison Blues.

by bobo hamilton

billowing swirling damplyfalling
confetti
drifting blacklywafersof
manna we
dumb like ox
on stand like
black mouths slaverling
red
ly
wait
recieving
bits of the host of
soggy girlbodies
hair teethtoe skin vein
vessel finger nail
falling
in the smoky rubble
of mammas
dreams

by carol freeman

Restitution

You there! Yes you, black one,
With your bent back and bowed head!
You look as if you could instruct the Greeks
On the true nature of tragedy.
So, this is the result of your not joining the black wolves
Condoned by the eagle to feed off the shadows
Of forgotten magnificence
And receive shiny things for voracious deeds done.
Hold back that tear, black one ! A million of such
Will not wash away this orgy of suppression
Transcending understanding.
Where is the pride of Leo?
The Sun does not take away what he has given his own.
Get up, black one!
Can not you hear the baying of the hounds
As they watch in fearful fascination,
The moon being pulled from the dark and mysterious heavens
By the estuary and inlets...
Look! Can not you see the river digesting the sea,
And Mars smiling, as his two silent sons, Aries and Scorpio,
Embrace after long separation,
Brothers once more!

SOUL IS

Malcolm X.

Coltrane blowing

"A Love Supreme."

Our fight for that

Long deferred dream.

Motherfucker.

The essence of

My being--my blackness.

Bloods shooting crap in

The alley darkness.

Fillmore.

Laughing instead

Of crying.

Living bold, not

Thinking of dying.

Fuck you.

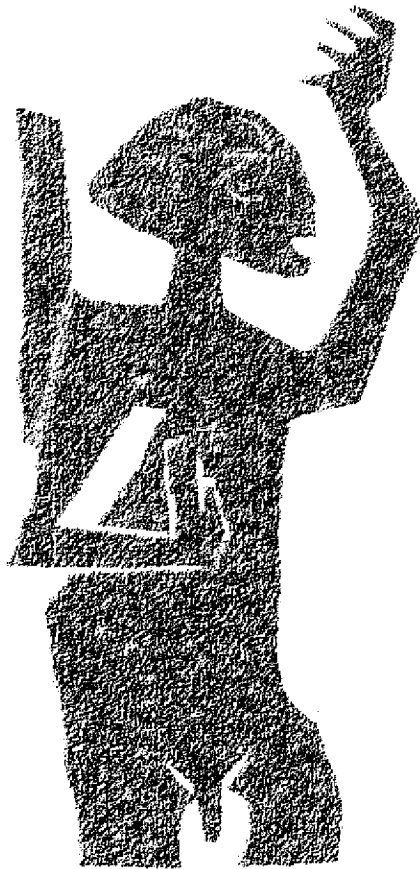
Ray Charles singing

"Georgia On My Mind."

Paul Robeson's Othello,

Soul sublime.

Kiss my ass.



TRANETRACKS (dedicated to Dolphy)

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, he did (thank you, J.)
 With a vibrant reed superimposed upon 3 oz.
 Of corrugated black vinyl
 Black and furrowed like me

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, He did (thank you, J.)
 With a black lyricism punctuating the cill morning air
 My soul pulsed righteously in syncopation
 To His every statement

J.C. woke me up this morning
 Yes, He did (thank you, J.)
 With a Message of Truth to Brothers and Sisters
 To bring forth with expedience
 The New Age (thank you, J.).

by ernie allen

Uncle Sammy call me full of Lucifer--

I dont give a good Eagle-eye Mcfledge triplewhammy damn
 for I, Fearless Fosdick, will not serve!
 I'll call you Lucifer for burning me.

Uncle Sammy dont shuck & jive me--

I'm hep to popcorn jazz changes you blow
 You know damn well what I mean!
 You schooled my naive heart to sing
 redwhite&blue stars&stripes songs

130 stone

and to pledge eternal allegiance

to all things blue-true blue-eyed

blondblond haired

whitechalk-white skinned

with USA tatooed all over.

When my soul trusted Uncle Sammy

& loved Uncle Sammy

& grew up for Uncle Sammy

& died in dreams for Uncle Sammy

you jammed your emasculated manhood symbol

puffed with gonorrhea of corrupt unreality myths

into ungreased niggerghetto-black ass

of my JewishCatholicHinduIslamic

let's-all-get-together

so-I-must-be-a-Communist beatnik nigger soul.

Sure free public health clinic penicillin cured me

But Uncle Sammy

if you want to stay a pervert freakshow strongman god....

fuck your motherfucking self I will not serve.

by ronald stone

EARTH
(for Mrs. Mary Bethune and the
African and Afro-American woman)

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters - the burnt-haired
women's quarters -

and hears their broken sobbing in the night?

To endure. To remain, like the red earth, strong and fecundant.
Your coppery, chocolate, ebony warm-skin scoured...and toughened
by the arid wind.

The wrinkles in your eyes, your smile, your frowning foreheads
are the Stars within your Crown, my women.

Cares come and go; dreams fade away; sons are lost
on lonely battlefields...severed by the Nordic Meataxe.
Men are broken...babble...lift their bloody genitals
upon the tainted altar of the Snow Queen.

Her frigid, sterile smile is a tribute to the vengeance of her
Caesars.

Where, then, is Spartacus, is Attila, is Hannibal?

Who thunders, now, upon those Seven Hills?

They are gone...and...only you remain!

You whose Womb has warmed the European hills and made
the Pale Snows tawny.

132 snellings

Pagan Spain, sunny France, Italy and the faoled Grecian Isles
are drenched by the Sunlight of your smile:

Mother of the World! :

Fecundant, Beating Heart! :

Enduring Earth! :

Only you remain!

Where are the warriors, the young men?

Who guards the women's quarters?



by rolf and snellings

LETTER TO DRAFT BOARD 100 WAYNE COUNTY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Gentlemen:

This letter is in regards to a notice sent to me, General Gordon Baker, Jr., requesting my appearance before an examining station to determine my fitness for military service.

How could you have the NERVE knowing that I am a black man living under the scope and influence of America's racist, decadent society??? You did not ask me if I had any morals, principles, or basic human values by which to live. Yet, you ask if I am qualified. QUALIFIED FOR WHAT might I ask? What does being "Qualified" mean: qualified to serve in the U.S. Army?.... To be further brainwashed into the insidious notion of "defending freedom"?

You stand before me with the dried blood of Patrice Lumumba on your hands, the blood of defenseless Panamanian students, shot down by U.S. marines; the blood of my black brothers in Angola and South Africa who are being tortured by the Portuguese and South African whites (whom you resolutely support) respectively; the dead people of Japan, Korea, and now Vietnam, in Asia; the blood of Medgar Evers, six Birmingham babies, the blood of one million Algerians slaughtered by the French (whom you supported); the fresh blood of ten thousand Congolese patriots dead from your ruthless rape and plunder of the Congo--the blood of defenseless women and children burned in villages from Napalm jelly bombs..... With all of this blood of my non-white brothers dripping from your fangs, you have the damned AUDACITY to ask me I am "qualified". White man; listen to me for I am talking to you!

I AM A MAN OF PRINCIPLES AND VALUES : principles of justice and national liberation, self-determination, and respect for national sovereignty. Yet, you ask if I am "physically fit" to go to Asia, Africa, and Latin America to fight my oppressed brothers (who are completely and resolutely within their just rights to free their fatherland from foreign domination). You ask me if I am qualified to join an army of FOOLS, ASSASINS and MORAL DELINQUENTS who are not worthy of being called men! You want me to defend the riches reaped from the super-exploitation of the darker races of mankind by a few white, rich, super-monopolists who(continued on next page)

control the most vast empire that has ever existed in man's one million years of History--all in the name of "Freedom"!

Why, here in the heart of America, 22 million black people are suffering unsurmounted toil: exploited economically by every form of business--from monopolists to petty hustlers; completely suppressed politically; deprived of their social and cultural heritage.

But, all men of principle are fighting-men! My fight is for Freedom: UHURU, LIBERTAD, HALAUGA, and HARAMBEE! Therefore, when the call is made to free South Africa; when the call is made to liberate Latin America from the United Fruit Co., Kaiser and Alcoa Aluminum Co., and from Standard Oil; when the call is made to jail the exploiting Brahmins in India in order to destroy the Caste System; when the call is made to free the black delta areas of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina; when the call is made to FREE 12TH STREET HERE IN DETROIT! : when these calls are made, send for me, for these shall be Historical Struggles in which it shall be an honor to serve!

Venceremos!

General G. Baker Jr.

THE AQUARIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER

BOOKS ABOUT AFRICANS AND AFRO-AMERICANS

1302 West Santa Barbara Ave.

Los Angeles 37, California

AX. 6-1633

W.E.B. DU BOIS; BLACK MILITANT OR NEGRO LEADER?

by
ted
vincent

Editorial Comment: We present the following paper in order to perhaps clarify the many facets in the productive life of W. E. B. DuBois. In this paper are discussed many of the highlights of Dr. DuBois' writings, literary works which extend in time from the period immediately following his departure from college until his death in August, 1963; though we, the editors, question the author's conclusions concerning the possibility of alignment between militant Blacks & Whites in the struggle, we offer this paper as worthy of discussion in Afroamerica.

Nationalism or Socialism? Militancy or liberal integration? Assimilation or emigration? The Afro-American freedom struggle is becoming ever more bogged down in categorizing, pigeon-holing and indiscriminate labeling. Generally the infighting centers around Black Nationalism (whatever that means) vs. Integration (whatever that means). Also, there is plenty of petty bickering between Socialists and Nationalists. Meanwhile, back in the ghetto: cops continue to split heads. Black men continue to seek non-existent jobs; and Black women continue to be reduced to salable commodities for the lust of the descendants of the slavemasters.

A mandate exists for a united front of conscientious freedom fighters. Can it be done? The nit-pickers and the doctrinaires say no.

For the purposes of refuting those cynics, let the record of W. E. Burghardt DuBois be entered as conclusive testimony to the fact that a dynamic mixture of goals, programs and ends is possible. Himself one of the most 'labeled' and misunderstood, DuBois had at one time or another in his long life championed causes that were indicative of Integration, Nationalism, and Socialism.

First of all DuBois was a defender of his race. As a 25 year old graduate student he wrote for his private diary that he would soon move out into the world at large "and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world."¹ He was fresh out of college when he formulated his thesis that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line, the relation of the darker to the lighter races of

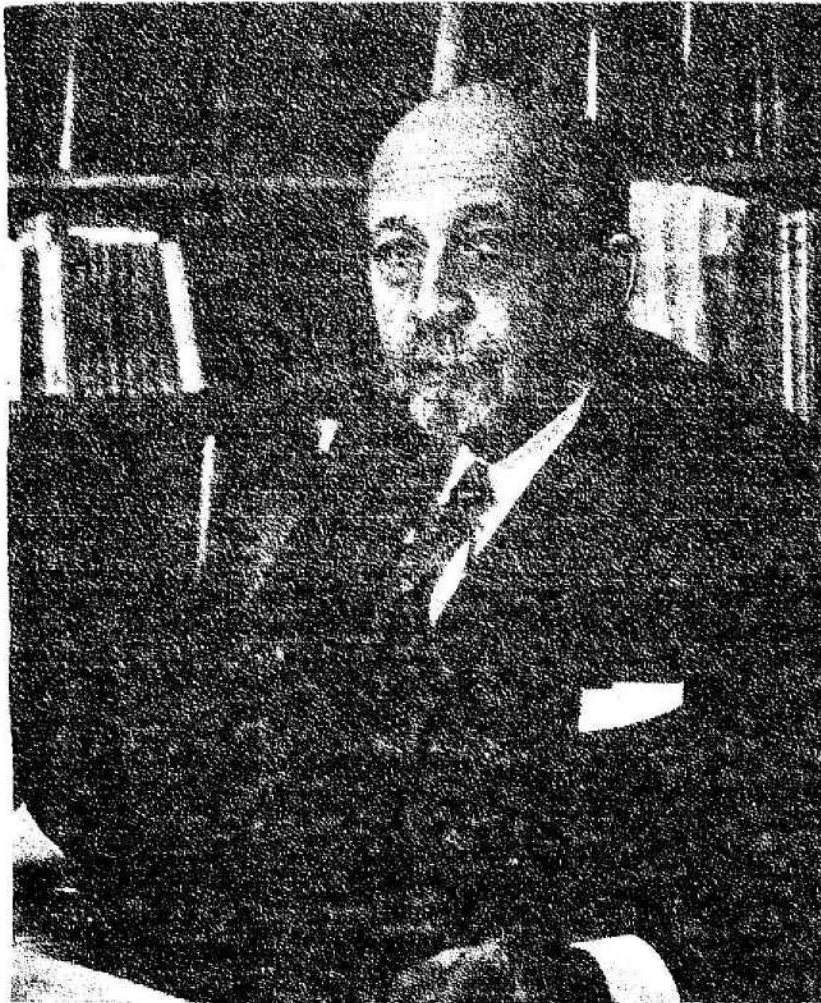
* That is, white workers

man in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."².

Color is seen as primary in questions of justice. Within the social and economic world it was Capitalism which fed the racists. And capitalism maintained its advantage over millions, black and white, through rewards of racism, plunder and exploitation of the colored peoples of the world. Therefore DuBois the Marxist is memorialized in the "DuBois Clubs of America," whose skills in fomenting mass action are contrasted with a serious intellectual error. The "DuBois Clubs" simply categorize their

name-sake as just another Marxist.

The drama of DuBois final years, it should be noted, included his taking of Ghanaian citizenship, as well as membership in the American Communist Party. His final days were spent in Ghana, editing the Encyclopedia Africana, for which he hoped to get eventually an all-African staff. In his off time he wrote poems to the honor of President Kwame Nkrumah.³ A burial spot was chosen overlooking the ocean, and DuBois felt it a fitting final touch that when his long life ended, he would be laid to rest not in the



W. E. Burghardt Du Bois

land of slavemongers and racists, but in the land of his forefathers.

How did DuBois arrive at a perspective that would encompass socialism, nationalism, and dedication to the traditional liberal American civil-rights struggle?

Important in his philosophy was his belief in the darker-skinned peoples of the world as a democratic majority. There is a section in Souls of Black Folk in which DuBois tells of the impact on his life made by his experience with rural Black farmers of Tennessee. He was then a student at Fisk who had gone out to teach during the summer months. It was his first experience with his own people. He found "soul". Through the years, reflecting on what he learned in rural Tennessee, he came to view his people as those who knew the true meaning of democracy.

Sometimes DuBois explained his faith in his people as relating to presence of "justice" which "lies with the lowest, the plight of the lowest man,--the plight of the Black man."⁴ On other occasions he tied all colored peoples as a group and concluded that "belief in humanity is a belief in colored men," the vast majority of mankind.⁵

His confidence in the just and non-exploitative character of colored peoples is seen in the expectations DuBois held for the future. From his early years he envisioned a cooperative society for Black Folk. In his program for the Niagara movement he urged "cooperation in business."⁶ For the newly-arrived Negroes of the northern ghettos of the 1920's he urged the formation of "consumer-producer cooperatives" as fitting forms of society and business.⁷ Again during the depression he gave wide publicity to cooperative ventures of Afro-Americans and commented favorably on that school of Africanists, led by George Padmore, which was then exploring the roots and potential of "african socialism."⁸ In his autobiography Dusk of Dawn, DuBois announced a "thesis for Negro Socialism." He noted that in the African communal group, "ties of family and blood, of mother and child, of group relationship made the group leadership strong." In the case of Afro-Americans "there are sources of strength in common memories-horrors," and experiences. "Here in subtle but real ways the communalism of the African clan can be transferred to the Negro American group."⁹

Of course his confidence in Black folk spilled over to all who suffered injustices, and his writings are a three-quarter century commentary on the right of all men to rewarding life. Typical of his unqualified interpretation of a just society is his concept of what each generation owes to its children. Back in 1919, when most Americans were fortunate if they had finished grade-school, DuBois was calling for "college training...for every American child." And as for subjects like Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, "if they are worth teaching to anybody, the masses need them most."¹⁰

Although DuBois felt for the oppressed of all races, he had no illusions concerning the true vanguard for the future. In 1946 he told an assembly of South Carolina Negro youth that in the years ahead there was coming to dixie a chance for young people to "lift again the banner of humanity...and build in the world a culture led by black folk and joined by peoples of all colors and all races." The South, is the firing line not simply for the emancipation of the American negro but for the emancipation of the colored races, and for the emancipation of the white slaves of modern capitalist monopoly." (italics are the author's)11.

What is there specifically, in the DuBois philosophy which suggests Nationalism? On a superficial level, there are his chopping ironies on "white" civilization. Said DuBois of his ancestry, he "had gotten himself born with a flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, and thank God! no 'Anglo-Saxon.'"12. In Black Reconstruction he comments on the question, why didn't the slaves rise up and slaughter and rape the defenseless white women when the white men were off fighting the Civil War? DuBois answers, human nature."13. In a similar vein, is the scene in his novel Dark Princess, written in 1925, where the "civilized" leaders of the Afro-Asian world have met to discuss the fate of the decadent Western World which is depicted as collapsing in an orgy of materialistic debauchery. The Afro-Asian leaders of the day, Asian aristocrats, Arab sultans, and traditional African chieftains discuss at length the days ahead when they will bring to the world culture, grace, sensuality, respect for elders, and true civilization."14.

Deeper in his philosophy is an analysis of the causes of 20th century oppression, and analysis which strips away the self-defences of white-minded Marxists and liberals, an analysis which calls a spade a spade, and shows the white-man in general to be caught up in the perpetration of injustice. Whites of all socio-economic classes partake of rewards of racist imperialism. And DuBois does not deny that the caucasian is cannibalistic in that the rich white devours the poor. But through racism, all Western culture is drugged into impotence, when it concerns freedom for colored peoples. Then again, a good antidote for the white is Marxism; ergo DuBois the Communist. But he is a particular kind of Communist, as can be judged from his interpretation of cause & color-caste.

The author's preface to the 1953 edition of Souls of Black Folk offers an explanation of racism as an excuse, as a rationalization for exploitation. "The findings of Freud and his co-workers" testify to the ample role of "unconscious thought and the cake of Custom in the growth and influence of race prejudice." The rationalizations of the mind mix with the realities of the economic world to create a situation where "so

many civilized persons are willing to live in comfort" at the expense of the "majority of their fellowmen," and to maintain this privilege, "men have waged war until today war tends to become universal and continuous, and the excuse for this war continues largely to be color and race."¹⁵.

But not only is color-caste a pretext, it is an essential mode of life through which Western Civilization has produced for itself wealth and leisure. In this mode of production, the white worker, compared with the extravagant luxury of the rich, may be poor indeed, but the degraded white is a virtual aristocrat when compared with the starvation and misery of the average citizen of colonial, or neo-colonial nations.¹⁶.

The position of the West is hopelessly ambiguous. It even botches the job when attempting constructive action. The planned charter for the United Nations so perturbed DuBois he wrote a book about it, Color And Democracy. The charter allowed the Europeans to keep their colonies and offered no viable plan for independence. Warning was given, by DuBois, that to form a world deliberative body without facing up to colonialism was to invite disaster and the recurrence of fascism and a Hitler. So today, fortunately, Afro-Asians tackle colonialism themselves.

DuBois was quite fond of his early notion that "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color-line." In an essay for Alain Locke's New Negro DuBois summarized the statement to be as valid then, in 1925, as it had been a quarter century earlier. He gives some examples. One involves labor strikes then occurring in South Africa. The white workers were engaged in bitter class-struggle with the nasty capitalist exploiter. For what end? For the right to exclude native South Africans from all skilled jobs in the mine industry of that country. The Bantu were forced to appeal to the Imperial English government for assistance from the oppressor, the white laborer. Another example concerns the Congo, and the "Socialist" Foreign Minister of Belgium, who was well intentioned toward the Congolese, but inept at doing anything about his country's imperialism.¹⁷.

DuBois was always proud of his loyalty to the American labor movement. However, in a Crisis article of 1926 he lamented that it was unrequited love, and cited the vicious exclusionist policies of AFL trade unions. For 24 years DuBois edited the Crisis magazine, and commentaries on the exploitative nature of white laborers were numerous. These critiques were most always accompanied with an admonition to white

labor to come to grips with racism and see it as destructive to all who suffered from capitalism.¹⁸.

Darkwater, a DuBois anthology compiled in 1919 is informative on this point. The articles in this book provide a good source for viewing his technique of combining color analysis, race pride, and the humanist attitude of international socialism. Particularly cogent for the analysis

of color is the article on the horrible East St. Louis race riot. The white worker, on the eve of the riot, is described as an insecure job holder, threatened by a recent influx of Black men from the South. The whites were recent immigrants themselves and had just won a battle with business for decent wages, and, also, had won a small measure of social prestige for their group. Here enter the Black men, like workers from a colonial country, they would work for lower wages. The Negroes "had no wish to make their fellow's wage envelopes smaller, but they were determined to make their own larger." White labor refused to allow the Black brethren into their trade unions and the resulting clash of interests, stimulated by a racist press of the bosses, led to a blood bath.¹⁹ Or as DuBois explains in a 1933 Crisis article entitled "Marxism and the Negro Problem," exploitation of the Afro-American came "from the white capitalist and equally from the white proletariat."²⁰

Why does white labor act this way? The 'liberal' and 'left' answer that it is because of "misunderstanding" or "ignorance." DuBois believed this argument was plain nonsense. "The American white laborers are not fools." They had a choice. The white worker could choose between immediate gains, limited ones easily achieved, or a long struggle for real liberation obtained through Black and White unity.²¹ The theme of the ambiguous white worker is present in much of DuBois' historical writing. For his recent works, informative is the description of the failure of Reconstruction in Ordeal of Mansart. The white southern laborer is overwhelmed by the tensions and pressures of KKK terror and Northern indifference to the problems of the South. The Negro ally is sacrificed, with due apology from the white, who joins the Bourbons in expectations of a privileged position for himself in the promised "new south" of industry.²²

To add the facets of DuBois philosophy together; the cause of color oppression rests largely with White society, and those who will lead the way ahead will be peoples of Africa, Asia, or Afro-Asian descent. However, indiscriminate categorizing and labeling must cease. The issue must not be considered merely Black and White. Serious problems exist within the white world, problems of rich vs. poor. The Socialist camp, with DuBois as a card carrying member, believes these problems will increase. To the degree that Afro-Asian peoples gain their freedom the profits for the imperialists will dwindle and the Rockefellers and Goldwaters will have less loot with which to bribe their white labor hirelings.

As this happens the Black man, strengthened by unity of his Black Nationalism, will possibly have an irresistible bargaining power to win the laboring white as an ally. Hopefully, the white will seize the opportunity.

A word on how to view the so-called DuBois inconsistencies:

He enjoyed playing the protagonist, looking to widen peoples' perspective. At the turn of the century, when Booker T. Washington was relegating Afro education to the shop-class, DuBois demanded the cultivation of a talented-tenth. During the depression decade, DuBois the Nationalist denounced the left, and particularly the class-struggle dogmatists of the Communist Party, men of "pitiable mental equipment" who "give no thought" to the "intricacies" of color.²³ During the McCarthyite terror of the 1950s he moved openly into the socialist camp. And in the 1960s, when Afro-Americans are moving toward 'integration' in America, DuBois becomes a Ghanaian citizen and Communist to dramatize the need for world scope.

FOOTNOTES

1. In Herbert Aptheker's Documentary History of the Negro People, (1951), vol. II, p. 753
2. Souls of Black Folk, (Crest Edition), p. 23, Fawcett Publications, NY
3. Freedomways, Winter, 1962, page 71 & Winter, 1963, page 23
4. Darkwater, (1919), article: "Of Work and Wealth", page 91
5. Ibid., article: "The Souls of White Folk", p. 49
6. Aptheker, page 906
7. Darkwater, page 159, In his autobiography Dusk of Dawn, (1940) DuBois describes his attempt in 1918 to form a "Negro Cooperative Guild." pp. 280-81 (Harcourt, Brace & Howe)
8. See commentaries on "Liberia" in 1932-33 issues of the Crisis. Harry Haywood, The Road to Negro Liberation, (1934) contains a critical appraisal of the DuBois role in what Haywood calls "the growth of petty-bourgeois nationalism."
9. Dusk of Dawn, pp. 209 -18; see Crisis April, 1933, pp. 93-94 on Co-ops during depression
10. Darkwater, p. 215
11. Freedomways, Winter, 1964, pp. 8-15
12. Crisis, February, 1918, p. 168, in autobiographical sketch "The Shadow of Years"
13. Black Reconstruction, (Meridian edition), p. 66, World Publishing Co.
14. Dark Princess-- chapter mentioned is found in V. F. Calverton's Anthology of American Negro Literature, (1929), pp. 80-91; Modern Library inc. N.Y.
15. Souls of Black Folk, pp. XIII-XIV
16. For relative position of classes and color see Darkwater "Of Work and Wealth" p. 98.
17. Alain Locke, editor of: The New Negro, (1925), pp. 385-414; Boni Publishers: N.Y.
18. Crisis, articles of note in Nov. 1925, p. 60; Jan. 1926, p. 113; April, 1926, p. 271; Dec. 1926, p. 65; Nov. 1931, p. 393; July, 1932, p. 234; April, 1933, p. 93.
19. Darkwater, "Of Work and Wealth," pp. 81-104.
20. Crisis, May, 1933, pp. 104 and 118
21. Crisis, July, 1932, p. 234; also May, 1933, p. 104 and 118; and Black Reconstruction, p. 25.
22. Ordeal of Mansart, (1957), pp. 24-28, and a general theme of the book (Mainstream Co.: N.Y.)
23. Crisis, April, 1933, p. 93.

AN APPEAL FOR THE STATUE OF LIBERTY DEFENDENTS

THEORETICALLY, EVERYONE BROUGHT TO TRIAL IS ENTITLED TO A FAIRLY CHOSEN JURY OF PEERS, BUT COMPETENT DEFENCE COUNSEL AS WELL. HOWEVER, IT DOES NOT ALWAYS WORK OUT THAT WAY IF YOU ARE NOT WEALTHY AND IF YOU ARE BLACK. ALL OF US, IN THE NAME OF JUSTICE AND FAIR-PLAY, WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT BROTHERS COLLIER, KHALEEL, AND BOWE CAN AVAIL THEMSELVES OF ADEQUATE LEGAL COUNSEL, AND ALL THAT THIS ENTAILS. WE THEREFORE APPEAL TO ALL OF OUR READERS TO LEND A HAND MONETARILY. OUR BROTHERS NEED YOUR HELP! MAIL ALL CHECKS TO:

MRS. NAN BOWE. 368 E. 10TH ST.

NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

APARTHEID IS DOOMED!

Editorial Comment : In a recent issue of life magazine there appeared an article written by an American negro woman who went to East Africa; while there she purportedly was given important information on how our revolutionary Brothers of Zanzibar were going to help our Brothers in South Africa.

We are quite aware that the incidents related in this article must have happened--if they happened at all--virtually two years ago. For John Okello (the traitress' only confidant mentioned by name in the article) has not been on the Zanzibari political scene for almost a year and a half. So the question arises; why did life magazine, which specializes in current features, wait almost 2 years to publish an article in which they obviously consider of prime importance. We suggest this was an attempt by the sick U. S. ruling aristocracy to further execute their abortive attempt to demoralize revolutionary Afroamerica, and also counteract the late Brother Malcolm's obvious success in bringing Africa and Black America POLITICALLY closer together.

We, the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK, have a resolute answer for the stupid U. S. State Department, and that string of journalistic vice houses, Time, Life Inc. We are ready and determined to smash ANY attempt to separate the struggle of Black America from the struggle of our Brothers in Africa. Furthermore we stand in vigilance against any attempt to discredit the liberation struggles in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Afroamerica.

Consequently we are particularly angry about all the lately occurring attempts in U. S. periodicals to justify South Africa's system of Hitlerian racism. They not only have tried to turn Afro-Americans against the struggle of our brothers in South Africa, but they have also attempted to depict Apartheid as a benevolent system, which if it has any drawbacks they are progressively being eliminated--just like it is in the U.S.A. As far as the U.S. is concerned we all know that this is a blatant lie; that in fact racial discrimination and inequality are INCREASING in virtually every sphere of American life. Likewise we assumed it to be only bestial propaganda to suggest that Apartheid is progressively more humane in practice, or has the objective of giving human rights to ALL men in South Africa. But to confirm or deny our usually reliable suspicions we asked the African National Congress, a South African Liberation organization which is now based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to give us the true facts about Apartheid. So to clarify the facts for Afroamerica and the friends of both of our liberation struggles the ANC writes the following article :

(next page)

APARTHEID IS DOOMED

The definition of apartheid has changed so often that the adherents of this police-state system have now abandoned in South Africa any attempt to justify their policies. They have resorted to naked repression and brutal persecution demanding that all opposition to their fascist rule must cease.

The Dutch Reformed Churches built up an illusory image of apartheid as total territorial segregation and found Old Testament theology a suitable theoretical basis for their views. However, Verwoerd's Broederbond ideologists rejected the views advocated by their own church and insisted that apartheid meant "seperate development of the different races in their own areas". They could not define the sovereign rights of these race-groups and dismally failed to allocate the land areas where the "separate" races were supposed to reside.

The latest version of apartheid is a rehash of previous definitions except that it confounds the theory of apartheid further by introducing the concept of "nationhood". Dr. Hilgard Muller, South African Foreign Minister, when speaking at a recent session of the U. N., described the aim of apartheid as being the setting-up of "multi-national states in South Africa". The absurdity of having a series of "nations" neatly segregated according to the dictates of Dr. Verwoerd is exposed by the existence of a single racially-integrated economy whose basis is exploitation of African labour. The distribution of land is another factor which repudiates the new-fangled idea of "multi-nationalism." The Whites who constitute one-fifth of the population own 87% of the land while the Non-Whites who are 4/5 of the population hold 13%. This is the basis of the oppression of the African people and cannot be reversed by political sophistry.

But apartheid is even more rudely repudiated in practice. In the Cape Province alone there are three million Africans living outside of th-

African Reserves or ghettos. The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 abrogated the rights of residence, movement and employment of all Africans who live in the urban areas. Their existence will be regimented by administrative control, shuttling them backwards and forwards to the White man's mines, farms and industries as cheap labour. THE FRAGILE CONCEPT OF "SEPERATE RIGHTS IN SEPERATE RACIAL AREAS" WAS BLOWN SKYHIGH BY THE RECENT REFUSAL TO GRANT TRADING LICENSES TO AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN IN SOWETO TOWNSHIP WHICH IS INHABITED BY AFRICANS ONLY. These Africans in the urban areas have been rendered completely STATELESS, RIGHTLESS, and a floating mass of CHEAP LABOUR.

It is this rigorous oppression of the Africans that serves as the basis of the apparent economic stability of South Africa. It is, no doubt, the source from which the storm to destroy apartheid will break. The South African economy cannot be racially sub-divided because a condition for its buoyancy is the indispensibility of African labor. Land distribution rules out any justification of apartheid.

These are the factors which govern the approaching doom of apartheid.

(Reprinted from Spotlight On South Africa, Vol. 3, No. 5, (January 29, 1965) pp. 1&2. The right to reprint this article was enthusiastically given by the Editor of Spotlight On South Africa, Brother Hadebe to the Brother Editors of SOULBOOK)

* emphasis was added by the editors of SOULBOOK.

I believe that as long as we have imperialism in front of us, attacking, it would be ridiculous for us here to do as in the fable, argue whether they are greyhounds or hound dogs, whether they are made of paper or of iron..... Prime Minister Fidel Castro Ruz, of the Republic of Cuba. "Speech by Fidel Castro on the Vietnam War," The Militant, (Monday, April 19, 1965), page 5.

THE NEGRO IMAGE IN WESTERN ART

by
bobb hamilton

Editorial note: This is an extension of a speech given before the authorities of the New York City Department of Welfare during "Negro History Week."

Despite the title of this article, I am going to confine my survey to the United States in the main, since this country tells the world-- in between foreign aid grants-- that it is the leader of the West, and gets away with it, naturally (who would dare to defy Rome?). This is also "Negro History Week" and since this is the reason for having this panel, it is appropriate that I confine my comments to our great Democratic country--things close to home. I am an American you know, especially in War and in Voice of America broadcasts--Carl T. (thomas) Rowan speaks for me.

I shall briefly examine the field of literature here because my own interests lie there. Moreover, you will find the "image" most clearly delineated there. Drama and films are extensions of literature, so I shall draw heavily on that source. I do not consider "Aunt Jemima" and "Uncle Ben" art so we can discount most painting and sculpture by whites on the subject.

Art functions as an expressed attempt to document the feelings of the community. You cannot portray feelings that do not exist: they are tied up with and tied to the feelings of the people who make and support them. Therefore, if the blacks are portrayed in American art as clowns and idiots, as happy-go-lucky ne'er do wells, as fools and children who never grow up, this is because the white community--which controls the media of all communications here--feels this way, the protestations of the white liberal notwithstanding! They! They who produce the books, they who write the plays, who make the movies, who set the standards for this rotting society, they make the standards! They believe this about us; they perpetuate this image--it is pragmatic, it is useful, it is convenient for their rudimentary consciences; it is comfortable for them. It means that America, despite its declarations, its pieties in the U. N., is a racist country. This country still considers itself European and Western--if you will forgive the redundancy--and we all know the Western attitude toward other cultures. Colonialism, with its (cont.)

cultural arrogance still exists vis-à-vis the Black American. Whites claim to embody the repository of all that's valuable, and moral; in politics no other thoughts worthy of consideration exist outside the West, to say nothing of religion and art. How then could a people who are descendents of Africans--slaves non the less--be anything but sub-human? Subhuman I say to be counterpoised against, or as a limit to which no white person must sink?

Because we were economically valuable we were not physically destroyed as was the Indian; they destroyed our humanity and preserved our babies. In both abolitionist and pro-slavery literature the blacks were portrayed as loyal childlike beings, objects of contempt to the latter and objects of pity for the former. Only those of part-white ancestry in the literature those days had the sense and the courage to lead revolts, to hate and defy the system that degraded them.

The extension of the pro-slavery image was the movie, "Birth of a Nation," wherein the blacks are portrayed as lascivious primitives dressed in the confiscated clothes of their former masters after the Civil War. The good darkie was the "aunt Jemima" prototype who beat the ex-slave out of "massa's" house. We have here the beginning of a change, not an improvement, of the image. The oaf is replaced by the banjo-eyed clown and the loyal, all forgiving servant. Make way for Hattie McDaniels, make way for Stepn' Fetchit, make way for Willie Best!

Now we come to the character who has all of the virtues (college education, good job, good family) but one--a white skin! He consistently tries to prove himself, that he is not like the others, that he should be accepted on his own merits. "Peaceable Lane" is an example of this type of literature. Our own self-image could not help but be overwhelmed by this social disease of distortion. The "Negro Renaissance" produced admirable works, but underneath it all was the desire, the obsession to be like white folks. The tenor was still that of a beggar trying to imitate the best of the white writers. Begging heroes--get the picture? They only wanted in; they only wanted to be like whites. Only on rare occasions did it occur to them there was as much value in being Afro-American as there was in being Jewish, Italian, or Irish American. Roi Ottley, Countee Cullen, and at times Langston Hughes were the exceptions.

America has distorted its African image because it prefers a European image. All one has to do to see how African this country is, is to snap on the radio and listen to the so-called rock n' roll that the white folks ridiculed, then stole, and who are now making millions from--to say nothing of jazz which their brothers in Europe recognized long before they woke up to its value. Watch the "frog", ..(cont.)

146 hamilton

the "monkey," the "twist," or rehashes of the "charleston," the "black-bottom," the "cakewalk," and the "foxtrot"--the latter made white millionaires of Vernon and Irene Castle. We must make our own image now; white folks are too guilty and too sick to make up for what they have done to us. Writers like LeRoi Jones, John Killens, and Lofton Mitchell are doing just that, correcting the image....I am also. The distortion of us began as a justification for slavery and exploitation. It still goes on right now.

Far back into the ancestors of our Black ancestors we were once a proud race, strong, clean-limbed, lithe. Africa was then the cultural capital of the world. Fleet trading ships sailed misty seas to get to African ports, where Black merchants vied for gold and jewels with rich silks and tantalizing spices. Fat, wise kings sat on soft pillows and billowing rugs, handing out edicts to rival and surpass those of the fabled Solomon. And white men were just poking their snotty noses out of European caves and muttering, "ungh.".....Hospitals performed brain surgery which was not done in Europe until three centuries later....But like Greece, like Rome, like Egypt, like America, the Kingdoms of Africa one by one crumbled and fell...But Black men still remembered a time when they had been great, when they had shown the world a civilization no Caucasian mind could achieve. And they hoped for the future...

So go down, Black Moses. Go down to Africa-Land. Go down to the Congo, to Zambia, to Ghana. Forget the imperialist. Forget Charlie, unlock whitey's arms from your vision and go down, Black Moses.

(Excerpts from an essay written by an Afroamerican high school student--- after he had read SOULBOOK I)

NEW PUBLICATIONS OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

You cannot miss any of these revolutionary publications :

- (1) **COMMITTEE OF NINE** 3d.

A critical analysis of the Liberation Committee of Nine set up by the O.A.U.

- (2) **WHAT IS CATEGORIAL
CONVERSION ?** 3d.

A study into a very important philosophical concept in 'Consciencism'. Nkrumah's contribution to knowledge.

- (3) **KWAME NKRUMAH AND THE
AFRICAN REVOLUTION** 3d.

A terse, succinct and scintillating résumé of Kwame Nkrumah's Works.

- (4) **SOME ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF
NKRUMAISM** 5s.

A study of the main principles and ideas developed by Kwame Nkrumah for the guidance of the struggle for African unity and of the general struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

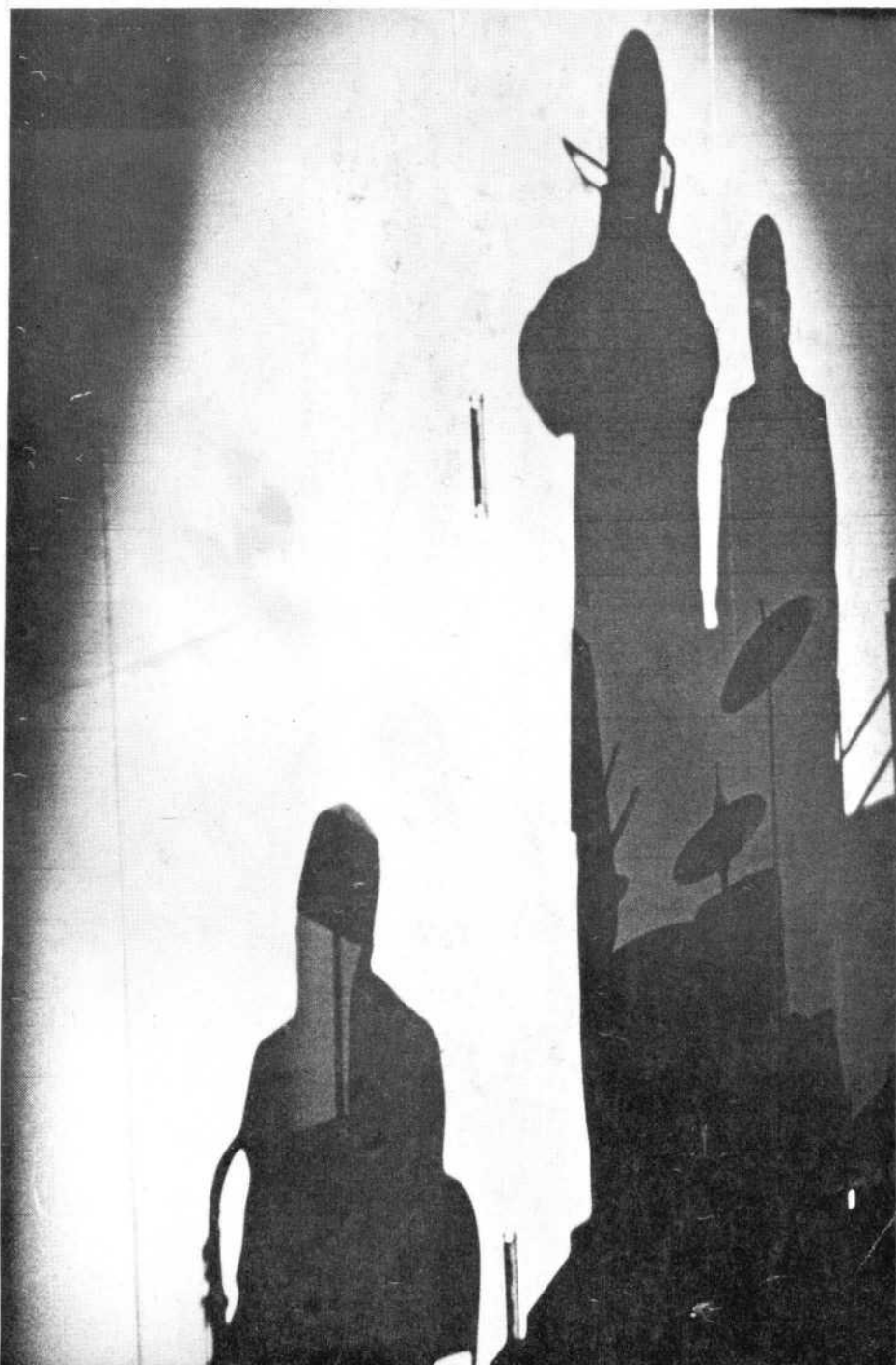
Obtainable from :

**THE SPARK PUBLICATIONS,
P. O. Box M.171,
ACCRA.**



SOULBOOK

65¢



3

cover design by glenn myles;
front cover photo by charles
robinson; back cover photo
by charles daniel dawson

jazz
economics
poetry
anti-imperialism

soulbook

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

p.o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. (racist u.s.a.)

editorial board : donald freeman, issac moore, ernest allen,
carroll holmes, kenn m. freeman, bobb hamilton.

new york representative : bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new
york, new york.

volume I

number 3

cable address: EMIR

fall, 1965

annual subscription by ordinary mail; \$2.25 inside u.s.a., \$3.50
outside u.s.a., . annual subscription by airmail; u.s.a. \$4.50,
outside u.s.a. \$7.50. there are four issues in an annual subscription.
one copy costs: \$0.65.

Copyright, 1965, by SOULBOOK inc., p.o. box 1097, berkeley, calif. 94701.
all rights reserved. all correspondence concerning manuscripts and business
matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p.o. box 1097 berkeley, calif. 94701
or bobb hamilton 350 bowery, new york 3, new york.

Imprimatur ✝ Robert Williams (R. A. M.)
Epus. Sebastopolis
Vic. Gen.

THAT'S WATTS HAPPENIN' !



by bobb hamilton

Those black men who talk about "Saving America" by making it live up to its dream -- and these are not the black bourgeoisie castration of which I speak, but the well-intentioned black radicals -- remind me of a naive woman who might plead to the ravaging rapist to allow her to dress the wounds and scratches he acquired in his attack on her -- not realizing that her assailant will only catch his breath in order to be more thorough in fucking her.

White America is waging a "no holds barred" war against the blacks in this country and against colored people all over the world! It is, at least, foolish to concern oneself about the welfare of someone who has his foot on your throat. After 400 years I should think that at least the more aware and articulate black men would see that the "American Dream" is the blackman's Nightmare! Time has run out for Black preachers and black pietists! The battles being fought in America are not economic ones, not against poverty; America is engaged in the early stages of a blatant race war. Those Black leftists who still nurture that intellectually expensive illusion of "black and white unity" against some economic bugbear (capitalism) need only look honestly at America's clandestine ally in this struggle, The Soviet Union. The Russians are as 'white' as any Mississippi peckerwood vis-a-vis the "yellow peril," Red China! The white man in America, and Europe too for that matter, has become so acclimatized to bullying and oppressing and terrorizing non-whites, and to the acquiescence and, much too often, the collaboration of those he tyrannizes, that he is genuinely shocked, bewildered, and even hurt when he is told, "stop I've had enough." He was shocked by the long hot Summer of 1964, by Springfield, Chicago, and Los Angeles of 1965.

"Punks," said Boy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People -- unimaginatively.... like a cracked record. "We deplore...." said Farmer Jim of the Congress on Ritual Equality, not too long returned from his mission as "official nigger to Africa to undo Malcolm's work." "With all force necessary!" said Kingfish Martin -- at least he was the most consistent, for he had reassured "chuck" that his position was that any blood to be shed in the pursuit of "The American Dream", would be ours!

The Governor of California, the Mayor and the Chief of Police of Los Angeles screamed, "Where are the responsible Negro Leaders?" They were there and here whitey -- you were just too hysterical to hear and see them! The U. S. News and World Report, the liberal N. Y. Post, The Times, the white press and nauseum attributed the revolt in Los Angeles to criminals and thugs! These are the presses who eulogize the Boston Tea Party, the French Underground, and the slave uprisings sparked by Spartacus in Rome!

* * *

The blacks in Los Angeles, California were not irresponsible: They were tired of white bull-shit. The black bourgeoisie were silent because they had been so "busy" being "responsible" to white folks that they, by definition, could not be responsible to blacks -- they've never been before: possibly amidst the so-called chaos a quiet voice told them they were black too; possibly and very likely they "knew better" than to speak out on the side of "whitey" our non leaders were "safe" and "secure" on the East Coast and in the South. My only regret is that so many blacks were killed, but it has always been that way. Hasn't it? But there are new heroes growing by leaps and bounds in the psyche of us, the black masses; they are: Nat Turner, Cinque, Marcus Garvey, Robert Williams, Malcolm X, and the Deacons! Keep on pushing!

Burn, Baby, Burn

Tired.

Sick an Tired,

Tired of being

Sick an Tired.

Lost.

Lost in the

wilderness

Of white america.

Are the masses asses?

Cool.

Said the master to the slave,

"No problem. Don't rob an steal,

I'll be your drivin wheel."

Cool.

And he wheeled us into

350 years of black madness,

To hog guts, conked hair, covadis,

To bleaching cream and uncle thomas,

To WATTS,

To the streets,

To the KILL.

BOMMMM.....2 honkeys gone.

MOTHER FUCK the police!

And parker's sister, too.

BLACK PEOPLE;

Tired,

Sick an tired,

Tired of being

Sick an tired --

Burn, baby, burn.....

Don't leave dem boss rags,

C'mon, child, don't mind da

tags.

Git all dat motherfuckin pluck,
Git dem guns too, we 'on't give
a fuck!

Burn, baby, burn,
Cook outta sight --

Fineburgs,

Whitefront,

Wineburgs,

Blackfront --

Burn, baby, burn,

In time

He

will learn.

by

marvin jackmon

africa, china & the u.s.

by cheikh-anta diop

(translated from the french by SEUL BOOK)

Although Cheikh-Anta Diop is not well known in Afroamerica, he, more than any living Black intellectual (for that matter anybody), has developed approaches to, and theories of Black history. Brother Diop has a theory that there is a basic division of peoples into 2 kinds: the Southerners (or Negro-Africans), and the Aryans. Each grouping has, a cultural outlook based on response to climate, the difference between them being that Aryans have had a harsher climate.

According to Diop the Aryans have developed patriarchal systems characterized by the suppression of women and a tendency toward individualism, materialism and pessimism. The Southerners, on the other hand, he sees as possessing a matriarchal system. The women are much freer, the social system is collectivist and optimistic in its orientation towards life.

As for the historical basis of this view Diop has argued, with a considerable amount of evidence, that ancient Egypt was not only a Black African civilization, but that also European civilization is a mere derivative of that great society. In a word, his writings on this subject are at least outrageously provocative, and at the most blatantly revolutionary.

We do not give this background to Brother Diop's orientation in order to endorse his views; on the contrary, we have reservations about some of his conclusions, and his emphasis on climate as a determinant of history, but we do know that his historical findings vis-a-vis pharaonic Egypt and its relationship to Africa and Europe have immense credence. The main reason we have summarized his theories is to point out his excellent intellectual and pro-Black credentials so that we can show why we feel Brother Diop is eminently qualified to explain many of the relationships between the Peoples Republic of China, the emerging African nations, and that great guardian of the color line, the United States of America.

-- The Editors --

* * *

China, in exploding two Uranium 235 bombs, has just proved that she is capable of having access to thermonuclear power by her own means. Several years are yet necessary, perhaps less than ten, in order for her to constitute an operational arsenal. Also, China of today is comparable to the U.S.S.R. of 1926 to 1938; she needs to build her economy, to consolidate her political regime, and also her technical capabilities. In these undertakings she must shun war at any price in order to gain precious years so that she may acquire the invulnerability of nuclear powers.

China will go to war only in the case of her own defense. The territory of China is sufficiently vast in order to permit virtually the doubling of her present population (actual density is approximately 80 per square kilometers) and of feeding it without having need of pruning the lands of a neighbor. Therefore the true danger isn't in seeing the Chinese reenacting the invasion of the Huns and overrunning a Europe which is only a "peninsula of Asia." Rather, it resides in the fact that, in the end, the well-being, higher creative knowledge, technical efficiency, power, and the ability to make demands will no longer be the monopoly of the west.

ELIMINATING THE AMBIGUITIES

The United States is fully conscious of this situation. It seems to feel that the safe-guarding of both their supremacy and that of the west in general necessitates a preventive war against China; even their press no longer makes a mystery of this position. However, the U.S. can only act with impunity if it succeeds in momentarily isolating China from the rest of the Socialist Camp. The unspeakable American provocations in Vietnam register within this perspective. (cont.p. 156)



President Nyerere welcomes Premier Chou to Dar-es-Salaam

(They can lead to war if the U.S. estimates, rightly or wrongly, that the solidarity of the Socialist Camp would fail China, that China wouldn't benefit from the atomic umbrella and from the air cover of the U.S.S.R.) The war would then spring from a lack of clarity in the positions originally taken.

Today, as in the time of the Korean War, peace is gained in eliminating ambiguities in time. Also, one would like to believe that firm resolutions, which contrast with appearances, have already been taken at the level of discreet diplomacy not leaving to hover in the air any doubts as to the solidarity of the Socialist Camp in the case of a U. S. attack on China under any pretext whatsoever. It is with the aerial protection of the U.S.S.R. that China was able to aid North Korea, and why she would be able to aid Vietnam today. This important condition which could, alone, render effective China's aid to Vietnam, depends entirely upon the U.S.S.R.; and the reasons for China's present procrastination are perfectly understood. The presence of Sibylline warnings could be fatal to peace.

AGAINST PREVENTIVE WAR

In the case where all this would proceed with cold calculation and against all expectation, the results would be catastrophic for humanity. They would go beyond the limits of classical Macchiavellianism to take on the dimensions of a bankruptcy of man in his attempt to exceed his ethnic category in order to become reconciled with other men and to create a veritable humanity. No lucid being should hope to make the best of a similar situation. The consequences that the people who are suffering and who are fighting for their emancipation would draw from it would be irremediable and dreadful. China's technological power is a guarantee of peace and of development because she throws out of tune the old game of the balance of power. World peace will be better assured if a country of the Third World¹ is able to become a center of high intellectual development, of technical power, and of the ability to return tit for tat. This will be a guarantee against possible acts of despotism, of cowardice or of racist genocide; this introduces an advantageous disparity in the distribution of forces on the planet --- this is the grain of sand which makes the imperialist machine grate.

It is too often forgotten that modern science is not yet sufficiently implanted in the Third World, and that, for the development of our future plans to be gravely compromised, an abrupt darkening of international relations (which is always possible) would be sufficient. Understanding, of more or less brief duration, between western thermonuclear powers in order to impose a limitation and a minor management on the technical development of the Third World is probable, if there does not exist outside the west a force capable of opposing it if necessary. This

is what is understood by these so-called powers every time they evoke the problem of dissemination of atomic weapons.

The interest and security of the Third World demands that all the means of development, of domination and demand should no longer be the monopoly of the west.

In acting today for the preservation of China, to prevent the destruction of Chinese power still in limbo, the Third World has only to work lucidly towards the consolidation of its security.

In reality, the voice of the unanimous Third World would weigh with an enormous moral heaviness on the decisions of the only two nuclear powers on which the result of the situation depends.

In the particular case of the U.S.S.R., its strength, which is today able to safeguard peace and to serve the development of peoples, was equally menaced with destruction by imperialism when she was in gestation.

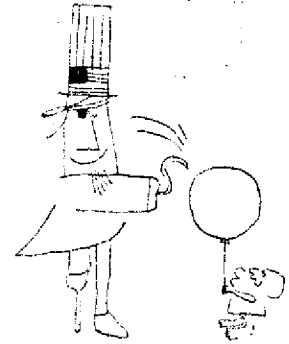
All the working peoples, without distinction of color, were then allied in order to hatch it, to protect it from October, 1917 to 1939; longshoremen of every country boycotted the preventive war against the U.S.S.R.; seamen mutinied in order to bring about a triumph of its cause, a cause identified with that of the world revolution. More recently, some scientists, by pure ideological conviction, incurred national indignity and prison in order to permit it (the U.S.S.R.) to have access to nuclear and thermonuclear power: Green Glass, Klaus Fuchs, Pontecorvo, etc. On the Ivory Coast, some blacks from the forest dressed in loin-cloths marked X's on some ends of bamboo without too much realizing what they did, it is true; nevertheless, this was their means of signing the Stockholm Appeal destined to assure peace, to forestall a premature war against the U.S.S.R. when its nuclear force was not yet assured.

ACTIVE SOLIDARITY

A state which was born and developed in such a moral climate should be available without equivocation, every time the peace of people is menaced.

A crusade resembling the "peace movement" when the U.S.S.R. had a real need for it, should be newly and immediately launched by the states of the Third World in a show of solidarity with China.

Since the end of WWII the U.S. has been leaving its traditional isolationism, has passed from one extreme to the other, and is now defending its 'security' on the



shores of each continent, even to the heart of the untrodden forest in the Congo.



A DEFUNCT INDEPENDENCE

It should be stated that any Black African state is already no longer independent (if independence has ever been effective) for no one would know how to alter his political regime without "uncle sam" becoming suspicious and paying him a visit. The U.S. is anxious to keep Africa in the Western camp, within its own sphere of influence, to speak more clearly. One shouldn't be able to "keep" an independent country.

The short period of euphoria and of easy terms following the declarations of independence, during which in order to obtain everything all you had to do was hold out your hand is completely ended everywhere.

For want of being organized in time on more viable unitarian political foundations, but implying more personal sacrifices, today only the period of "tears" which is at hand remains. Certain countries deceive themselves in trying to organize their individual safety. However, the only security possible in the actual situation of Black Africa is a collective one. Prospects for the future are gloomy.

Imperialism intends to organize anarchy over all the African Continent in a manner which will keep the political initiative that it has already regained, which had been taken away from it by liberation movements on the eve of the independence of these states.

Here in lies a new fact of capital importance, on which it is essential that the attention of Africans polarizes itself.

It is the plague that we have always denounced. Alas! Black Africa strongly risks receiving it as its lot. It is the spectre of South Americanization which haunts it with its cortege of unhappiness and misery.

One still remembers the stirring declarations of Quadros revealing that he was pushed by obscure forces when he was forced to abandon his authority in Brazil.

The U.S. made it clear to him, he said, that an underdeveloped country wasn't able to allow itself to have an independent diplomacy. This should be entrusted to an "appropriate power".

The occurrences in Santo Domingo are of such a nature as to edify even the most indifferent.

In the long run, no amount of "goodness", "realism", or "moderation", would know how to shelter one from this new form of insecurity. Nkrumah is made to sing today, tomorrow it is everyone who will dance like a cicada.²

One takes touching precautions to give imperialism the understanding that it will be very well to adapt itself to our socialism, for they are not malignant. Their inventors simply wanted to be fashionable in the domain of political expression; thus African Socialism is often a synonym for inoffensive socialism. Soon, as in the manner of the birth of philosophy, each African will walk with his socialist doctrine under his arm.

A CREATION OF HELL

However, one tries in vain to prove to the Americans that there is a difference between a devil whose tail burns like a torch and one whose tail only smokes, because for them, all socialism is a creation of hell, which as such should return there, if necessary with the help of atomic bombs. Forgive our illusions.

Ghana, Mali, Guinea, Tanzania, and Congo(B) to different degrees are already menaced by imperialism, which does not desire that any political experiment whatsoever, conducted independently of it, might be conclusive, might be able, for that reason, to inspire in other countries inclinations towards independence. Thus, as a demon which torments dwarfs, it amuses itself in undoing the laborious work of the elves with a disconcerting facility.

The personality of General De Gaulle hinders the direct taking in hand of this part of Black Africa by the United States. Meanwhile, the U.S. is devoting itself to a systematic study, to a slicing up of the terrain in a manner of a checkerboard, and to an economic penetration as silent as it is efficacious. Their business groups control the administrative councils of former companies with French names: F.A.O., NOSOCO, SCOA, etc. As a beginning, they have just gotten control of 49% of the shares of the former Bank of West Africa which has now become the International Bank of West Africa.

PRETORIA ORGANIZES

On the other hand, the white minority of South Africa would be able to take the black continent from the rear. The British protectorates, enclaves of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, are easy prey. The seizure of Southwest Africa is complete, and outside the periodic speeches at the U.N. no one thinks about forcing Pretoria's hand. The white minority of Southern Rhodesia, which (cont. p. 160)

practices the same politics, will draw nearer to her at the opportune moment. The national liberation movements of Angola and of Mozambique seem to be halted or at least stabilized, that is to say, smothered for an unpredictable duration. This has only been possible with the complicity of imperialism. One should keep a close eye on the development of the situation in these two territories.

Congo(D) constitutes an ideal buffer state which would even be able to completely fall within the orbit of South Africa with the consent of the U.S., despite the actual appearances. And the counter-offensive to the independence movement doesn't stop there. England can explode the Federation of Nigeria whenever she may feel like it; other forms of interference are possible. The reduction of Black Africa to a few small semi-deserted states, engulfed in an endemic anarchy, is not impossible. While there is still time, it would be impossible to overly attract the attention of Africans concerning the preparations of war and the underground forces of South Africa.

The first reactor of this country (South Africa) already branched off several years ago; since that time, other more powerful reactors have probably been constructed in greatest secrecy so as to fabricate and stockpile plutonium in a quantity sufficient for undertaking the construction of tactical atomic bombs. Today, South Africa is sufficiently equipped in technical matters to fabricate bombs of plutonium which will detonate by implosion. 4.

However that may be, the case of Vietnam proves that, the moment at hand, the United States would easily find a pretext in order to provide, if necessary, tactical atomic bombs and others to the white minority. It is known that such devices are already stock-piled at Da-Nang base in South Vietnam, ready for utilization.

The physical separation of the communities that is being realized within the framework of apartheid would render possible a perfect genocide.

Today South Africa is feverishly organizing in order to resist, on the military level, the whole black continent.

It is hoped that the danger will be perceived in time. And it is there that the existence of a center of power outside the west, in the Third World, would permit a victorious offsetting of an eventual duplicity. South Africa constitutes for Black Africa the most serious danger on the road leading to an era of universal understanding!

Before this precise menace, as before the problems of constructing a rational economy and organizing a viable common market, Africans, isolated, are reduced to ineffectiveness. One would like to bring together the egoistic individual advantages of political separation and the collective advantages of a political federation of Africa. Surely this is the square of the circle. (he begins (cont.p.131)

to realize that egoism vis-à-vis Africa, skillfully set up in a doctrine of "wisdom," doesn't lead very far.

One understands in an obscure manner that at the end the new forms of insecurity spare no one: witness Goulart, Olympio, Maga, and Toulon.

THE DEFEAT OF BOLIVAR

We are entering into an era of humanity and humiliation. We will leave it only by the adoption of a political situation of a federal nature. One should think about the consequences of Bolivar's defeat with respect to Latin America.

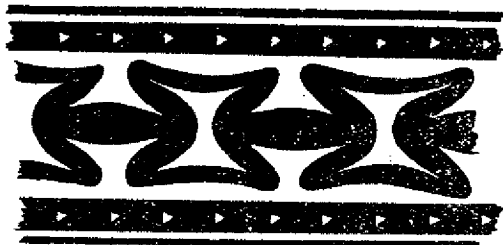
It is certain that the interests of the people are hardly opposed to a similar solution. On the contrary, all invite Dahomians, Senegalese, Ivoiriens, Guineans, Malians, etc. to unite their abilities and powers in order to multiply their capacity to oppose anarchy and foreign domination.

An African political structure, in which an effort of rational economic construction would be able to be undertaken, does not yet exist. Its creation depends only upon Africans. When one attempts to consider economic regroupings outside of political domain, this difficulty is only a transposed illusion. A federal executive is necessary, however embryonic he may be, whom will be transferred a minimum of authority, permitting him, for example, to decide upon regional specialization, after a thorough study; then Senegal's vocation for a chemical industry would be able to be confirmed; it would be the same for the inclination to the heavy-metal and light alloy industry of the Guinea-Liberia ensemble; and that of the Ivory Coast for the industry of wood and its derivatives.

TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR ONE'S OWN FATE

The organization of an African common market will consist then of studying the volume and outflow of the complementary products thus fabricated. A rational economic organization wouldn't know how to take precedent over the placing in operation of a valid formula of political unification.

One should note with astonishment that it is not known how to conserve the political experience of the colonial epoch on the plan of unifying diverse territories: the former federations of West Africa and of Equatorial Africa, of (page 162 cont.)



which the viability had been proved, are broken up in consequence of egocentric discord.

The originality of African political difficulties resides in the fact that one is obliged to realize by peaceful means that which in history is always accomplished by war and violence, when it is a question of political or cultural unification.

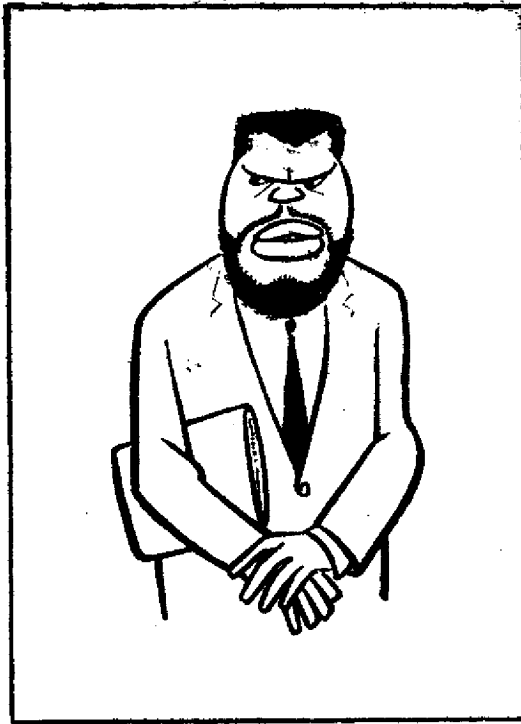
In the absence of a preliminary political solution, each African state will try to become an industrial micro-universe in order to be self-sufficient, all in being obligated to opt for installations of weak power and small capacity.

The groups devoid of power of decision, imposed upon everyone, which would not imply a partial and parallel abandon ment of sovereignty, will always be shortlived. The african political experience during these last years leaves us without any illusions as to this point of view, even for the Organization of African unity.

But all of that will not have been sorrow lost if it is at this price, and at this price only, that the African masses take cognizance of the fact that their fate lies in their own hands and not elsewhere, and that it is very necessary that they decide to assume responsibility for it.

footnotes

1. The Third World is that group of nations that have a common background of oppression and have the common objective of eliminating that oppression.
2. a cicada is an insect which is noted for the prolonged shrill notes of the male, produced by special sound organs.
3. Pretoria is the capital of the Republic of South Africa.
4. Without becoming overly technical it may be stated that basically there exist two ways of obtaining fission material for the construction of atomic bombs; one method, utilizing Plutonium 239, is probably the most widely used by nuclear powers because of the relatively less intricate instrumentation needed for production of this material; The use of Uranium 235 as fissionable material is at the heart of the other method, and has only been produced in the west at considerable cost (because of the necessity of refined processes in which over a thousand interlocking units, all functioning perfectly, have been necessary for this production). The advantages in having facilities to produce U235 means that the ability to produce tritium, a key element in the production of the H-bomb, is also near at hand.



ROBERT WILLIAMS: A NEW FIGURE ON STAGE AND SCREEN

Recently The Touring Artists Group (TAG) in Los Angeles, Calif, began presenting, If We Must Live, a three act impressionist play by Frank Greenwood. The play is based on Robert Williams and the Black people of Monroe, North Carolina's militant struggle against Ku Klux Klan and F.B.I. terror.

On the other side of the globe, at almost the same time, a Peking film studio produced a 70 minute documentary entitled: Robert Williams In China. It covers Mr. and Mrs. Robert Williams recent tour of the Peoples' Republic of China.

The Cuban Film Institute has further utilized the talents and background of Brother Williams. With his help they have just finished reproducing a documentary on the Afroamerican freedom struggle.

Good luck in your new career, Rob, at least we know you will do a better job in portraying Black masculinity than hollywood or broadway!

the man from f.l.n. : brother frantz fanon

by kenn n. freeman

"The spectre of a storm is haunting the Western World. Its foreboding presence is being felt in the great capitals from Rome to Bonn to Paris, to Brussels to London, across the Atlantic to New York and Washington, across the Pacific to Melbourne and Sidney: the spectre of a storm is brewing on the horizons of the West..."¹.

When the young, staunchly-Black intellectual Rolland Snellings thrust this legitimate observation before the oft-deceived Afroamerican people, I, for one, was sceptical of this 'spectre of a storm'. It was Frantz Fanon who hacked to pieces my uncertainty about this inexorable search of the Third World to be heard!

After reading the Wretched Of The Earth* I wanted to read everything by, and about, this Black man par excellence. Yes, he was a man because he wrote with courageous honesty; and he could know reality because he was born Black. I felt that by knowing his assertions and about his capacity to tell the truth that somehow I might exorcise myself from many of the puerile myths of my often ambiguous, but progressing life.

Each sentence Fanon placed on the page is like spoken roses, but when an unsuspecting reader allows it to enter into his mind it explodes like a bomb with a creative violence that smashes one to the ground of reality. Listen to another eminent Black Martiniquais paint us an a propos portrait of Fanon's unique style of writing: "Always, everywhere, the same lucidity, the same forcefulness, the same fearlessness of analysis, the same spirit of 'scandalous' demystification."².

Yes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. As I digested the souffle-like flow of Fanon's words his 'scandalous' truth destroyed scores of my white-infested untruths, distortions and doubts about that universal storm of Black, Brown,

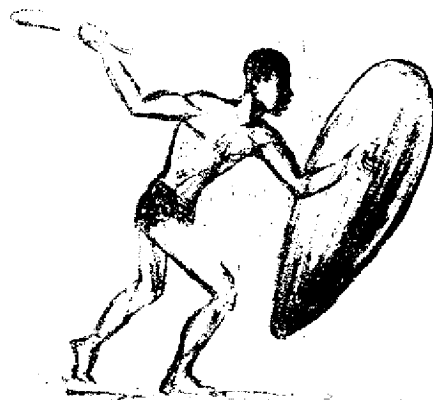
Yellow peoples....Thank You Brother Frantz.

Now I must tell you something about this man whose book, Les Damnés De La Terre, I have just finished reading for the third time:

Frantz Fanon was born in 1925 in Fort De France, Martinique, 'French' West Indies. Although he read medicine at the Sorbonne, and later specialized in Psychiatry, nevertheless he once said: "I don't give a damn about Europe, its culture and diplomas, or the institutions it tolerates which are just so many instruments of domination. We should chuck out that garbage and tell ourselves we have nothing to lose by doing so. Otherwise, no liberation is possible!"³. During World War II even though he was studying at the University of Paris he found time to work with Présence Africaine. Although later -- if not at this early date -- he had serious disagreements with this group over the concept of Négritude, they seemed to always have had the utmost respect for Fanon. Upon Fanon's tragic death in 1961 the father of Négritude, Aimé Césaire, summed up the feelings of the majority of the leaders of the études noires when he said: "Fanon is dead. We knew for months that he was going to die, but we were hoping against all reason, because we knew him to be resolute and so essential to our horizon of man, that some miracle would transpire."⁴.

In 1952 Fanon's first book Peau Noire, Masque Blancs (Black Skin, White Masks -- it is supposed to be published in English soon by Grove Press) was published in Paris. Immediately after that he started working as a psychiatrist in Blida, Algeria. When the Algerian war broke out, he joined the F. L. N., but he still found time to speak in Paris in 1956 at the First Congress of Black Writers. He was also the Chief Editor of the F. L. N. newspaper, El Moudjahid and during the same period he wrote another book, Year V of the Algerian Revolution. In 1960 he became one of the leaders of the Algerian Provisional Government, and then he went off to Ghana to become Algeria's Ambassador to that country.

It is reported that in 1961, upon learning that he had leukemia he merely laughed, and only expressed concern about whether he had time to complete his writings (he was at the time working on The Wretched of the Earth) and of course whether he would get the opportunity to die on the battlefield fighting for the F. L. N.



Maybe his contempt for death at that time was a consequence of the fact that he had faced it two times before, and each time he had leaped over its devouring precipice. The first time his jeep ran over a mine near the Algerian-Moroccan Frontier and he emerged with twelve fractured vertebrae, complicated by paraplegia and sphincteral disorders. The second time he was in Rome when the car in which he was to ride was wired with explosives by the "Red Hand" (the same group of French terrorists who murdered the Camerounian patriot, Brother Felix Moumié), but the bomb exploded prematurely, missing Brother Fanon, but killing 2 Italian Children playing near the car.

But no matter when Frantz Fanon died physically his writings have been kept alive and are being enshrined into the psyches of the new Black revolutionaries. They have inflamed the intellectual circles of all French-speaking Africa; and I predict a similar fate for his message in the rest of the 'Third World' -- including Afroamerica.

But not only are his works of importance to the exiled Africans in the western world, but the fact that Fanon was also a member of the forced diaspora makes him a critical example for young Black Americans. We are chronically asking ourselves 'What is Africa to us?' We want to know how we could possibly be of any benefit to the 'fellahin', 'guajiros', 'untouchables' and all the other 'Soul Brothers' of the universe. Again it's Césaire who points to an answer:

"Fanon probably soared to such heights and was possessed of so wide a horizon because he was a West Indian, meaning that he started from so lowly and narrow a basis. Maybe it was necessary to be West Indian, that is, to be so destituted, so depersonalized, in order to go forth with such ardour to the conquest of oneself and of plenitude; West Indian, this is to say, so mystified in the beginning as to finally be able to expose the most secret motives of mystification, and with such mastery; finally, West Indian to be capable of so forcefully escaping from impotency by action, from solitude by fraternity." 5.

Although Césaire speaks here of the West Indian, it is apparent from the context of his remarks that he is suggesting that mankind is obliged to be led by the dispersed of Ethiopia, the hewers of street corner melees, and drawers of white racist paternalism. He is saying that it is we, who are exiled from self and homeland, are best able to 'set afoot a new man'; and that it was Frantz Fanon who illustrates our potential.....Thank You Brother Frantz

I am going to discuss the Wretched of the Earth :

A couple of comments are in order in regards to the English translation by Constance Farrington of Les Damnés De La Terre. On the whole it is good. But there are two problems that can make for decisive confusion: one is the word "native" and the other is "Negroism."



Fanon in the original did not say "l'indigène" which is translated "The native". What he did say was "le colonisé" which is translated as "the colonized." There is an obvious big difference between "The native" and "the colonized". Translating Negritude into "Negroism" is dangerous because it leads to a greater misunderstanding of a school of thought that is already misunderstood in the English speaking world. My opinion is that it should have been left in the French when it was put into the English text.

When Fanon's book was first published in Paris, French liberals let loose their bag of trite, ambiguous barrages upon it, saying that it was too full of "violence and hatred," or that Fanon might be guilty of "racism in reverse." Incidentally the French Government subsequently banned the book.

In the U.S. the liberals are giving the book similar treatment: Harold Isaacs, "the non-responsible fellow-traveler" of Black thinkers has apparently been crowned the castrator of Frantz Fanon.

It is ironic that in his review essay⁶ of Fanon's book Isaacs saves his most caustic remarks for Sartre's introduction to the book. Isaacs says: "Sartre dances around Fanon like an excited small satyr..." This is ironic because both Sartre and Isaacs have often (or to be more precise, Sartre often and Isaacs virtually all the time) been the observers, attempting to analyze and interpret Black peoples' thoughts. But there is a generic difference between white intellectual Sartre and white egg-head Isaacs: Isaacs has endeavored to defoliate all blossoming progressive Black ideas -- with a stress on Afroamerican ones; however, Sartre has tried always to honestly interpret the beauty and significance of Black peoples' literature and political theory without telling us that we should want something different.⁷ (But this does not imply that Black people need Sartre to interpret for them; but White people need Sartre to show them why they are the most hated group of people in the Universe, and probably beyond.) In this context we can -- although we are not obliged to -- appreciate Sartre's dynamic, understanding preface; and likewise, all of Isaacs' thoroughly trite and condescending remarks should be scorned, and then forgotten.

Although we must suspect -- rather than respect -- Isaacs' position,

we must realize that he has considerable influence amongst the naive negro camp-followers of pet rnalistic white liberals. Hence for our confused brothers' sake we must wage a resolute campaign against his obstrusions on Black revolutionary thought.

When Isaacs looks at Fanon through his liberal-scope he sees all kinds of take-offs in "a succession of wild and blurry yonders." Although it is true that much of Fanon's thoughts are incomplete (is this amazing when the man knew he was racing against death to finish this book?), he is quite consistent with his two main themes :

"Now, the 'fellah', the unemployed man, the starving native do not lay a claim to the truth; they do not say that they represent the truth for they are the truth." (p.34)

The other focus of interest is :

"The nationalist militant who had fled from the town in disgust...discovers in real action a new form of political activity which in no way resembles the old. These politics are national, revolutionary and social and these new facts which the native will now come to know exist only in action. They are the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets, which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by these facts... Violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders, and gives the key to them. WITHOUT THAT KNOWLEDGE OF THE PRACTICE OF ACTION, THERE'S NOTHING BUT A FANCY-DRESS PARADE AND THE BLARE OF THE TRUMPETS." p. 117 (emphasis added by kmf)

So when one reads Fanon's masterpiece he should keep in mind these enlightening passages; they are the containers that enclose the heterogenous insights that are spread like wildfire through this incendiary book.

Isaacs says that Fanon is saying that violence is the only way to win manhood. It is very true that Fanon is convinced that violence is the best arm of the colonized that can be used against the colonialist barbarity; he is also convinced that violence is of maximum sociological value because 'the colonized's violence unifies the people; and at the level of psychology: 'it frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.' But Fanon is quick to call a halt to generalizations :

"We know for sure today that in Algeria the test of force was inevitable; but other countries through the work of clarification undertaken by a party led their people to the same results." p54

Isaacs says that "it is not easy to play Fanon's game..(???? --kmf)...without a scorecard to tell you who the players are...." But Isaacs' bias to bourgeoisize everything Black proscribes him from seeing that Fanon obviously does not give a hot damn what the names of the players are in the (cont. p. 168)

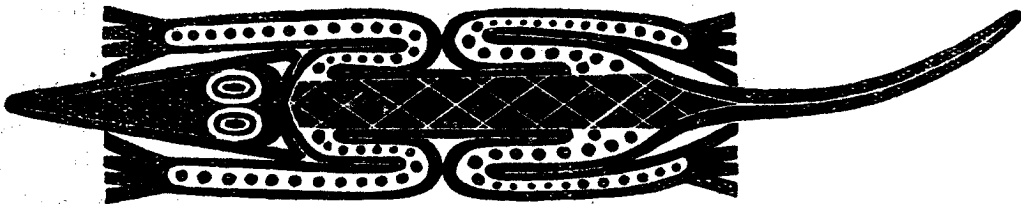
contest of humanity against inhumanity. In fact Fanon throws quid pro quo for the insipid Isaacs and his ilk :

"In order to arrive at this conception of the party, we must above all rid ourselves of the very western, very bourgeois and therefore contemptuous attitude that the mass are incapable of governing themselves. In fact experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems." (p.150)

So Fanon, in one of the most astonishing sections of his book, goes on to give myriad examples from his Algerian experience to prove this point. But he states that there is one hitch: "It is true that if care is taken to use only language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be managed from above. But if you speak the language of every day; then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade." (p. 151) To be sure the significance is not missed -- even by those who need 'scorecards' -- he goes on to say: "Everything can be explained to the people on the single condition that you really want them to understand." (p. 151)

While I am speaking of leaders it is noteworthy that Fanon's scoreboard gives us the necessary understanding to fill Afroamerica's scorecard on its fictitious Afroamerican political leadership (particularly if we apply his criteria to their game just before, during and after the 1964 Harlem 'riots'); and he also cooks us some food for thought vis-a-vis the post-independent Kenyan situation :

"What is the reaction of the nationalist parties to this eruption of the peasant masses into the national struggle?...They don't oppose the continuing of the rebellion, but they content themselves with leaving it to the spontaneous action of the country people..... They do not go into the countryside to educate the people politically, or to increase their awareness or put the struggle into a higher level. All they do is to hope that, carried onwards by its own momentum, the action of the people will not come to a standstill.. In Kenya for example, during the mau-mau rebellion, not a single well-known nationalist declared his affiliation with the movement, or even to defend the men involved in it." pp. 93-94



"Fanon wants no part of any kind of counter-racism, no part of Negritude. . . . no part of a "Black culture," no part of leaning on specious glorifications of the past. . . ." Isaacs does it again! He uses his pseudo-skill in sermonizing on quarter-truths.

The truth is that Fanon is very conscious of the fact that imperialism has 'devalued' the glorious past of Africa. And he, as much as Senghor, Césaire or J.A. Rogers is convinced of the historical necessity of studying the history of the colored peoples of the world, and particularly Black people studying their own history regardless of what nation-state they might live in. But he goes on to say that the colonized intellectual "is obliged to dissect the heart of his people." (p. 171) So he carries this line of reasoning further and observes that often those who profess to tear themselves away from western culture embrace, rather pretentiously, a few "outer garments" of traditional African life (sandles, etc.); but he observes that what these intellectuals are concerned with cannot bring them to an understanding in order 'to measure the real situation which the men and women of his country know.' (p. 180) He adds that when the people take it upon themselves to struggle against their colonial oppressors their "principles of custom" are undergoing radical changes, mainly because these same principles during colonialism acted as "safeguards" (roughly defensive mechanisms) and during the struggle it is violence and/or political action which become the "safeguards". Thus he comes to the conclusion that at this critical period when the masses are looking toward the future, the intellectual "paradoxically turns toward the past and away from actual events." 8.

Although there might be room for argument on this provocative view, this argument does nothing to substantiate Isaacs' claim that Fanon "wants no part of Négritude." Fanon gives other arguments on the failings of Négritude, (e.g. culture should be primarily national instead of supra-national), but in the final analysis Fanon does no more than point out the contradictions, in a dialectical sense, of much of the ever-changing-multi-interpreted concept (style?) of Négritude.

Other than Isaacs there are other white intellectuals who treat Fanon with more respect, but who seem to be more interested in "Donneybrooks" than decolonization. They say Fanon underrates the degree of cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial and post-colonial Africa. For example, "All African phenomena -- even dancing -- are to him functions of colonialism."⁹ Fanon does not say -- nor does his position imply -- that dance and possession are products of colonialism: What he does say is that the submerged aggressivity (that muscular motion which the obstacle of colonialism accentuates towards motion, but before the anti-colonial struggle it is generally expended on other colonized, or in the culture of the colonized) of the colonized is (cont. on page 170)

'canalized' in the dance and the possessions. Thus he is not questioning the fact of any survival of the pattern of the traditional life; but he is stating that in this way their 'principles' (that is the attitudes of the participants as opposed to the form and content of the culture) to an important degree have been radically transformed. He later says that the struggle for decolonization does the following to the cultural life of the people: "And the youth of a colonized country, growing up in an atmosphere of shot and fire, may well make a mock of, and does not hesitate to pout scorn upon the zombies of his ancestors, the dead who rise again, and the djinns who rush into your body while you yawn. The native discovers reality and transforms it into the pattern of his customs, into the practice of violence and into his plan for Freedom." (p. 46; emphasis added by kmf)

It is of prime importance to understand that Fanon not only does not underestimate the cultural continuity which exists between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa, but in fact he exalts the banner of traditional Africa controversially high:

"The peasant who stays put defends his traditions stubbornly, and in a colonized society stands for the disciplined element who interests lie in maintaining the social structure." (p. 90)

He goes on to say:

"These men (revolutionaries who have been exiled from the city...kmf) discover a coherent people (the peasants...kmf) who go on living, as it were statically, but who keep their moral values and their devotion to the nation intact. They discover a people that is generous, ready to sacrifice themselves completely, an impatient people, with a stoney pride." (pp. 101-02)

Fanon (like Sekou Toure) sees much of the peasants' preserved customs as of prime importance in the process of decolonization:

"The memory of the ant-colonial period is very much alive in the villages, where women still croon in their children's ears songs to which the warriors marched when they went out to fight their conquerers. At 12 or 13 years of age the village children know the names of the old men who were in the last rising, and the dreams they dream in the 'dours' or in the villages are not those of money or of getting through their exams like the children of the towns, but dreams of identification with some rebel or another, the story still today moves them to tears." (p. 92)

Now I am going to turn to an entirely different aspect of Fanonism: I feel that I should help clear up misunderstandings and destroy deliberate distortions of his views; I also feel obligated to present legitimate excuses for him in light of the fact that he died prematurely, so that many of his virtually posthumous ideas are incomplete; but I will never adulterate him. He himself crystallized many of my preexisting doubts about the "cult of the personality." So now I come to a crucial subject which I feel his ideas (cont. p. 172)

need elaboration and modification.

Fanon's experience with Afroamericans from the U.S. was largely confined to a small segment of Afroamerican intellectuals: that is the Richard Wrights, the Mercer Cooks (who was reportedly in a state of virtual shock when, at the 1956 Black Writers Conference, Aime Cesaire told him that the Black American lived in a semi-colonial status.) which Fanon came in contact with at the 2 International Black Writers Conferences. Those Blacks are, in the main, the protagonists of the 'integrationists' position. That is, broadly speaking, they felt that life's greatest tressure lay in gaining admission into the 'priveleged circles' of our white American oppressors; and also they reject the view (or have never seriously considered it) that politically, economically, and hi storically Black America is part of the 'Third World' -- even though it is a large minority geographically imprisoned inside the 'first world.'

Even with this major handicap Fanon notes that they (the Blacks in North, Central and Latin America) display a need to 'attach themselves to a cultural matrix; and in this sense "Their problem is not fundamentally different from that of the Africans." (p.174) Now it is apparent that Fanon was reacting to these 'white-negroes' when he perceives the obvious that interracial movements (which try to pass themselves off as Black organizations) which are trying to eliminate racial discrimination have "very little in common, in their principles and objectives, with the heroic fight of the Angolan people against the detestable Portuguese colonialism." (p.174)

In regards to the latter I believe that Fanon would have reacted in an entirely different manner if he would have had an intellectual rapport with the new intellectual 'Soul Brother' that is now imprisoned in the domestic walls of el imperialismo yanqui. Rolland Snellings poeti cally points to this difference between the Black Americans Fanon talked with, and the ones Fanon should have talked with :

"They (the Afroamerican youth..kmf) are the products of an epoch of international flux and ferment, and as such, are almost totally estranged from the outlooks, attitudes and loyalties shared by the older generations of Afro-Americans. Being children of change, burned by the fires of change, they reflect and embody the fiery, stormy atmosphere now raging in the world".

So I ask what would have been Fanon's reaction to those Blacks like the late Brother Malcolm X or Donald Freeman who see Afroamerica as an extension of the Third World; who see the exploitation of the Afroamerica as a state of domestic colonialism (that is in this instance, in place of the usual method of an imperialist power establishing a colony in a nonindustrialized society, the U.S. brought Blacks to the U.S. from (cont. p. 173)

Africa with the result of creating a colonial system, comprised of Africans, inside the U.S.^{12.}); and those who infer from this that Afroamerica in order to become free must be decolonized. We believe his position would have been "pro-Malcolm" because it is his position on decolonization and his description of the problems of the 'Third World' that lend great credence to the latter Afroamerican view.

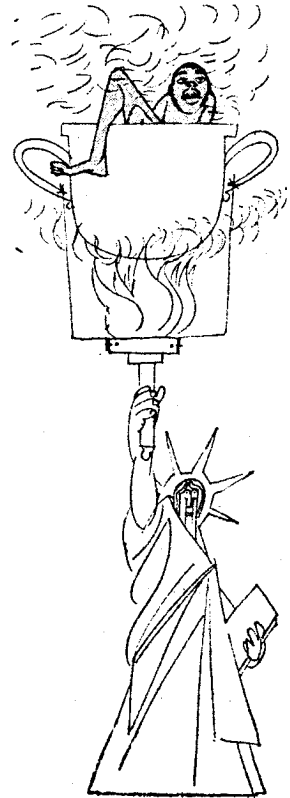
Is it not ironic that in almost every respect the socio-economic factors that form the basis of the Afroamerican revolt (and often manifestations of resignation) were the basis of same in Fanon's adopted Algeria? Even the problem of high crime rates -- that is Black people killing Black people -- (which Fanon beautifully demonstrates is a result of Colonialism) in the Casbah in Algiers is found (with the identical causes) in all Harlems, U.S.A.

The ubiquitous problem of underdeveloped countries being shackled to a useless caricature of a bourgeoisie, which Fanon writes so devastatingly about, is one of the main problems of the liberation movement in Afroamerica. Was it not largely a representation of these 'intermediaries' between U.S. Finance capital and the Afroamerican masses which gave Fanon, at best, a distorted picture of Black America?

The point of the matter is that what Fanon is saying about those Africans, Asians and Latin Americans who 'want nothing more than to be a transmission line for western capitalism' was said about the '(white) house niggers' of Black America by E. Franklin Frazier (but in a much less revolutionary context) in his classic Black Bourgeoisie.

Let me take off with Fanon's framework and examine some of the crucial parallels that indicate that Afroamerica is a part of the Bandung world:

In much the same way as "in the colonized territories, the bourgeois caste draws its strength after independence chiefly from agreements reached with the former colonial power," (p.142) Civil rights bills and supreme court decisions give power and prestige to the bourgeois-oriented American Negro leadership.



Both of these 'bourgeoisies' were created for the ultimate benefit of the European and his American descendents. It protects 'whitey' (at least he thought so until the Battle of Watts) from the Black masses and from the emergence of revolutionary tendencies in the masses by offering the prospect that they may perhaps share in the economic 'melting pot'.

But this middle class "lacks something essential to a bourgeoisie: money." Thus for them to 'complete' their revolution they obtain money from and dependence on those white liberals and leftists who have never accepted (if they accept it logically, they hardly ever accept it emotionally) the possibility that either Afroamerica or the rest of the colonial world can solve its problems apart from the European and American working class; or before the emancipation of white labor.¹³

These white 'progressives' who attempt to tie the anti-colonial struggle of the Black South African to a paternalistic White liberal party and/or a racist white South African working class, or the French Communists who asked the French working class to send 'care' packages to French troops fighting against the Algerian Liberation Movement (F. L. N.), have done little to lessen the exploitative¹⁴ nature of the relationship between the developing world and the European working class movement. This powerlessness -- and many times treasonableness by those who never cease to talk about solidarity of humanity, 'but murder men in all the corners of the globe' -- in attempting to increase solidarity between whites and blacks is also apparent in the abortive attempts of white american leftists and liberals to use their money and the Black Bourgeoisies' dependence on them to force Black people to unite with white workers who are unequivocally unwilling to unite with Blacks (either foreign or domestic).

A cursory examination of nationalist movements in Asia and Africa (along with Latin America these are the areas where "the various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated ... and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows to imperialism."¹⁵.) shows that one of the prime motivating forces of initiating these national movements has been the determination to end this exploitative relationship between white-liberal-leftists and the anti-colonial struggles of the 'Tiers-Monde.' This was true in the case of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain of French speaking Africa which was the political mother of such successful national movements as Toure's PDG and Keita's Union Soudanaise (and sadly Boigny's uncle tom clique in the Ivory Coast). Undoubtedly George Padmore, the West Indian intellectual who influenced the intellectual directions of Nationalist movements in English speaking Africa, broke with the Stalinist Comintern primarily because he felt Moscow was attempting to control those affairs that should be in the hands of Africans. It seems to be one

of the reasons that Ho Chi Minh started the Viet Minh (that is, his departure from the French C. P.). One can also suggest that Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communist party became more nationalistic because of its early friction with Russian advisors.

It is of the utmost significance that in both South Africa and the U.S. the Black masses have flocked to the banner of Black nationalism more than they have to any other position; and in both cases the rebellion against white liberal-leftist paternalism was one of the prime stimulating factors of the leadership, if not also the rank and file. In South Africa Clements Kadalie's Garvey-inspired Industrial and Commercial Union¹⁶. and in the U.S. Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association succeeded in obtaining the allegiance (both during the 1920s) of a high percentage of the Black masses, in these respective countries.

With respect to South Africa and the U.S. this identical motivation of anti-white-liberal-leftist paternalism is seen in even more plausible examples: The Blacks in the U.S. and those of South Africa (It is quite relevant that in both of these countries it is a case of domestic colonialism) have increasingly defected from moderate, interracial organizations and been attracted to organizations with a more Black Nationalist, radical orientation which attempts to have these organizations controlled and dependent upon Blacks in their respective countries -- with the corollary of ignoring the white working class and its purported theoreticians.

It seems to me, if I can be permitted the luxury of regressing back to Fanon's book, these examples clearly suggest the validity of his contention that a national consciousness must precede a social consciousness.

So from the framework we have obtained from Fanon we can say that he has given us the tools to see clearly the trend, and the fact that it is historically legitimate, in the best tradition of the Bandung Conference that Afroamerica is more and more struggling to become DECOLONIZED.

"The parallels that we find in Fanon's book The Wretched of the Earth between our struggle and that of our colonized brothers and sisters in other parts of the world illustrate clearly what a people must do to liberate themselves."¹⁷ You are so right brother Larry Neal.....thank you brother frantz fanon: it is you who gave us the lessons on how to shatter our manacles and to make them into razors and swords so that we can carve out a world that will be free of those white european and white american inventions of 'atomic'

'spiritual'

and

racial

disintegration.



Forging Shackles Into Swords

Woodcut by George Wolf

Footnotes

1. R. Snellings, "Afro-American Youth and the Bandung World" Liberator, Vol. V, No. 2 (Feb. 1965), 0 p.4.
2. "Homage to Frantz Fanon," Presence Africaine, Vol. 12, p. 130 by Aime Cesaire.
3. Dr. Bertene Juminer, Ibid., p. 139.
4. Cesaire., p. 130 Ibid.,
5. Ibid.,
6. Harold Isaacs, "Portrait of a Revolutionary," Commentary, Vol. 40, No. 1 (July, 1965) pp67-71. also see one of the most chicken-shit articles of the year: George Breitman, "A Review of the Wretched of the Earth", The Militant Nos.33&34 .
7. se Francis Jeanson, "Sartre Et Le Monde Noir" Presence Africaine, no.7, p. 189.
8. This argument reminds me of what the Black jazz critic A. B. Spellman asked: "...who are the ofays(whites) who've appointed themselves guardians of last years blues?"
9. Conbr Cruise O'Brien, "The Neurosis of Colonialism" The Nation, Vol 200, no. 25

10. Colin Legum, Pan-Africanism, A Short Political Guide, p. 97 New York: Praeger.

11. Snellings, p. 5

12. Another variation of domestic colonialism is when an imperialist power brings or successfully encourages a large number of its nationals to come to a non-industrial part of the world/seize the best land, take over and create a European society adjacent to the indigenous society, while dominating the latter. Examples of this are South Africa, Rhodesia and colonial Algeria. The basic differences between these and the U.S. situation is that the exploited non-european in the former is in the majority, and he still resides in his ancestral homeland. But, sociologically and politically the problems of Afroamerica, and for example coloreds, blacks & indians in South Africa are virtually identical. But it must be added that the Afroamerican socioeconomic structure is primarily urban and proletarian while even in South Africa the structure is primarily agrarian with a strong emphasis and dependency on migratory labor for the white industrial-urban complex.

But in a definite sense the domestic colonialism found in U.S. and South Africa, Rhodesia etc. are mutually more similar than the relationship between them and other parts of the "Tiers Monde" because: (1) Their problem is not just a colonial problem; it is also, (2) the fact that the oppressor of the colonized people is situated within the same territory and economy that one finds the oppressed colonial group. So their problems are dialectically and complicatedly interrelated.

13. Buchanan, "The Negro Problem" - An Outsiders View, Monthly Review, (September, 1963) Vol. 15, No. 5, p. 238

14. The working class of Europe and U.S. gain primarily from the exploitation of "The Third World" because foreign trade with and capital export to the developing countries make possible the importation of cheap wage goods and enlarge the profits of the capitalist class. These factors allow the white workers to improve their standard of living without arousing, to a significant degree, the animosity of their employers. Black workers, who are twice as unemployed as white workers and whose family income is less than 1/2 that of whites, obviously do not benefit from this blood-sucking cushion. In a similar way a section of the capitalists in the U.S. reap excessively high profits from Black America. Likewise a section of the white working class benefits from U.S. racism, and practically all white workers are convinced that they benefit from U.S. racism, assuming that they would not enjoy workers' control as they enjoy the luxury of white supremacy. In fact, as a result the white american working class is so disinclined in Workers solidarity that they have allowed their big labor leaders to become more conservative than big business leaders.

15. Pierre Jalee, "Third World? Which Third World?" Africa, Latin America, Asia Revolution, Vol. 1 No. 7 (November, 1963)

16. G. Padmore: Pan-Africanism or Communism? New York: Roy Publishers, p. 349

17. L. P. Neal, "A Reply to Bayard Rustin: The Internal Revolution", Vol. V, No. 7, Liberator (July, 1965)

* Frantz Fanon. The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Press

** from Peking Review

*** from Peking Review

do jesus?

by carol freeman



She was born in 1900, sometime in the month of April, in the cool, early spring of the year, the 9th and last child her mother was to bear. Her entry into the world was heralded by no one, except possibly her mother who had spent 3 days in labor, and who at 49 was drying up inside, withering and snarled like the peach tree in the yard, who for a brief moment had felt the young sap rise deceptively within her and conceived.

They named her Hannah, after slapping her two or three times to bring the breath to her, and her eldest sister who had midwifed her, wiped her down with fresh sun-washed muslin, greased her liberally with tallow, tied on a belly band of linsey wollysy, tied her kinky soft hair with a piece of greased string, wrapped her in muslin, laid her in her mother's arms.

Sometime that evening after the birth smell had been aired from the cabin, and the fried meat and greens had been put to the back of the stove, the washing taken in, her father had ambled quietly in to stare quietly at his woman lying sunken and ashy-pale in the lumpy cotton stir mattress and at his 9th girl child. He cleared his throat once or twice, feeling that some words ought to be spoken. "Well." "Yassir," she murmured sadly. "Well ol' woman, quittin' time ain't it?" And she smiled to herself, warmed by the gentle humor of his words. "Reckon tis, suh." "Haaarrumph!" He strenuously cleared his throat once more and went to slop the hogs.

Hannah grew like the willows down by the river bank, quickly pushing upward, tall, strong, bending with the seasons, running wild headlong with the wind, working silently at whatever she had to. The days fell into a (cont.p. 179)

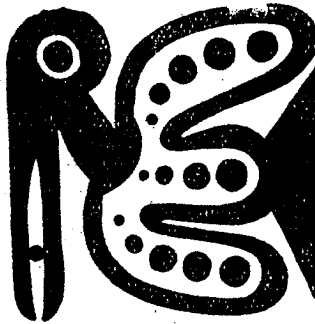
wonderful pattern, simple for a child, easily learned, up before day in the morning, to stoke the fire in the wood stove, eating hoeecake and sogam syrup, washing it down with strong chicory coffee, chewing the fried meat rinds from her mother's plate, when there was any, pumping water, priming the pump, feeding chickens, slipping hogs, making lye soap, building the fire under the big black three footed wash pot in the yard, scrubbing out clothes, planting cotton on the 5 acres plot in the back yard, hoeing cotton, picking cotton, picking berries, fishing with a willow pole, airing the mattress from her parent's bed, tying june bugs on strings and running with them to hear the buzzing noise, and running to hide under the house when ever a white man appeared riding down the road.

Life and death were no more a mystery to her than the quick summer showers that rushed down from the sky to damp the earth, settle the dust, and disappear. At nine, one hot dry summer day, her father died, twisting and foaming at the mouth like "blue", the old bird dog. Already he was stiff, tongue hanging out, and beginning to mortify two hours above ground; she had stood, rubbing one dusty foot against the other in curiosity and wonder that her father would carry on in such a way, her mother had run silently to her father to kneel helplessly beside him, and together they pulled him into the shade and Hannah had run to the turn row to get the bucket and dipper to give him a drink of water. But by the time she returned, he was dead and stiffening, and her mother broke years of silence to throw her apron over her head and keen long wailing cries to an earless master. "Lawd, lawd, doan tek him, doan load ? pleas jesus, pleas suh mastha, pleas! And Hannah was cowed and ashamed to hear her mother beg, and she waited uneasily to hear what the lord would say or do, staring at the hot cloudless sky, hearing the dry hum of crickets, june bugs, tree bees, but nothing from the great god., and angrily she frowned at the pale blue sky, and shook a helpless fist at the sun; her mother seeing the gesture, slapped her until there was a ringing in her ears, and the cotton shimmered dizily. "Gal, god gon strike you ded fuh such outlandishness!" And they stared at each other caught in pain of the moment, unable to speak. "Run fetch Carrie, tell er tuh brang bill an the younguns." And she turned and ran from the strangeness in her mother, and the silent god that could strike her dead, at his whim.

Running barefoot down the hot dusty road, blind to every thing except what had happened, she did not hear the lazy plop of hooves, or the rumble of the wagon, until rounding a bend in the road she was face to face with a wagonload of whites. Tall and lank in overalls, shirtless, burned red and raw by the sun, the color eaten from hair and eyes, they were, staring unblinking at her. (cont. page 180)

She stood rooted in terror and confusion to the middle of the road; the wagon was filled with thick white cotton and an endless number of white boys, all lank, all skinny, all with the same malevolent lidless white eyes of the blind. The man leaned over the side of the wagon and spat a dark brown stream of pungent tobacco juice at her face, and it dribbled down the side of her cheek onto her neck. Still she stood, staring. "Raf, fetch me a stick, so ah kin whup this nigger." The words rasped mildly from him, as he reached backward for a weapon. Suddenly they were pelting her with hard green cotton bolls, big as hickory nuts, hard as rocks, and she skittered off the road, into the ditch, and ran. The wagon creaked up, and lumbered on. The breadth tightened in her chest, and she stumbled over a clod and fell, afraid to rise, in her head was a picture of the man, and the wagon, and he was god, come to take her father, and strike her dead. She lay there some few minutes, and seeing she was not dead, she got up, and walked on to her sister Carrie's house. Inside her was a new something, a something that would walk inside her head as long as she drew breath, a fear and hatred of god and the white man.

This is an excerpt from an untitled novel by the author



the facade of bourgeois democracy

by donald freeman

This is an attempt to begin to understand "democracy" in its role as a facade for the western world. "Democracy" came about as a reaction to the upper class (the king, colonial master, and landed aristocracy). It was conceived as an attack on exploitation, a logical step in the war against man's exploitation of other men. It did not come into existence as purely opposition to the absolute authority, it came in order to stop the exploitation by authority. This was the case in the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and also true of the great revolutions which decolonized Latin America. It is so true and so much a factor in revolution that it can be asserted as the rule. This is the proper historical perspective for "democracy"; it was a tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie to stop the feudal class exploiter, an attempt to destroy exploitation -- not authoritarianism!

If this is true, then the first step in discovering the fraud has been gained. We are told a thousand times, "We, the 'democrats,' are against the dictators", "We, the 'democrats,' have attained the highest state of government possible." As a consequence "democracy" equals freedom. It's not a stage or step in a struggle -- it is the culmination of that struggle. We are never told of its true origins as a weapon against the upper class exploiter, and that it is only one logical step in that fight.

We constantly hear of its merits; you are led to believe that no one need worry about being cheated or mistreated -- all one need do is participate -- "VOTE", (witness the loud slogans re: the voting 'rites' bill) and the good life is yours. We are also told that from within it can change to any degree necessary.

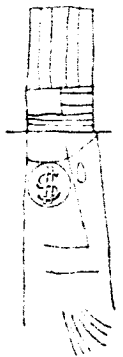
There are at least two more important facts to help us understand the fraud. One of these seems to be the simple fact that all established orders, including governments, seek to destroy all that threatens them, from within and without. The second important factor to realize is that the individual will still serve the needs of the State or Government -- those needs being determined either by the

true needs of the masses or the needs of a privileged few.

The conclusions to be drawn here is the not-so-very-alarming fact that the word "democracy" as it is used is of no value at all, and that it clouds if not completely distorts the real issues (this is the reason I write "democracy" with quotes). In an honest dialogue one would have to talk in terms of degrees of personal freedom, and the reasons why such freedom is secondary to the needs of the masses; and what are the problems incurred when exploitation is sanctioned as a personal freedom.


It seems to me that the reason for the distortion of the real issue is quite apparent; it is to hide the new exploiter. The old exploiter -- the king, feudal lord, or the colonialist -- has been thrown out, and in his place comes the bourgeois, capitalist exploiter, larger in number and much harder to see. He exploits from behind the shield of "democracy" -- a shield which he used in order to lift the bond of exploitation from his own neck and that which he himself now uses to retain his newly-found privilege of exploiter. One example: Recently James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality made a tour of Mother Africa. While he was giving a speech someone asked him why Blacks in the United States did not unite to win their freedom. Mr. Farmer claimed that Civil Rights organizations were purposely competing against each other to add "variety" to our struggle in the same manner as business corporations "compete" in the "democratic" system. Thus we see how one of the prime needs of the masses of Black Americans, unity, is being thrown to the white wind because our exploiters (and their agents) know the unity of Black America would lessen the degree and time in which our people could be exploited.

Here lies a serious contradiction -- a privileged class using a concept that is supposed to combat such a class. This is why "democracy" has been directed against the "dictator" -- the absolute authority -- and not the exploiter; anyone living in the western world realizes that exploitation is sanctioned and that they themselves are constantly being exploited; what is important is the realization that "democracy" can be surpassed and a new revolution called to rid the world of the new exploiter.



* * * * *

Reject Notes



aimé césaire

carol freeman

harold foster

ronald stone

k william kgositsile

glenn myles

ernie allen

rolland snellings

marvin e jackmon

Do I not have
a night-stained forefather

.....?

.....I am proud of my blood.

Nicholas Guillen

State of the Union Message

Without laughing, I imagine in Congress this message on
the state of the Union: a tragic situation

In the substratum we have left only 75 years of iron
50 years of cobalt
But what of 35 years of sulfur and 20 years of bauxite,
what is there in the heart ?

Nothing, zero,
mine with ore
cavern where nothing stirs
not a drop of blood

Emmet Till

your eyes were sea shells wherein sparkled the headiness
of your 15 year old blood.
your young eyes were never old
or rather upon them weighed,
more than could all the sky-scrapers, five centuries of executioners
or witch burners,
five centuries of bad gin of fat cigars
of fleshy paunches filled with slices of rancid bibles
five centuries bitter mouth of hags' sins
they were five centuries old Emmet Till
five centuries is the age without age of the stake of Cain

Emmet Till I say:

"in the heart zero
not a drop of blood"

and as for yours, may it hide the sun from me, may it mingle with
my bread

---"Boy from Chicago

is it always true that you
are equal to a white?"

He believed so. Even at the edge of night
at the edge of the Mississippi drifting between the high banks of
racial hatred its bars, its barriers, its sepulchral avalanches
he believed. He believed that a negro was equal to a white.

---"Boy from Chicago..."

So much sweeps away the wounded pride of racial vanity
and its cracking of whips
listen to the smooth singing of the bird of the blood
in the blue hedge of the veins
he foresees, mounting in the surprisingly blue field of sky
above the drowsiness of the bluffs
---the step of a mourner, the step of a gleaner---
your stealthy step, O vehement sun
then the night remembered its arm
and Big Millam's heavy pistol
on the living black wall of golden flesh
wrote in rusty letters the sentence and the state of the Union:

panting humming screeching
boring drilling
the earth says banks bibles bulldozers
the sky says sky-scrapers

I say silence

I say enough

20 years of zinc

20 years of copper

15 years of petroleum

and the 180th year of these states
but in the heart---painless clock
nothing, zero
not a drop of blood
in the brutish sterilized white heart.

translated from the French by SOULBOOK

Message sur l'Etat de l'Union

Sans rire, j' imagine au Congrès ce message sur l'Etat de l'Union: situation tragique

plus ne nous reste au sous - sol que 75 ans de fer
50 ans de cobalt
mais pour 35 ans de soufre et 20 ans de bauxite,
au coeur quoi ?

Rien, zéro,

mine sans minerais
caverne où rien ne rôde
de sang plus une goutte.

Emmet Till

tes yeux étaient une conque marine où pétillait la bataille de
vin de ton sang de quinze ans.

Eux jeunes n'avaient jamais eu d'âge
ou plutôt sur eux pesaient

plus que tous les gratte-ciel, cinq siècles de tortionnaires
de brûleurs de sorcières,

cinq siècles de mauvais gin de gros cigares

de grasses bedaines remplies de tranches de bobles rancies

cinq siècles bouche amère de péchés de rombières

ils avaient cinq siècles Emmet Till

cinq siècles est l'âge sans âge du pieu de Cain

Emmet Till je dis:

"au coeur zéro
de sang pas une goutte"

et pur le tien, qu'il me cache le soleil, qu'à mon pain
il se mêle

--"Garçon de Chicago

c'est-il toujours vrai que tu vaux

autant qu'un blanc ?"

Il croyait. Même au bord de la nuit

au bord du Mississippi charriant entre les hautes berges de

la haine raciale ses barreaux, ses barrières, ses tombales

avalanches,

il crut. Il crut qu'un nègre valait un blanc.

-"Garçon de Chicago..."

Autant en emporte le froissement du vent racial et son
cliquetis de fouets
lui écoute dans le bleu buisson des veines
chanter égal l'oiseau du sang
il devine par-dessus le sommeil des berges
monter dans le bleu champ surprenant
-- pas de pleureuse pas de glaneuse--
ton pas furtif soleil véhément
alors la nuit se souvint de son bras
et le gros colt de Big Millam
sur le noir mur vivant de chair aurorale
en lettres de rouille écrivit la sentence et l'état de l'Union:

halètements vrombissements miaulements
forements perforements
la terre dit banques bibles bulldozers
le ciel dit gratte-ciel

je dis silence
je dis assez
20 ans de zinc
15 ans de cuivre
15 ans de pétrole

et l'an 180 de ces états
mais au coeur-indolore horlogerie
rien, zéro
de sang pas une goutte
au carne blanc coeur désinfecté.

par aimé césaire

(réimprimé de Présence Africaine)

BACKWAGES

Here it is Monday:

four weeks from where you signed your mischeck
and said that perhaps someday
things'll be better.

I said here it is Monday:

a few steps
inside the twenty yard line
where we were ready for change
but was refused the birth right

That's right, Monday:

the blue day when you have to pay
for joyous weekends on black backs
and black bellies.

I'm still talking about Monday:

the day after your white Sunday
dinner with Teddy Roosevelt
Harryass Truman
Phallic headed Ike.

Yes, Monday:

four weeks after the due day
one day after the day before and
ain't time for going sloe.

Monday:

the final day of white lie
smust be done away with;
wasted
mistakes must be payed for
now.

But first we better kill that guy
who said "I'll pay you on Saturday."

Be careful society !

Dont eat men...

men are your organs' gardenflowers.

Men are roses in lungs
sweetening breath.

Men are lilies in sex organs
to make $x + y$
reproduce lilies
to remake $x + y$
for as long as $x + y$ happen.

Men are lotus in brains
exhaling
inhaling
aroma of meditation
creation.

Men are carnations in hearts
blowing love's blood
through body's every part.

Be careful society.....

A garden aint even crummy without flowers

by ronald stone

CARBON COPY WHITEMAN

In the corridors of your mind
fulsomely flattered by Ivy League or Oxford
glib fancy of self-emasculation
would-be brother, how do you plan
to placate the fury
this black light burning bright
scorching everything anti-human, civilising man?

Is your waist-leap conscience
an experimental death,
a fear of Being self,
a slave brain-child of European refugees
thriving in the ghetto of your mind ?
Is enslavement between white sheets a modern ethic
Or simple rose-tinted glasses on your twisted head
up in the crotch of your natural enemy
an obvious concentration camp for imitation whitemen

Check this out
Even the seasons of the year change.
Day yields place to night
The sun is setting on your soul.

by k william kgositsile

notes from great society prison:
dedicated to the Watts War On Poverty

I. Somnambulism

i was once a model prisoner
drowning in a wretched record groove
etched to stale vibrations;
unable to hear for the rankle
of chains about my ears
unable to see for the clogging
of bright neon waxing my retina
unable to think for the brutal shock
of cattleprod upon inhuman body
i was once a nigga

but prison gives you time, bro.
time
you only have time
to eat to bleed to pee
to make coldsteelblack license plates
to kiss the onerous ass of the eagle
whose droppings of democracy
litter the earth
you have only time
and sometimes they would take
cattleprod away and
confused thoughts would come
come rushing throbbing
bobbing to damp forehead
like broken record like
a record i
once heard by max roach (i forgot the name*)
and i had time to see think of
things i wanted to forget
forget white mist surrounding
confounding mind

192 allen

i was once a prisoner, bro.,
trapped in the vortex of
a black, bottomless mire
which had been
dammed damned destructed
confinedcontained corrupted
until
the mudanoozanshitan
jesusknowsanwhatnot eructed and
bubbled to surface in jive
mightywhite pressure
cooker each time i
came up what thought last time
gazed through chains air rank searing eyes
glazed with scent of mutilated flesh i
searched searched saw cross off on
off onoff onoffon awaited mist while 400
years on a neon cross yo mama
hoho and a bag of tricks faith on jesus off...
i wished i could have been one of pavlov's
dogs in a warm laboratory somewhere

II. Delirium

foaming
slobbering nightmare slipped in slithery
eagleshit and saw wooly wall peeked
through tarnished thick asphalt with
feathery vines in brassplate foliage:

Landscaping by
Tricknology Associates
Madison Ave., N. Y. (10001)

nono please if sorry i won't challey
 let go please this time no dragged
 through stolenblack powerhouse pushed
 and passed by
 nigganiggas with mustangminds
 relaxing on ebonycouches in
 a wing for model prisoners enjoying
 a more comfortable kind of
 slavery slipped as hunk/dunky
 came off the wall
 until
 one fine day the mightymotherfuckerfelland
 not one buckaroo
 knew how to
 put back together again the
 fonkywhite fartifactegg whose
 meaning long ago had cracked and peeled
 away in the vortex
 the jive-time eagle stirreth its nest but it's
 too late, baby, as flickering hourglass glows and
 drips quietly out of time with
 benevolent giftgrains
 of powdered
 paternalpastywhite eagle turds
 in c.a.r.e. packages --
 universal makeup for shitty deals pulled

III. Revelation

through stifling sterile whitewashed
 halls chains on dragging concrete stood
 in line with other risks
 and waited my turn then i saw
 the sloppy beastina
 with the blank white uniform
 with the blank pastyface
 with the blank screech
 next and the shaky bro.
 in front of me suddenly

stopped humming the
blues he was humming
stopped bopping the
walk he was bopping
stopped existing
and he dug
deep

down
into his pocket and
brought up his most
cherished possession his
black soul then
i saw a ravel unwrinkle
in the place where her
beak was supposed
to be and i guessed
that it was meant to be
a smile but i was not quite
sure since she had no face only
dry cracks and crevices where
infallible masqued factor could not
stand the mechanical strain
of a frigid grin

IV. Aurora

when i would not give
up my precious soul my
precious black soul
my raw materials
when i would not allow
my only possession to
be expropriated (i
dared to be a man
and to be black simultaneously)
she called the
overseers she called them
bogue house niggas
put me in sol i tary with

other disbelievers but
(i saw max roach)
i did not mind this so much as
i could now fart and sing my funky blues
and scratch between
in hibernation without
feeling that i had to please
anyone but myself and i
knew that 1 day we
would escape this putridity
would negate its existence
would rise to claim the aurora;
my precious soul, which i had carefully saved (praise jesus)
would become a vital part
of the burning, black I
which would help to remake
reshape
the world

V. Message

there exists a very fine line
between standing on the corner
and falling in the gutter, bro.,
and each day,
each one of us stands at least
momentarily on that corner,
if only
to reach the other side.

by ernie allen

* Mendacity

196 snellings

BANDUNG WAR POEM

(for Adlai Stevenson and Martin Luther King, Jr.)

"People" say:

that war is wrong; violence
never solved a thing.

"People" say:

that to greet hatred with hatred
is an evil thing. "People" say
they "dread" the Sword, and yet
blood flows throughout the earth
- a mighty river pregnant with
spring flood-rain; while suave
in hallowed Halls of Gold, bland-voiced

"People" say:

"He who lives by the sword..."

Why persecute the Sword? It is
an arm of man, it helps him work out
his destiny upon the Human Stage.

See it flash! Blue steel dripping
crimson gore; catching the light of
the Eastern Sun as it passes through
the West: grasp the Sword

within your work-scarred hands. It is your tool
to make the world anew. Your dignity.

Never mind what "People" say:

We will bury hypocrites!

when we build the world anew with the Sword.

by rolland snellings

The Goose

Like a goose who never flew, but does now --

I started through the Carthage hay of rising

Boys all down the turning fields where deep-down

Some graces must start.

I flew a "Black Man's Solo" against the naked walls

Far up towards the zenith before I flickered in the

Light and dove with a tired roar to rout these unchanging

Stars --- so lonely in life, and so

Close to death.

by glenn myles

feral spring cat

footed

flits around the cor

ner and

black legs flailing i

followonly

to find a d i s t a n t

shape in the trees a thinning sound in the wind and

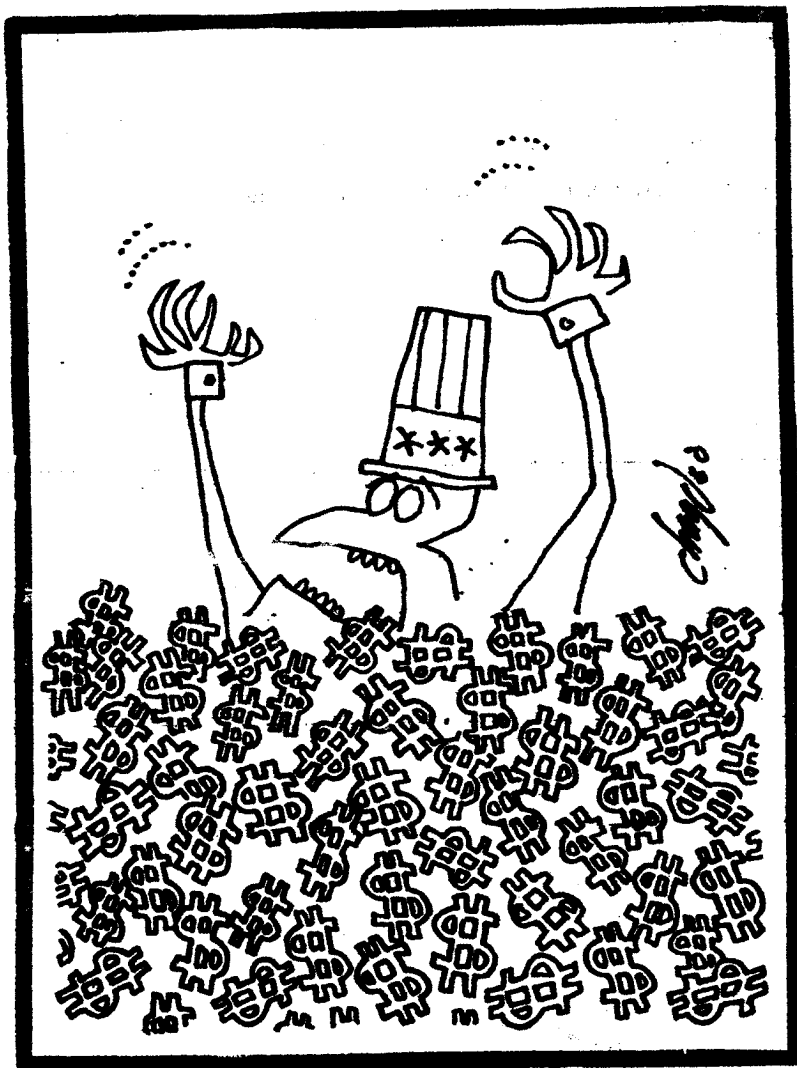
that I've grown older and

slower and far away

spring

is

by carol freeman



partners in white racism

by k. william kgositsile

If you are born in America with a black skin, you're in prison..." so said Brother Malcolm. The same condition applies to a Black man born in South Africa. The only difference between these two members of the white Christian unholy alliance is that the whites who rule South Africa are less hypocritical than the trigger-happy European refugees who usurped the rule of America from the aborigines they massacred.

The settling of Dutch criminals in South Africa in 1652 was heraldic of the African's present nightmare. These criminals started stealing people's cattle and sheep along the sea coast and when the people demanded their property back, they killed them. When the English learned how easily they could get supplies at the Cape of Good Hope (can you imagine that -- Good Hope?) on their way to plunder Asia, they joined with the Dutch in order to share the loot. They're still sharing it today -- with the addition of the rest of Europe. Today, for the preservation of white western Christian civilization, the whites in South Africa have deprived the Africans of every human right conceivable. In a country where the only human values are white, an African's life matters only in relation to how much he can sweat in the mines, plantations, and industries to make sure that the "great whiteman boss" enjoys his life thoroughly. In his own country the African cannot vote; he cannot choose where he wants to work (and to be super-exploited), he cannot choose what school to send his children -- if you want to call those fascist indoctrination institutions schools. The list of the everyday humiliations that comprise the African's life in South Africa is endless.

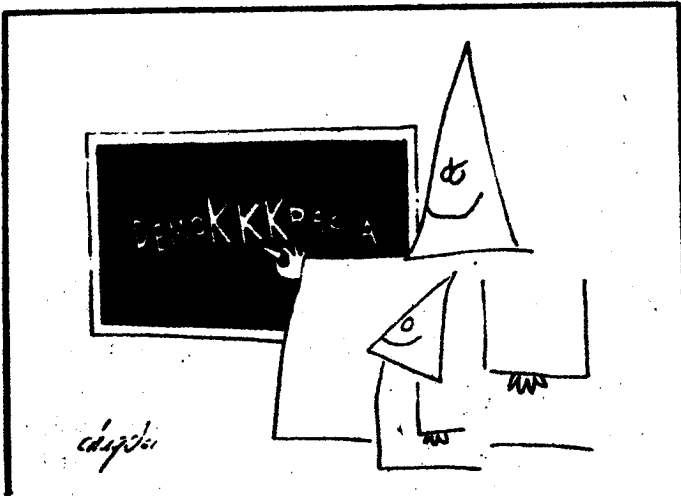
However, since Africans outnumber whites four to one, it is very doubtful whether the whites in South Africa could have managed to retain their position if they had not had allies and collaborators. One of white South (cont.)

200 kgositsile

Africa's leading criminal partners is the "democratic" United States of America.

I said that the United States was more hypocritical than South Africa; whereas South Africa did not sign the United Nations' Human Rights Declaration, the United States did. Can anybody show me any evidence that white America is interested in human rights? The only evidence of what these willful, adolescent fascist-maniacs are really interested in is their sadistic massacre of millions of people from the time they first landed in this country. Even today while liberal United States government spokesmen make glib, sugarcoated speeches, their paid henchmen murder millions of people all over the world and even get medals for doing it. But since I am talking about South Africa, what is the role of the United States in Verwoerd's Nazi-oriented, white western Christian apartheid machinery? There are over 160 American companies in South Africa with an investment of over a half-billion dollars exploiting cheap black labor, netting more profits than they could ever have dreamed of making anywhere else in the world. They take advantage of this because they know that in South Africa, Africans are prohibited by law from organizing unions, bargaining collectively, or striking. A South African Information Service release on March, 1962, clarified America's position in South Africa through a statement by U. S. businessman

Marcus D. Banghart, vice president of Newmont Mining Corporation, the United States company with the largest investment in South Africa: "We know the people and the Government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars." Does this bigoted bastard really think he knows me and millions of my brothers in South Africa? Does he really think we do not know America's reputation in Africa, South America, Southeast Asia and in the United States, (cont. p. 201)



"DemokKKracy": The main subject taught in American and South African schools (from Bohemia)

where through her blood-dripping dollars millions of people have lost their lives simply because they want to rid themselves of the hideous atrocities of white imperialism? As if through her investments, trade and even small businesses America did not feel she would help white South Africa enough to maintain apartheid through capitalist super-exploitation of Africans, she used to sell them arms and ammunition to kill us. She stopped only when she was alarmed by the protests of freedom-loving nations at the United Nations. However, America continued to supply her criminal partner with equally strategic commodities like oil. And of course South Africa has been America's intimate partner against humanity for a long time. In the Korean War South African murderers fought side by side with American murderers and won 427 American medals.

America's policy in South Africa is not surprising in view of her treatment of Blac people in this country. I do not care how many glib lies U.S. State Department spokesmen tell in connection with democracy; I do not care how many fancy-worded bills they pass to decorate White House files their atrocious actions both in the southern states and the north show us how oppressive white America really is.

I know what I am talking about. I am black. I was born and raised in South Africa where even the house I lived in, the schools I went to, the type of education I could get, the places I could visit even as a small innocent boy, were determined and dictated by the interests of this white, western, Christian monster. I have lived in America, citadel of western corruption, where material values are more important than human values.

It was out of this country(America) that Robert Williams was forced to flee for safety because he was man enough to be determined to meet white imperialist violence with black defensive violence. Yes, it was in this capital of white western congenital chicanery that Brother Malcolm was assassinated because he was man enough to tell the truth. Yes, it was in this Christian country that four innocent Black girls were charred to death while they tried to worship a Christian god. It is in this "democratic" country that hundreds of Black people get killed by white racist maniacs for demanding their inalienable rights.

Black teenagers are constantly victimized and sadistically flogged in American cells as their soul brothers are in South African ones. I knew a lot of such victims in Johannesburg, South Africa, and I know quite a few in Harlem. Hardened criminals are often used by prison authorities to perpetrate (cont. p. 202)



JAILED—Two leading South African Nationalists, Nelson Mandela (left) and Walter Sisulu, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for "sabotage," on Robben Island.

perverted acts in South Africa, the guilty sit in judgement over the innocent in infernal institutions hypocritically known as courts of law. Who does not know of Black people being lynched, Black women being raped and Black men being castrated both physically and mentally by these upholders and defenders of western Christian civilization in America as their brothers are in South Africa? Even the American university, as the South African one, is an institution to train and mass-produce a certain type of white-washed idiot that could be trademarked **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST USA** or **MANUFACTURED IN RACIST SOUTH AFRICA**, depending on what side of the Atlantic you get your miseducation. But the white world cannot get all of us. Even the Roman Empire fell. And like I said in a poem: -

"...all I learned at your schools was what not to be. . .
Charlie, don't you know you're living on borrowed time?"

The Crisis Of Negro Reformism & The Growth Of Nationalism

by harry haywood

Brother Harry Haywood is the author of the classical Marxist interpretation of Black Nationalism, Negro Liberation (International Publishers, 1948). The following work is a chapter from his unpublished book, Towards A Revolutionary Program for Negro Freedom, which he wrote in collaboration with Gwendolyn Midlo. In the latter manuscript Brother Haywood combines his perennial fine tools of theory & research with new soulful applications that, in our opinion, makes it immeasurably more relevant than his erstwhile treatise. -- the editors --

The present -day Negro movement is characterized by the crisis of Negro reformism and the growth of Black nationalism. There are three main factors feeding this development:

1) The world-wide anti-colonialist upsurge; 2) The effects of growing economic crisis among the basic masses of Negroes; 3) Erosion of the myth of imminent, peaceful democratic integration.

THE ANTI-COLONIALIST UPSURGE

The international crisis of the imperialist system has had a profound impact upon U.S. Negroes. The world system of imperialism, with the United States as its leading force and arbitrator, is in retreat, fighting a rearguard battle to maintain and shore up the fragmented status quo already eroded beyond repair by the thrust of ascending socialism and victorious colonial revolution. The colonial system, the main prop of what is euphemistically called, "The Free World," is in an advanced stage of disintegration. White supremacy and its ideological rational, the spurious doctrine of racial inferiority, is collapsing before the forward surge of the new sovereign nations of Africa and Asia and the heroic struggles of the peoples of Latin America.

The strength of the Negro Liberation Movement, its growing momentum and impact, lies in the fact that it is the counterpart of this anti-colonial revolution which is shaking the world. Its particular significance lies in the fact that it is a revolt against what amounts to semi-colonial oppression in the heart of the world's leading imperialist country. Columnist Joseph Alsop (cont. p.204)

is close to the mark when he characterized the "Negro protest" as a "neo-colonial revolution," and comments that "this process more and more resembles the end of a colonial period."¹

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

Aside from the tremendous impact of the colonial revolution, we must take into account the internal social and economic factors powering the present Negro movement: the relative and absolute economic deterioration of the status of the Negro people resulting from frequent recessions combined with the inroads of automation which have hit the Negro masses disproportionately. Thus, the Negro worker is caught in the job crisis with the percentage of unemployed more than double that of the whites. The widening gap between Negroes and whites in U.S. society can be summarized with a few significant statistics:

The median Negro family income is 45% below the median white family income. Moreover, in 1952, this gap was "only" 43% which shows the direction in which things are going.²

Negro unemployment is two and a half times white unemployment. Among youth this gap is even wider. At least one-half of all youth out of school between 16 and 21 are Negroes, although they constitute only 15% of the population of that age group.

Long-range trends indicate a worsening of the situation. Loren Miller says: "The gap in white-Negro unemployment rates has increased since 1957 and unemployment spells tend to last longer among Negro workers than among whites. Nonwhite workers who represented 11% of the labor force and 22% of the unemployed accounted for 26% of the long-term unemployed -- which means that many of them are permanently jobless."³

Seventy-five percent of Negro workers are in unskilled, semi-skilled and service jobs, while the figure for white workers is 39%.

The average Negro born today has a life expectancy nearly ten years below that of the average white. In the South the gap is even greater.

One-sixth of all Negro homes today are designated by government surveys

as "substandard", as compared to 3% for whites.

In Southern agriculture, the absolute decline in Negro sharecropping has taken place against the background of the decline in farm employment generally, which is the most drastic change since the end of (cont.p.205)



World War II. There is a shrinkage of Negro farm ownership, which is proceeding at a rate twice as fast as that of whites. And, at the other end of the pole, there is a greater concentration of Negro farmers at the lowest rungs of agricultural ladder. There is a great acceleration of the concentration of agriculture into large farms and plantations, and the growth of absentee ownership. While, on the other hand, the mechanization hailed by the "liberal" gradualists as a cure-all for the South's problems is not accessible to the poor farmer, and blocks access to the land by the masses of tenants and sharecroppers. At the same time, the displacement of basic soil tillers has been accelerated by the Federal Government's crop reduction program, the sharp edge of which has been directed against the poor farmer. While the big planters are continuing to expand their production, the small, family-sized farms bear the main part, if not the full cost, of acreage cut-backs. This situation has operated to increase the traditional disadvantage of the Negro soil tiller in every respect.³

These facts clearly show that the dominant economic trends in U.S. society are not towards imminent, direct integration of the Negro people into the existing social structure. On the contrary, the trends are towards strait-jacketing the Negro people into lower, frozen caste throughout the country which, in the words of one author, is "faced with more uncompromising segregation and larger slums."⁴

The institutionalization of Negro oppression is documented by Michael Harrington in his angry study of poverty in the United States, "The Other America." He reveals the structural basis for the continuation of Jim Crowism. Harrington points out that the Negro is an internal migrant who will face racism wherever he goes, who cannot leave oppression behind "as if it were a tsar or a potato famine. The present position of the Negro in the American economy has been institutionalized and unless something is done it will reproduce itself for years to come. The crisis is hitting precisely at those areas where gains in integrated work were made in the past two decades, in the semi-skilled jobs of mass production industries. And given the racial character of the American economy, this is a particularly severe blow to the Negro. It amounts to rebuilding the wall of prejudice, to destroying the advances which already have been made."⁵

The ever-growing economic problems of the basic masses of Negroes is a powerful source of discontent which is already bordering a strident disaffection and disillusionment with the American Dream.

EROSION OF THE MYTH OF IMMINENT, PEACEFUL, DEMOCRATIC INTEGRATION

The struggle for Negro rights has reached an impasse. The myth of imminent, peaceful, democratic integration under the benevolent wing of the Federal Government is collapsing. The present struggle for freedom, far from being an onward and upward march from victory to victory, is threatened with serious losses and setbacks.

Reformism, from the most conservative NAACP leaders and white liberals, to the so-called socialists, including the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, made fundamentally false assumptions about the Negro question. They have all spread illusions which have contributed to the perpetuation of Negro oppression and at this point are disarming the Negro struggle in the face of the growing ultra-right danger. They have underestimated the ruthless determination of the Southern Oligarchy to maintain its traditional domination over Southern political life and its exaggerated prestige and influence in the Federal Government and in the Democratic party. They have operated on the naive assumption that the Southern Oligarchy would allow the Negro people in the South to gradually win enough rights to vote them out of office. They assumed that the Executive branch of the Federal Government would back up the Negro struggle in the South. They encouraged dependency upon the Federal Government.

Their basic mistake has been to underestimate the ruthlessness and power of the Southern Oligarchy, and to exaggerate the depth of the contradictions between the Federal Government and the Southern Oligarch states. It is true that the national administration of the post-war period have been pursuing a policy of making token concessions to the Negro people, mainly to improve the image of the United States abroad and to pacify the movement at home. But the dixie-crats know very well, and base their entire strategy on the knowledge, that foreign policy considerations become minor when it comes to the question of internal order. They have political power and refuse to give it up piecemeal. And the Federal Government will ultimately concede to them as long as they hold, and use, the blackmail threat of creating civil disorder, and the Negro movement stays within the framework of passive resistance.

The only way the Negro movement can free itself from the vise which is tightening around it is through independent, revolutionary struggle. This simple fact lies at the root of the crisis of Negro reformism. The Negro movement cannot advance further on the old basis, and in fact, it is faced with reversals and defeats without a revolutionary reorientation. Given the (cont. p. 207)

control of the state apparatus in the Deep South by the Oligarchy, which they will give up voluntarily, and the growing tendency towards appeasement within the Federal Government, especially marked as an aftermath of the assassination of J.F. Kennedy, the only effective weapon Negroes have at this point is to pose their own threat to internal stability.

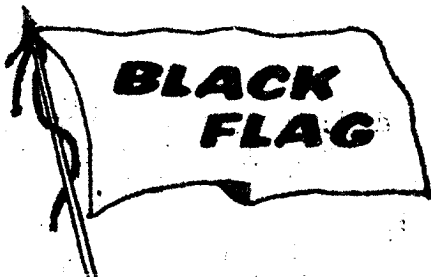
The clock cannot be turned back. The old methods have proven bankrupt. A new, revolutionary reorientation is the only alternative to despair, passivity, and escapism.

footnotes

1. As quoted in The National Guardian, 6/6/63.
2. Loren Miller, "Prosperity Through Equality," The Nation, 9/1/63
3. Ibid.,
4. Victor Perlo, "The Negro in Southern Agriculture"
5. Michael Harrington, The Other America, p.79.

advertisement

SUBSCRIBE TO :



15 ¢ per copy

published every three weeks

\$2.00 a year for subscription.

write for air mail rates

Published by
Committee For The Establishment
Of The Black Liberation Front
(COESTAB) P.O. BOX 16022 San Francisco

The Puerto Rican REVOLUTION

by alfredo peña of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico

After the assassination of Brother Malcolm X, solidarity was expressed with his followers, and particularly with his widow and children, from many diverse quarters. Nevertheless, many of us were pleasantly surprised when the youth of The Movement For Independence of Puerto Rico had James Shabazz, Secretary of the late El Hajji Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) speak last May at their fourth National Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Thus SOULBOOK decided to reciprocate this expression of solidarity and to let as many Black people as possible acquaint themselves with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people -- who are predominantly colored -- for independence. In order to implement this commitment we have published this article by Brother Alfredo Pena in both Spanish and English. --the editors--

The Puerto Rican revolution began when the American imperialist forces landed on our beaches in 1898. In the last five years the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico has attempted to arouse the interests of the masses on the island and in New York, so as to unite and organize the proletariat to the call of national liberation.

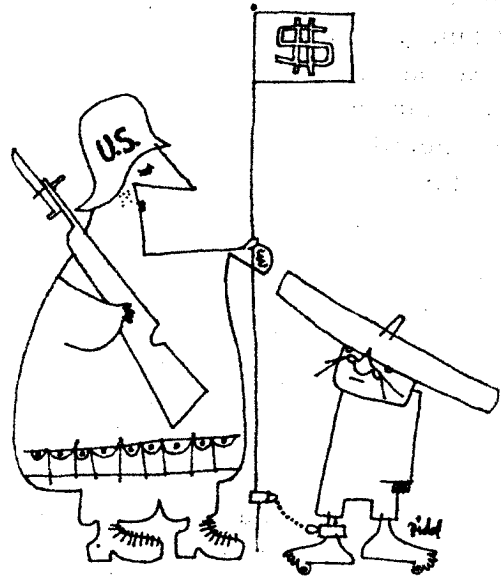
The revolution of Puerto Rico is imminent, but revolutions fail without the support of the masses. The peasants, the workers, the unemployed and the students must rally under the banner of independence in order that the struggle can rise into a dynamic and powerful force.

The American government has succeeded in indoctrinating our people and driving them into mass hysteria. Even a murmur of change or an inkling of independence is stifled by reactionary innuendos. The educational system, controlled by the Americans, has extracted Puerto Rican culture and history from its curriculum. Students learn more about the United States than they do their own island. The American business interests own more land, property, (cont. page 209)

and industry than the Puerto Rican people; for example, the beaches on the island are owned by luxurious American hotels, where the tourists can bathe for free, yet the Puerto Rican is forced to pay a minimum price to enter the beach.

Since 1898, American imperialists have sucked billions of dollars out of Puerto Rico in fruits, ore, oil, and sugar and have manipulated and exploited the people for a profit motive. As for the governor and the legislature of Puerto Rico, they serve only as instruments of the power structure of the United States, defending the upper layers of the Puerto Rican middle class while profiting from their own bureaucracy.

The term "commonwealth" which the United States has applied to Puerto Rico is a sovereign state. The lack of Puerto Rico's own president, government, economic, political, and social systems expose such a lie. Even the complete definition of "commonwealth" doesn't necessarily mean a free nation.



In relation to Puerto Rico the costliest crime of the American government is that it has erased from the Puerto Rican's mind that he is a part of a Latin American heritage. Under the American Government's system the Puerto Rican has discarded the traditions and customs of his history. He has journeyed through a cultural transition from one society to another. The transition is controlled by the machines of indoctrination of the American government. Such a channeled journey has diluted our people's morals: 40% of our youth in New York have embraced drug addiction, 31% in Puerto Rico; 26% of our women have entered the trade of prostitution in New York, 33% in Puerto Rico. Even the air in Puerto Rico has become polluted. In 1954 the United States began to build nuclear laboratories and have proceeded in testing various nuclear weapons off our shores. Experiments within the laboratories have been performed on Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners.

With the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the personality and character

of a liberated Puerto Rico was crystallizing. But on July 25, the invasion of American troops smothered all hopes for independence and freedom. Betances, one of the Puerto Rican revolutionary leaders, was summoned to France prior to the invasion to sign the peace treaty. On the eve of the attack on Puerto Rico a cry of reprisal from Paris rang out throughout the world: "We neither want to be colonized by Spain, nor by the United States. I'm surprised my people have not risen."

Eugenio de Ostos was travelling in the United States when news reached him that American troops had crushed Puerto Rican Independence with an invasion: "the sacrifices will be many . . . but the independence of our island will grow."

Before the invasion, 91% of the land belonged to the Puerto Rican farmers. Tobacco and sugar made up 66% of the production; by 1900 this production was owned and controlled by American capitalists. The Americans owned the rest of the land and controlled the diminutive agricultural reforms. The inter-commerce of the island remained in the hands of the Spanish upper class. The already established Puerto Rican bourgeoisie was secondary in its exploitation of the proletariat in comparison to the Americans.

Coffee had superseded sugar as a main source of income for the capitalists and by late 1900, 80% of the coffee crop was owned by the American government. Workers and peasants were being paid 50% lower than they had received under the Spanish regime. Meat and rice became the luxurious commodities under the retail and production of the American business interests.

In 1901 the United States created an educational system where English would become the official language-- so began the eradication of Puerto Rico's culture from the minds of her youth.

In 1916, Jose de Diego, a famous lawyer for the Catholic Church, began to fill a paper of historical and economical facts exposing the criminal exploitation of not only Puerto Rico's resources, but also her people.

In 1917 with the coming of the imperialist war, the United States declared Puerto Rico an official colony; by doing so she was able to send young Puerto Rican men into the war and at the same time deprive the island of a revolutionary force.

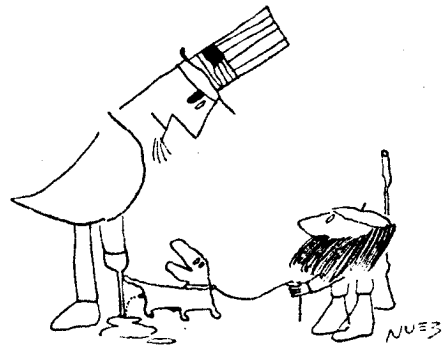
In 1920 the young and premature struggle for independence of Puerto Rico found a political arm in the creation of the Nationalist Party. At its early stages it based itself on the criticism of American imperialism and in the sporadic sales of literature. In 1924 a new epoch was born in Puerto Rico and a new page of history was waiting to be filled. Wandering into the Nationalist Party was a young, brown skinned law graduate from Harvard, his name Pedro Albizu Campos, a name that the universal struggles of national liberation will (cont. p. 211)

forever embrace. Pedro Albizu returned to the island in 1924 in the wake of his harassment by the American military because of his color. After his enrollment into the Nationalist Party, Albizu Campos was elected vice-president of the party. In 1926 he was appointed as a representative of the party to travel to various Latin American countries to acquaint himself with the independence and revolutionary movements in those countries. It didn't take long for Pedro Albizu to learn that it was his impregnable will that aroused the millions on the island to the call of liberation; it was his voice which echoed in every village and in every city that shook the fetters of the masses; it was his revolutionary ferocity that turned the whole established social order of the bourgeois-colonialist upside down. This son of a peasant couple in Ponce (a city in Puerto Rico -- Editors' note) was to become the pride and glory of "La Boricua."

In 1932, under the leadership of Dr. Campos, the Nationalist Party entered the electoral campaigns with Albizu as candidate for Senator at large. Before election night the pro-American newspapers began an anti-nationalist campaign, flooding the island with accusations against Pedro Albizu. Their propaganda wasn't enough, the election was then rigged, and Pedro Albizu lost, yet in his defeat to the candidates of the multi-millionaires he scored 12,000 votes.

On the eve of Pedro's loss, the depression that had started in the mid-twenties (capitalism hinders its foreign possessions before it applies economic misery to its own working class) began to dilute the foundations of the bourgeoisie. Below it the lower classes were already decaying, compelling the peasants to move from the countryside into the city and later to migrate into New York.

In 1933 the social forces of the proletariat began to bellow their dissatisfaction towards the island's ruling class in demonstration after demonstration. One of these demonstrations was directed by Albizu against the American monopoly, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co., in which the workers' strike had the last word. In 1934 he directed various campaigns against the plantation owners and landlords by leading strikes of sugar cane cutters. Imperialism was beginning to decay in the mist of its own depression. The degeneration and perversion of the masses by the mechanics of the ruling class produced multiple offsprings of contradiction and brought on revolution as the order of the day. When Colonel Francis J. Riggs, Chief of Police and personal bodyguard of Governor Winship (cont. p. 212



offered Pedro Albizu \$150,000 to withdraw his campaigns, Pedro refused; from then on he became a political danger to the monstrous business interests on the island.

On Oct. 24, 1935, four members of the Nationalist Party were murdered by the police on orders from Col. Riggs. The members were part of a demonstration protesting a bourgeois, pro-imperialist student assembly. In December of 1935, 25,000 members of the Nationalist Party composed a petition demanding the resignation of Col. Riggs and the withdrawal of American business interests and military troops from the island.

On March 4, 1936, in a gun battle with three youth members of the Nationalist Party, Col. Riggs was shot and killed. Later the police arrested Elias Beauchamp, one of the freedom fighters involved in the incident, and his companion Hiram Rosado. Following the arrest Elias and Hiram were both tortured and killed inside the police station.

On March 4, 1936, on the campus of Puerto Rico University, Pedro Albizu was arrested in an attempt to recruit fellow countrymen into the Nationalist Army. A consensus taken by the students preceding his arrest showed that Albizu's followers had gathered more than 250 volunteers in a matter of hours. Following his arrest Dr. Campos was charged with instigating the gun battle in which Riggs was killed. In July of 1936 the American Civil Liberties Union sent a committee to defend Pedro. That same month in the congress of the United States, a representative from New York, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, defended Albizu's rights and the struggle for liberation in Puerto Rico. Countering the defensive pleas was Dr. Ernest Gruening (now the 'liberal' Senator from Alaska) who was the Director of the Reconstruction Project Committee of Puerto Rico and Commissioner of Divisions of Territories and Island Possessions. Gruening denounced the independence movement in Puerto Rico and branded Pedro as a danger to the American Government.

With the pro-imperialist newsmedia on the island condemning Albizu, and with the conviction of guilt supported by the colossus of the American State Department the all-American businessmen jury convicted Pedro. The American judge sentenced him to Atlanta Penitentiary for seven years. Throughout the trial not one Puerto Rican was able to enter the courtroom.

* * *

The independence movement had grown from a premature infant into a revolutionary arm of the masses, a ubiquitous force channeled through the halls of national liberation, shattering the pillars of human exploitation, thundering into the quarters of the bourgeois intuition, uprooting its deteriorating surface. By 1937 the Nationalist Party had already been constructed into a mobilized cadre of (cont. p213)

of thousands. It had not only attracted the unemployed, the workers and the peasants, but students, teachers, and university professors. Realizing the political potentiality of such a dynamic force, Governor Wihship, with the aid of various Puerto Rican bureaucrats, had secretly ordered a massacre in the city of Ponce. In a parade of Nationalist Youth Cadets and Nationalist nurses the Ponce police and American troops under the leadership of Col. Orbetta, brother-in-law of Dioniso Trigo and Franco's fascist representative in Puerto Rico, massacred from fifty to seventy men, women, and children, wounding 150. On an empty street in Ponce, a bleeding revolutionary stumbled to the sidewalk and wrote in his own blood:

"Viva la Republica!

Abajo los Asesinos!"

Of the troops and policemen that had killed Puerto Rican children on that bloody day, not one came to justice. Col. Orbetta who had directed the slaughter continued to be a colonel and Chief of Police. Governor Winship who had ordered the pogrom remained the "great white father" of Puerto Rico.

With the outbreak of World War II the revolution in Puerto Rico came to an interruption, but the infamous day in Ponce was molded in the pages of history, an obstacle of shame on the minds of liberals and a reminder of revenge for the Puerto Rican that lived that day.

The second and concluding part of this article will appear in SOULBOOK 4

"In spite of the loud and pompous declarations about equal rights contained in all the constitutions of the Latin American Republics it is, however, a fact that in the economic, social and political practice of these countries the Negroes do not enjoy these constitutional rights. The Latin American bourgeois ideologists lie when they say that all men are equal; lie when they try to prove that there is no economic and racial discrimination against Negroes in Latin America.

There is hardly any country of Latin America where the Negro toiling population does not consider itself humiliated and insulted on the economic and social practices of the white ruling class."

George Padmore, The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers (p.61) London, 1931.

la revolución puertorriqueña

por alfredo peña del Movimiento
Pre-Independencia de Puerto Rico

(traducción española por SOULBOOK)

La Revolución Puertorriqueña comenzó cuando las fuerzas imperialistas norteamericanas desembarcaron sobre nuestras playas en 1898.

Durante los cinco años pasados El Movimiento Pro-Independencia De Puerto Rico ha tratado de despertar la atención de la plebe sobre La Isla y en Nueva York, a fin de unir y organizar el proletariado a la llamada de la liberación nacional.

La revolución puertorriqueña es inminente pero revoluciones faltan sin el sostén de la plebe. Los campesinos, los trabajadores, los desocupados y los estudiantes tienen que reanimarse bajo de la bandera de la independencia a fin de que la lucha puede ascender adentro una fuerza poderosa y dinámica.

El gobierno americano ha sucedido en adoctrinar nuestra gente y hacerla entrar por fuerza histerismo. Aun el murmullo de mudanza o una insinuación de independencia es suprimido por insinuaciones reaccionarias. El systema educadora controlado por los norteamericanos ha extraído la cultura y historia puertorriqueña de sus cursos de estudios. Estudiantes aprenden más sobre Los Estados Unidos que aprenden de su propia isla. Los intereses de comercios y anquis poseen mas tierra, propiedad e industrias que la gente puertorriqueña, por ejemplo las playas en La Isla es poseido por los hoteles lujosos Americanos donde los turistas pueden bañarse por gratis además los puertorriqueños tienen que pagar un precio minimo para entrar a la playa.

Desde 1898 los imperialistas norteamericanos han sacado bill ones de dolares de Puerto Rico en Frutas, Azucar, óleo y mineral; han manipulado a la gente puertorriqueña por un motivo de beneficio. En cuanto, al Gobernador y a la legislatura de Puerto Rico, sirven solamente como instrumentos de "estructura de poder" de Los Estados Unidos, defender las capas superiores de la burguesa puertorriqueña cuando aprovechar de su propia burocracia.

El termino "Commonwealth" que Los Estados Unidos ha aplicado a Puerto Rico es una farsa. Los norteamericanos lo han usado para ilustrar al

mundo que Puerto Rico es un estado soberano.

Porque le faltan a Puerto Rico su propio presidente, gobierno y sistemas economicas, sociales, y politicas es expuesto esta mentira. Aun la definici3n de "Commonwealth" no necesariamente significa una naci3n libre.

Con relaci3n a Puerto Rico el crimen m1s costoso del Gobierno norteamericano es que ha borrado desde la mente del puertorriqueño que 3l es una parte de la herencia latino-americana. Abajo el systema del gobierno Yanqui el puertorriqueño ha descartado las tradiciones y los costumbres de su historia. El ha viajado por un transito al cultivo desde una sociedad a otro. La transici3n es controlado por las maquinas de instruccion del gobierno norteamericano. Tal jornada acanalada ha desleido la moralidad de nuestra gente : 40% de nuestra juventud en Nueva York ha tomada las habitas drogas, y 31% en Puerto Rico; 26% de nuestras mujeres se han convertidos prostitutas en Nueva York, 33% en Puerto Rico. Aun el aire en Puerto Rico ha hecho contaminado. En 1954 Los Estados Unidos commenzaron a construir laboratorios nucleares y han sido adelante experimentar varias armas nucleares cerca de nuestras costas. Experimentos adentro los laboratorios han sido ejecutados sobre presos Nacionalistas puertorriqueños.

Con el fin de la guerra Espaol-Americano en 1898 la personalidad y el car1cter de un Puerto Rico liberado estuvieron cristalizandos. Pero en 25 de Julio la invasi3n de tropas americanas ahogaron todas las esperanzas puertorriqueñas para la independ3ncia y la libertad. Betances, uno de los lideres puertorriqueños revolucionarios fue citado a Francia antes las invasi3n para firmar el tratado de Paz. En la vispera del ataque sobre Puerto Rico un grito de reprisilia desde toco afuera por el mundo: "Nosotros ni queremos ser colonizados por El España ni por Los Estados Unidos. Estoy yo sorprendido que mi gente no ascendido."

Eugeno de Ostos estuvo viajando en Los Estados Unidos cuando las noticias le llegaron que las tropas norteamericanas hubieron aplastado la independ3ncia puertorriqueña con una invasi3n : "Los sacrificios ser1n mucho ... pero La Independencia de Nuestra isla progresar1."

Antes la invasi3n 91% de la tierra perteneci3 a los agricultores puertorriqueños. Tabaco y azucar comprendieron 66% de la produccion, pero en 1900 esta produccion fue puesto y controlado por los capitalistas yanquis. Los norteamericanos posian la otra tierra y controlaban las reformas chicas agricolas. El entre-commercio de La Isla quedaba en la direccion de lo selecto Espaol. La burguesa puertorriqueña que se estableci3 antes la invasi3n yanqui fue secundario en su explotaci3n del proletariado en comparaci3n a los norteamericanos.

Café hubo sobreesado azucar como un origen de ingreso para los capitalistas, y en la última parte de 1900 80% de la cosecha de café fue puesto por el gobierno norteamericano. Trabajadores y campesinos fueron pagados 50% mas bajo que hubieron recibido bajo el regimen Español. La carne y el arroz convinieron comodidades lujosas bajo venta al por menor y la producción de los intereses de los comercios norteamericanos.

En 1901 Los Estados Unidos crearon una systema educadora cual Ingles conveniera el idioma oficial, asi comenzó la eradicación de la cultura de Puerto Rico desde los mentes de su juventud.

En 1916 Jose De Diego un abogado famoso de la Iglesia Católica comenzó a llenar una disertación de hechos historicos y economicas exponer la explotación criminal de no solamente los recursos de Puerto Rico, pero también su gente.

En 1917 con la llegada de la guerra imperialista Los Estados Unidos declararon que Puerto Rico fue una colonia oficial, por hacer eso pudieron a mandar a los jovenes puertorriqueños a la guerra y al mismo tiempo privieron la isla de una fuerza revolucionaria.

En 1920 la lucha para La Independencia de Puerto Rico, todavía joven y prematura, econtró un brazo politico en la creación del Partido Nacionalista. En sus estados tempranos se concentró en la critica del imperialismo yanqui y las ventas esporadicas de literatura. En 1924 una epoca nueva nació en Puerto Rico y una página de la historia estaba esperando ser llenado. Errar entre el Partido Nacionalista fue joven cuando se graduo de leyes desde Harvard, con un cutis moreno, su nombre fue Pedro Albizu Campos, un nombre que las luchas universales de la liberación nacional abrazarán siempre. Pedro volvió a La Isla en 1924 después de su hostigamiento porque de su color por el militar norteamericano. Después su registro entre el Partido Nacionalista, Albizu Campos fue elegido vicepresidente del Partido. En 1926 él fue nombrado como un representante del Partido a viajar a paises latino-americanos varios para que se puso al corriente de La Independencia y movimientos revolucionarios en esos paises. No tuvo mucho tiempo para que el señor Pedro Albizu aprender que fue su fuerza inconquistable que hubo despertado a los millones de La



Isla a la llamada de La Liberación; fue su voz que resonaba en todas las aldeas y en todas las ciudades que hubo sacudido los grillos de las masas; fue su ferocidad revolucionaria que hubo vuelto el todo orden social establecida de las burguesas-colonialistas lo de arriba abajo. El hijo de un matrimonio del campo de Ponce fue a llegar a ser el orgullo y gloria de 'La Boricua'.

Durante 1932, abajo la dirección del Doctor Campos, El Partido Nacionalista entró a las campañas electorales con El Señor Albizu como un candidato para senador a lo largo. Antes la noche de la elección los periodicos pronorteamericanos comenzaron una campaña anti-nacionalista inundar la isla con acusaciones contra Pedro Albizu. Su campaña propaganda no fue bastante, porque manipuló fraudulentamente las elecciones y por eso Pedro Albizu perdió, sin embargo en su derrota al candidatos de los multimillonarios él obtuvo 12,000 votos.

Anoche antes la derrota de Pedro, la depresión que hubo empezado, más o menos en 1925 (Capitalismo impide sus posesiones extranjerías antes de aplica miseria económica a su propia clase trabajadora) empezaba desleir las fundaciones de la burguesa y de bajo de ella las clases más baja ya estaba decayendo, compeler a los campesinos a mover desde el campo a la ciudad, y más tarde a emigrar a Nueva York.

Durante 1933 las fuerzas sociales del proletariado empezaron a gritar sus opresiones a la clase que gobernó la Isla en muchas demostraciones. Una de estas demostraciones fue dirigidos por Albizu contra el monopolio Yanqui, Porto Rico Railway, Light and Power Co. lo que la huelga de los trabajadores se hubo salido con suyas. Durante 1934 él dirigió campaña varias contra los latifundistas y los patrones por conducir huelgas de cortadores de caña de azucar. Imperialismo estaba empezando a decaer dentro de confusión de su propia depresión. La degeneración y la perversión de las masas por los mecanicos de la clase elevada producieron proles multiples de contradicciones y indujeron revolución como el orden del dia. Coronel Francis J. Riggs, Jefe de La Policia y Guardia de corps de Gobernador Winship ofreciera a Albizu Campos que quitiera sus campaña. No consentió Pedro; desde que él convino una peligrosa política a los intereses commercios y monstruosos sobre La Isla.

En 24 de Octubre de 1935 4 miembros del Partido Nacionalista fueron asesinados por las policia sobre ordenes desde Coronel Riggs. Los miembros fueron parte de una demostración a protestar una pro-imperialista burgués asamblea de estudiantes. Durante Diciembre de 1935, 25,000 miembros del Partido Nacionalista compusieron una petición demandar la resignación de Coronel Riggs, la retirada de intereses commercios Yanquis y la retirada de las tropas norteamericanas desde La Isla. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en una batalla de fusiles con 3 miembros juvenes (a página 218)

del Partido Nacionalista Coronel Riggs fue tirado y matado. Más tarde la policía arrestó a Elias Beauchamp uno de los guerreros de la libertad que envolvió en el incidente y su amigo Hiram Rosado. Después de la detención Elias y Hiram fueron torturados y matados adentro la estación de la policía. En 4 de Marzo de 1936 en La Universidad de Puerto Rico Pedro Albizu, durante una tentativa a reclutar a paisanos en el ejército Nacionalista, fue arrestado. Un comenso que fué tomado por los estudiantes antes su detención demostró que los seguidores de Don Pedro hubieron recogido a más de 250 voluntarios durante unos cuantos horas. Anteceder su detención el Doctor Campos fue acusado con instigar la batalla de fusiles lo que fue matado el Coronel Riggs. En Julio de 1936 La Unión de Las Libertades Civiles norteamericanas mandó una comité a defender al Señor Campos. En el mismo mes en el Congreso de Los Estados Unidos, un representante de Nueva York, El Señor Vito Marcantonio, defendió los derechos de Albizu y la lucha de la liberación en Puerto Rico. Contra el alegato del defensa fue el Doctor Ernest Gruening (el senador 'liberal' desde Alaska) quien fue El Director Del Comité Del Proyecto Reedificación de Puerto Rico y comisionado de Divisiones de Territorios y posesiones de Islas. El señor Gruening denunció el movimiento de la independencia en Puerto Rico e infamó Pedro como un peligro al Gobierno norteamericano. Con los noticieros proimperialistas sobre La Isla condenar a Albizu, y la convicción de culpa sostenido por el coloso de Departamento del Estado Yanqui, el jurado que comprendió por completo de hombres Yanquis de negocios convenió a Don Pedro.

El juez Norteamericano lo (Albizu) sentenció al penitenciario de Atlanta por siete años. Durante todo el ensayo ningún puertorriqueño pudo entrar al cuarto de corte.

El movimiento de la independencia se hubo puesto mejor desde un infante prematuro en un brazo revolucionario de las masas, una fuerza ubicua acanalada por los pasos de la liberación nacional destrozar los pilares de explotación humana, tronar en las partes de la intuición burguesa, desarraigar su superficie que estuvo tuvo deteriorando. Para 1937 El Partido Nacionalista

ya fue construido en un núcleo movilizadado de miles de personas. El Partido no había atraído solamente a los disocupados, los trabajadores y los campesinos, pero también los estudiantes, y maestros y los profesores en Las Universidades. Realizar la potencial política de tan fuerza dinámica, El Gobernador Winship con el auxilio de burocratas varios puertorriqueños en secreto hubo ordenado una matanza en la ciudad (a página 219)



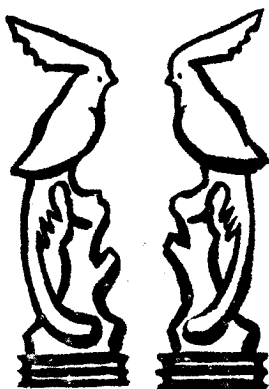
de Ponce. Durante una parada de cadetes jóvenes nacionalistas y enfermeras nacionalistas. La policía de Ponce, y las tropas Yanquis abajo la dirección de coronel Orgetta cuñado de Dioniso Trigo, el representante fascista de Franco en Puerto Rico, mataron atrocemente a 50 a 70 hombres, mujeres y niños, y herieron a 150. En una calle vacía en Ponce, un revolucionario que estuvo sangrando tropezó a la acera y escribió con su propia sangre:

¡ Viva la Republica !
¡ Abajo los Asesinos !

De las tropas y de la policía que mataron a niños puertorriqueños en ese día sangriento no vino una a justicia. Coronel Orgetta quien hubo dirigido la motan-
dad de gente continuó ser un coronel y el Jefe de La Policía. El Gobernador Winship quien hubo ordenado la matanza quedaba "Al Gran Padre Blanco" de Puerto Rico.

Con la erupción de la segunda guerra mundial La Revolución en Puerto Rico vino a una interrupción pero el día infame en Ponce fue moldeado en las páginas de historia verdadera, un obstáculo de la verquenza en los mentes de liberales y un recordario de la venganza al puertorriqueño que vivió ese día.

La última parte de este artículo está en SOULBOOK 4



220 freeman-allen

notes on james boggs' american revolution

by ernie allen & kenn m. freeman

The following article is a review essay of the book, American Revolution, Notes From a Negro Worker's Notebook, which was written by Brother James Boggs (Monthly Review Press, 1961)

(This is part one, part two will appear
in SOULBOOK 4)



THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Boggs begins by noting the change which has occurred in the character of the American working class, beginning with the period of the 1930's up to the present; whereas many workers during the 30's were illiterate, their children are the engineers and scientists of today. Thus we are left with the situation of the working class being, Boggs states, "so dispersed and transformed by the very nature of the changes in production that it is almost impossible to select out any single bloc of workers as working class in the old sense....."

this working class is growing, as Marx predicted, but it is not the old working class which the radicals persist in believing will create the revolution and establish control over production. There are only 12 million of these production workers left in American industry, out of a total work force of 68 million." (pp. 15-16)

So Boggs says that these changes in production have influenced the character of the working class in three primary ways; these factors have in turn brought their influence to bear upon the very nature of production, as well as influencing and interacting between one another. Boggs views these resulting changes as the following:

- (i) the working class has grown
- (ii) work has become diversified
- (iii) labor leadership has become bourgeois

Thus, The American Revolution lays waste to a basic premise of many, contemporary so-called Marxists in the U. S. who would depend (at least in a theoretical sense) upon the existing working class to be instrumental in establishing a "workers state" in place of the present capitalist (ie racist) system. Not only are old myths destroyed, but an analysis is given by Boggs which we feel will greatly aid Black Americans in their task of providing a viable program for total Black Liberation on a worldwide scale.

THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF PRODUCTION & THE SUBSEQUENT SELLOUT OF THE WORKERS
BY THE UNION LEADERS

In developing organizations to fulfill this task of liberation it is important that Afroamericans learn both from the past failures and accomplishments, strong points and weaknesses, of organizations -- particularly those which have based themselves upon the strength of the masses. Boggs' position is that "By examining the industrial revolution, and unemployment, we can get some idea of the revolutionary changes that have so rapidly developed in America, directly leading to changes in the nature of work, the social composition of various strata of the population." (p. 16) Taking the United Auto Workers as the model for the CIO, Boggs runs down the history of the labor movement and points out the fact that there were more workers who were organized into the union than were those who organized the union, and furthermore, that all workers did not participate in strikes.

Now, what did the union do in order to improve working conditions and to procure extra benefits for the workers in the shop? In short, what were its accomplishments? Before World War II the workers, acting through the union, "...had the power to intimidate management, from the foreman up to the top (cont. p. 222)

echelons, forcing them to yield to workers' demands whenever production standards were in dispute. "(p. 18) In other words, the union gave the workers control over production At the same time, "... it must be clearly understood that the workers in taking hold in the plants did not take power." (emphasis added by ea & kmf) They only took hold of the plants. They did not take over the state government, or the national government, or the city police, or the National Guard nor the army " The union was instrumental in forcing management to hire workers who ordinarily would never have obtained jobs, but we do not wish to infer that the union was a panacea to the problems of labor. For as Boggs points out, "Even in their best days, it should be remembered, the CIO and AFL were not able to do much about unemployment. In 1939, when the Second World War began, there were still more than 9 million unemployed, well over twice today's official figure." (p. 53)

During World War II, labor acquired "respectability." Where before its representatives were workers in the shop, during the war labor leaders were conferring in Washington with heads of government. At this stage the "labor leadership" was no longer the leadership of labor, and, in effect, joined with the power structure in the suppression of labor. But in spite of the fact that the union held continual negotiations with the government and made agreements not to strike during the second world war, Boggs points out that there were 8, 708 strikes involving four million workers in 1943 and 1944 alone. These "wildcat" strikes by labor, during WWII, involving basic human rights within the shop, circumvented the "authority" of the union and was the first indication that labor and "labor leadership" were struggling towards entirely different goals: labor for control of production and procurement of human rights within the shop, "leadership" for control of the workers.

As the gulf between labor and leadership was widening, and because of the fact that during the war the WLB was settling the matter of wages, the union, in an effort to demonstrate its "necessity" to the workers, began trying to change job classifications so that workers could obtain a few cents more an hour ..

However, the era of progressive reform inside the union movement really ended on V-J day, for the control of production and human relations which workers had achieved were now completely shunted aside by the union; the emphasis was now placed upon economic rather than human relations. In the General Motors strike of 1945-46 the wage increases and fringe benefits won by the union were hailed as "great social progress." In 1948, under the "Security Clause," the union returned to management the right to run production as it saw fit. And when automation came upon the scene in 1955, the union began (cont.p. 223)

attempts to ease out the workers through the use of pensions, severance pay, and a "profit-sharing" plan designed to incorporate the remaining workers into management. Boggs concludes that :

Thus, after 25 years, the UAW has given back to management every right over production won in the movement of the 1930's and the war years. Today the workers are doing in eight hours the actual physical work they used to do in twelve. (p.26-7)

What lessons can Black Americans then learn from the experience which our brother, James Boggs has obtained from the union movement? Boggs explains the failure of the union by stating that "...all organizations that spring up in a capitalist society and do not take absolute power, but rather fight only on one tangential or essential aspect of that society are eventually incorporated into capitalist society." (p.28)

This statement is good as far as it goes, but we feel the need to point out that these organizations of which Boggs is speaking will (unless they take absolute power) either be incorporated into the society, infiltrated and/or obliterated by the state "gendarmes" (i.e. FBI, CIA, etc.), or will become virtually sterile and lose effectiveness through a continual revision and "watering down" of their once-militant programs. These are significant factors to consider when analyzing the present state of labor organizations run by the white ruling class, the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People, and certain bourgeois, pseudo-Black Nationalist organizations which are carrying the FBI's stamp of "approval"; once an organization becomes "respectable" in the eyes of the power structure, one can well be assured that it poses no threat to the existing socio-economic and political structure, and that its aims are corrupted by the said apparatus.

AUTOMATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN A CAPITALIST SOCIETY

The contradictions which presently exist between Black and White America, as well as those internal to each of these two nations, will become deeply intensified as automation thunders ahead; also, new contradictions will continue to rise during its process of development. Boggs views these intensified (antagonistic) contradictions as being grouped primarily about the following three areas :



- (i) the permanently-unemployed and the employed
- (ii) the "young" workers and "old" workers within the plant
- (iii) the union and the workers

Boggs places quite a bit of importance upon the first contradiction because it is a problem which encompasses the entire socio-economic structure: "This antagonism in the population between those who have to be supported and those who have to support them is one of the inevitable antagonisms of capitalism." (p. 37) Thus the contradiction between the unemployed and the employed is viewed correctly by Boggs as a factor which is inherent to the nature of capitalism; he notes, however, that automation introduces a new factor: the problem of the permanently-unemployed man. As Boggs states, "what is new is that now, unlike most earlier periods, the displaced men have nowhere to go." (emphasis added by kmf & ea; p. 36). His analysis continues; not only will the unemployed be pitted against the employed, but in consideration of the overall society Boggs states that: "those who propose that the unemployed be allowed to starve to death rather than continue as a drain on the public. . ." (p. 37) will stand in direct opposition to "those who cannot stand by and see society degenerate into such barbarism." (p. 37) Later we will return to this point and examine its relevance to the problems of Black America; presently we will concern ourselves with Boggs' approach to the solution of problems incurred through automation.

"The dilemma before the workers and the American people is: How can we have automation and still earn our livings?" (.35)

In examining different chapters in The American Revolution one sees that Boggs' solution to this problem of automation vs. income is tinged with ambivalence on one hand he speaks of a social revolution in the U.S. which will uproot "whitey's" system of degenerate capitalism and in its place implant the roots of a socialist society where exploitation of man by man will be eliminated. On the other hand Boggs apparently is looking for a patchwork formula within capitalism (i.e. reformism) which will help the workers to survive and to maintain for themselves an adequate standard of living, for he seems to suggest that the root cause of the problems of income distribution and maintenance of consumption is to be found within the income-through-jobs link. This suspicion of ours becomes real when we discover that Boggs signed the now-famous document known as The Triple Revolution (which stated in so many words that the most important reform needed in the U.S. today was the abolishment of the income-thru-jobs link). Also, in his The Rights of Man in an Age of Abundance Boggs states that "...a man's (cont.)

right to a living should no longer be tied to his work. . "2.

This same theme pops up again in his fourth chapter:

"This nation cannot long endure short on rights and long on goods. We must accept the plain fact that we are moving towards an automated society and act on the basis of this fact.

The first principle that has to be established is that everyone has a right to full life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, whether he is working or not.
(emphasis added by kmf8ea)

Now, how does Boggs form the bridge between his advocating the destruction of the income-through-jobs link, which is, in the context of a capitalist society, essentially reformism, and revolution, the complete uprooting of this society? First of all he feels that in a capitalist society the vast majority of workers will lose their jobs because the furthering of automation and cybernation will eliminate these jobs and will not create a sufficient number of others. Thus, for these people (and particularly Black people) to survive in this society it will be necessary to abolish the income-thru-jobs link. He then goes on to say that this will force the capitalists to feed a vast army of the permanently-unemployed, thus causing an unbearable strain on those who have jobs and pay taxes, and those who do not have jobs and do not pay taxes. Finally, he suggests that this new contradiction will eventually produce the ultimate crisis of capitalism, as opposed to the orthodox-Marxian prediction that the antagonism between the worker and capitalist is the decisive contradiction which will cause the fall of capitalism and provide the motive force for a new social order.

Now, we disagree with Boggs on at least one important point: his implication that work is somehow not a necessity for mankind, in general, to live.

We agree that if a man cannot work then he should be given means in order to live adequately. In spite of this fact we still feel that work is still a necessary part of man's life; there is an abundance of evidence to show that man developed from a lower to a higher being by working (with both his head and his hands), and we believe that man will continue to master nature and to solve his problems by working. Therefore we feel that work should not be deemphasized, even though it may not be necessary in the productive process, because of its essentiality to the further development of man. We must keep in mind also that the definition of productive work is certainly capable of being broadened, so that under this new definition, for example, research, the arts and other creative ventures could conceivably be included.

Boggs points out that most people (and this includes many Marxists) " have not been able to face the fact that even if the workers took over the plants

they would also be faced with the problem of what to do with themselves now that work is become socially unnecessary. They have not been able to face this fact because they have no clear idea of what people would do with themselves, what would be their human role, or how society would be organized when work is no longer at the heart of society." (p. 41)

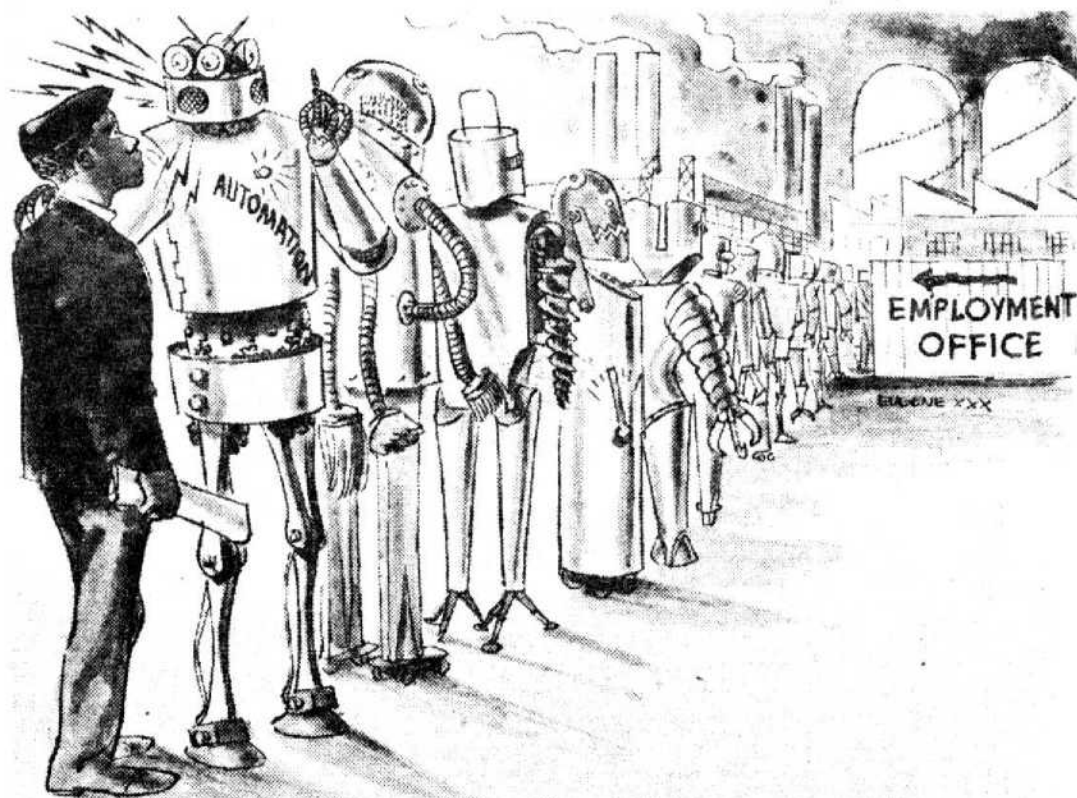
So Boggs hits the nail upside the head; since the U.S. is presently the most technologically advanced country in the world, today's problems of production relations in this highly-technical capitalist society will be tomorrow's problems in socialist societies as the instruments of production in these societies reach a level of sophistication. But keep in mind that it is only within a capitalist society where lack of work, and hence, lack of income seem to always reach crisis proportions (i. e. result in contradictions of an antagonistic sort), whereas in a socialist society, time not used in production work can be channeled (at least to the extent that it is a planned economy) into healthy areas such as the arts and other creative, peaceful ventures. However, in a "workers' state" the solution to the challenge of automation tends toward the removal of one of the cornerstones of Marxism-Leninism, since Lenin's statement that "he who does not work shall not eat" becomes an anacronism when work is no longer economically necessary

Boggs shows that the retraining of displaced workers for new jobs requiring greater skills is of dubious value because automation also eliminates these skilled jobs without creating more or even the same number (although there is not enough evidence to substantiate this claim at the present time, or, probably more correctly, the evidence is being hidden from the public, we feel that when automation is in full swing this claim will prove to be true). But there is an additional factor which makes retraining even more of a farce for Afroamerica, for, in the nationwide programs for job retraining, the fact that employment agencies discriminate against Black workers in favor of white workers for entrance into these programs has been exposed. 3.

Thus, Black Americans, who are already the most socio-economically oppressed group in the U.S. (as well as those Indians who have survived the merciless slaughter of the white oppressor), are suffering most from just the initial phase of automation, and will most certainly be the group which will suffer most when automation is in full swing. And as the pro-business Research Institute of America said: "The moment of truth on Automation is coming -- a lot sooner than most people realize." 4.

footnotes

1. James Boggs. "The Rights of Man in an Age of Abundance," p. 93, REVOLUTION, Vol. I, No.8
2. C. E. Wilson. "Automation and the Negro: Will We Survive?", p.10 Liberator, Vol. V, No. 7, (July, 1965).
3. J. Smith. "Cybernation: The Potential Problems of a 'Workless Society' ", p.6, National Guardian, (Nov. 21, 1964)



"DON'T WORRY, KID—WE'LL FIGURE OUT SOMETHING FOR YOU!"

Asian politics and economics
are explained and commented upon in this unique
monthly magazine through penetrating, fearless
editorials and authoritative contributions by well-
informed correspondents from all over Asia.

Annual Subscription : £ 1 10 s. (12 issues post-free)

EASTERN WORLD

Ask for sample copies direct from the publishers :
EASTERN WORLD, 58, Paddington St., London, W. 1.

TRANSITION

THE LEADING JOURNAL OF THE
ARTS AND CULTURE from English-
Speaking Africa.

FICTION / POETRY / DRAMA / ART
/ CRITICISM / POLEMICS / POLI-
TICAL THEORY / PSYCHOLOGY /
REPORTAGE.

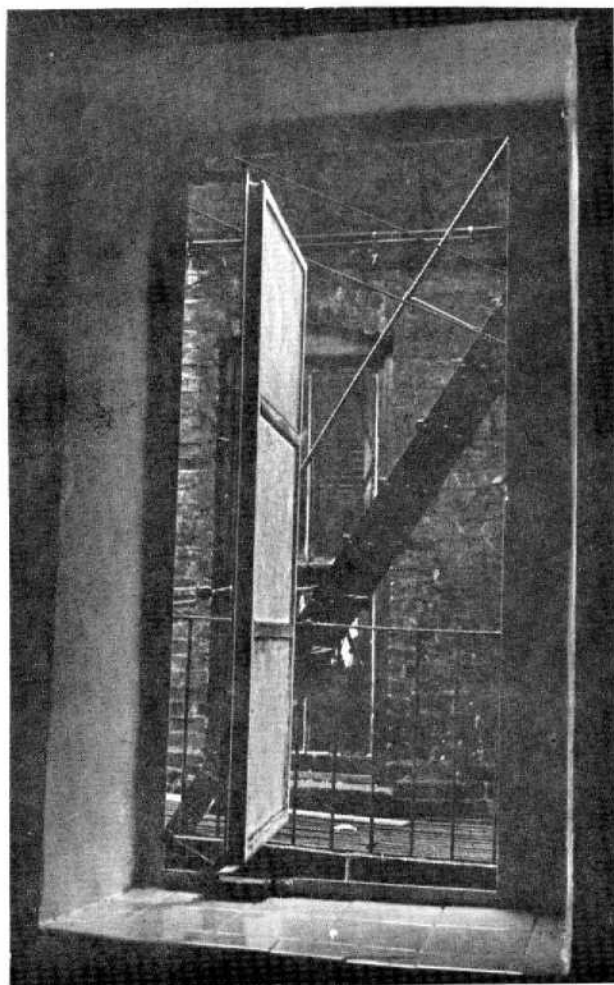
Published bi-monthly.

Subscriptions: £ 1-1s in East Africa,
£ 1-3s U.K., \$ 6.00, U.S. from **Transi-
tion, P.O. Box 20026, KAMPALA,
Uganda.**

ERRATA

1. Page 151 second line should read "castrati of..."
2. Page 156 line 14 should read "The presence of..."
3. Page 179: line 5 "slipping" should be slopping. line 22 should be "dawn lawd"
4. Page 226 line 10 reads "level"; should read "higher level".
5. Page 192 line 17 "...awaited beneficent lord saw sheets
white mist while..."
6. Page 158 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia. 7. Page 155 photo reproduced from
Peking Review 8. Page 198 Cartoon reprinted from Bohemia
9. Page 219 Figure reprinted from Peking Review . 10. Page 223 Cartoon reprinted
Peking Review 11. Page 227 cartoon reprinted from Muhammed Speaks
12. Page 203 line 15 "imperialis" should be imperialism.
13. Page 181 line 13 "democrat" should be democrats. 14. Page 171 line 4 omit
"to an important degree....."
14. The smudge-mark on the cover photo was the fault of the printer; it was
not the fault of the photographer.

permission to reprint whole articles from
SOULBOOK MUST be obtained in written form
from the Editorial Board of SOULBOOK



SOULBOOK 4



SOULBOOK

CONTENTS

editorials	230	VIETNAM, SNCC, BOND; RICHARD GIBSON
alvin morrell	234	NOTES ON THE AVANT - GARDE : A BRIEF PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES
jumma troupe	244	A REPLY TO MRS. "INSTANT-HAIR" THOMPSON
frantz fanon	246	PSYCHOLOGY AND NÉGRITUDE
doug allen	254	'T WAS THE NIGHT BEFORE CHRISTMAS
harry haywood	257	THE TWO EPOCHS OF NATION DEVELOPMENT: IS BLACK NATIONALISM A FORM OF CLASSICAL NATIONALISM ?
<u>REJECT NOTES</u>	267	poetry by gaston neal, ernie allen, john fisher, ronald stone, wm. patterson, harold foster, carol turner, theodore horne, patricia bullins, k. william kgositsile
alfredo pena	281	THE PUERTO RICAN REVOLUTION (PART2) LA REVOLUCIÓN PUERTORRIQUENA (2)
roland young	292	THE NEED TO DEVELOP A REVOLUTION - ARY CONSCIOUSNESS
germain mba	296	TOWARDS A BLACK LIBERATION ARMY
carol freeman	300	THE SUICIDE
bobb hamilton	304	IT WAS ELECTION TIME IN NEW YORK -- AGAIN
kenn m. freeman	307	THE COLONIZED OF NORTH AMERICA

CREDITS:

* * * * *

cover photo by charles daniel dawson

sketches by clyde, pp.235-6

drawing by donald freeman, p.296

cover design and titles by mkaillmote

back cover photo: frantz fanon

PRICE: 65¢

jazz
economics
poetry
anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

p. o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. (racist u.s.a.)

editorial board: donald freeman, issac moore, ernie allen,
alvin morrell, kenn m. freeman, carroll holmes, bobb
hamilton.

new york representative: bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new york,
new york.

distribution manager: bobby seale

volume 1

number 4

cable address : EMIR

winter, 1965-66

annual subscription by ordinary mail, \$2.25 inside u.s.,
\$3.50 outside u.s.; annual subscription by airmail, u.s.
\$4.50, outside u.s. \$7.50. there are four issues in an annual sub-
scription. one copy costs : \$0.65.

Copyright, 1966, by SOULBOOK inc., p. o. box 1097, berkeley, calif. 94701
all rights reserved. all correspondence concerning manuscripts & business
matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p.o. box 1097 berkeley, calif. 94701
or bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, New York 3, N. Y.

editorial

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization with strong grass roots support among Black Americans, was recently moved to issue a statement condemning the U.S. Government for both its acquiescence and participation in the continued murders of Afroamericans and Vietnamese.

The statement read in part :

" The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. Thus SNCC realizes, just as the majority of Afroamericans do, that Afroamericans and Vietnamese peoples are fighting parallel struggles for an identical objective -- human dignity.

Furthermore, the masses of Black Americans can only acclaim SNCC for its forthright and uncompromising stand against the sending of Black troops to fight brown Vietnamese peasants for the perpetuation of white supremacy.

It was a sign of increasing political maturity on the part of SNCC when its Public Relations Director Brother Julian Bond chose to unambiguously assert SNCC's position as his own, fully realizing that he would be a victim of political oppression. Subsequently he was not allowed to take the office to which he was elected by the Black people of Atlanta, Georgia. This further exposed to Black people that American Democracy is a lie as great as the geographical distance between Vietnam and Atlanta.

We are also convinced that the statement by SNCC and actions of Brother Julian Bond set an inspiring example for our people, thus adding impetus to

to our struggle. For in order to continue and increase the tempo of the struggle for Black Liberation, we must all learn from the concrete realities that our enemies and ill-wishers place in our way. We must broaden our current perspectives to include all relevant forces and agents operating against our struggle. These will include concrete analysis of the economic and political circumstances and realities of the present day U.S. and of the world, which ultimately and unavoidably determine social realities and behavior. At each and every stage of development and enlightenment, above all, we must not neglect to inform and take our direction from the people. For if we lose touch with our people, we lose our purpose.

Therefore, we, as Afroamericans and as editors of SOULBOOK, BLACK DIALOGUE, and BURNING SPEAR, vehemently support and welcome the statements on Vietnam issued by SNCC and its subsequent endorsement by Julian Bond. This type of courageous and principled activity is an important ingredient for the achievement of Black Liberation in the same way that the heroic efforts of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam are a guarantee for the ultimate achievement of Vietnamese Liberation.

ADDENDUM

As we go to press SOULBOOK is deeply irritated by the inconsistent conduct of Brother Julian Bond during a T V interview on Meet The Press. When Bond was questioned about the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam as being a legitimate force struggling for the liberation of the Vietnamese People, his reply left the explicit impression that the Liberation Front was an alien force in Vietnam and that its aspirations were other than legitimate.

SOULBOOK would like to take this opportunity to remind Brother Julian Bond that all objective analyses prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the N. F. L. of South Vietnam is indigenous to that area and represents the legitimate aspirations of the vast majority of Vietnamese people in south Vietnam infinitely more than all the civil rights groups in the U. S. represent the needs and aspirations of the vast majority of Black Americans.

From the Wars

Black Soldier
 Marched home
 home to his woman,
 home to his boss man
 home to his rack,
 Hung up his balls.

Black Soldier
 Turned in his gun
 Should have kept it;
 Enemies not dead
 Waited for him
 with installment plan
 & 20 - year mortgage.
 A broad smile
 Pats for his back
 a foot for his ass.

Black Soldier,
 Can you speak
 of a freedom
 you've never had?
 You're the nation's
 greatest con man.
 Why don't you
 run for President?

patricia bullins

NOTICE

The accompanying communiqué was first released in the Fall, 1964 issue of Revolution magazine. Recently we, the editors of SOULBOOK, were deeply disturbed to find this same nigger agent, Richard Gibson, featured in articles of recent issues (Dec., 1965-Feb., 1966) of a certain black publication. We feel that this magazine, which purports to be in full accord with the forces of Black Liberation, has done a grave disservice to our revolutionary cause; thus we feel compelled to hold up these above facts to Black light.

Perhaps we judge too harshly; it is quite possible that our brother editors FORGOT that traitor Gibson sold out the International Struggle. If this is so, then we hope that the republication of the communiqué will serve as a helpful reminder. If not, it is time for them to get themselves together.

SOULBOOK

COMMUNIQUE

Following most serious accusations brought forth by comrades from New York, London and Accra concerning Richard GIBSON and confirmed after proper investigation, REVOLUTION wishes to inform its readers that Richard GIBSON who has used his former position as secretary of "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" to infiltrate the International Revolutionary Movement, must not be considered any longer as a member of REVOLUTION'S staff. We can not be held responsible for any of his past and present activities, projects and ideas.

alvin morrell

notes on the avant-garde:

A BRIEF PERSPECTIVE OF BLACK MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES

In an article in the first issue of the magazine African Revolution¹, LeRoi Jones, a profound and prolific writer who is at once a poet, polemicist and music critic (you know which music I mean too), wrote an essay titled "The Avant Garde". In this insightful article he tells of some interesting happenings on the contemporary Black music scene, and makes some critical observations and interpretations.

LeRoi reports of a new rank of young musicians who are beginning to use not only the most important ideas of "formal" music (by which is meant European music), but more importantly, the ideas contained in the music called BeBop. He points out that the use of Bop is the most significant aspect of the avant-garde, since almost any modern musician can tell you Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Bartok, etc. LeRoi observes: "for the Black musicians to have come to the logical and beautiful conclusion that BeBop was the most legitimately complex, emotionally rich music to come out of this country is a brilliant beginning for a 'new music'. BeBop is roots now, just as much as Blues is; classical music is not". He states that 'classical' music (contemporary and past European 'art' music) "definitely can and should be 'milked' for as many solutions as possible" for the engineering problems the contemporary Black musician is likely to run into in his statement of musical truths and actions. He illustrates his point: "Ornette Coleman has had to live with the attitudes responsible for Anton Webern's music whether he knows that music or not: They were handed to

him along with the whole history of formal western music, and the musics that have come to characterize the Black man in the U.S. came to exist as they do only through the acculturation of this entire history". He goes on to reveal that the actual knowing of that history, or those European music only adds to the indoctrination. "But that jazz and blues are western musics; products of a Euro-American culture. And we are all of us, moderns, whether we like or not." Here LeRoi says that he is merely stressing the fact that he believes formal music of Europe can be used by modern Black musicians to solve technical problems. "How to play exactly what I feel" as he quotes an unnamed avant musician as telling him. LeRoi's definition of 'technical' is the utilization of the 'important ideas that are contained in the residue of history'. A broadened though subjective definition of the term, and by 'history' I take LeRoi to mean western music history. My assumption is strengthened with "the fact that being able to doubletime Listz's piano pieces might help one to become a musician, but it will not make a man

aware of the fact that Bartok was a greater composer than Listz. And it is the consciousness, on whatever level, of fact, ideas, etc. like this that are the most important part of technique". LeRoi emphasizes this notion of his on a more when he says "formal music, for the jazz musician should be ideas. Ideas that can make it easier for the modern musician to get to his roots". And he says further that the strongest of these roots are Blues and BeBop which are basically autonomous musics. "They are understandable, emotionally, as they sit without the barest discussion of their origins, themselves. Blues is a beginning, BeBop a beginning. They define other varieties of music that came after them".

LeRoi's essay is informative, as far as it goes, as to some of the advanced happenings on the modern music scene; but a close inspection





of his critical assertions will reveal some remarkable contradictions and some just plain residue of brainwashing in the western music heritage that LeRoi hadn't ridden himself of at the time of the writing. The first thing I would like to hold up to black light is the rather common over-emphasis that is given to European music in the foundations and origins of African-American or Black music. Whether the notion is stressed because of the music's **technical usefulness** or convenience makes not one iota of basic difference. The fact is that western music seems to be a gigantic boulder that constantly gets in LeRoi's way and he tries to get by it by making mental deals with it in order to get at the indigenous ideas that lie in the fertile mind of the Black

musician and his roots -- Blues and BeBop. This historic origin and expression of Black people's music is radically different than that of the Europeans. In fact, as I will show later, non-western musics all related among themselves in that each is predicated on radically different and opposing principles than those of the smaller western world. In other words, the music of the west is apart to itself -- segregated if you will.

Western music's basic motivating force and characteristic are harmonic design and written composition (the minutest detail possible within the idiom's musical reference, which is limited to what can be notated or made to conform to a preconceived standard of notation), especially after the 18th century and J. S. Bach. Accompanying these basic constructs were the desire for 'perfection' in pitch or tone expression and secondary consideration of melodic line with rhythm being of a basic 2/4, 3/4, or 4/4 character; all elements, remember, had to be completely notated, even such subtle distinctions as dynamic levels and ornamentation of the music to be played. Another important point to remember is that the writer or composer of the music rarely performed his own music or anyone else's as a playing musician, so the impersonal aspect of the composed music was rule. Hardly anything was left for the 'musicians' who did play it to do but provide the energy and hit the 'right notes' at the 'right' notated times.

The musics of the eastern world, those of Africa, India, Oceania, etc., are predicated on improvisational and rhythmic elements of immense

complexity and depth as well as harmony (least extent) and melody. But the understanding of the rhythmic foundations is the essential key to the whole improvisational super-structure of the music; and this area is precisely that arena that the Europeans understand least; as is demonstrated in their harmonically dense but rhythmically shallow music. The rhythmic improvisations of the non-western musician allows him to express his own inner thoughts and feelings about the world as he sees it. They often consists of many different rhythms played by several musicians simultaneously, each man being aware of others while maintaing his own improvisation. The static and simplistic (I'm tempted to say "primitive") form of rhythmic content in western music accounts for the fact western ears find it difficult to respond with natural and unself-conscious appreciation to the rich rhythmic patterns of Indian and African music. ² Of course, there are plenty of the socalled (self-called) "sencous" type of "hip" hunkey on both coasts and Europe too, who put on a show at being up tight ---but we know better.

II

To merely observe that it's a beautiful scene for African-American musicians to now use BeBop as a beginning for a "new" music is to look lightly, if at all, at some important philosophical and historical concepts and motivations that the Black man, in general, and the Black musician, in particular, is responsive to and responsible for in his existence in this enclave, presently, of the western world. The African-American musician holds certain beliefs about the world which makes it only natural for him to be orientated towards certain areas of thought and expression. These beliefs are primarily influenced by the musician's life in a racist society where he is one of a suppressed people. Among the young or avant-garde musicians this reality is increasingly being seen for what is; and therefore is the substance of their expression and thought (musical, political and social). If these expressions and thoughts are influenced by western modes or technical resources (presently), one must understand how these resources are used and why. If recognition of the present forces affecting ones existence can significantly influence and lead to the forming of a philosophical viewpoint of the world and the future, then a further study of a particular history will deepen the influence and formation of that viewpoint. And if there is existing initiative, the new awareness can provide creative motivating factors with revolutionary ramifications.

Historically, the majority of the instruments used by African-American musicians were of western origin with the drum, "banjo", earth-bound, and others being exceptions (among the modern musicians : Yuseef Lateef uses



Bessie Smith

many Afro-Asian instruments, and Roland Kirk has invented some of his own). The avant-garde, as a start, are going against western musical tradition by playing these western instruments in "incorrect classical style". Oh, dear! Although this has almost always been the case in the most original and best African-American music. The same criticism was used against those Black musicians who, in distorted attempts to prove their worth as human beings, mastered the conventions of European music. The difference now, because of the beginning of a new awareness of themselves as Black men, is that the young musicians are more consciously undermining the confines of western tradition.

The substance, historically, and now evolving forms³ (in this lies the avant-garde's chief importance) are very definitely of a non-western character. In the United States, because of the white man's attempt to totally destroy the African-American's conception of himself as a human being, certain forms of African musical expression were suppressed by whites who couldn't understand them, but feared their use in anti-slave rebellions.⁴ But the fundamental rhythmic substance of the music was retained in the spiritual being of the people and expressed in more convenient modes of music form --- that is the modes that the white slavers possessed. Thus began the imprisonment of a rhythmically and extemporaneously free music in a western straight jacket.

Every since the end of overt slavery in this country, the Black musician has had one essential task before him --- breaking free from the western contraction that his music was in. In Blues this was done to the greatest extent, but the instrumental expression of the same basic music presented a different thing although. The struggle has been accelerated more consciously in the last 25 years or so than at any time in African-American history. I think this is so because the musician has had a definite means of expressing his feelings and attitudes of the white man (most of the 'hip' blood talk comes from the musician) and at the same time within this expression there was the very real task of liberation from white western standards.⁵ The rhythmic complexity (and the rhythmically induced harmonies and dynamics created by Monk⁶) of African-American music at the time of the initial Black onslaught of Charles Parker, John B. Gillespie, Thelonious Sphere Monk, Jimmy Blanton, Charles Christian, Maxwell Roach and others in the 1940's based on the more rudimentary but vital work of early Louis Armstrong (in the 1925-29 period), James P. Johnson, Benny Moten and Count Basie demonstrates this vividly. The dedicated, young musicians of the present are picking up the liberation movement attempting to make up for the time lost in the 1950's when the social and political forces in the struggle miscalculated the winning of a small battle with de-



Historic reunion: Thelonious Monk accompanying Charlie Parker

feat of the enemy.⁷

III

In the history of African-American music or "jazz"⁸ all developments of major and lasting importance have come from the minds of Black musicians; the avant-garde of today is very aware of this fact as are white "jazz critics" and musicians. With this in mind, I question LeRoi's advising Black musicians to use whatever important ideas that are contained in the residue of European music history. Those ideas are just part of the dying residue of western culture and resurrecting them in order that they may help new Black musicians get to their roots sounds a bit grey to me. It's only logical for a man to get at his roots by going directly to them accompanied by the natural insight that a new generation will automatically bring to those classic roots.

By this time, there exist a body of African-American technique based on the substance of the main music of BeBop and Blues ; and these techniques can and must be added on to. Why go through some alien, oppressive tradition having to eject its shibboleths during the entire journey to the precious streams ?!! One may never reach the roots having been so brainwashed by white standards. "In my music, I came up with a music that didn't require European laws applied to it. This was a revolutionary breakthrough as well as a support for the jazz image".⁹ This statement points to future of Black music. Cecil Taylor, contemporary pianist and nominal head of the avant-garde, says : "Jazz is the imposition of Black American feeling upon an aryan culture". And feeling, that special quality, is a basic ingredient to the consciousness of ones own cultural heritage and roots. Oliver Nelson, composer-arranger, tenor saxman, says that he is just now getting over the affect of all his training in the university music (western) laboratory. "Jazz is not only the way Billie Holiday sang but the way she'd pronounce certain words. It's the way Duke Ellington pats his foot when he's playing. Sure, it came out of the experience of the Black man in America --- the way he feels, the way he brings those feelings into music."¹⁰ And they didn't teach any of these things in the white oriented university. The persistence of the African American musician with his creative strength and increased awareness can only lead to a further growing and maturation of a culture of revolutionary significance.

IV

LeRoi comes on strong when he observes that the roots, Blues and Bop, are emotive. "And that there can be produced material of the purest intellect from this emotional experience as can the rawest emotions proceed from the ideal apprehension of any hypothesis....It is the ideas that are utilized instinctively that determine the degree of profundity any artist reaches. We must always remember this vital fact : the Black musician's instinct represents not only his experience, but those of all African-Americans because of the similarity of experience; and for the Black artist to express himself fully and freely, he will ultimately have to break every hallow tradition that the west has created in his enforced and unconsulted presence. LeRoi indicates that he has the germ of this conviction in his concluding paragraph where writes : "Blues was the initial Afro-American music, and BeBop, the re-emphasis of the non-western tradition. And if the latter saved us from the vapid wastes of swing, singlehandedly, the new avant-garde (originally led by Sonny Rollins and John Coltrane) are saving us from the comparatively vapid 50's. And they both utilized the same general methods :

getting the music back to its initial rhythmic impetus , and away from the attempts at rhythmic regularity and melodic predic ability that the 30's and the 50's had laid on it. "And as Ornette says : "Don't worry about figuring out each thing we're doing. Open up as much as you can, and try to feel the music as a whole... We're not trying to communicate blueprints. We're trying to tell you how we feel".



Lady Day

1. African Revolution, Vol. 1, No. 1 (May, 1963)
2. D. Heckman, "Notation and the Jazz composer", Downbeat, Sept. 23, 1965, pg. 24
3. The term "form" defines the overall musical shape of construction of a composition or solo generally. It's like a bag that holds the improvisational expressions or ideas of the soloist. ; The ideas that come from the mind of the musician is the substance of the music. The substance represents the raw material gathered from the day to day life of the musician, the things on his mind, and how he thinks. Hence, the substance is of primary importance and eventually determines the shape that the music will take if allowed the freedom to do so.
4. LeRoi Jones. Blues People: Negro (Black) Music in white america. New York: Wm. Morrow and Co. 1963.
5. I think it is worth noting that up to the present time, the musician, of all Black people in the US, has been most successful in the liberation task that he has undertaken. Black musicians are also among the most politically enlighten cadres of this struggle because they are literally in the streets "chopping" full time. Abbey Lincoln, the brilliant wife of Max Roach was a leader in the 1961 demonstration of pro-Lumumba forces at the U.N.
6. Monk's music is a field within itself. His creations were done in near exile on W.63rd St., N. Y. C. This was because his fellow musicians did not understand and appreciate the complexities of his music. According to Art Blakey : "Monk is the guy who started it all; he came before Parker and Gillespie". Little did they realize (some still don't), until his "rediscovery" nearly 15 years later, the significance of his work, Monk has, in fact, created a music of almost total African-american character. He didn't even borrow the European way of "proper" hand position at the piano. This brought realization to the possibility of totally liberating Black music from Western concepts and is what's happening now.
7. LeRoi Jones, ibid. ---LeRoi's book is a very important thesis on the interrelativeness of the socio-econo-political and music areas in African-american culture . I strongly hope that he will soon strengthen and expand the work this time directing it to the vital needs of the rising Black youths across the country.
8. I must come out with it ---"jazz" is another one of those words coined and sanction for us by you know who; and of course, for de-nigrating effect. The original work "jass" was used by the brothers of the Storyville district of old New Orleans and meant to "jam" accompanied by music played by the "cats" downstairs. The origin of "cat" also dates back to that era and area, and has remain with us. You know who coined it, brothers.
9. Charles L. Russell, "Ornette Coleman Sounds Off", Liberator, vol. V, No. 7 (July, 1965), p. 14.
10. N. Henteff, "Jazz and Race", Commonweal, vol. LXXXI, No. 15, (Jan. 8, 1965).

jumma troupe

a reply to mrs. "instant-hair" thompson—

part I of a sermon to the black bourgeoisie

From the midst of burning and fried hair, funky grease and oil there sits our woman Mrs. "Instant Hair" Thompson serenely wrapped in the latest face borrowed from the pale white girls. As ever she retains that facial scorn grooved into her would-be beautiful countenance indicative of four hundred years of self-hatred. In this world supreme one hears the usual exchanges of the amorous conquests of their respective ministers spoken - as any trained observer would readily learn - with feelings of envy and concern as to why it could not be me.

After the brief accounting of church business Our Lady of Little Rock and her counterparts address themselves to the trials and tribulations of family life. First of all, there is the perpetual statement of a lack of money in which to run the house. Has it ever occurred to these lustre-silk and nadinola wonders that their insufficient funds stems from a waste of their pitiful resources on artificial "beauty" preparations which abounds in their hope of becoming akin to snow white.

The money Black women spend on cosmetics, viz. in the form of hair culture and skin whiteness would place them and their families on a more viable plane of living.

Another area of dismay constant in Mrs. "Instant Hair" Thompson's sojourn in this supreme world, is the worry over keeping her fifteen year old son and daughter attendant in school resplendent in the very latest clothing as depicted by Ebony and Elegant Teen Magazines. Sister "Instant Hair" Thompson here is another wasteful way in which you create an unnecessary drain on your husband's meager earnings.



Mrs. "Instant Hair"

Yes, Negro homemaker, you cry and yearn for understanding in your distressed condition. I hear your soulful cry and pledge myself to gain understanding, and suddenly ! It is revealed to me that, you are often responsible for the perpetuation of this sickness of soul. You are, as your mother was, saturated with the belief in, and faith in the four hundred year old cliché that "white makes right !"

Moreover, you negro female buzgies* believe that if you can't be white, then dress and act white, notwithstanding the cost : not only to your monetary position, but to your own self-being which causes you to loath anything black.

What's that you say, negro homemaker ?

Yes, your children attend school dressed like the ofay boys and girls whose fathers and mothers earnings are much higher than yours - incidently, because of their capacity to exploit anti-black attitudes such as yours. And I soon learned that your children's grades and their desire to study is not made any more relevant as a result of their sartorial and elegant splendor.

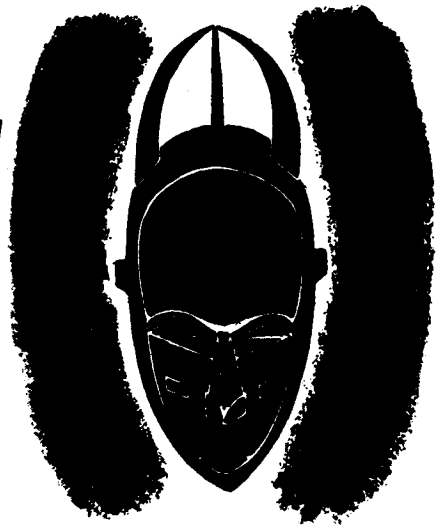
Now that I have gained understanding of your especial home economic situation I can't laugh at you, but wish only to advise you in your daily striving(s) which are rapidly becoming daily prayers : to stop your useless spending in an accelerated effort to become white. The money you spend in your attempt to be accepted by white society could be used to provide a fund for your childrens' future. Teach yourself and your children the need to struggle for and to obtain self-acceptance, and consequently there will be no need to recreate yourself in a white image,

Okay, Sister "Instant Hair", the hairdresser is through with you; now go on home to your husband who is just as much in need of advice as you were . He is spending his money on ivy league suits, alligator shoes, ofay whores, cases of imported scotch, and all the other income waste trappings of a frustrated Black male. Sister "Instant Hair", if it's all right with you, I'd like to see you next week at the wash house.

frantz fanon

psychology and négritude

translated from the french by SOULBOOK



I speak of millions of men in which they have
knowingly inculcated fear, inferiority complexes,
trembling, kneeling down, despair, flunkying.

(A. Césaire, Discours sur le Colonialisme)

The explosion will not take place today. It is too soon...or too late.

I do not come armed with decisive truths.

My conscience is not traversed with essential brilliances.

In all serenity, however, I think that it would be well that certain things
be said.

I am going to say these things, not cry them. For the cry left my life a
long time ago.

And it is so remote...

Why write this work? No one has asked me.

Above all, not any of those to which it is addressed.

Then? Then, calmly I respond that there are too many fools on this
earth. And since I am saying it, it is a question of proving it.

Towards a new humanism...

•This is Fanon's introduction to his book, Peau Noire Masques Blancs (Black Skins, White
Masks)

The understanding between men...

Our brothers of color...

I believe in you, man...

Racial prejudice...

To understand and to love...

From all sides, dozens and hundreds of pages assail and try to force themselves upon me. However, a single line would suffice; a single response to furnish, and the problem of the black man is stripped of its seriousness.

What does man want?

What does the black man want?

I may incur the resentment of my brothers of color, but I will state that the black is not a man.

There is a zone of non-being, a region extraordinary sterile and arid, a stairway stripped of essentials from which a genuine upheaval might take birth. In the majority of cases, the black does not have the benefit of realizing this descent to a veritable hell.

Man is not only possibility of rebirth or of negation. If it is true that the conscience is activity of transcendence, we should know also that this transcendence is haunted by the problem of love and of comprehension. Man is vibrant OUI with the cosmic harmonies. Torn away, dispersed, confounded, condemned to see dissolved one after another the truths which he elaborates, man must cease projecting in the world an antimony which to him seems co-existent.

The black is a black man; that is to say that as a result of a series of affective aberrations, he has taken root in the midst of a universe from which it will be very necessary to depart.

The problem is important. We insist upon nothing less than the liberation of the man of color from himself. We will go very slowly, for there are two camps: the white and the black.

We will tenaciously examine the two metaphysics, and we will see that they are frequently very solvent.

For the former governors and missionaries we will have no pity. For us, those who adore blacks are as "sick" as those who execrate them.

Inversely, the black who desires to whiten his race is as unfortunate as the one who preaches the hatred of the white.

In the absolute, the black is no more lovable than the Czech. And truthfully it is a question of freeing man.

This book should have been written three years ago...but then the truths burned us. Today they can be said without excitement. Those truths have no need of being thrown in the face of men. They don't require enthusiasm. We mistrust enthusiasm.

Each time we have seen it blossom somewhere, it announced fire, famine, and misery...also the contempt of man.

Enthusiasm is par excellence the arm of the powerless.

Of those who would heat the iron in order to beat it immediately. But we would like to heat man's carcass and then leave. Perhaps we would arrive at this result : man maintaining this fire by auto-combustion.

Man liberated from the springboard that the resistance of others constitutes, and digging in his own flesh in order to find a sense of himself.

Only a few of those reading this work will guess the difficulties which we have encountered in the wording.

During a period in which sceptical doubt is present in the world, where, in the words of a group of bastards, it is no longer possible to discern sense from non-sense, it becomes difficult to descend to a stage where the categories of sense and non-sense are not yet employed.

The black wants to be white. The white is intent upon realizing a condition of man.

We will see during the course of this work an essay elaborating upon the understanding of the black-white relationship.

The white is locked up in his whiteness.

The black in his blackness.

We will try to determine the trends of this double narcissism and the motivations to which it returns.

At the beginning of our reflections it seemed inopportune to us to make explicit the conclusions which you are going to read.

Only the anxiety of putting an end to a vicious circle has guided our efforts.

It is a fact : some whites regard themselves as being superior to blacks.

It is another fact : cost what it may, some blacks want to demonstrate to whites the richness of their thought, the equal power of their spirit.

How does one get away from it ?

A short time ago we employed the term of narcissism. As a matter of fact, we think that only a psychoanalytical interpretation of the black problem can

reveal the responsible affective anomalies within the structure of the complex. We will work towards a total lysis of this morbid universe. We think that an individual should tend to assume the universality inherent to the human condition. And when we advance this thought, we are indifferent to men such as Gobineau ² or women such as Mayotte Capécia. But in order to succeed in this execution it is urgent to rid oneself of a series of defects evolved from the childhood experience.

The misfortune of man, said Nietzsche, is having been a child. We would not know how to forget, however, for as Charles Odier had us to understand, the fate of the neurotic resides between his own hands.



This following statement may also be painful for us, but we are obliged to make it : for the black, there is only one aim -- and it is white.

Before beginning the process, we insist upon certain things. The analysis that we are undertaking is a psychological one. Nevertheless it remains evident to us that the veritable destruction of the Black's alienation implies a abrupt realization of economic and social truths. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the result of a double process :

--- Economic, first of all.

--- Next, by internalization or, better, epidermization of this inferiority.

Reacting against the constitutionalist³ tendency at the end of the 19th century, Freud, through psychoanalysis, asked that the factor of the individual be taken into consideration. For a phylogenetic thesis he substituted the ontogenetic perspective. One will see that the alienation of the Black is not an individual question. At the side of phylogeny and ontogeny⁴ there is sociogeny.⁵ In a sense, in order to reply to the wish of Leconte and Damey⁶ we say that it is here a question of a socio-diagnosis.

What is the prognosis ?

But society, contrary to the bio-chemical process, doesn't escape the human influence. Man is what society succeeds in being. The prognosis is between the hands of those who are willing to shake the worm-eaten roots of the structure.

The black should lead the fight upon two fronts : since, historically, they are conditioning themselves, all unilateral liberation is imperfect, and the worst error would be to believe in their mechanical independence. Besides, the facts are opposed to a similar systematic inclination, which we will demonstrate.

Reality, for one time, claims total understanding. Upon an objective plan as on a subjective plan a solution should be brought forth.

And it is not worth the trouble of coming, with the airs of "crab-it-is-my-fault," to proclaim that it is a question of saving the soul.

There will be authentic destruction of alienation only to the extent that things, in the most material sense, will have resumed their place.

It is good style to introduce a work of psychology from a methodological point of view. We will not follow this usage here; we will leave systems to botanists and mathematicians. There is a point at which systems reabsorb themselves.

We would like to place ourselves there. We will try to discover the different responses that the black adopts when confronted with the civilization of whites.

The "savage of the bush" is not envisaged here, because for him certain elements as yet have no weight.

We feel that due to the fact of placing together the white and black races that there is a psycho-existential complex surrounding both. In analysing it we are also aiming at its destruction.

Many blacks will not encounter themselves in the lines which follow.

Similarly many whites.

But for me the fact that I feel myself a stranger to the world of the schizophrenic or of the sexual incompetent in no way contests of their reality.

The attitudes that I intend to describe are true. I have encountered them in incalculable number of times - in students, workers, & pimps in Pigalle or Marseille, I have identified the same component of aggressivity and passivity.

This work is a critical study. Those who might find themselves here, I believe, will have advanced a step. I really want to lead my brother, black or white, to jolt most energetically the lamentable livery built through centuries of incomprehension.

The structure of the present work is situated on a temporal base. All human problems demand to be considered from this point of view, the ideal being that the present always serves to construct the future.

And this future is not the one of the cosmos, but certainly the one of my era, of my country, of my existence. By no means should I plan to prepare the world which will follow me. I belong irreducibly to my own epoch, and this epoch is what I should live for. The future should be a sustained construction by existing man. This edifice is linked to the present to the extent that we pose the present as a thing which should be surpassed.

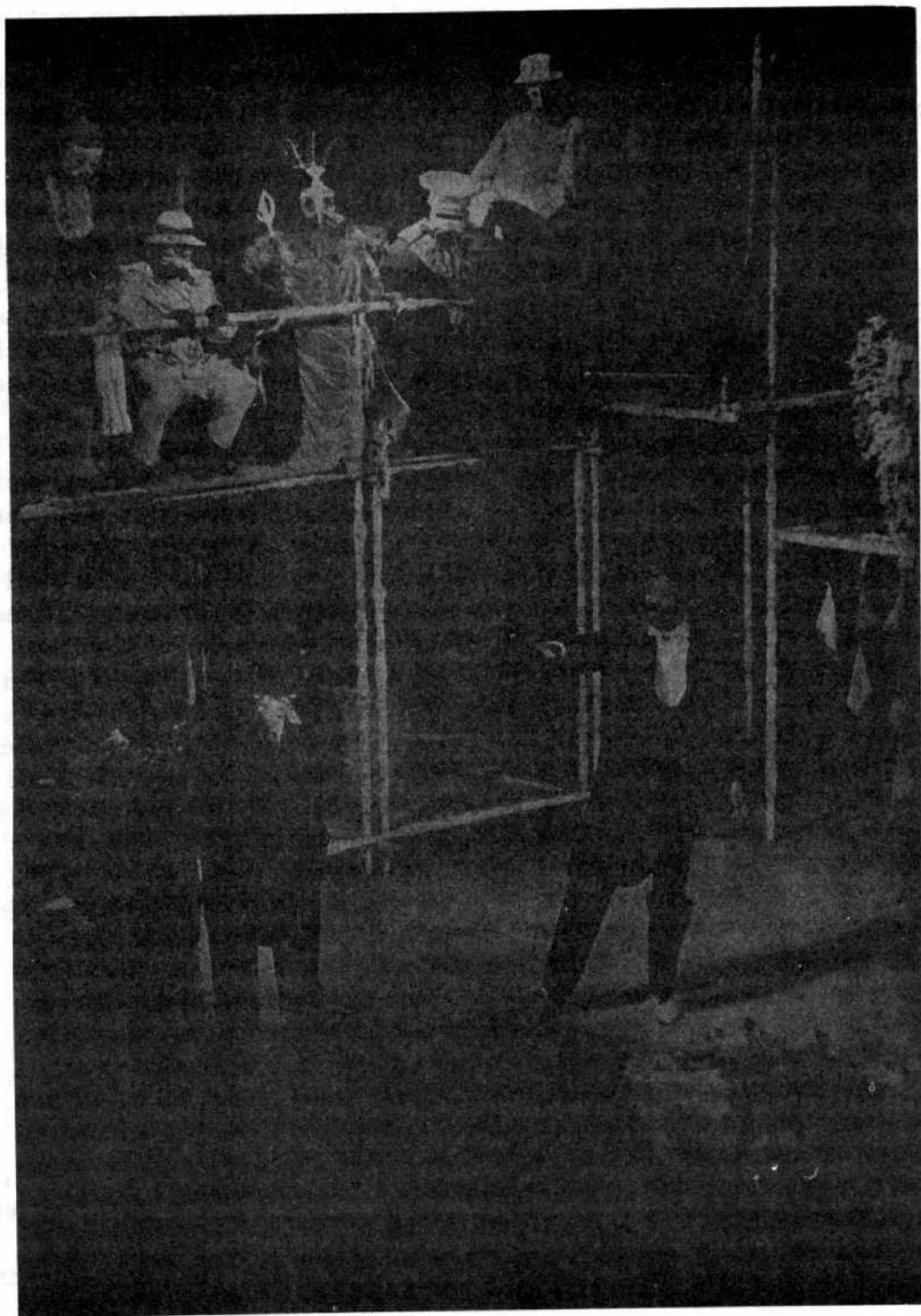
The first three chapters concern themselves with the modern black. I take blacks as they actually are and try to determine their attitudes in the white world. The last two are concerned with a psychopathological and philosophical explanation of the black's existence.

The analysis is, above all, regressive.

The fourth and fifth chapters are written on an essentially different plan.

In the fourth chapter I have criticized a work⁷ which in my opinion is dangerous. However, the author, M. Mannoni, is conscious of the ambiguity of his position, and perhaps that is one of the merits of his work. He attempted to render an account of a situation and we have the right of declaring ourselves unsatisfied. We are obliged to show the author where we differ from him.

The fifth chapter, which I have entitled, "The Experience Endured by the



Black,"; it shows the black confronting his race. One will perceive that the black man described in this chapter has nothing in common with the one who desires to sleep with white women. One would find that this last has a desire to be white -- a thirst for vengeance, in any case. Here, on the contrary, we witness the desperate efforts of a black intent on discovering the sense of his black identity. White civilization, European culture, has imposed an existential deviation upon the black. We will show elsewhere that often what one calls the 'black soul' is a construction of whites.

The evolved black, slave to the Negro myth, spontaneous and cosmical, feels at a given moment that his race understands him no longer.

Or that he understands it no longer.

Then, he congratulates himself, and developing this difference, this incomprehension, this disharmony, he discovers the sense of his veritable humanity. Or more rarely he has a desire to be with his people. And it is with the rage on his lips and madness in his heart that he plunges into the "great black cave." We will see that this attitude, so absolutely beautiful, rejects reality and the future in the name of a mystic past.

Being West Indian of origin, our observations and conclusions are only of value to the West Indies -- at the very least in what concerns the black, within himself, there. There should be a study devoted to the explanation of divergences between West Indians and Africans. Perhaps we will do it one day. Perhaps also someday, it will have become useless, in which case we can only congratulate ourselves.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) means "yes" in french
- 2) the 18th century french author of several racist works
- 3) this was Kraepelin's term for an ill-defined category of disorders in which he placed such symptoms as the following: uncontrolled excitement, despondency, homicidal impulses, chronic thievery, pyromania, sex perversions, and wanderlust (1833). Kraepelin believed that such individuals were the result of bad heredity, and hence degenerates.
- 4) the growth and development of the individual, as contrasted with phylogeny, the development of the species.
- 5) study of the origins of society; characterizing behavior as determined by social experience.
- 6) M. Laconte and A. Damey, Essai critique des nosographies psychiatriques actuelles.
- 7) Psychologie de la colonisation, by O. Mannoni (Ed. du Seuil, 1950).

'twas the night before christmas,
and all through the house,
not a creature was stirring,
not even "whitey"...

'twas the night before christmas

Little Marvin Oswald of Alabaster, Louisiana, crept from his bedroom and into the gloom living room. The glint of the tinsel and bulbs from the Christmas tree shone in his bright blue eyes. All was quiet.

Suddenly, there was a muffled scuffling from the cold stone fireplace, and among the ashes a black boot appeared, a bit of bright red pants-leg, a snowy beard, and finally Santa Claus himself !

But there was something wrong! Santa's face was full and dark, his cheeks two brown-baked apples above full lips and lying next to a wide, broad nose. Dang, man ! Santa was a nigger !

"Ho-ho-ho," Santa said, puffing as he lowered a bag swollen with goodies. "Well, Marvin Oswald, have you been a good little boy this year ?

"Hey," Marvin said, "you're not Santa Claus !"

Santa looked up from the bag with a puzzled glance.

"What do you mean ?" he said. "Have you seen Santa before ?"

"No," Marvin hesitated, "but I know you're not Santa. You're black !"

"But I'm still Santa Claus," Santa protested, still a little puzzled. "Come on, Marvin, I've got a lot of work to do tonight. What do you want for Christmas this year ?" He smiled broadly as he drew a large package out of his bag. "How about a nice skate board ? Or an official NBA basketball autographed by Bill Russell Or a --"

The door to the living room opened and Randolph Oswald, Marvin's Father, peered sleepily in.

"Hey," he yawned, "what's all the noise about ?" He looked a little closer, and his mouth dropped open in disbelief. "What the hell--?" he began.



"Ho-ho-ho?" Santa said a little weakly. "How'd you like the after-shave lotion I got you last year? And the alpaca sweater?"

With a roar, Randolph Oswald disappeared into his room, and before Santa could gather up his bag of goodies and scramble for the fireplace the man was back in the living room with a shotgun cocked under one arm.

"What's wrong, Randolph?" Santa said, his eyes growing wide as he moved slowly backwards. "Where's the Christmas cheer you've been taught for so many years? What about the faith and brotherhood all should

live by on this anniversary of the birth of our Lord and Saviour? Don't you believe in Santa Claus?"

"I don't know what your game is boy," Randolph said with clenched teeth, "but if you think you can get away with running around in a listle red suit and breaking into white people's houses you're about the most mistaken nigger in Dixie."

He pointed the shotgun at Santa. "Let's go, he said.

Little Marvin and his friend Alexander, sat sadly on the front porch the morning after.

"I didn't get any Christmas presents at all," Marvin said mournfully.

"Neither did I," Alexander moped. "Say, what was all that excitement about last night?"

"Oh, they just lynched some fool nigger from the big Christmas tree out in from of City Hall." He sighed and rubbed his toe in the dirt. "I wonder why Santa Claus didn't come this year --?"



SUBSCRIBE TO

Black America

*Published quarterly by RAM,
Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A.*

.....

25c a copy

\$1.00 for four issues

Bundles of 50 or more, 15c each

Write to:

**BLACK AMERICA
BOX 359
NEW YORK, N.Y.**



READ

burning spear

for information, write

BURNING SPEAR

1462 HAIGHT STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

c/o Vincent Lynch

harry haywood

THE TWO EPOCHS of NATION-DEVELOPMENT:

is black nationalism a form of classical nationalism?

This is an excerpt from Brother Harry Haywood's unpublished book, Towards A Revolutionary Program For Negro Freedom .

The dramatic resurgence of Negro nationalism, its emergence as a viable, authentic trend is one of the most significant developments of the present day Negro freedom scene. With the appearance of the Black Muslims, its most articulate and best organized manifestation, Negro Nationalism, for the first time since the Garvey movement, has attained the significance of a major mass trend. It is having a profound impact upon the Negro community, striking a deep chord among the lower masses, the most disprivileged section of the Negro population. Especially in the northern urban ghettos is this impact felt. It has entered the list to challenge the old guard assimilationist leadership. Any program having in view the unleashing of the vast revolutionary potential of the Negro people's liberation struggles must take into account and accurately assess this burgeoning nationalist component, its implications and importance with respect to the character and future direction of that struggle. Such an examination cannot be restricted to Muslim separation, which is only one manifestation of a broad trend, although the most vocal one.

If nationalism in its broad sense can be defined as an effort of a people to assert its identity and its dignity, its human right to become master of its own destiny, then, today, Negro nationalism is indeed a broad and growing trend embracing the vast majority of the Negro people. It is rooted in their strivings to break out of the trap of racist economic and cultural subjugation, to assert their humanity as a free and equal people. This new mood of self-assertion, this search for identity, far from being restricted



to the Black Muslims or other avowed nationalist groups, ramifies throughout the entire spectrum of the present day Negro freedom struggle. It affects even those masses now under assimilationist leadership, and the Negro man in the street without organizational ties.

Negro nationalism as above defined is a catalyst in the Negro

civil rights revolt now sweeping up from its center in the South, bursting all regional barriers and exploding on all fronts. The unifying concept behind this movement is the Negro's new image of himself as belong to a people with a common destiny. A prime ingredient of this image is the Negro's determination to assume at whatever cost the upright posture of manhood and to right the wrongs of three centuries of slavery compounded by a century of fustian freedom. In this drive for self-realization and ethnic identity, a new Negro personality emerges. Its elements are pride, dignity and self-reliance. It pictures a people freeing itself from the entrapment of inferiority, reclaiming its stolen history, a people with a great past and a greater future, a people who have produced great men and women: poets, statesmen, scientists, heroes. It is a people recognizing its own great revolutionary traditions manifested in the struggle against chattle slavery, the Civil War, the battle of Reconstruction; a people proud of their link to ancient African culture and the achievements of the newly emerged African nations with which they identify. Especially among the youth is there a reaffirmation of the value of the Negro experience. As James Baldwin put it:

"That man who is forced to snatch his manhood, his identity, out of the fire of human cruelty that rages to destroy it knows, if he survives his effort, and even if he does not survive it, something about himself and life that no school on earth -- and indeed no church -- can teach. He achieves his own authority, and that is unshakable. This is because he is forced to look beneath appearances, to take nothing for granted, to hear the meaning behind words..."

The Negro rebounds with an assertive nationalism from the blows of racism, using nationalism as a weapon against oppression and racist ideology. It is accompanied by a growing scepticism ranging to violent rejection of the values and behavior patterns of the white power structure.

Columnist Walter Lippmann is whistling in the dark when he writes

that, "American Negroes are asking only for their lawful rights... (but) the American Negro movement is not at all revolutionary, as we have seen the anti-colonial movements in Africa and Asia." He is indulging in wishful thinking when he says that the Negro is merely trying to join the whites "inside the existing American social order."

The refrain of the non-revolutionary character of the current Negro upsurge is repeated ad nauseum by the Alsops, Harry Ashmores and other writers in an attempt to confuse and distort the new objectives of the struggle and to contain the movement within the old framework of middle class assimilationist goals.

The Negro's new concept of equality rejects the idea of acceptance into the existing power structure at the price of conforming to the standards and values set by the white rulers. Even if this goal were attainable, its content is paternalism in which he would continue to be less than equal, and assimilation would amount to losing his identity and foregoing his rights to a future as a people. On the contrary, Negro self-realization demands a status affording him control of his own affairs, determination of his future as a people, and assertion of his dignity, self-respect and pride.

As E. U. Essien-Udom puts it, "...a status which enables him to recover a world in which they can enjoy an unashamed sense of identity and vindicate their honor as Black Americans."³

It is not accidental that the main thrust of the reawakening comes from the Negro youth, who are the spearhead of the drive for identity. Caught up in what has been called "the revolution of expectancy," Negro youth refuse the status of forebears, the status of indefinitely waiting for recognition of Negro rights and human dignity.

The temper of the youth is often expressed in strident disaffection, in a rejection of any possibility of adjustment within the white-dominated power structure, in scepticism tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the desire or ability of the United States white rulers to live up to their promises and pretenses of recognizing elementary human rights of the Negro subcitizens.

The element of hope, an essential ingredient of the civil rights upsurge, is also present. An awareness grows among Negroes that they push for freedom from positions of strength. They are gaining a consciousness that the balance of world forces has shifted in their favor; that their struggle takes place in conditions of irreversible, revolutionary world change; that their fight for freedom is inseparably part of the globe-encircling revolt of the earth's downtrodden colored people.

Negro nationalism is not alien or new to the American scene, as some writers pretend. Historically, it has been a basic and continuing theme in Negro protest. In modern times, it has been a steady undercurrent in the national Negro community, existing side by side with the dominant integrationist-assimilationist trend. Submerged by the latter, in so-called "normal" times, Negro nationalism surges forth in times of stress and crisis, and in the absence or weakness of a revolutionary third trend, posing an alternative, it is apt to take the form of mass separatist movements such as the Garvey movement in the early 1920s and the Black Muslim movement of the present day. Not since the Garvey movement has the Negro nationalist trend achieved the dynamic and all-embracing character of the present resurgence. What is new is the stepped up urgency of the Negro's demand for freedom.

The growth of Negro nationalist sentiment is a positive development in itself. It is in fact an essential precondition for the emergence of a national revolutionary movement. The Negro population in the United States has been historically subjected to all-out psychological warfare intended to prevent it from fighting for its rights. This warfare has taken several forms. :

- 1) The lynch law of the South and police brutality in the north: to intimidate.
- 2) Paternalistic concessions and philanthropy, on both a personal and organized basis, to prevent Negroes from leading their own struggles.
- 3) Conditioning the Negro people to believe profoundly in their own unworthiness. The white chauvinist version of history of Africa and of the Negro people in America predominant in United States publications and educational institutions, the racist content of popular culture, as well as the overwhelming influence of the Negro church has inculcated a deep feeling of unworthiness and humility.
- 4) Encouragement of the illusion that militant struggle is hopeless, since Negroes as a minority dare not fight for their rights.

All the above methods of ideological and political domination are now challenged by Negro nationalism. They are an essential prop to Negro oppression, because, far from being isolated and impotent, the Negro movement represents a terrible potential threat to the existing power structure. This accounts for the nearly hysterical reaction against Negro nationalism in ruling circles, as well as among liberal "friends" of the Negro.

The growth of nationalist sentiment is a step in the right direction, because it builds up self-confidence and a fighting spirit. The basic significance of Negro nationalism is in the attempt to set an independent course for the movement; to shake off the dead hand of liberalism, paternalism, gradualism, and dependency which has plagued the modern Negro movement since its inception. But this trend has yet to crystallize into a clear-cut work-

able political program.

All objective factors point to the growth of Negro nationalism. The problem is to channelize this sentiment into a revolutionary direction. But the emerging revolutionary forces will utterly fail in this task if they allow themselves to trail, either ideologically or politically, the ghetto petty-bourgeois leadership of the nationalist movement.



Mr. and Mrs. Robert Williams along with the head of the National Liberation Movement of South Viet Nam and the Premier of North Viet Nam toasting to the future victories of the Viet Namese People and the Afroamerican people.

SOME THEORIES THAT ATTEMPT TO DENY THE REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT

Consistent with their direct integration or assimilationist orientation, the Communist Party theoreticians take special pains to be absolutely certain that all the elements of nationhood as defined by Stalin are not only present, but are maturing before the CPUSA can support a Negro national revolutionary movement. They insist that the Negro people in the deep south must take the "classic road to the formation of a nation" as precondition for continuing to support the principle of self-determination.

For example, James S. Allen contends that the Negro movement in the deep south will not take an autonomous direction because the negroes there lack the most essential elements of nationhood, that is, common territory and economic life. These, he contends, are in the process of disintegration as the result of the "... forces of capitalist development of great expansive power, which has lasted well into the era of monopoly and imperialism.⁴ As a result, "the struggle for equal rights has not taken the "classic road of the formation of a nation in the Black Belt area" as supposedly envisioned by the CPUSA when it first put forth the principle of the right of selfdetermination. The Negro movement, he contends, has developed along other lines, "predominantly in the direction of integration." In failing to fully appreciate these "specific characteristics of the development of the Negro people in the U. S. the party got fixed into immutable positions not in accordance with reality."

Specifically, he charges that the Party's program with respect to the Negro nation and the right of self-determination was the result of a "mechanical, inflexible, unhistorical approach both to the theory of nation and the national program."

First of all, where, we must ask, does Allen expect to find an oppressed nation in the epoch of imperialism taking the "classic road" to formation of nations? His repeated reference to the "Classic period to formation of nations in respect to the Negro question, it seems to us, simply reveals his own unclarity concerning the national question of the epoch of imperialism.

"Imperialism," says Lenin, "is the progressive oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great powers. It is the epoch of war among them for the widening and strengthening of national oppression... This is precisely why the central point in the Social Democratic Party must be the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations, which is the essence of imperialism which is falsely evaded by the social chauvinist."⁵

We are dealing here with the specific, Negro nation in the context of the extreme crisis of world imperialism, a main feature of which is the collapse of the system of national-colonial oppression. We are dealing with a submerged nation in the heartland of U.S. imperialism, the main bulwark of the collapsing colonial system.

Allen's dogmatic strictures would make the development of a national movement for autonomy and self-determination contingent upon the "maturing" of all elements of nationhood of this oppressed nation. It is, however an elementary truth that universally, imperialist policy with regard to the national question is designed forcibly to arrest and distort the free development of nations. To maintain their economic and cultural backwardness as an essential condition for the extraction of super-profits. Is it not clear that the application of this policy operates to obstruct, warp, and distort the development of the elements of nationhood among oppressed peoples? That is, common territory, economic life, language, and culture?

Now, then, can any serious student of the contemporary national question make our support of autonomy, including the right of self-determination of Negroes, contingent upon the maturing of "all elements of nationhood among them? Clearly, the logic of such a position, were we to apply it to the question of oppressed nations generally, would be to deny the right of self-determination to a whole number of peoples suffering under the yoke of imperialist oppression and, by virtue of this oppression, the maturing of all the elements of nationhood among them has been prevented. Indeed, Allen's logic, if applied to the national-colonial question generally, would deny the right of self-determination to a number of the emerging nations in Negro Africa and elsewhere, among whom the requisites of nationhood exist only in extremely rudimentary form.

Is not this position objectively close to apology for continued imperialist political domination of so-called "backward peoples?"

The dialectical fact, which Allen and others seem to miss, is that imperialist oppression, in stifling the development of nations, created the conditions for the rise of national revolutionary movements which, in this epoch, are a special phase of the struggle for socialism. This creates the basis for the revolutionary alliance of the oppressed peoples with the international working class in the struggle against the common enemy, capitalist imperialism.

Allen is indeed on shaky ground when he lectures on our "unhistoric approach to the theory of nations" when he himself confuses the classic period

with the imperialist epoch.

In insisting upon the 'classic road' with respect to the Negro national liberation movement, Allen clearly violates an elementary requirement of Marxist-Leninist theory: that is, the necessity of distinguishing between two radically different epochs of capitalism with respect to nations and national movements.

1) The classic period - the victory of capitalism over feudalism - the epoch of bourgeois revolution, which witnessed the formation of big capitalist national states in Europe and the United States.

2) The imperialist epoch, when these nations, having long completed their bourgeois-democratic transformation, have become powerful imperialist states oppressing these left-behind - the overwhelming majority of mankind, who can achieve national liberation only via the path of revolutionary struggle in alliance with the working class against imperialism.

In the United States, the second bourgeois-democratic revolution of the Civil War and Reconstruction, while abolishing chattel slavery, stopped short of carrying through the land revolution and guarantying full citizenship rights for the Negro freedmen. The betrayal of Reconstruction blasted the



Negroes' hopes for democratic integration into U.S. national life on the basis of equality. With the advent of imperialism, the dominance of trusts and monopolies at the turn of the century riveted tighter the yoke of Negro bondage, with the result that he was thrust further outside the pale of U.S. democracy into deeper isolation within his own group. The possibility for peaceful, democratic integration into the U.S. mainstream was definitely precluded. Henceforth, an effective struggle for Negro equality had to ~~take~~ the form of a struggle of an oppressed nation for special political guaranties to ensure its freedom.

In correcting our "unhistoric approach", it appears that Allen blurs over this distinction. He fails to take into account Lenin's principle :

"The categorical demand of Marxian theory in examining any social question is that it be placed within definite historical limits, and if its refers to one country (e.g. the national program of a given country) that the concrete peculiarities that distinguish that country from others within the same political epoch be taken into account." 6.

While Allen makes a bold attempt to discuss the "concrete peculiarities" of the Negro national question in the United States, he fails to take into account the "historical epoch." His dogmatic, unhistorical approach explains his confusion with respect to the elements of nationhood. Concerning this question, Stalin said :

"...the elements of nationhood - language, territory, culture, etc., - did not fall from the skies, but were evolved gradually in the pre-capitalist period. But these elements were in a rudimentary state and at best, were only a potentiality, that is, they constituted the possibility of the formation of a nation in the future given certain favorable conditions. The potentiality became a reality only in the period of rising capitalism with its national market and its economic, cultural centers." 7.

In the classic epoch, the epoch of transition to capitalism, favorable circumstances for the conversion of this potentiality into a reality was the bourgeois-democratic revolution - the overthrow of feudalism. In the present, imperialist epoch, the epoch of transition to socialism, the essential condition for the full development of oppressed nations is the overthrow of imperialist oppression and domination of weaker nations.

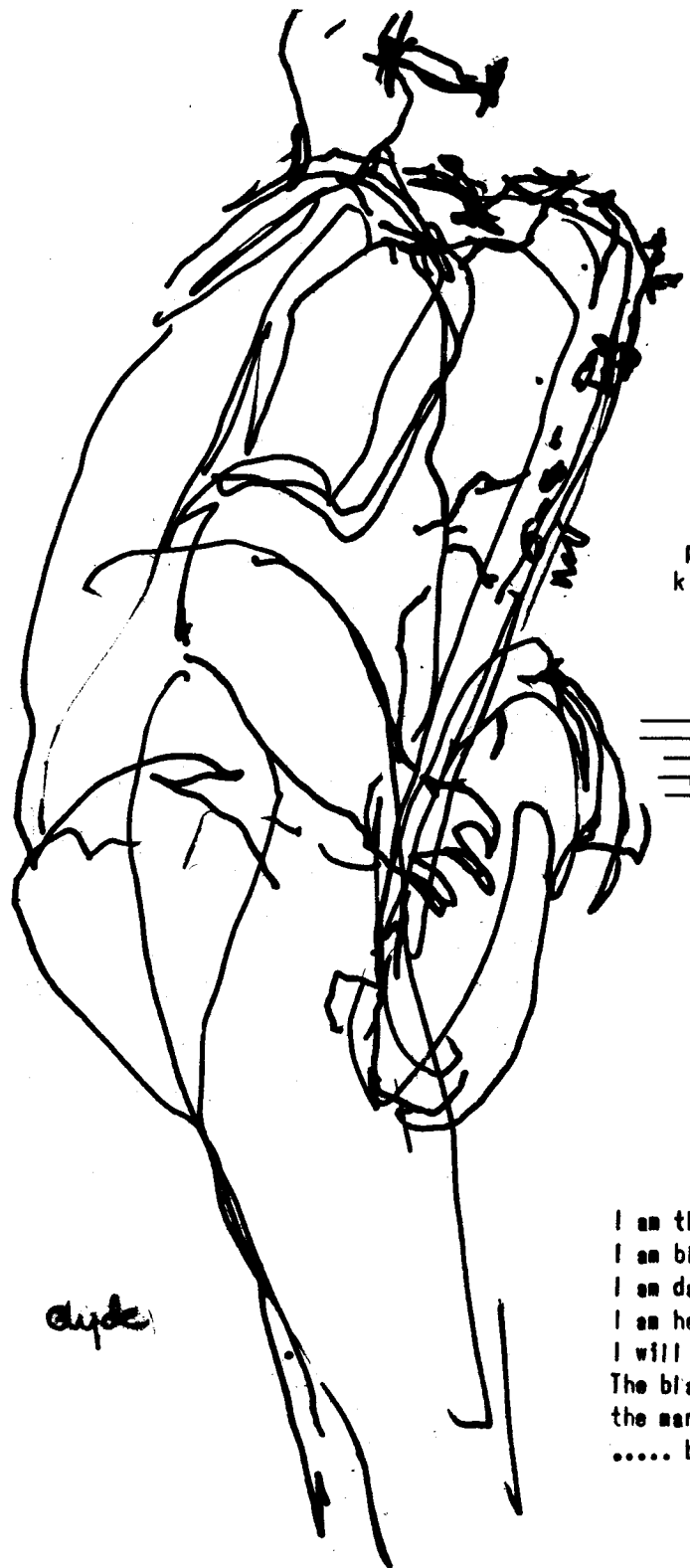
FOOTNOTES

1. James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time, p. 113.

2. Washington Post, 8/29/63

3. E. U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism, p.4

published by New World Press, Peking



gaston neal
ernie allen
john fisher
renald stone
wa patterson
harold foster
carol turner
theodore horne
patricia bullins
k william kgositsile



I am the Smoke King.
I am black.
I am darkening with song,
I am hearkening to wrong;
I will be black as blackness can,
The blacker the mantle the mightier
the man.
..... by W. E. B. DuBois

Revelations

Behold the book was placed before me and it bore
the seal of death. . .

And a voice commanded me to read there of
And go forth prophesying of things to be. . .

And the writings of the book were a brand
unto my eyes blinding me.

it is written, Selah

And in the day of the night which is to come
mighty tremors will gird the earth, shaking it
as a leaf in storm, then will issue forth
the trumpeter winds, the dark winds that burn
sere and scorch the flesh and it will be a sign
and in the day of the night to come your white
and blue skies will yellow and taint with the
breath of the lion, and the encroaching jungle
will heave and move forward. And your pleasures will
be carrion and ashes. Selah

And in the day of the night to come the children of
your blandness spewed from your bloodless loins
will be gutted in an orgy of blood, and their
bones affixed as crosses on your doorsteps
to guide our way in darkness. Selah!

And on the eve of the night which is to come
You will quake palsied with knowing, and
You will run to your hiding places, away
from the black wrath among you, to find your
retreat blocked by jungle, the black hordes
surrounding you, and it is night.

And in this night from the airless
tombs which you have sentenced unto us
we will issue forth, a mighty army of spectres
wraiths, destroying your cities, desecrating your
altars, and your benediction will be the
cold kiss of destruction and you will flee
screaming to your graves and we will
fatten and grow strong on the sweet food
of revenge and wax mighty, and black
Afrika will Triumph and the castrated sons
of her flesh will issue forth new life
long live Afrika

carol turner

BAUBLE

Hell, Mary,
You're full of crap;
Milord's been with you --
If not the stableboy.
And that dove tale
Is for the birds.
The fruit of your womb
Will be a lemon, sweetie,
To bear all by yourself.
At least you can still
Grab an old man, baby;
And _who knows?_
Your lucky star
May shine one day.

theodore herne

Hiphiphooray

for the good old redwhite&blue !

Uncle Sam

oink a happy tune

oink! Oink! Oink! OINK!

You ' re topdog of hogs now.

In your pen

is yourveryown vomit feces

& the best garbage from the world over

for your consumption pleasure.

You have all the wealth and power

a prize blue ribbon hog

in human doghog civilization should have.

Uncle Sam

everything is A-OK now

but WOW look out

when Farmer Fate starts licking his chops.

ronald stone

MAN MATING

Gathering tender fruit, we rape the tree of life

that falling a serpent's head consume,

Til in bright hot ecstasy it bursts blindingly --

wrafting us skyward,

Upward spiraling through vermillion vapors of cosmic

hypnotic night,

Exploding in a wild phantasmagoria. Enraptured.

O night of all nights!

Subsiding in mild euphoria to the listless twittering

of eye lids,

Oblivious of all -- save the sea of time around us.

john fisher

MOTIVATION

(for black painters)

Decaying teeth
 from some destructive particles
 wedged between themselves
 and their black lives

black clinchable lives

stare them in their faces
 as they walk upon the sea
 that carries their alien food
 to some destructable water fall

human's fall from pyrrhea

of stained gums that will not create
 their own salavia to float
 white disease from their mouths
 and leave them with a new breath

(of life.
 liberation,
 love of blackness
 that is themselves and their beauty)

if realized in their minds
 and not their tongues.

harold fester

Black Man Blues

Sometimes on midsummer nights

As you grow weary of sleep

And seek to escape riding the waves of insomnia _____

You ask yourself

Why has my jungle dream left me ?

I am the reason, and as you say this to yourself

You lift your arms

And the sound of chains

Echoes

through centuries

dripping blood

on covers bleached white

Perhaps you seek a voice

enchromed in logic giving you answers

Soothing soul

enclosed in beercans.

BLUES FOR BRO. DEATH : BLUES FOR YOU

dedicated to Donald Byrd

leaving
 last and lost
 arms and hours
 of cherished-bitter moments
 Happening upon the
 well-trodden footpath
 through the wet foliage
 and greying afternoon
 (still, as it were,
 unrecognized by you...
 but yet not unknown)
 Watching spring-green
 bushes bowing, swaying
 saplings bending, praying,
 approximating the movement
 of a curious wind which chills your body
 Dark, damp leaves brushing against your face

"I've Longed and I've Searched..."

Silent figures-greying masks -
 watching your every turn
 on the dark, slippery ground
 knowing, knowing...
 with neither care nor comprehension
 as bowing, bending limbs
 paint with fallen leaves and water droplets
 mosaics on sky-grey canvas
 Faint voices with a call

"... For My Mother"

for a shelter somewhere
Finding dry cave, cavern...

no

Tunnel, black
with breeze warm
at first which dries
the weather from your face
smooths the wrinkles
relights the eyes
as if in preparation
for the long descent
And you follow quickly-dropping steps
knowing not, asking not

why

with one hand against the wall
making grey-cold stones become
colder, greyer
as you slip from the world of bending limbs and greying masks
tracing out the pathway of the cold, yellow beam of light
which now illuminates
the tomb

Your spirit stops
to pick its fallen shadow
from the stony silence
of the sepulcher...
but in this quiet place
you learn that shadows come
only to fall
and leave
their mark upon the wall
and you step aside to face
your face
echoed, etched
into the side of
the tomb
and light begins to fade...
to die... Panic --

stricken
 Leave tunnel
 Hurry
 Stumbling, gasping coughing
 tripping clumsily upon
 steps easily descended, but...
 now calling cursing screaming epithets
 motherfucker

"I've Longed and I've Searched..."

wretching
 tears, blood-mingled,
 rushing from parted orifice
 Backwards falling on
 steeping sleeping
 stony-cold steps
 grasping clutching
 Losing
 twitching twisted
 broken body
 lying on the tomb
 in stone-like
 Silence
 as Bro. Death
 gives your brow
 a parting kiss

"I'm Tryin' To Get Home"

we, as children,
 had hopes-
 but Reality
 was for real
 (and Immortality
 was not)

ernie allen

FROM THE GHETTO, DARKLY

The crying sense of soul
makes itself
within my mind

The four foot beat man
in my soul
in my soul
(I cry inward tears and talk to the white-
man with disdain and resentment)

All day long as the movement lasted
All day long as the hand touched
All day long as the body wasted
The blues climbed 'tween the
crack floors

In my torn heart

In my black feet

In my child's depleted body

worn out from slumland lords, weak milk,

mushy white bread,

sad mourning fathers facing a white jobless

day and a white unloving god.

The rhythms

The precious black life, treating this lie,

this inhuman hell, as a truth, with incredible

love

And we will live

And we will fight

And we will win

The crying sense of soul

makes itself

within my mind

Gaston Neal

INHERENT AND INHERITED MISTRUSTS.

Can a god that sings
 A new kind of blues
 Or mbaqanga -- if you will -
 Bend to the will of shrivelling
 toiletpaper gods ?

Woke up in the morning and listened to your radio
 Read your papers and history books also.
 Black thoughts. Black emotions. Black decisions.
 The future looks good to me now
 I'm gonna stop the cause of the blues.

The shit hit imperialist fans in the Congo.
 Colonial nuns hit your front pages losing their papal virginity
 Maybe the pope foresaw the need for prophylactic supplies.
 The U.N. says I'm a racist
 I say I have Black thoughts.
 Man, all I learned at your schools was what not to be.
 Charlie, don't you know I'm gonna stop the cause of the blues ?

Your dreams have always been my nightmares.
 No more nightmares for me now; only freedom on my mind
 No more iffy concessions from liberals for me now.
 Lumumba incarnate in all Black children
 Black giant awakening beating freedom drums.
 Charlie, don't you know you're living on borrowed time ?

k william kgesitsile

by alfredo peña

of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico

The Puerto Rican REVOLUTION: part 2

After his release from prison in 1943 Albizu Campos remained in New York for four years; finally this citadel of an infected society became an infinite and monotonous cycle for him, and Pedro returned to the island in 1947 to be honored at a triumphant affair. Thousands of followers filled Escobar Stadium in order to hear their "maestro" speak.

In 1948 the United States dropped an egg of propaganda declaring Puerto Rico a "commonwealth," and replacing the American governor with the corrupt liberal, Munoz Marin. On October 30, 1950 the criteria for Marin's liberalism was constructed. With chants of independence echoing throughout the island, Munoz Marin supported the colonization of Puerto Rico. The Nationalist Party and hundreds of its sympathizers began a protest on the grounds of the Governor's palace. The palace guards, who formerly had been holding back the demonstrators, began to fire into the crowd, killing three persons. The protestors responded by taking up arms and firing back, killing six guards. Thus the second epoch of revolution for independence erupted with Albizu in the forefront and the armed proletariat behind, offering him support with all determination and force.

News of the battle on the governor's grounds reached Jaguga, where revolutionary cadres burned down the police station. On the same night the townspeople of Utado seized the Bell Telephone Company building. In Narajito the peasants came swarming out of the hills and attacked the police center with stones and machetes; outbreaks of demonstrations occurred in Ponce and Arecibo. Meanwhile, the police and the American Military Police seized Albizu's home, nearly beating his mother to death.



Pedro Albizu Campos

I met Boliver on a long morning.....
 'Father,' 'I said' 'Are you or are you
 not or who are you?'
 'And he said:'
 'I rise every hundred years when the
 people wake up'

In October the battle in Jaguga continued. The conflict brought the peasants of the surrounding area to the aid of the nationalist freedom fighters, inflicting heavy losses on both the police and the American troops, and damaging whatever mechanism the colonialists had brought. After a number of days the masses of Jaguga proclaimed the first Republic of Puerto

Rico. On Oct. 31, 1950 the people of Jaguga were bombed by American planes. American and Puerto Rican imperialist ground troops overwhelmed the entrenchments outside of the town which were being held by the peasants.

The news of the first Republic blazed with fury throughout the island, spreading the revolution from town to town. In Washington President Truman, who had labeled the cause for freedom in Puerto Rico as "fanatical" was himself nearly mowed down. Following the assassination attempt on Truman the United States began to attack the struggle for liberation with a program of slaughters in every village and extermination of the "campesinos" crops. Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Jose Munez, a student at Puerto Rico University and two women sympathizers were arrested, tortured and put on trial. Pedro was sentenced 30 to 80 years in prison in Puerto Rico. The American centers of propaganda, the press, distorted the revolution and accused it of being communist inspired and that it had occurred because of a prison break in Rio Piedras.

In 1951 a barber from Jaguga, Vidal Santiago Diaz formed a cadre of revolutionaries sowing the seeds of insurrection again. In a gun battle with the police the heroic barber was murdered, but not before he held off 16 squadrons of American and Puerto Rican military police.

It was while he was incarcerated that Albizu became paralyzed. The American government began to examine the prospects of nuclear x-rays and the effect on human beings. Their prize subject was Pedro Albizu who was forced to serve as a guinea pig in the laboratories located near the prison.

Day after day they strapped him down and performed nuclear experiments on his body. They news of the atrocity reached outside the walls of the chambers perpetuating street demonstrations by his followers and his sympathizers. Finally, to preserve American imperialism's form of peace, Governor Marin had Albizu released.

The apprehension of revolution was alive as the masses awaited with anticipation for Albizu's return. When Pedro was freed he was not the same titan who had become the vanguard of the struggle of independence; instead the people found a psychological derelict handicapped with only one kidney; a graying old man unable to speak or remember. When his followers saw that his forthright and dynamic vigor had been transformed into a useless and wretched shell they burst with wrath. So in 1954 the liberation movement tore down the doors of the House of Representatives in an attempt to settle accounts. The "independentistas" shot five racist congressmen. Later a gun battle erupted when guards from every sector of the building attempted to arrest the freedom fighters.

* * * * *

Each year of imperialism had abraded the resistance of the masses to the elimination of their dignity, their culture and their history. The stage constructed in 1920 by the Nationalist Party led and redeveloped by Albizu Campos has become the theatre of revolution for the M. P.I. (Movement for Pro-Independence)

The abundance and the acceleration of an exploited people's burden has created offsprings that have developed into a revolutionary movement for national liberation whose forces are subjected to changes by the mechanical elements within the movement.



KAME
Kamb in Humanite, Paris
"We have the situation well in hand."

The shrewdness and sharpness of capitalism and imperialism, its enigmatic indoctrination have indirectly produced such a contradictory force. At each stage the bourgeois apparatus advances; so does the proletarian revolutionary force. Each motion is negative and positive of its axiom.

The Puerto Rican, whether in New York or in Puerto Rico, has been part of the toilers of the lower layers of the class system; a part of the international proletariat : 87% of our people in the state of New York are in the poverty level, and more than 50% are earning less than the average white American or (even) Afro-American workers. One out of every five Puerto Ricans has been a part of two generations that have lived under welfare.

The Puerto Rican is a mixture of African, Spanish and Indian, his color varies from black, brown or red to white. Since we are of a racial mixture we don't consider ourselves ofay ("todos somos hermanos, el hombre blanco es el diablo" - Taken from a speech by MalcolmX) We are a colored people and we are proud of our color. Those who consider themselves as Puerto Rican before considering themselves American are proud of their heritage, culture, and philosophy that sees all colored people as one race.

The migrations of Puerto Ricans in New York brought in a new era to the city. No more was it just the whites against Niggers, but it soon became whites against Niggers and Spi'cs.

It was in the early fifties that the Puerto Rican began to fight back against his white Anglo-Saxon tormentors. The harassments from the white race were countered in the form of youth gangs. All over the south Bronx and east Harlem street gangs sprung up : "Young Sinners," "Frenchmen", "Command mandos," "Scorpions," "Crowns," "Viceroyes," "Dragons," "Enchanters," etc. Each gang's enemies were the white gangs and the police department.

The gangs that were formed in the early fifties were not only a product of the Puerto Rican's social environment and his rejection of the all-white American society, but also form of defense from the white American.

The exploitation of our island by the American government is an illegal act since Puerto Rico does not belong to them. The land is ours, the beaches are ours, the streets are ours, the flamboyans that touch the sky are ours. The island of Puerto Rico belongs to the Puerto Ricans.



The Puerto Rican peasants, workers and students will never forget the rape of our island by the ruling class of the United States. Neither will we forget the island's emasculation, nor the maiming of our dignity and our freedom.

* * * * *

On April 19, 1965, U. N. General Assembly President Alex Quaison Sackey from Ghana warned Puerto Ricans against neo-colonialism which he called the greatest enemy of nations striving for independence. The U. N. delegate from Ghana said countries under colonial rule should beware of accepting "a sort of independence" designed to make them "client countries"

In November of 1964 at the Pan-African conference in Cairo, Egypt the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico was recognized by all the nations that attended. Quaison Sackey was the prime mover which listed Puerto Rico among countries waiting to achieve independence.

The task now of the movements of national liberation in Puerto Rico is to re-educate the masses, to identify them with their culture and history, to oppose "yanqui" propaganda with counter-propaganda. The Puerto Rican struggle for freedom is a reflection of the revolutions against imperialism and colonialism in Africa, Asia, and in Latin America. Under the banner of universal revolution we identify ourselves with our brothers in South Africa, Angola, Congo, Vietnam, Santo Domingo and all of the other forces in the campaign to destroy imperialism and colonialism.

Long Live Patrice Lumumba!

Long Live Malcolm X!

Long Live Pedro Albizu Campos!

por alfredo peña
 del Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico

la revolución puertorriqueña⁽²⁾

traducción española por SOULBOOK

Después de su liberación durante 1943 Albizu Campos se quedó en Nueva York durante cuatro años; finalmente la ciudadela de una sociedad infectada se convirtió en un ciclo monótono e infinito a él. Durante 1947 volvió Pedro a la isla, y en volver millares de Albizu se llenaron estado de Escobar para oír su maestro habló.

En 1948 Los Estados Unidos dejaron caer un huevo de propaganda declarar Puerto Rico un "Commonwealth" y reponer al gobernador yanqui con un liberal corrompido, Munoz Marin. En 30 de Octubre de 1950 el criterio por el liberalismo de Marin fue construido. Con cantos de Independencia repercutir por la isla, Munoz Marin sostuvo la colonización de Puerto Rico. El Partido Nacionalista y centares de la gente que simpatizaron con ello. Commensaron a protestar sobre los jardines del palacio del Gobernador. Las guardias del palacio quienes antes hubieron sido detener el muchadumbre commenzieron a tirar a gente matar a 3 personas. La gente que estuvo protestando respondió port tomar prestado armas, volver el fuego y matar a 6 guardias. Entonces la epoca segunda de la revolución de independencia hizo erupción con Albizu en la parte más adelantada y el proletariado detras de él, con fusiles sostenerlo con determinación y fuerza.

Noticias de la batalla sobre los jardines del gobernador llegó a Jagua donde cadres revolucionarios quemaron toda la estación de policía. La misma noche la compania de Bell Telefonos fue cercado por la gente de Utado despues oír de la batalla de fusiles en el palacio.

En Narajito los campesinos vinieron pulular afuera de los cerros y atacaron el centro de la policia con piedras y machettes. Erupciones de demostraciones ocurrieron en Ponce y Arecibo. Mientras la policia y la policia militar yanqui cercaron la casa de Albizu y golpearon a la madre de Albizu y casi mataron a ella.



Ruiz in Siempre, Mexico

"Conoci a Bolivar durante una mañana larga.....

"Padre, "dije" usted es o usted no es o quien es usted?

y el dijo : "

"Me levanto cada ciento años cuando la gente se despierte."

En Octubre la batalla en Jaguga continuaba. El conflicto provocó los campesinos del camp circundante al auxilio de los guerreros de libertad nacionalista, estuvieron inflictiendo perdidas grandes sobre las dos la policia y las tropas yanquis, y estuvieron dañando cualquier mecanismo los colonialistas hubieron traedo. Despues muchas dias las masas de Jaguga proclamaron La Primera Republica de Puerto Rico.

En 3 de Octubre de 1950 fue bombardeado la gente por los aeroplanos yanquis. Las tropas terrenas imperialistas Puertorriqueñas y yanquis abrumaron los atrincheramientos afuera el pueblo que fueron ocupados por los campesinos.

Las noticias de La Republica ardieron con furia por las isla, extender la revolucion desde un pueblo a otro. En Washington (El Distrito Federal) El Presidente Truman quien hubo marcada la causa de la libertad en Puerto Rico como "fanatico", él fue casi tirado. Despues el esfuerso asesinato en Truman Los Estados Unidos comenzaron a atacar la lucha para liberación con un programma de matanzas en todas las aldeas y el exterminio de las cosechas "de los campesinos." Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Jose Munoz, un estudiante en La Universidad de Puerto Rico, y 2 mujeres que simpatizaban con El Partido Nacionalista fueron arrestados, torturados y trajeron en ensayo. Pedro fue contenido a 30 a 80 años de carcel en Puerto Rico. Los centros Yanquis de propaganda, la prensa, torceron la revolucion y la acusaron de ser inspiraba por comunis-

mo, que hubo ocurrido porque alguien se escapo de la cárcel en Rio Piedras.

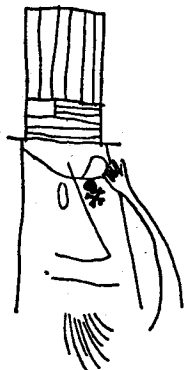
Durante 1951 un barbero desde Jaguga se llama Vidal Santiago Diaz formó un cadre de revolucionarios; entonces sembrar otra vez las semilla de insurrección. En una battalla de fusiles con la policia el barbero heroico fue asesinado, pero no antes mantuvo a distancia 16 escuadrones de Policia Militar Puertorriqueño y yanqui.

Fue durante el tiempo que él fue encarcelado que Albizu convino a paralizado. El Gobierno comenzó a examinar la perspectivas de rayos x nucleares y el efecto sobre seres humanos. Su sujeto premio fue Pedro Albizu quien fue forzado a servir como "un conejillo de Indias" en los laboratorios esta cerca la cárcel. Dia tras dia lo amarraron y ejecutaron experimentos nucleares sobre el cuerpo de Albizu Campos. Las noticias de la atrocidad llegó a afuera de las paredes del aposento, perpetuar demostraciones en las calles por sus seguidores y los que simpatizaron con él.

Por fin, para que preservar la forma de la paz de imperialismo yanqui, el gobernador hubo puesto en libertad a Albizu.

A La aprehensión de revolución estuvo activo como las masas esperaron con anticipación para el regreso de Albizu. Cuando Pedro fue libertado él no fue el titano mismo quien hubo convenido la vanguardia de la lucha de independencia; en lugar la gente encontró a un desamparo psicológico que tuvo solamente un riflon un hombre viejo que no puede hablar o recordar. Cuando sus





seguidores quienes hubieron visto su vigor dinámica y francote hubo sido transformado dentro de corteza inútil y miserable se revantaron con ira. Entonces, durante 19-54 el movimiento de liberación derribó las puertas de Cámara de Representativas en una tentativa a ajustar cuentas. "Los independentistas" tiraron a cinco congresistas racistas. Más tarde una batalla de fusiles hizo erupción cuando guardias desde todas las areas del edificio trataron aprehender a los guerreros de libertad.

* * * * *

Cada año de imperialismo ha raedo la resistencia de las masas a la eliminación de su dignidad, su cultura y su historia. La etapa que fue construido durante 1920 por El Partido Nacionalista y dirigido y redevelopado por Albizu Campos ha convenido al teatro de revolución para El Movimiento de Pro-Independencia.

La abundancia y la aceleración de la carga de una gente explotada ha creado proles que ha desarrolado en un movimiento revolucionario para liberación nacional cuyo sus fuerzas son sujetados a cambios por los elementos mecanicos dentro del movimiento.

La sagacidad y agudeza de capitalismo y imperialismo, su instrucción enigmática indirectamente ha producido tal una fuerza contradictoria. En cada etapa el aparato de la burguesa avanza; también avanza la fuerza revolucionaria proletaria. Cada moción es negativa y positiva de su axioma.

Sea el Puertorriqueño en Nueva York o en Puerto Rico, ha sido parte de los trabajadores de las capas más bajas del dystema clase; una parte del proletariado internacional: 87% de nuestra gente en el Estado de Nueva York ess sobre el llano de pobreza, y más que 50 % esta ganando menos que el Morteamerican Blanco mediano o (aun) los trabajadores Afroamericanos. Uno de cinco Puertorriqueños ha sido vivir sobre bienestar; y uno de siete ha sid una parte de 2 generaciones que ha vivido abajo bienestar.

El Puertorriqueño es una mezcla de Africano, Español, y Indio, su color varia desde negro, moreno, o rojo hasta blanco. Desde entonces somos de una mezcla racial, no nos consideramos blancos ("Todos somos hermanos, el nombre blanco es el diablo" -- Dijo Malcolm X) No-sotros somos una gente de color y tenemos orgullo en nuestro color. Los que se consideran como Puertorriqueño antes se consideran norteamericano tienen orgullo en su herencia, cultura y filosofia que considera toda gente de color como una raza.

La emigración de Los Puertorriqueños a Nueva York indució una era nueva en esa ciudad. No hubo más fue solamente blancos contra "Niggers", pero pronto convino a blancos contra "Niggers*" y "Spics*".

Fue en las cincuentas tempranas que El Puertorriqueño comenzó a terminar alguna contienda peleando contra sus atormentadores Anglosajones Blancos. Los histigamientos desde la raza Blanca se fueron ponendo en la forma de cuadrillas de jóvenes. En todas partes de Bronx del Sur y Harlem del este cuadrillas de la calle surgieron: "Young Sinner," "Frenchmen," "Commandos" "Scorpions," "Crowns," "Viceroyes", "Dragons", "Enchanters", etc. Los enemigos de cada cuadrilla fueron las cuadrillas blancas y el departamento de la policia. Las cuadrillas que fueron formados en las cincuentas tempranas no fue solamente un producto del ambiente social del Puertorriqueño y su rechazamiento de la sociedad norteamericana que es solamente para los Blancos, pero también una forma de defense desde el Americano Blanco.

La explotación de nuestra isla por el Gobierno Norteamericano es un acto ilegal porque Puerto Rico no pertenece a el... La Tierra es la nuestra; las playas son las nuestras; la isla de Puerto Rico pertenecen a los Puertorriqueños.

Los campesinos Puertorriqueños, trabajadores y estudiantes nunca olvidarán la rapia de Puerto Rico por la clase que controla Los Estados Unidos. Ni olvidaremos la castradura de la isla, ni la mutilación de nuestra y nuestra libertad.

* * * * *

En 19 de Abril de 1965 El Presidente de La Asamblea General de Las Naciones Unidas, El Señor Quaison Sackey desde La Republic de Ghana, aviso a los Puertorriquenos contra neo-colonialismo el cual él llamó el enemigo mayor de las naciones que luchan para la independencia. El delegado en Las Naciones Unidas de Ghana dijo que los países abajo gobierno colonial se cuidiese de aceptar "una suerte de independencia" que diseña a hacerlos "países clientes...."

Durante Noviembre de 1964 en La Conferencia PanAfricana en Egipto, Cairo la lucha para La Independencia de Puerto Rico fue reconocido por todas las naciones que asistieron. Quaison Sackey fue el instigador principal el cual inscribo Puerto Rico en una lista según uno de los países que esperan realizar independencia.

La faena ahora de los movimientos de liberación nacional en Puerto Rico es a enseñar otra vez las masas, establecer la identidad de ellos con su cultura y historia, a oponer propaganda yanqui con contrapropaganda.

La lucha Puertorriqueña para la libertad es una reflexión de las revoluciones contra imperialismo y colonialismo en Africa, Asia y en América Latina. Debajo la bandera de revolución universal afirmamos la identidad de nosotros con nuestros paisanos en Africa del Sur, Angola, El Congo, Viet Nam, Santo Domingo y todas de las fuerzas otras que son en la campaña para destruir imperialismo y colonialismo.

¡ Viva Patrice Lumumba !

¡ Viva Malcolm X !

¡ Viva Pedro Albizu Campos !

Is James Baldwin a Black Writer ?

"I began by asking how is it that Baldwin has betrayed not only his race, but himself, in the very act of disclosure. The answer should now be obvious. He and his art are in violent conflict with the very nature of what that art sets out to do. By exploring and attacking the White liberal conscience it merely gives it sustenance; by speaking so forcefully to the White public it condemns by implication the Negro public as unworthy of being addressed by its own spokesmen and, conversely, adopts an Uncle Tom position (which it consciously rejects) that the revolution that is necessary before the Negro is to be treated as a citizen in his own country can only come about by pleading to the conscience and the mercy of the Whites. "

Orlando Patterson. "The essays of James Baldwin" No. 26 New Left Review Summer, 1964

the need to develop a revolutionary consciousness

JAZZ has always, since its beginning, served as the most revolutionary musical force of Black people in America. Mainly because it is an outgrowth of say, the roots of Black social protest -- blues.

Blues is basically the residue of Black hostility, suffering, and general social discontent. Being traditionally one of the only forms of protest we could engage in without fear of losing our lives, blues has been an essential part of our culture.

Jazz is essentially a logical extension of our protestations from a predominantly vocal ramification to a predominantly instrumental form.

Today, more than ever, jazz is being put into its proper perspective by such musicians as Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, Albert Ayler, John Coltrane, and Archie Shepp. Clichés such as "avant-garde" and the "new thing" have been used to describe and distort the significance of this important form of music. Terms that inherently could have some value, but have been over-used by those ofays who are constantly trying to put our culture in their white melifluous way.

This music is in its proper context when described as revolutionary music.



MILFORD GRAVES

Music, like literature and drama, doesn't exist in a singular vacuum. There are always contemporary social forces that cause, mold, and shape these various art forms. Just to say "avant-garde" and the "new thing" without also mentioning the social forces that caused, and are causing, this revolutionary music is omni-vorously shortsighted.

As I mentioned earlier, jazz has always been our most revolutionary form of music. It has constantly sought social change, and the musicians, for the most part, have been some of the most militant-minded members of Black America.

Today there is a revolutionary consciousness that is correctly analyzing our plight, and preparing us all for our inevitable struggle and ultimate

defeat of whitey's oppressive regimes. The revolutionary music I speak of is simply a reflection of this consciousness.

Among the aforementioned forerunners of this music is tenor Saxophonist Archie Shepp. After listening to Shepp's two outstanding albums, *FOUR FOR TRANE* and *FIRE MUSIC*, I was left unusually impressed. The side *MALCOLM*, *MALCOLM* from *FIRE MUSIC* remains most vividly in my mind. Shepp opens the side with a poem that gives vent to our generations of emasculations and sufferings.

After listening to Shepp blow and then to hear him speak the same message left me with a feeling of hope, hope that at least one of our musicians would not only blow his message, but would speak with as much potency,

Upon hearing of Shepp's planned booking at one of San Francisco's jazz clubs, I awaited with much anxiety and anticipation to see for myself whether or not he was true to his convictions.

I checked Shepp out on the second night following his opening. After arriving somewhat late, Shepp showed with a bottle of beer and a gray cap à la Monk. This was my first recognition of a series of gimmicks that followed.

The first set consisted of one number an original I suppose. I overheard Shepp refer to it as "The Theme." After a few bars to set the tune in motion, Rudd, the trombonist, took the first solo. His playing is more or less a take-off of Shepp's style on trombone. Rudd uses an enormous number of gimmicks such as long sustained notes and repetitious triplets and runs. There is nothing about his playing that is unusually creative or beautiful; in fact, he is lacking in many areas. He certainly is more harmful than complimentary to Shepp's possibility as a future giant.

Drummer Beaver HARRIS is perhaps the most amateurish of all the so-called professional drummers that I have ever heard. He is very unimaginative, more or less say, just a repetitious timekeeper. Beating and banging over and over with nothing to say. There were times when he appeared to be completely lost.

Bassist Louis WORRELL is the more outstanding member of the group, Shepp notwithstanding. His playing is poetic and smooth, his runs clean and creatively restoring. There is a conspicuous absence of gimmicking in his playing. It was he alone that made the night worthwhile.



Archie Shepp

Shepp's solos were much too long and obviously repetitious. He showed none of the imagination nor development that is exhibited in FIRE MUSIC. He was reaching and grabbing after the same twig constantly.

All and all I was very disappointed. It looks like Shepp, too, will just be another musician lost in that mire of night clubs, booze, and whitey's phony contracts. Maybe I'm wrong, maybe my conclusions are premature, maybe as a "westcoaster" I was exposed to a bit of that New York complacency : you know, the idea that once you leave New York you can do anything and it will be praised simply because you got your thing together back East. An attitude that those Village hipster will soon find inadequate when they travel in this rection. An attitude they will eventually find equally inadequate even in New York.



Roswell Rudd

Perhaps it isn't too late, maybe someday there will be one of our musicians that is truly interested in verbally living up to the

claims of their music. Perhaps our revolutionary music will be played -- when that day comes -- by musicians who are as revolutionary as their music, that is, Black musicians interested in Black liberation -- regardless.

Until that day comes, we can just forget about those poems and sweet little letters to the editor. We can sweep them under the rug as simple artificial fronts for the real self. Until musicians develop a revolutionary consciousness that has rapport with our struggle, their revolutionary music will just become another western-oriented art for art's sake bag ; a disintegrating abyss of noise.

Wake up brothers, we have the swords ; let's sharpen them for the struggle that awaits us. Believe me, there is a need for the development of a revolutionary consciousness.





towards a black liberation army!

translated from the french by SOULBOOK

This article describes an instance of the highest importance in the world struggle against whitey's aggression and imperialism -- strategic coordination and unification of the forces of the Bandung revolution. The specific world region is the Portuguese colonized territories of Angola, Guinea and Cape Verde in western Africa, and Mozambique in eastern Africa. The movements of liberation in these areas are hard at work on forging the steel-tipped strategy that will enable our brothers' armies of liberation and reconstruction to march to victory at maximum strength and full area-wide political unity. The same principles apply to all levels of the common struggle as we witnessed in the direct efforts set down by our own Brother Malcolm in building the forces of Afroamerican liberation in the context of the world revolution i.e. in alliance with the forces of liberation in the Bandung world. SOULBOOK

Last September the CONCP (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies) reconvened from the 3rd to the 7th at Dar-es-Salaam. However, this event, which might possibly change the character of the nationalist fight in the Portuguese colonies, passed almost unnoticed.

Constituted in April, 1961 at Casablanca in order to coordinate the fight against Portugal, the CONCP brought together what was the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde), UDENAMO (Democratic and National Union of Mozambique), the Liberation Committee of Sao Tome and Principe, the Party of the People of Goa, the National Congress and Liberation Council of Goa, as well as the Liberation Movement of Guinea and Cape Verde.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

These are the same organizations which found themselves in Tanzania's capital. In between times the UDENAMO had become the FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique) and the Liberation Movement of Guinea and Cape Verde were absorbed by the PAIGC. Meanwhile, Goa had become independent; a committee of support for the people of Portuguese colonies had been created in this former enclave of Portugal, and, in a manner which invited honor, took part in the Dar-es-Salaam union. The leaders of these liberation movements stated that in spite of the difficulties which they should have faced up to during the past four years, the overall balance of their action had been positive. At the time of the Casablanca reunion in 1961, only Angola had been following the course of armed struggle; if today in this country the struggle is trampling the ground, it is also developing in Mozambique and above all in Portuguese-speaking Guinea. The PAIGC of Amilcar Cabral occupies and administers half of the country, possesses a regular army, guerilla forces,



and a people's militia.

PORTUGAL'S "STRATEGIC HAMLETS"

Last September 25 the Liberation Front of Mozambique, led by Dr. Mondlane, observed the first anniversary of the launching of its rather successful armed struggle. Today FRELIMO has the support of 2,000 well-armed guerillas, whereas they could only count 300 last year. This evolution has forced Portugal to revise its methods of oppression; today Portugal applies to the territories which it occupies the experiences gained from the inauguration of 'strategic hamlets' in Viet Nam. Only here they are called 'villages of protection.' The people are 'invited' to regroup themselves about administration centers. All sorts of pressures are exercised against the tribal chiefs in order to have them convince their people to leave the forests and to install themselves at these centers. The Dar-es-Salaam conference devoted itself to elaborating upon a strategy to deal with these new developments. They paid particular attention to the determination of the best ways of coordination the three wars (Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese-speaking Guinea). On the other hand they showed that they were willing not to operate in closed clubs and affirmed that the success of their combat lay in the finding out by the entire African continent and the Third World of this struggle.



TENACIOUS DIVISIONS

This conference at Dar-es-Salaam felt very much relieved that it could hold itself at the same time that South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia had begun to speak of a 'southern-crossing' project which would unite them in a center of defense of the white empire. If the colonialist bloc appeared homogeneous it was also necessary that the nationalist movements of Africa demonstrate the same cohesion. For example, only the MPLA represented Angola at Dar-es-Salaam. Despite the efforts which it has displayed in the enclave of Cabinda, the MPLA only partially represents Angola. Roberto Holden, chief of the revolutionary Angolan Government in Exile, was sorely missed at this conference. But the case of Angola is not unique: everywhere each liberation movement has a rival. All of the attempts made in view of

their reunification, notably by the OAU, have been in vain; the most recent example is that of the two Rhodesian parties, ZAPU and ZANU. Is it unthinkable that the nationalist will not follow the example of their rival colonialists who know how to compromise or even sacrifice their interests in order to present a solid front ?

A Perceptive Homage to Prime Minister Balewa

"Remarkably honest himself Sir Abubakar was unable to control the forces of evil generated by the system over which he ruled. His failure sprang from the fact that he supposed, if his Government copied all the outward attributes of British political life, all would be well.

He failed to realise that he was being manipulated by neo-colonialism. He was deluded perhaps, despite his personal modesty, by the applause of Western countries who lauded Nigeria as the one true democracy of Africa.

In fact they meant by this that Nigeria was, from their point of view, the easiest of all to influence. However this may be, Sir Abubakar never examined scientifically the basis of the society over which his Government governed.

If he had done so he would have realized that of all countries on our continent, Nigeria had the most to gain and the least to lose by a Union Government of Africa.

May he rest in peace."

From Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's speech in memory of the assassinated Prime Minister of Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

the suicide

one act play cast: the suicide; the wife; the preacher; the neighbor;
and the cops.

The scene : A small cramped living bed room in an apartment, against one wall on sawhorses and planks, a plain casket, draped with a lace tablecloth, at each end withered flowers in vases, and soda-pop bottles, the room is very crowded containing a double bed, some kitchen chairs, on the wall directly over the casket is a small carpet, with the Last Supper scene on it, next to that is a calender from the New Light Church with a fly blown picture of a cafe au lait family, on their knees in a church pew, grinning ecstatically at the ceiling. Sounds of muted merriment from the street, below, in a room off the living room, comes the smell of frying chicken, and womens' voices.

First woman (the neighbor) -- What ah wants tuh know is hi git daih in the first place. Frank ain had no car, is he? Newspapers jus' say he jumped, nombah some thousan' jumped from that bridge, didn't hardly say much mo'.

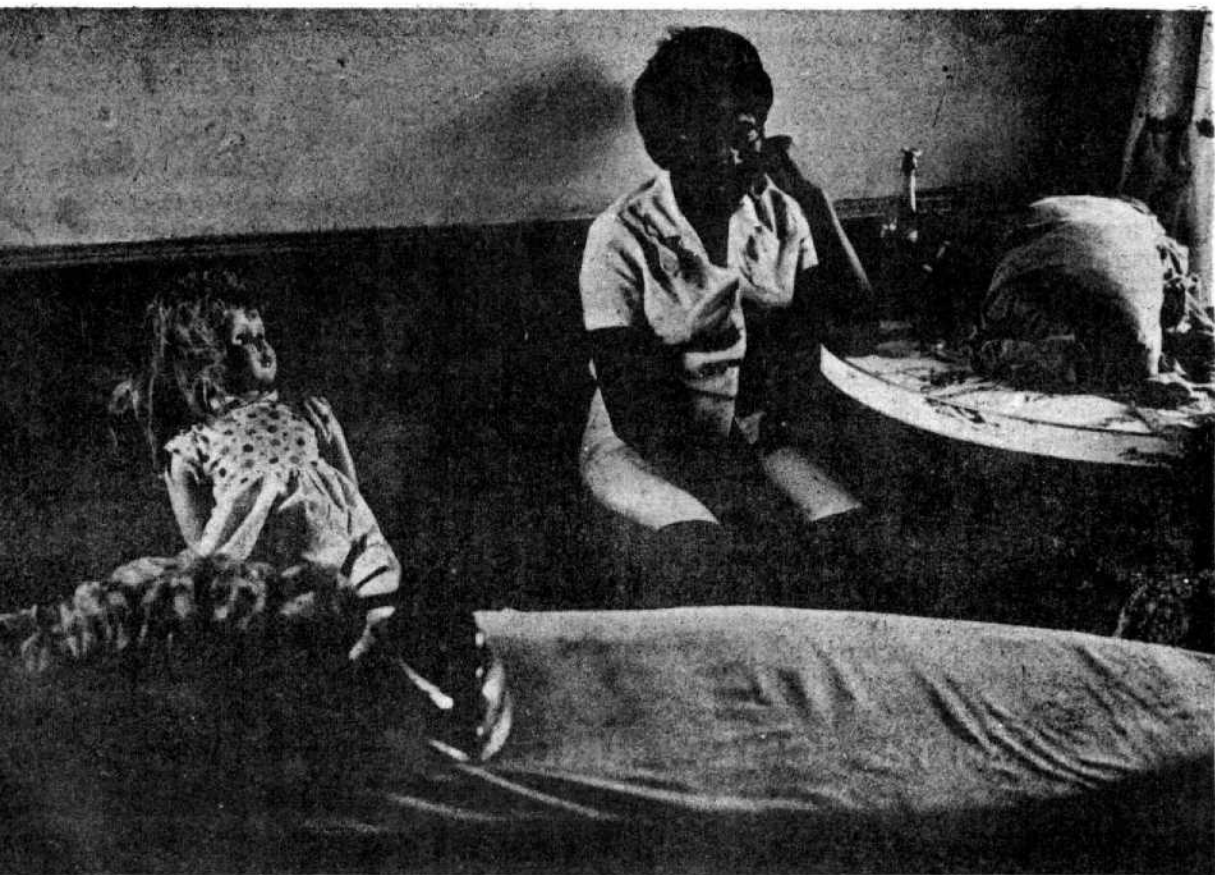
Wife - Ah tell ya how, mussa bummed him a ride, fum somebody,

First woman -- Got enny mo' in that showtneck?

Wife --- Take it all, Wine ain what ah needs now, issen you got a cuppla' dollahs ah could have the loan of tell toomarrrie mawning? Frank's momma gon cum git the body then tuh ship back to loozana, en um goona hit huh fuh leas' 20 bucks.

First woman - Bitch if ah had moe'n a kwarder you thank ahd be settin heah? (She fidgets nervously, and wipes her throat with a dish cloth.) Damn! It's hot in heah, open up a winder or somethin', shit, ah got highblood pressuah an did heat gonna mek me fain inna minit.

Wife - ef ya havin hot flashes go stand in front of the frigidaih and stick yo' haid inside, but ain gon open dese winders, evvy fly in ten miles, be done come in heah then. (She speaks sourly.) Frank, ya know Frank, he railly was a good man, 'cept readin oall them books, and drankinso much wine done rumn him crazy. But he was good. (She is silent, with her desire to explain to the neighbor how Frank had been) Ah mean, he didn't hit me, didn't take mah change, didn't cheat on me, welllll.



There is a knock at the door, loud, patient. The women are silent.....

wife - Wait uh minute, somebody at the do', Jes' uh minute. (She raises her voice to the door, and then she stands up; a gaunt black woman perhaps thirty, or forty, her eyes are red, she has on a purple crepe dress, with sequins and rhinestones down the front, the dress is too large, her hair is dyed an obvious red, she is graying, high heel black shoes, and no stockings, her hands are blunt and course, the nails bitten to the quick, but painted a thick red. Going to the door, she stumbles on the coffin, stares at it a moment, then opens the door.)

Preacher - Mrs. Frank Jones?

Wife - Yes, won't ya please come in revend.

(Enter the preacher, a very young stocky Black man, a dark suit, and the collar, he has on horned rimmed glasses, and a black felt hat, under one arm is tucked a large black Bible, he is a pompous man, recently out of divinity school, he speaks formal English, and aware of his importance, gives himself airs. He enters, and stands in the middle of the crowded room, he is ill at ease here.)

Preacher - (extending his hand) Harrumph! I am Reverend Theophilious Handee,

your landlady told me of your misfortune, plus I read in the paper of your husband's untimely demise, and although neither you nor your husband were members of my congregation, I felt it my Christian duty to come to you in this time of need, and offer up a few prayers to the lord for this unfortunate soul.

Wife- Would you lak to rest yo'hat?

Preacher- Indeed, indeed.

Wife - Yall kin set down on de bed ef you wants to, ain' got many chaih cep them kitchen ones. (The preacher sits gingerly on the edge of the bed with his hat in his hand. The woman is now uncertain what to do next, she walks over and lays her hand on the casket, hesitantly, with her back to the preacher, she turns suddenly,)

Wife - Yall want to see Frank? Kin ef yu wants to, ah got the lid closed on count of the flies, but you kin look ef you wants to.

Preacher- Don't mind if I do. (He crosses over to the casket, the woman raises the lid, and they both stare intently at the body. The first woman enters silently from the kitchen, her glass in her hand, and stands behind the preacher and peers at the body.)

First Woman: Ummph Ummph ummph!

(The preacher and the wife jump startled. The preacher is really shook.)

Preacher- (His voice unnaturally high.) Good God woman! Where did you come from?

Ist Woman (Her voice surly, and blurred.) Ah come from the kitchen, where you thank ah come from, (She finishes her drink.) Where you come from?

Wife- Ah woman hush! This heres the preacher.

Ist Woman- Hell ah know what he is. (She speaks petulantly)

(There is a silence, they stand uncomfortable with each other. The wife closes the coffin. Next door, suddenly comes the sound of a record player, and Jimmy Reed, blaring out a blues song. The neighbor, goes over and bangs on the wall.)

First woman- Turn that off! Turn that music off! We got dead folks in heah!

A muffled voice through the wall: Fuck you!

First woman- (Turning to the wife.) Who is that next do'?

Wife- Some ol' hoe, whats gonna git huh ass kicked tomorrow! (She has raised her voices so that the woman next door can hear.)

Preacher - For goodness sakes! Please, Mrs. Jones! (The preacher clears his throat and opens his Bible. There is a knock at the door, then a voice through the door: Please don' kick my ass tomorrow, bitch! Come on out heah and kick it now, come on out!

Wife-(screaming) Ya gawdam right ah will! (She grabs one of the soda pep bottles, empties the wilted flowers on the floor, and rushes off stage. Outside can be heard the two women screaming at each other, then the sounds of tussling, the preacher, jumps from the bed, and stares at the neighbor)

Preacher - Somebody should stop them, this is no way to hold a wake! If they don't stop I'm going home! This is indecent!

The neighbor goes into the kitchen, and returns with a butcher knife.

First woman - Set down preacher, Mrs. Jones be right back, ah'll stop this shit. (She leaves. Outside can be heard a full scale battle, with screams, more curses; the preacher, jumps over to the coffin, and lifts the lid, he stares intently at the body, and returns to the bed. He opens his Bible, and reads something, then he goes to the door.) Suddenly, from outside : "Aw shit! That bitch done stabbed that hoe! (Screams) Voice: Somebody call the ambulance! Call the cops! (The preacher grabs his hat, and opens the door and steps out into the hall. Muted sounds from outside then sirens, heavy steps on the stairs.) Voice: Cops! heah the cops!

Cop - Get back! Get back, let me through! All right what happened here?
murmuring voices....

Cop - Hold it! one at a time. Reverend what happened here?

Preacher - Officer, I cannot tell you all the details, I was inside, with the body.

Cop - What body? What the hell are you talking about?

Preacher - Well, uh, uh, the body in there, in the casket.

Reenter the preacher, and the cop

Cop - Jeeesus whats going on here?

Preacher - Well I was saying officer, I came over here to Mrs. Jones to help her mourn the passing of her husband, even though she nor her husband were members of my congregation, I was given to understand that she could not afford a church ceremony, and as the body was being shipped out tonight, for burial in the family plot in Louisiana I.....

Cop - Hold it rev. (He crosses to the door, and yells outside to another policeman) Hey Art! Come in here you gotta see this! nigger bitches fighting over a dead man!! (A second cop enters, behind him is the wife. They close the door, the wife sits on the bed.)

Cop - All right Rev. Tell it from the start..... Hold it, who is this woman? Is this the one that did the stabbing?

2nd Cop - Naw she's out in the wagon. We're taking this one in too, she started the whole thing.

The wife - (Her face is bruised, one eye is closing, her hair awry, her dress torn, she stands over the coffin) She yells angrily : Who opened dis coffin? Flies! The flies on Frank! Motha fuckahs! You bastids! Told you to keep that lid closed! Now the flies on him!

1st cop - Christ! Get her out of here! (The second policeman grabs the wife and hustles her out the door, she is still screaming.)

Wife - Let me go! Let me go mothafucka!

2nd cop - Oww! You go to jail for that bitch! (The door closes, The preacher closes the coffin, and stands by it, the cop walks over and opens it, and stares at the body.)

Preacher - Please close it officer, the flies.

bobb hamilton

It Was Election Time in New York—again...

On Sunday, October 10th, I had a hour to kill; I turned on the T. V. and got the three mayoralty candidates -- their "debate" accomplished the murder more efficiently than I could ever dream of doing. Three white men were gouging each other for the "privilege" of misgoverning New York City for the next four years. The contenders were: Abe Beame, a well worn Democrat hack who lately "discovered that his "boss," Wagner, was an uninspired and uninspiring do nothing. John Lindsey, a lean thin lipped Anglo-Saxon Protestant, a Republican turned zoologist who is trying to crossbreed an elephant with a jackass, and Wm. F. Buckley Jr., a Conservative, an over-age enfant terrible who rants like someone in the early stages of premature senility. Abe, Beame, his mind like a horizon to horizon wilderness in which a handful of undernourished ideas and a few prodigal painfully memorized cliches blunder about like the aimless wanderings of a patrol lost on the Sahara Desert. John Lindsey a power hungry, velvet tongued Madison Avenue hipster; and Wm. Buckley Jr. with his mediaeval mind -- a mind that is as sharp as a razor edge and just as narrow; these were the three candidates, all trying to outdo each other as to who will hire the most cops to keep the natives (Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans) in line!

Junior Buckley is an outright Negrophobe. Buckley was not only the "cutest" one on stage, he was the most honest -- in spite of himself. Honest or bold, have it as you will, I must "respect" Buckley in a peculiar sort of way, in the way that I would respect the brazen thug or the house-breaker, while shooting him down, as contrasted to the utter contempt I hold for the con-man who would try to "jive" me out of my dignity! Mind you, this does not mean that I dislike Buckley less; it means that I despise Beame and Lindsay more! Buckley, somewhat less than Peckerwood Wallace, and cracker Bilbo shakes his rattles



like a true diamond back so that I know what to expect. His opponents were and are more like the street corner con men who try to hustle you with the shell and pea game. Jr. made it clear that if he were elected he would by no means put a rein on the racist, trigger-happy New York cops! We must remember that Buckley himself is only one generation removed from the shellelagh and the brick-bat, and those of his landmen who couldn't get rich joined the police force! His references to criminals were always allusions to Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans "the subway criminals and street muggers who are criminals

whether they are members of minority groups or not" is the way he puts it. But I've not heard indignant statements about what he wants the cops to do about the crime, the graft, and the shakedowns and shifts within the police department. There is an expose of crooked cops. 99% of whom are white, at least three times a year. Where is his indignation about these crimes. Of course he does not mention the white youths who destroy houses during wild parties, nor does he mention the dope sessions, the sex orgies, and the parent sponsored boozings which have been reported lately!

Lindsay and Beame also play the racist game in their campaign material. They both promise more police to "make New York safe." Neither wants a real review board. Lindsay, with good white protestant piety stated that he would give the police commissioner veto power over the findings of a board composed of cops and prominent "qualified" civilians. What makes him think that the blue bloods are anymore sympathetic to the victims of police brutality than the cops? The civilians on that board should be the black and Puerto Rican mothers whose teenage sons are murdered, whose daughters are abused and called black bitches by white cops. Housewives whose husbands are beaten and falsely arrested for "assault," should serve on that board, as should truck drivers and building superintendents. So hypnotized was Buckley Jr. by the prettiness of his own speechmaking, which was heavy on opinions but light on substance, that he could not catch his co-conspira-

tors pitch. Another subject which bugged Buckley Jr., as it does most white folks even in the Democratic Party, was Adam Clayton Powell. Buckley asked his "opponents" to denounce Powell as a scoundrel and a rascal. Lindsay allowed that Powell was not supporting him. Beame, whom Powell is supporting, kept an eloquent silence. He did not defend his backer either. Buckley of course took refuge in his immunity as a candidate to call Powell things that all of his "clahss" and banjo-eye bucking could not save him from in a losing libel suit if he had said those things as a non-candidate. The T. V. show pointed up to me that the black voter has nothing to gain from the election of any one of the three candidates; Beame, a second rate retread, Lindsay, awkward political hybrid, and Buckley Jr., a juvenile intellectual flapper who would have been a hit in the '20s; the 1420's that is.

"What is there to say? Simply this: when a West Indian licentiate* in philosophy makes it known that he will not take the agregation**, citing his color as the reason, then I say that philosophy has never saved anyone. When another insists upon proving to me that blacks are as intelligent as whites, I reply: intelligence has never saved anyone. And that is true, for if it is in the name of intelligence and philosophy that one proclaims the equality of men, it is also in their name that one decides their extermination."

Frantz Fanon. (Peau noire masques blancs, p. 42)

*licentiate- in Europe, a university degree intermediate between that of bachelors and that of doctor.

** concours d'agregation- competitive examination for admission to teaching staff of state secondary schools in Europe.



kenn m. freeman

the colonized of north america

a review-essay of Fanon's Studies in A Dying Colonialism

In Fanon's book, Studies in a Dying Colonialism which recently has been translated into English and published by Monthly Review Press, there is an introduction which leaves me with an astounding amount of ambivalence (although it does not seriously take anything from Fanon's inordinate brilliance). It is written by an Argentine journalist name Adolfo Gilly who gives Fanon's book a reflective marxist interpretation. But on the other hand it lacks any penetrating view of the very axle of the dying machine of colonialism : The United States of America.

Nowhere in the introduction does Gilly give us an indication that he realizes that this world-wide revolution against what Fanon calls "an omnipresent death" affects Black America in a qualitatively different manner than White America. In fact, he persists in suggesting that all residents of New York would be intimidated by the atomic menace, but that the Third World revolutionaries (such as the Cubans, Vietnamese, Congolese etc.) themselves are not afraid of the possibility of nuclear destruction (or to be precise, they do not stop fighting for liberation even though they may be threatened with nuclear destruction by their oppressors). This courageousness of the Africans, Latin-Americans and Asians is found in the Harlem residents throughout North America, in spite of Mr. Gilly. And

like our oppressed brothers throughout the world, the use of "modern " weapons upon us merely increases our determination to win our liberation.

Was it not, in the same manner as the Cubans, Vietnamese and Dominicans, that the Black Freedom Fighters of Watts, who, in the face of "whitey's" arsenal, said: "We'd rather have them kill us all than go back to the old life." Yes, our L. A. Brothers shook their strong, Black fists at the kingpin of the atomic menace, and just as the Cubans did not waver or flinch during the "Cuban" missile crisis, neither did the Afroamerican masses shrink from the challenge of the "Watts" crisis. Nowhere do we find a similar reaction from either the white american proletariat or the predominately white peace movement.

There is another point that adds fuel to my fire that gives me the light with which to see the inconsistency in Gilly's introduction. He describes how the Bolivian miners, who, though having lost their recent armed battle with the Bolivian military dictatorship, have demonstrated that because they have hidden their weapons, their resistance to military oppression has not been destroyed. But Gilly does not mention that in Los Angeles the brothers lost the initial combative struggle with the "national guard", but like their "paisanos bolivianos" their resistance was not shattered. For they have also concealed their (and acquired many more) weapons with the determination of engaging their oppressors in battle again.

Again we see that Gilly admits in his piece that the essence of revolution is the struggle for human dignity. But apparently he is not intellectually mature enough to realize (or to admit) that it is only the Black American liberation struggle which is aiming for precisely human dignity in the racist-infested U. S. A.

* * * * *

I found fascinating the insightful unmasking by Fanon of the French sociologist and his interest in the veils of Algerian women. Fanon understands perfectly well that this interest in "freeing" Muslim women is really the old colonialist cliché of: "Let's win over the women and the rest will follow."

The only difference between this attempt by the French, and the parallel situation in colonized Afroamerica is that commercial slavery and its anti-

social kin. southern sharecropping and northern wage-slavery, succeeded in forcing many of our women (and subsequently our men) into the role of house and bed servants of white america instead of being the foundation for our Black childrens' future and the inspiration of the Black man's masculinity ; in Algeria, for certain historical reasons, this attempt at destruction of the woman's role in general never succeeded.

Thus our family structure is, generally, disemboweled, but in colonized Algeria, the French were continually trying to rape the Algerian family, and destroy its tenacity.

Our oppressor is doing everything that is in his power to see that our Brothers and Sisters do not succeed in rebuilding and reuniting our families, because this would depreciate his power in exploiting us politically, economically, psychologically, and sexually!!

Have you looked at the "new", "uncensored" Negro Heritage Library ? The first volume is devoted to the American Negro Women. There is no volume in the set concerned with American Negro Men ; nor do they plan to publish one.

Have you attended the latest nigger-bourgeoisie gimmick ? It is a tea-conference entitled : "American Negro Woman in The Great Society."

Have you seen the intellectually pornographic film, "The Pawnbroker," where a Black woman with natural hair is a prostitute for a persecuted (sic!) Jewish pawnbroker ?

* * * * *



Of course our Black women, who have never ceased to struggle against our oppressors, do not wear haiks*, but they, as the Algerian Muslim women, have been victimized by a different beast with the same premise : " In the colonialist program it was the woman who was given the historic mission of shaking up the Algerian (read the Afro-american) man converting the woman, winning her over to the foreign values, wrenching her free from her status, was at the same time achieving a real power over the man and attaining a practical, effective means of destruc-

turing Algerian (Afroamerican) culture." (p. 39)

Fanon, in the course of the first chapter, explains that the Algerian women preserved the wearing of the veil not so much because they loved the custom, but because they viewed this custom as a symbol of resistance against their white oppressor. He goes on to say that when an unveiled appearance became the best form of resistance against colonialism the women quickly shifted to it -- and the Algerian men likewise accepted it.

This concept of resistance put forth by Fanon strikes me of paramount importance. He sees it as the main reason that colonial peoples do not perform well in areas that colonialists dictate as of being of crucial value. Thus, by implication, he denies such theories that colonial people lack "motivation." (which is a terribly vague notion since no one can measure "motivation") Now if one is to apply Fanon's theory of resistance to the Afroamerican masses one must ask this question: Is it because Afroamerican people are resisting any further encroachment on the identity of Black America that they do not perform well in areas that white, western American cultural values prescribe them to do well? If this question is asked when applying it to a specific situation it must be remembered that: "This rejection of the conqueror assumes original forms, according to circumstances or to the type of colonial situation." (p. 41)



If my frame of reference on this latter point is correct, and there is no reason to think that it is not, then effective Black leadership must realize that we must examine the how our people resist our oppressor, and then scientifically ascertain whether these means are effective in sustaining our identity. If they are not effective -- and often they are not -- then we must show ourselves new ways to resist the oppression heaped on our still undeveloped nation. Hence by organizing in this context our features as a nation will qualitatively increase, for Fanon says this is what happened:

"The same time that the colonized man braces himself to reject oppression, a radical transformation takes place within him which makes any attempt to maintain the colonial system impossible and shocking." (p. 179)

I am not saying that an attitude of resistance necessarily explains all the indifference of the Black American masses to struggling to enter the "white-stream". But I am convinced it explains it more than such theories as ~~our-people-have-no-motivation-because-we-do-not-have-any-racial-pride~~. On the contrary, Blacks with less race pride than the Afroamerican masses show better performances in western cultural situations. (e.g. the Black bourgeoisie in U. S., and in the West Indies) Another thorn in the side of this race pride theory is: The Black American masses commit the most crimes, that is, physical aggression against each other. However, the Black American bourgeoisie display less physical aggression against each other, but are inflicted with more self-hate than the Black masses. Why?? It is very probable that Fanon's theory explains it.

(I want to make it very clear that I am not denigrating the necessity of our people restoring our racial pride. It is unquestionable a prerequisite in our struggle for Black liberation; but it is not a panacea for our ills.)

* * * * *

Looking superficially at the chapter on the Algerian family, an Afro-american might think there is nothing there that is relevant for understanding the Afroamerican family. For the Afroamerican family is, more often than not, a disrupted social unit where women suffer from too much freedom from their men. But in prerevolutionary 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.

At another point Fanon gives proof to my contention that this book is very applicable to Afreamerica :

"There is, first of all, the fact that the colonized person, who in this respect is like the men in underdeveloped countries or the disinherited in all parts of the world, perceives life not as a flowering or a development of an essential productiveness, but as a permanent struggle against an omnipresent death. This ever-menacing death is experienced as endemic famine, unemployment, high death rate, and inferiority complex and the absence of any hope for the future." (p.128)

This description fits our people like it was a glove especially patterned for each one of us.

So it is Fanon, the Black revolutionary psychiatrist, who understands our problems infinitely more than the american "marxist-leninists", who incessantly use their bullshit that they try to pass off as "science", and push upon us their white dope that they call women to denigrate and to sabotage our national struggle against "an omnipresent death."

But as Gilly forthrightly states in his introduction :

"Nations fall, armies collapse, businesses close or are expropriated, colonists flee, a city is destroyed by bombardment, but the masses go on living; they tenaciously recreate themselves, bury their dead, and go forward." (p.15)

This is what we, the Black American masses, are now doing without either white women, american "marxists", or "the great society", and are arming ourselves with the revolutionary ideas of Frantz Fanon, and soon with modern guns.



NOW IN ITS 2nd YEAR of PUBLICATION...

SOULBOOK

**the quarterly journal of
revolutionary afroamerica**

still 'uptight'

and 'clean out of sight!'



COMING NEXT ISSUE

PARTIAL CONTENTS OF SOULBOOK 5:

- * Two Black Nationalist Philosophies:
Harold Cruse and the Nation of Islam—an estimate.... Harry Haywood
- * Notes On James Boggs' American Revolution (2).....
..... Ernie Allen and Kenn M. Freeman
- * Toussaint Louverture..... Aimé Césaire
- * Jobs and the Afroamerican..... Peter Labrie
- * The Economic Decline of the Third World..... Mariella Bosc
- * Bitter Harvest..... Anita Cornwell
- * Notes On the Tri-Continental Conference..... Kenn M. Freeman
- * Reject Notes..... poetry from the souls of black folk

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

SEE FRONT PAGE FOR RATES

SOULBOOK

#5



SOULBOOK

CONTENTS

editorial	1	RICHARD GIBSON, LIBERATOR
bobb hamilton	2	LETTER TO SOULFOLK
p.k. laballo	4	HOW THE COUP IN GHANA WILL AFFECT THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE
ed bullins	12	TOWARDS A REAL BLACK THEATRE
guillermo hoke	14	THE MARKET OF THE DEAD
hassan	17	MEDITATIONS IN SCARLET HUE
doug allen	21	OTIS GOES INTO THE ARMY
<u>REJECT NOTES</u>	26	poetry by clarence major, ernie allen, john fischer, patricia parker, bobb hamilton, k. william kgositsile
willie green	62	THE WORLD IS THE BLACK MAN'S LAND
carol freeman	62	THINGS THAT GO BUMP IN THE NIGHT
anita cornwell	65	THE BITTER HARVEST
ernie allen	69	STATEMENT ON THE WHITE MAN'S DRAFT
harry haywood	70	IS THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THE LEADER OF THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE?
paul lantimo	76	HAITI: A BLACK REVOLUTION WILL REPEAT ITSELF

CREDITS:

front cover photo: andrew hill
by jim henton
sculpture on pg. 18
from evergreen magazine

NOW IN ITS 2nd YEAR of PUBLICATION...

SOULBOOK

**the quarterly journal of
revolutionary afroameri**

**do it, do it, do it-
to DEATH!**

PARTIAL CONTENTS OF SOULBOOK 6 :

- *The World is the Black Man's Land
Part 11..... Willie Green
- *Neo-Colonialism and Jamaica..... Dennis Daly
- *The Nation of Islam - an estimate..... Harry Haywood
- *On the Question of Allies..... Alvin Morrell
- *"Love Me", A Review of Sex and Racism
by Calvin Hernton..... Ernie Allen
- *Reject Notes..... poetry from the souls of black folk

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

effective SOULBOOK 6 subscription rates will be \$3.00 inside u.s. , \$3.50 Europe, \$2.25 Africa, Asia, South and Central America; annual subscription by airmail, u.s. \$6.00, outside u.s. \$7.50. There will be four issues in an annual subscription. one will cost \$0.75

Subscriptions before publication on date of SOULBOOK 6
will be honored at the old subscription rates

jazz
economics
poetry
anti-imperialism

SOULBOOK

the quarterly journal
of revolutionary
afroamerica

p. o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. (racist u. s. a.)

editorial board: donald freeman, issac moore, ernie allen
leo r. huey, alvin morrell, kenn m. freeman, carroll
holmes, bobb hamilton.
new york representative: bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, new york,
new york.
distribution manager: harold robinson

volume 2

number 1

cable address : EMIR

summer 1966

annual subscription by ordinary mail, \$2.25 inside u. s.
\$3.50 outside u. s.; annual subscription by airmail, u. s.
\$4.50, outside u. s. \$7.50. there are four issues in an annual sub-
scription. one copy costs: \$0.65

Copyright, 1966 by SOULBOOK inc., p. o. box 1097, berkeley, calif. 94701
all rights reserved. all correspondence concerning manuscripts & business
matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p. o. box 1097 berkeley, calif. 94701
or bobb hamilton, 350 bowery, New York 3, N. Y.

bobb hamilton

LETTER TO SOULFOLK

If James Farmer, Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, et al represent the mainstream of the Civil Rights Movement, they are, at the most, a meandering stream. The term "mainstream" is a trick phrase invented by the white liberals and the Uncle Toms to put the stamp of "abnormal" or irresponsible on those intelligent black spokesmen who refuse to be bought by, or to support white paternalism.

The Black middle class is the reservoir from which the white power-structure draws its hand-picked niggers to speak for us. These two groups are allies, and they have conspired together to create a swamp called "Civil Rights" in which we are expected to flounder through, through the quick-sand, through the sink-holes to the Promised Land of Integration on the other side. And while we toil through this morass, our "leaders" are riding on our backs sneering and laughing and talking pride in "how high they have risen." If anything good for the Black man came out of that white family fight called World War 11, and the imperialist "police actions" that followed in Asia, it was the opportunity for many black people here, who were not members of the niggeratti set, to get a higher education or a better look at this out-house called the "Great Society." It is this new crop of blacks, young thinking black men who are able to see through the hypocrisy and double-dealing of this white society that is causing the so-called leaders and their white masters to tremble! The difference between a civil righter and a black radical is the willingness of the latter to learn from the past and to change his behavior in the light of the lesson he has learned.

The black radical is not concerned about presenting a good image for themselves! The black radical is not willing to sit down with crackers and "negotiate" his dignity as though it were a piece of real-estate: he affirms his dignity by demanding to be respected now, not next year or ten years from now when a new law goes into effect. Four hundred years is long enough to wait. If the crackers were sincere about their so-called democracy, they would have changed their actions long ago. The black bourgeoisie civil rightists have not been able to face up to the fact that white folks respect power and power alone! Passive resistance and "moral force" have only reassured whitey that we are fools. And that we can be deceived forever. The fact that non-violent "training" is directed at making meek Negroes and not propagandized amongst the Klansmen and the cracker "citizens" councils shows the flabby tongued white liberal for the moral gangster that he is and it shows King up for the fool that he is. Let him teach the white folks non-violence. The phony legislation and the tokenism we get in return is too little for us to allow our women and children to be beaten and degraded while we stand around wringing our hands and singing hymns, meanwhile the white folks continue to rule and to prosper at our expense. The black radical is not only willing to die for his rights, he is willing to kill for them also. It will not be as easy ever again to lynch another 3,407 blacks; the Deacons and others of us will see to that. The enforced projects cannot hold us back nor deceive us any longer, the Times, the Post, and the Daily News notwithstanding.

We are ready to use the power we have at hand to make some real changes, and that's what the fight over the Civil Rights Conference was all about. We back Stokely Carmichael 100% in his statement on why S. N. C. C. withdrew from the Johnson sponsored circus with the nigger clowns.

That hard black knot in the bowels of America is gathering its strength, and we intend to "work out."

Keep on pushing!!!

how the coup in ghana will affect the african liberation struggle

The U.S. - British-West German-Israel Imperialists and their agents are now in Ghana. The question is what do they want in Accra.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, "South Africa", has withdrawn its Representative and students from Ghana. In the light of recent developments in Ghana, inspired and engineered by the United States-British imperialists, it became necessary to review our continued presence in Ghana. The imperialist controlled mutineers, however, have clearly indicated that support to National Liberation Movements will cease. If this attitude was not adopted the Pan Africanist Congress would nevertheless have withdrawn and closed its office in Ghana as a matter of principle.

In Ghana today reaction is on the rampage and an ideological witch-hunt is on. The very essence of this mutiny is mass arrest, murder and pillage. Hundreds of people were killed, and several hundreds

Brother Laballo is the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa.

seriously wounded. Amongst those killed were General Bawah and his gallant men who died in defence of the Flagstaff House, the President's office. They fought for twenty-four hours to the last man. Over two thousand people were arrested and detained without trial, in fact, more political opponents than it is claimed that President Nkrumah detained.

Ghana which was once a Mecca of the African freedom-fighters has been reduced to an arch neo-colonialist state to serve the interest of United States and British imperialism. Thus the present temporary set back in Ghana is not only a set back for the people of Ghana but for all the anti-imperialist forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

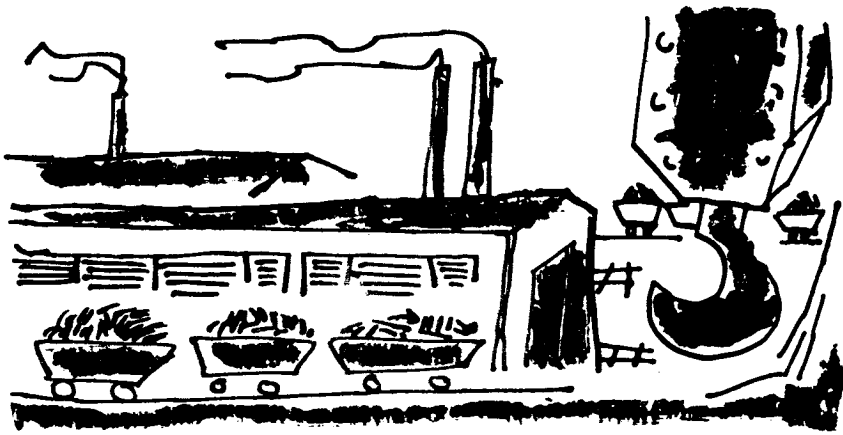
The so-called National Liberation Council regards the maintenance of freedom-fighters offices at the Bureau of African Affairs, Ghana as having been a "prestige project" and constitute a nest to engineer subversions (in our case) "against the lawful government of South Africa." Under imperialist guidance they ejected all freedom-fighters from the African Affairs Centre, at gun-point, and left them stranded in the streets. The imperialist Ankrah Mutineer clique has also ejected African Liberation Movements from their offices, in the African Unity House in London, a building given to African Liberation Movements by President Nkrumah to maintain their offices and project and struggle against imperialist oppression in their respective countries.

The hospitality extended to African Liberation Movements by the people of Ghana and the Government of President Nkrumah was revoked, and with ruthlessness, too. This imperialist puppet Ankrah mutineer clique must be crushed if the African Revolution is to succeed and it can only succeed if President Nkrumah is returned to Ghana by the people and forthwith.

IMPERIALIST PLOT NO. 1

It is abundantly clear that the mutiny is designed, instigated and stage managed by United States-British-West German-Israel imperialism and their agents. I want to make the following reference to substantiate:

- (1) It was a known fact that President Kwame Nkrumah was totally opposed to imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in practical steps too. At no stage did President Nkrumah waver in his opposition to imperialism, colonialism



and neo-colonialism and this was his greatest asset and was manifested in many ways.

- (2) The imperialists harboured jealousy over his peace mission to Hanoi, the centre of U.S. Imperialist aggression, for President Nkrumah was the first African Head of State to undertake a visit to Vietnam. The imperialists knew he would score a major achievement for Africa and thereby establish his position as an outstanding world statesman of our time. The imperialists were also jealous over his successful socialist, revolutionary economy in Ghana.
- (3) The running dogs of the imperialists in Ghana, have with conceited pride, informed the imperialists that President Nkrumah provided freedom-fighters from non-independent African States with necessary military training in order that they liberate their respective countries in Africa. The so-called National Liberation Council collected the imperialist ~~new~~ men and took them on an organized tour of the secret military camps set up by President Nkrumah. They exposed to the imperialists the type of training the freedom-fighters received, their numbers and their country of origin. By informing the world press that President Nkrumah trained freedom-fighters, the members of the so-called National Liberation Council could only be serving the interests of the imperialists.

- 7
- (4) Two South African White reporters were among those present when the local reactionaries conducted foreign journalists on their guided tours of secret training camps for freedom-fighters and pointing out freedom-fighters and arms used by them during training. The Two south African Journalists came via London. Our attention was directed towards them by a B.B.C. Correspondent who was arranging hotel accommodation for them.
 - (5) The Verwoerd-Salazar-Smith-Franco Axis, the arch imperialist agents in Africa sent spies, disguised as pressmen, to collect information on military plans. These plans are designed to herald the doom of this racist axis. Even if they succeed in collecting information from the imperialist backed Ankrah clique their doom is inevitable and they shall be ground into powder by the invincible forces of Pan Africanism.
 - (6) The Ankrah regime handed to the Portuguese colonialists freedom-fighters from Equatorial Guinea. The Portuguese Colonialists sent a military plane to collect these freedom-fighters.

Thus we of the liberation movements cannot see how liberation plans of the Organization of African Unity will in future be kept from our imperialist enemies if representatives of the so-called National Liberation Council pursue this attitude. This is, indeed, gross betrayal of Africa's Revolution against imperialists and their puppets. How then can the Ankrah clique be still allowed to associate itself with the OAU when in actual fact Ankrah clique is obviously an imperialist agent to spy for its imperialist masters in the Councils of the OAU Conferences?

POPULAR RESISTENCE:

It is abundantly clear that the broad masses of the people of Ghana still remain loyal to Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The so-called National Liberation Council has vigorously applied the tactic of deceit and circulation of false propaganda through the local press, Radio and television which they control. Permit me to quote to you the type of support they claim in local newspapers and use this to induce the rank and file to support the mutiny.

On Thursday 1st March, 1966 the local newspapers carried headlines such as "NLC delegation recognised by OAU" and the article went on to say: "a three man Ghanaian delegation to the Sixth Ordinary Session of

the Ministerial Conference of the Organization of African Unity which opened in Addis Abbaba yesterday was given recognition and warm welcome by the whole thirty-six (36) Member African States represented. After the recognition, all the representatives went over to shake hands and congratulated the Ghana delegation." This as we know is a blatant lie. The walk out of nine (9) African countries from the 6th Ordinary Session of the Organisation of African Unity's Ministerial Council was strictly suppressed by the Ankrah clique.

The so-called National Liberation Council also attempted to win the support of the broad masses of the people by announcing the release of some five hundred and fifty (550) prisoners but refrained from clarifying that over three hundred (300) were criminals. The so-called National Liberation Council hoped by this "humanitarian" act to impress the Ghanaian people, but failed dismally.

Mock demonstrations, stage managed by the so-called National Liberation Council are given wide publicity and reports are grossly exaggerated. A demolition squad pulled down Osagyefo's statue and it was reported that it was the work of the people displaying their resentment to President Nkrumah.

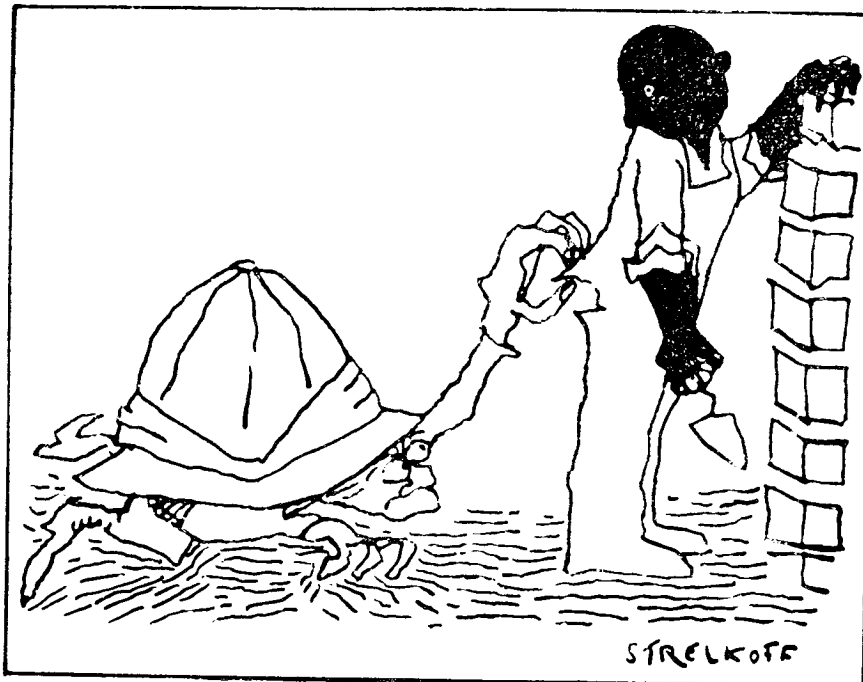
Many more examples can be quoted to illustrate the unpopularity of the Mutiny of Ghana.

The reactionaries in Ghana live in perpetual fear and therefore are making frantic appeals to their imperialist masters for assistance. Their fear of the people and President Nkrumah was expressed when Osagyefo broadcast to the nation from Guinea. Immediately the so-called National Liberation Council ordered the confiscation of all radio apparatus from the Ghanaian people. Their dictatorial suppression need no elaboration here except that the so-called National Liberation Council accused President Nkrumah of being a dictator!

Pamphlets, placards and slogans have now appeared in the streets of Accra and on the walls against the Ankrah Imperialist puppet clique. The people's resistance is now being intensified. Ankrah's army patrols are now being ambushed and this Ankrah admitted by warning Ghanaian people of these clashes through radio and television.

ATTEMPTS AT VILIFYING THE OSAGYEFO PRESIDENT NKRUMAH

The so-called National Liberation Council has vainly attempted to discredit the Osagyefo President Nkrumah accusing him of lavish



spending. They even went to the extent to attacking his morals. All these are nothing but diabolical, malicious falsehoods.

In order to win support the so-called National Liberation Council is engaged in vicious, deliberate, dirty propaganda attacks of vilification and falsehood against President Nkrumah. Ankrah and his clique are trying to hide their own murderous deeds of blood-bath mutiny in Ghana behind these vilifications.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT NKRUMAH AND PRESIDENT TOURE:

President Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana is the torchlight of the African Revolution, his ideology of African Nationalism and Pan Africanism as a higher continental philosophy has successfully led the

African Revolution. As a result of the permeation throughout the African Continent of this philosophical outlook we have witnessed the

emergence of some thirty-five (35) Independent African States, we have witnessed the formation of the Organization of the African Unity, we have witnessed the anti-imperialist upsurge in Africa, we have witnessed destruction of colonialism and neo-colonialism, we are witnessing the revolutionary armed struggle by the oppressed people in the still dependent states. President Nkrumah's contribution to Africa's liberation and his ultimate goal of one government for all Africa shall always remain indelible in the minds of the present generation and the coming generations of Africa.

Gentlemen, I must say, Ghana without Nkrumah is no more and without Nkrumah and Toure there can be no Africa.

Long Live Osagyefo President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah of the Republic of Ghana!

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURE:

President of the Republic of Guinea, the greatest son of Africa is the rescuer of the torch-light of the African Revolution. We pay the highest tribute to him and the heroic people of Guinea for being in the fore-front against imperialist aggression in Africa. We of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) unequivocally pledge resolute support to President Sekou Toure's positive action to crush forthwith the United States-British-imperialist inspired mutiny in Ghana. The running dogs of the imperialists in Africa must be fought to the finish, or else we must go under and perish if we fail to do so. However with the imperialist inspired mutiny against President Nkrumah of Ghana, the African Revolution has suffered a temporary set-back. We call upon the people to rise and reverse the situation in Ghana.

WE DEMAND:

- (1) That the Organization of African Unity (OAU) bar the imperialist puppet regime of Ankrah from participating in all deliberations of the OAU and,
- (2) that the imperialist-puppet regime of Ankrah be isolated at all International Conferences and from association with Afro-Asian Countries.
- (3) The organization of African Unity (OAU) in pursuance of its Charter must destroy neo-colonialism in Ghana by all means at its disposal, including armed intervention.
- (4) The expulsion of all imperialist agents from the OAU and that

the OAU must take on a revolutionary outlook and carry forward the banner of African Revolution.

- (5) That the Ankrah clique return to all expelled liberatory movements based in Accra, their property including files and confidential documents, which if exposed may prove detrimental to the liberation of the still dependent territories.

AFRICA'S FUTURE:

The tide of imperialist aggression in Africa must be halted forthwith. Actions of our great revolutionary leaders in Africa, during the mutiny in Ghana, cast a flicker of hope for the African Revolution.

In his speech at Suez President Gamal Abdul Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic in reference to the imperialist coup in Ghana, categorically stated the attitude Africa must adopt towards imperialist subversion and aggression.

"We must break their legs!" This was President Nasser's advice to all anti-imperialist forces in Africa.

Let us take this as our guiding factor in dealing with imperialists.

President Kenneth Kaunda, has guided us in the attitude we must adopt towards the running dogs of the imperialists. President Kaunda refused to receive in his country a delegation sent by Ankrah clique regime. We must have nothing to do with the running dogs of the imperialists.

If we in Africa adopt the attitudes of President Nasser and President Kaunda we would know who are the enemies of African Revolution and how to deal with them. Thus we must denounce as imperialist collaborators All those countries that have given recognition to the Ankrah clique.

CONCLUSION:

It is imperative that the peoples of Africa should rise and check the infiltration of imperialists and neo-colonialists aggression in Africa and their running dogs must be fought and crushed if Africa is to enjoy her fruits of genuine freedom. GENTLEMEN, We have been challenged!!!

Long live the African Revolution!!!

ed bullins

towards a real black theater

"... then when you speak of reality...it's a complete illusion."
"Yeah, that's it...that illusion among the rest."

From a conversation with Marjorie

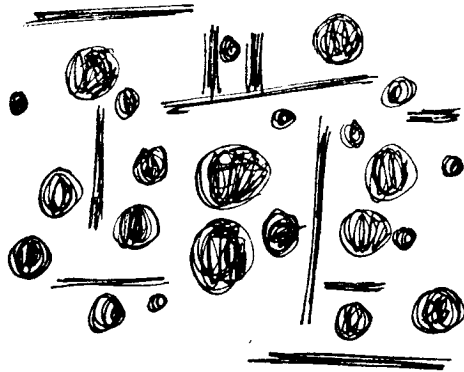
The popular "liberal" white patronizing condescension of today(1966) has given some black artists an easily accessible "Revolutionary" image. It is a legitimate preoccupation for some, though this "Revolutionary" image for most has taken the form of merely fantasizing the sentiments and dreams of radical appearing black groups; for the black artist has but to display the proper and genuine anger and hate for whites, possess the questionable ability to express this repugnance to his white reader and audience, then stand back and measure his skill as an artist by the criteria of whether the whites feel properly flogged, expiated, and apologetic for being white. Of course, for the black audience and reader, their measure of appreciation comes from their feelings of smugness and superiority as the white victim writhes on the rack of his conscience and guilt, screaming petitions to black artists: "I'm sorry! I'm sorry! What did I do? What can I do to help?" Normally, the comeback to these ignorant, naive complacent white questions is: "You can die, mathafukker!"

Yes, the black artist can feel superior in doing this, and the black

audience is quite safe, being far from the onslaught, as well as being quite distant from a literature in which the black man can find any identity other than as executioner.

But in these times when the Negro has gotten his thirty pieces of silver in the form of "Wars on Poverty" to aid in systematically exterminating "little brown men" in foreign wars, and in these times when the Negro refuses to speak out for his own her of popular culture, Cassius Clay; for the MAN is down on "dat" boy, and in these times when blacks are the hired assassins of a spiritual hero, a black prince among ALL men; Malcolm X, it is empty, obscene and hypocritical for the black writer to stick his head in the sand and only criticize the safe white liberal targets who are too degenerate and sick to strike back. If all the above is worth integrating into the American culture, then the black artist should be the first to say, FUCK IT!

A black writer is an absurd and foolish phenomenon in contemporary America: he must either revolt in safe paper and ink revolutions or go trip the light fantastic in the weird madhouses of the white academies, esthetics, and archaic logic. For there can be no art for the black, no tangible cultural identity until he first directs his art toward his people.



In the Theatre of Black Arts "liberal" whites who come to be

"whupped" should bring their own whips, clubs, cudgels, bludgeons, and ropes.

This artist's budget can not absorb expensive frills, and, besides, his arms tire easily.

the market of the dead

14



guillermo hoke

To show only the superficiality of a frightening drama that made Peru drowsy for three centuries, an agency in the service of Northamerican imperialism says that a southern district of Peru, Puno, which has the largest indigenous population in the Fatherland of the Incas, the Indians sell their children for 100 to 200 pesos.

This notice that stood out in daily newspapers as something to read between smiles or changes

of expression, nevertheless has its more painfully profound meaning. Let us rapidly take a look at it.

In Peru, where 70.3% of its population is found infested with T. B. - as stated in 1961 by the Secretariat of Health of my home province, there exist five million Indians, the major part grouped in 1,792 indigenous communities that occupy the highbarren plains, uneven, inhospitable land; the Andean heights where piercingly cold wind reigns, the Indians feed themselves--if what they eat is food--dried potatoes and meal salad of wilted cabbage and one or another seed of the highlands.

The Indians, because of their sparse diet, have an average life of 30 years. At the present time they serve only as flesh for the silver, copper, and gold mines that the Northamerican enterprises control. The pneumonia and T. B. continues to add to the barbarous amount of eight million Indians that the Spanish conquistadors murdered. The creole liberator that followed Bolivar and San Martin in the feats of 1810 had transformed into the neo-spaniard who with more refinement and greater greed exploited the indigenes after having snatched away his lands, his women, and his thin children.

As previously mentioned, the existing Andean Sierras are an immense cemetery where live the would be heirs of the extensive and socialist Incan Empire. From those rich lands where the loaded boats of gold and silver for the finery and extravagant eloquence of the Spanish monarchy were departing, only holes remain. Today, with four centuries of the most infamous conquest of all times the indigenous race has only the limits of pain, misery, sickness, and cocaine.

After Indians give birth to sick children -- already bodies with accusing eyes -- many times they will take their children directly to the cemeteries; thus saving themselves courses of pain and shame. Those that save themselves -- and they are very few -- run the lucky risk of being sold in the public markets. And not for profit, fraud, or for contraband nor inhumanization, no; the Indians sell their children to save them from a certain and terrible death; death by hunger!

Thus at least they sustain themselves with the bitter consolation that their beloved children are going to see much of the wide world, they are going to know the cities, they are going to be educated in order to redeem, someday, their castigated race. With this oppressed hope they auction their children off for 100 pesos and then, in their grief get themselves drunk and cry for entire weeks; that is until their eyes dry up or they die out in the brutal, savage, and frosty weather.

The cables of the imperialist only told us of the ridiculous sale of children. They did not say that behind each child that is sold goes the grave accusation against the present and past Peruvian governments. Nothing was expressed of the conditions under which these Indians live. These people have no knowledge of what milk or fruit looks like, nor what a decent roof over their heads is like. Equally, nothing is said in this same Puno of their misfortunes; that the Indians eat

dirt for the want of food.

In the interim while in the Sierras the Indians sell their children in order to save them, in Lima (the Peruvian Capital) a lying and cowardly oligarchy enjoys everything, hoarding their money in banks in New York, London, or Switzerland and vacation on the Blue Coast of Miami or Hawaii. That oligarchy consists of 25 families; 101 men and 14 women who neither are Peruvians nor to whom Peru owe anything. And on the other hand Yankee imperialism disposes of 92% of the National rent, legislates in its favor, and imposes conditions in order to appoint life or death to the Peruvians.

In the presence of this picture of incredible and infernal truth selling indigenous children is justifiable. Also we radicals lose our sons in the wilderness on account of hunger, because we lack the courage of selling them in order to save them; we still have our barbaric desire of possessing our sons, besides possessing our ardent revolutionary desire; meanwhile our Indians of so much pain and death have remained without anything inside, as the rocks, as the brooks, as the hills.



This article was translated from the Spanish text that appeared in Politica (Mexico City)

MEDITATIONS IN SCARLET HUE

by hassan

Clouds of clouds clouded my inner-resolve; life's crimson liquid rushed vehemently through the gray ducts of my inner-body, and the image of handwriting scribbled across a dirty wall flashed on my mind's taut screen. It read: "IT IS PAST THE SEVENTH HOUR OF RECKONING: THE SCALES OF JUSTICE HAVE TARNISHED WAITING FOR THE MEASUREMENT OF EQUALITY: PLEAS FOR INTEGRATION HAVE BECOME AN ABYSS OF SHAME, AND ALL ATTEMPTS TO MAKE WHITE AMERICA HONOR HER OWN IDEALS HAVE BECOME AS FRIVOLOUS AS A GRAIN OF SAND ON THE SAHARA. GO! STAND IN THE STREET, AND LET WINDY LIES BLOW YOU INTO THE INKY ARMS OF YOUR SEQUESTERING MILITANT BROTHERS, WHO REFUSE TO PAY ALLIGENCE TO A WORLD THAT PAYS THEM NO ALLIGENCE."

a tall white man, dressed in a red, white and blue colored suit, stopped out of a gossamer cloud of red smoke that had suddenly materialized in front of the dirty wall. He pulled out his penis and started urinating on the admonishing words that were scribbled on the wall. A fat ugly-looking Negro, dressed in an ivy-league suit, stepped out of a tree, pulled out his penis, and urinated on the wall.

I saw the faces of a thousand-thousand black men. The faces grew larger and larger until they fused into one huge angry looking face. The face spoke; "I cry out in blatant indignation at the cowardise quibble of America's black bootlickers - - the black



establishment!. I vomit each time I hear that dastardly rant of nonsense, 'if any blood flows, let it be ours.' I scoff at the uncouth sycophants who have exalted themselves above my brothers in the black slums. I have taken my position, and now I am ready to brave the task of wielding the scissors of liberation and snip the strings that are holding up America's modern day Punch and Judys. I have slipped on the mailed gloves of battle and sound the call of contest against my pale foes and their sable lackeys--the prize? Freedom or Death. I have imbibed the black truth that filled the hearts of Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, Marcus Garvey, Patrice Lumumba, and that trojan black prince of our times, Malcolm X, who had their regal hands on the doorknob of black sovereignty, but were blasted into martyrdom, with the cry of freedom ringing from their precious ebony lips. I have rid myself of always judging my brothers through the eyes of those who would look at them with hatred and disgust. I can now see, with crystal clarity that America has always been a battle field with my pale enemies stalking the naked streets of night in search of black blood to quench the perverted thirst of the Dracula and Vampires lurking behind satanic smiles. But I, who have at last found the face of my father, will not turn the other cheek just to placate the whims of that paradoxical book filled with ominous parables; i will fight my oppressors with every ounce of strength i have, and when I can no longer lift my blood-stained hands, rather than submit, I will gladly die the unsung death of a revolutionary, amid the brainwashed jeers of my socially indoctrinated brothers. And do not place my body in some polished mahogany casket and eulogize me with Uncle Tom folklore -- but rather, burn my body and scatter my ashes in the narrow, sordid streets of the black slums, where my black soul dwells." I AWOKE....

The liberation struggle poses demands which require boldness in action and in thought. And boldness can give rise to over-hastiness, the source of imperfections and errors... No matter! The movement proves its mettle on the march. In these days it is still better to stumble than to remain seated. Quick march!

Majhemout Diop

RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF AFRO AMERICANS IN THE U.S.A.
 (Passed by the First Conference of Solidarity of the African, Asian
 and Latin American Peoples held in Havana, Cuba, Jan. 3 to 12, 1966)

Considering:

1. That racial violence and brutal discrimination in the United States against Afro-American men, women and children and the white humanitarians who sympathize with them is another manifestation of the exploitation of man by man;
2. That the Afro-Americans have the universal and inalienable right to legitimate defense, just as all other oppressed people who struggle under the most brutal repression and tyranny, for human rights and full liberation;
3. That the struggle of the Afro-Americans against racial oppression in the United States has never been so wide-spread or so violent, and that the people in the black ghettos are increasingly identifying their struggle for liberation with that of the oppressed and exploited peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America;
4. That during the rioting in Watts (Los Angeles) and Chicago, Afro-Americans openly proclaimed they were fighting a common cause with their Vietnamese brothers against racism and North American imperialism;
5. That, 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;

BE IT RESOLVED:

1. To strongly support the Afro-Americans in their struggle for human rights and survival, in common with the progressive forces which defend this struggle.
2. To condemn the murder of Malcolm X, the arbitrary imprisonment of William Epton, and likewise other victims of the violence unleashed by imperialism against the leaders and militants who face it.

OTIS GOES INTO

THE ARMY

doug allen

"Join Uncle Sam's Army and be prepared!", the big neon sign implored.

Otis Washington rubbed the top of his wooly head, scratched under his arm, and shuffled into the Army Induction Center. The room was crowded with sweaty bodies, and a few heads, looked up at him as he came through. Most were lost in deep thought or murmuring nervously to their new buddies.

A broad-shouldered sergeant came up to Otis.

"Yeah, can I help you?", he said gruffly.

"Yeah," he said, scratching behind his ear and pulling out his induction notice. "The people sent me this here letter an' told me I was supposed to come and get in the army."

"Have a seat, have a seat.", the man said as he took the letter from Otis. "I'm the Induction Officer."

"Yeah, that's what I come here about," Otis said, grinning. "I wanted to see if I could get sent over there to Viet Nam."

"Wait a minute. You say you want to be sent to Viet Nam?"

Otis Nodded.

"That's curious," the Induction Officer said. "Tell me, why do you want to be sent to Viet Nam?"

"I just wantto help my country, that's all." Otis said, "fighting them there Buddhist priests that've been talking all that mess against the U.S. government."

The Induction Officer shook his head. "No, I'm sorry. Government

troops aren't allowed to interfere in internal politics--"

"No-no," Otis protested, mulelike. "I been reading in the papers how them priests been stirring up trouble, and I'm going to take a machine gun and blast the hell out of them!"

The Induction Officer winced and wrote something on the letter in front of him.

"Well, perhaps you won't get sent to Viet Nam," he said. "How would you like to do duty in Germany?"

"Oh hell yeah, I'd like to go to Germany!" Otis exclaimed. "I been reading up on how all Nazis treated the Jews. Man, I'm gonna shoot every German I see--"

The officer erased what he had put on the letter and wrote something else, glancing at Otis and shaking his head.

"No, Germany just doesn't seem right for you," he said. "Now I suppose you'd be a little happier doing duty here in the United States where you can be close to home."

:Yeah, I've been meaning to have a word with somebody about that,: Otis said. "I'd like to get stationed in one of them Southern bases where I can be next to some of them places where they've got Ku Klux Klan. I figured that me and a bunch of my friends could go around and clean up that place in nothing flat--"

The Induction Officer sighed and stamped something on the letter as he handed it back to Otis.

"Tell you what," he said, "We're a little high on recruits right now. Why don't you come back in a little while. Like a month or so--?"



ON LEADERSHIP

"Nobody can have correct insights into a nation's problems all of the time, and still less act on their behalf for history has never been otherwise than the direct result of action by the crowd, on nature and society."
President Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea

" A leader is always a superior person, even though his superiority is not immediately visible beyond this pulling power. His psychological finesse permits him to feel the deep pulse of the people. His intellectual maturity permits him to transform these perceptions into a program of political action. His spiritual loftiness is invested with a certain suicidal quality which carries him forward to the dangerous post, to where are posted the machine-guns of the police. The people follow him, because he and the people complete each other."

Juan Arevalo, former President of the Republic of Guatemala

" A mature leader will be he, that has thrown off the yoke of his family's oppression, the yoke of the white man's oppressive culture and who has risen above his own fear of death and feels within himself that he is a man who wants to join with all real men to make possible all things. He will radiate power, not possess it. He is a man and from this knowledge all things will come. He has to have a little bit of Robert Williams, Marcus Garvey, Fidel Castro, Frederick Douglas, Nat Turner, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Arthur Reid, Randolph Wilson, Malcolm X, Nkrumah, Mao-Tse-Tung. He has to be young.....

Louise Moore, a strong revolutionary Black woman. *

* quoted from Liberator magazine

In every organization, school, group, or community whether large or small, importance must be given to the establishment of a nucleus of leadership. The criteria for such a leading group should be absolute devotion to the cause, contact with the people, ability independently to find one's bearings and observance of discipline whether in carrying out central tasks or checking up on work, it is necessary to adopt the method of linking the leading group with the people, in addition to linking theory with practice.

Mao-Tse-Tung, Supreme leader of the Chinese Peoples' Republic

What is needed is unity. Unity and discipline. Unity and discipline and a solid, correct leadership. Leadership which can never be bought over. Leadership which does not think of itself. Leadership which could never be isolated from the people. That is the kind of leadership which helped us to overthrow this double deck system of oppression.

Mohammed Abdul Rahman Babu, Minister of Cooperatives of Tanzania

The African-American revolutionary awaits the day when Black humanism will prevail over white decadent materialism; for on that day the oppressed will see the sunrise again, the redeemers will walk the earth, Hiram shall awaken and the meek shall inherit the earth! Up you mighty revolutionaries, you can accomplish what you will!!

Moses Jefferson, a Black american revolutionary



READ

burning spear

for information, write

BURNING SPEAR

1462 HAIGHT STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

c/o Vincent Lynch

clarence major
ernie allen
john fischer
patricia parker
bobb hamilton
k w kgositsile

reject notes



BLACK CRIMINAL

I knew that with the gun
strapped to my chest
I carried a warning. I knew
that with the weight
of my oppressors system
upon me, I carried a double
death warning.
For I had not sworn to protect
his beliefs,
his dreams, his vision of me.
I had declared myself,
saw the "me" --the "I"
& I was not going to be patient
enough to wait until
the coming of a way from the empassé

I was to live now.

Even dead

clarence major

to Akilimali (whose richness is in reason and in love)

naked laughter altogether stripped
of pretense while black pearls flow
in chains of love hung round our hearts
like diamonds gently dropping to fecundant earth
swallowed

into caverns of becoming darkness

finding rest in tenderness and warmth :
Akilimali, my soulful black woman
magnificent African queen:
a gentle sigh and Shango, drowsy, nods his head
in rising waves of passion's offering
which gives and takes as the sea
awakening in a tide which breaking
bonds of souls once two
become at once
and one a blinding flash and molten mass
as on the eve of creation, yes
quaking cringing shaking shimmer
and impinging thunder from a thousand beating
African drums and hearths upon the universe
as stretching forth my hand to heights unseen
i grasp the brightly flowing truth exploding
from eternal eye of loveburst
amorphous soul of burning blackness
and
with mighty hammer passed
from centuries down and chaingang sweat
from centuries down and brutal whip
from centuries down and slavery cry
i gently form the necklace which you wear, Akilimali

i hold you close and tell you of our past and
 whisper softly; do not be afraid of happy tears
 which brush our cheeks, Akilimali, for
 kissing lips embrace this truth held
 tightly by a million links of love which lie
 about us in warm stillness or a moment's memory
 a gentle sigh and Shango, drowsy, nods his head

but snatched from blossom given birth
 by playful rolling summer hills
 and
 tossing to the airs as surf
 from sea reali
 ties
 crash in
 euphony spent and
 scattered to departing southern shores

a sinking shell in sand stand i
 at water's edge and watch chilled laughter
 slipping icily through toes tingling
 with empty feeling then
 a painful throbbing and
 i look around:
 my beating heart is leaving with the tide
 and mingling tears with misty sea
 yet
 gleaming as they never had before
 are countless precious jewels, my love
 whose sparkling memories join in train
 and glitter by in swimming sand
 churning churningover
 flowing lonely waters, and awaiting winter's tides;
 now arms reach out
 to grasp for shells and links
 which bear our names to fill

for dissolution's sake of time
whose instant definition - it
soon he swept away in one
embrace of aching heart's black love

ernie alien

MAN'S ONENESS WITH GOD

O Lord-O Lord-lift up this mighty curse,
 These willful sensibilities. Uproot Erase.
 Eradicate. If humble Love be thy Holy name
 And placid beauty our crowning grace, why
 Then upon this feeble conscious this mighty
 Burden must thou press, that eons on deaf
 Ears hast fallen?

Am I my brother's keeper? -Down-with this
 Puritanical light...

Abraham, father of the multitude. I cannot
 Reach you. In Bethel of the soul I reach. I
 Stretch. I strain. I cannot reach you...

Abraham.....Abraham.....will you forsake
 Me here in Sodom, too? I cannot reach you...

john fischer

"God gave Noah the rainbow sign,
No more water, the fire next time!"

"The Fire Next Time:

A Voice from Watts

"Burn, Baby, burn, -"

Black gods have called judgment,
give or burn, baby
Black god - a mad mother, him

spilling from ghetto stench

a mob,

a mad mob without identity -

maybe a race that found theirs,

& what you say in your white,

Protestant, Anglo - Saxon

mother fuck the world church,

God don't like niggers -

Okay -

throw a little gasoline on

Heaven

Gonna see if it burns too.

Bring your troops back, big daddy -

Need em here -

cause Chief Parker ain't never beat
no Viet Cong's head.

now you don't have to worry
about your woman getting raped,

but

i really like to see how
peroxide burns.

patricia parker

34.
"Brother Harlem Bedford Watts Tells Mr. Charlie Where Its **At**"

Man, your whole history

Ain't been nothing but a hustle;

You're a three card molly¹.

Mother fucker.

You've even run the shell

And pea game² on your own family.

I wouldn't trust you

As far as I could throw

A turd of

Gnat shit!

Let me run down

Just a little

of my

Case against you

Chuck!

When you set your

Foot in our house,

Our troubles begun--

Yeah, we had our family fights,

But it took you

to put

Shit in the game.

We though you was sick

You looked so white and

Hairy, and we taken you

In like a brother

"Poor thing. "We said,

"He looks like one of our ghosts,

Look at his pinched up nose

And his little narrow

Pink lips. And that hair is a gas.

A lotta little brown

And blond strings

Hanging out of his head

His god must be poor

And don't have no wool-or else

Awfully stingy."

And whilst we was

Wining and dining you.

And trying to put some Soul

In your poor pale frame,

You was casting

Your greedy gray eyes

Around, lusting after our

Shining black women, and

Our gold and silver

Yeah, and you even licked

Your fuzzy chops at our

Black biceped men!

You was scheming man..

Before we knowed it good,

We were took over.

Next thing we knowed

Ya'll had a squabble

Amongst yourselves

And divided up the whole
Country.

Old leopold run his
Cut like a game preserve
Chopping off hands and
Foots, plucking out eyeballs
Snatching off ears-He was
Swinging--

And when he got tired
He went home
Put on some silk drawers
Laid up in a
Big Belgian bed
Blew a fart and
Died.

The pope says he
Went to heaven.
Jeez man!

How dumb do you
Sombitches think we are ?
What happened to
Your god's justice ?
Speaking of justice
Your god is a fink
He let his own son get
Lynched over there in
Jerusalem Land.
If Shango had made
It with Mary,
He wouldn't a ever
Let his son
Lay in a stable
With all that
Ox shit and straw
Now man,
Mary woulda been
Set up in

The finest compound
With servants and good meals
And lots of
Palm wine!
And if Pontius Pilate
Had touched
His ass woulda popped
Like a motor boat
All the way back to
Rome!
And you got the nerve
To tell me, "that was noble."
You a jive cat
Charlie boy.
You paid off some
Rib picking Baptist Nigger preacher to
Go around telling us
To love you
everytime

You kick our ass. .

Let him do his Head--rag hop somewhere else

Cause if you ever kick me

You will make a

Dot and a dash

For footprints, cause you'll have

One peg and one shoe!

Help you fight in

Viet Nam ?

Man, them's my folks

you fucking with over there,

Viet Cong

or

Hong Kong

They is colored,

And I hope cuzz

Knocks a hole

In your ass

Big as the

Grand Canyon!

Man you been taking

One big piss

On me for

Four hundred years

And then

Calling me

Nasty!

Hell now

I ain't going

Nowhere!!

bobb hamilton

1. Three card molly is culludese for three card monte a con game with two black jacks and a red queen which are shuffled and layed on the table for the "sucker" top pick out the queen which has been palmed during the shuffle and replaced with a duplicate of one of the jacks.
2. The shell and pea game uses three walnut shells. A pea is placed under one and the "sucker" picks the one its under. The con man has taken the pea between his fingers while moving the shells around on the table.

Woody and the Reading Railroad

Just managed life, my old man;
railroad trains shooting past his booth
at the cross-switch in warehouse yards
where black lines of freight make up
the landscape;
he enclosed in the brown of a dirty
army jacket,
enclosed railroad-man, travelling these roads
toward these cities that vaguely promised
freedom.

My old man mumbling in the morning
after mom,
mumbling weariness, jamming his self
into those work-shoes;
died one day in the winter;
the snow laughter out him down
and it covered him.

larry neal

FOR AFROAMERICA

when your days were made
of walls cold
and whiter
than snow
when deranged vipers
sliced through your black
genitals my body was one
huge bleeding ball.

Now
there will be no ifs
red-lipped dreams too
damned long deferred
explode

Now
redhot truths
defiant like volcanoes emerge
taller than evening shadows

from ghetto magicians

Now

from the asshole of america

gutter smells rush

the blood like

a stampede to the head

scorching centuries -long tears

up and down the land

Now

I see

Patrice and Malcolm

in your step as you

dance near the sun

your hand outstretched

to embrace that long

deferred day so close

Now

I can see

ghetto smells going

up in smoke up and down

the land exploding in

the asshole of america

I can see that day

teasing you like a whore

SCREAMING NOW

k. willy k₅ositsile

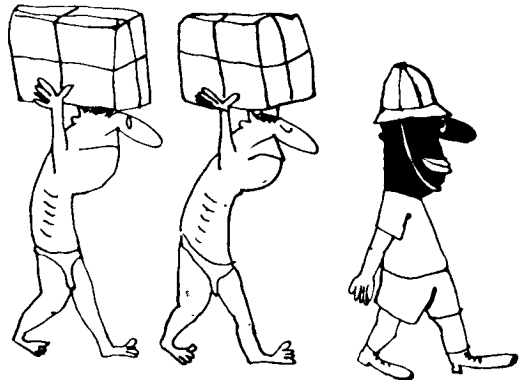
NEXT IN LINE ?

I would like to clear up some points which were brought to my attention through the reading of a recent essay entitled, "The city Is the Black Man's Land," written by Grace and James Boggs. 1 The first of these points involve two premises:

willie green

the world is the black man's land!

PART 1: POWER IN THE CITY



one is that Afroamericans are, in a very specific manner, historically entitled to the control of White America's cities; the other is the dangerous misconception that Black power (i. e., control) can be established in these cities with concomitant major social changes having been instituted by their black governments before the establishment of a black revolutionary government on a national level. This viewpoint is incorrect for two major reasons, not only in the possibility for this reform, but also in the very nature of the type of reform which the Boggs have in mind.

The first premise, not being of as important a nature as the second, will be dispensed with first. The second paragraph of the Boggs' essay begins with the statement:

"In accordance with the general philosophy of majority rule and the specific American tradition of ethnic groupings (Irish, Polish, Italian) migrating en masse to the big cities and then taking over the leadership of municipal government, black Americans are next in line." 2.

I disagree profoundly with this last statement. Black Americans are not next in line; they are the line! And every ethnic group which came to America and stood in the line to municipal power also stood on the same line! Listen to the voice of a trade unionist:


"Each of these waves of immigrant (sic) was assimilated into the American system by climbing upon the backs of others, first and always on the backs of Negroes, and then on the backs of other immigrants until each reached a status more or less equal to that of the 'Founding Fathers'." 2.

The preceding statement was written by James Boggs in 1964. And indeed, if we were to follow "American tradition" (as previously documented by James Boggs) we would then be forced to state, "sadly" to be sure, that Black Americans would have to dismiss all illusions concerning the "historical" line leading to municipal government control, since there are no shoulders left for them to stand on but their own. Pursuing this thought further, If we were to base our arguments for black control upon "tradition", someone else could state - and with as much basis to their argument as ours - that black people in the US are entitled neither to power nor to human rights, citing a long history of American "tradition" as the reason for such. So we must look elsewhere for answers. The Boggs are mistaken, and I apologize

if this appears pedantic, to equate former "ethnic groupings" with colonized Afroamericans. Obviously, the former travelled to the United States for the purpose of becoming citizens and to share in the fruits and spills of a new and growing nation; the latter were carried here in bondage for the purpose of building it. "Historically" it was never intended that Afroamericans would ever exercise economic or political power in the U.S.: so much for American tradition and historical lines to power.

"REVOLUTION OR REFORM" OR "REVOLUTION THROUGH REFORM"

A positive aspect of the Boggs' paper rests in their pinpointing of major cities in the U.S. (whose populations are on their way to becoming predominantly black) as the arenas of struggle between black power, which is revolutionary and humanistic, and white power, which is reactionary and decadent. I also have some strong criticisms of their program in certain areas, and those criticisms will be forthcoming. But it is in advancing their program for the cities that the Boggs help lead us out of the present impasse in the black revolutionary movement as well as furnish us ammunition to expose "ultra left" tendencies of (quiet as it's kept) many dedicated revolutionary Nationalists, for some of the current arguments to be found among this group are thusly:

- 
- i) the municipal governments of virtually every American city are overwhelmingly and hopelessly corrupt; thus to debate useless and unconvincing arguments with whitey at the city council's conference table is highly distasteful. Moreover, wastes precious time which could be devoted to revolutionary activity;
 - ii) in addition black militants elected to office may, under the influence of standard "parliamentary procedure," become corrupted and frustrated by the bureaucratic machinery. As a result either join forces with the Beast or possibly drop out of the liberation movement altogether in any case setting back the black liberation struggle;
 - iii) the running of black candidates for office, however "militant" they might be, confuses the masses of our people by encouraging them to think in the terms of "reformism" at a time when revolutionary activity is the order of the day.

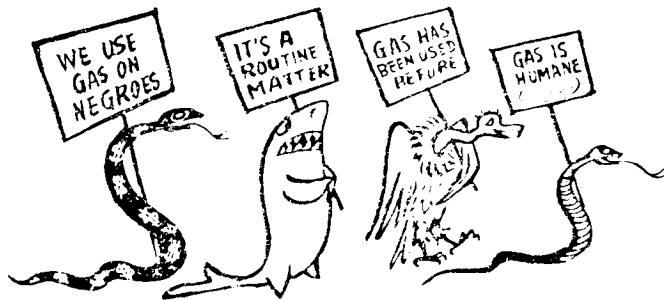
From where did these ideas arise? Much of this was due - and we must be honest with ourselves - to inexperience on our own part. It is to be recalled that at one time "politically-oriented" Bourgeois Nationalists advocated the voting of black candidates into office and as a result, "change the structure from within." This line originated from those who were either politically ignorant, were opportunists, or perhaps a little of both. I think that partly it was here in our effort to avoid the mistakes of the past that some of us took a position toward the struggle which we can only characterize now as being "ultra-revolutionary" (i. e. , ruled out for all practical purposes the adoption of "reformist" tactics in their proper place within the black liberation struggle, and this included the voting of black militants into office).

Why is it necessary to address ourselves to reform? What are the consequences of ignoring this form of struggle, keeping in mind, quite naturally, the ultimate revolutionary goals of the movement?

First of all, no one in the black liberation struggle today could deny the corruption and degeneracy which exist among all echelons of the U. S. government, from the municipal level up to and including the White (out) House. But granted the difficulties that would confront black militants elected to city government, it would be mistaken to assume that the roles which they could play there could only be negative, or would result in a waste of time. For example many of the "under-the-table" machinations such as mis-labeled "Urban Renewal" programs which have a considerable effect on the lives of the majority of black people living in the cities could

be squelched through tactics devised on two different fronts: from within by attempts to dislocate and constipated the parliamentary machinery, and from without by mass mobilization of blacks, all coordinated by the revolutionary organizations.

Secondly, the Black Revolutionary organization must demonstrate



through action their sincerity and dedication to the people whom the purport to lead. We must remember that the first stage of the revolution, the actual taking of arms for the purpose of seizing power, will fail (simply because of this factor) if the masses of our people have not identified with, or are indifferent to, the aims of the revolutionary organization or the organization itself. This is rather obvious, for:

"...without a revolutionary mood among the masses, and without conditions favoring the growth of this mood, revolutionary tactics would never be converted into action; but we...have been convinced by long, painful and bloody experience of the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built up on revolutionary moods alone...Expressing one's 'revolutionariness' solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opposition, solely by negotiating participation in parliaments, is very easy: not just because it is too easy, it is not the solution for a difficult, a very difficult problem.

The connection of the Black Revolutionary Organization with the Afroamerican masses cannot be confined to the area of debate alone, be it either vocal or literary; rhetoric without corresponding action has a way of turning back on itself. But it is in occupying itself with and attempting to solve the everyday problems of Black people that the Black Revolutionary Organization will grow both in number and in power, at the same time raising the level of political consciousness of both the revolutionary cadres and the broad masses of black people. Otherwise the call to mass revolutionary action of itself will become, if not meaningless, completely inefficacious, and the Black Revolutionary Organization will find itself degenerating to the level of a study group, if that.

The Boggs did not state the following, but I am sure that they would find themselves in agreement with me on this point: that any black militants who run for office and who are also supported by the Black Revolutionary Organization (whatever it may be) must be from this organization; the reasons are two-fold:

- i) this first assures that the "militants" will have at the onset a correct revolutionary perspective as advanced by the organization;

ii) the election to public office of these militants from the organization should consist of a test of these cadres within the appropriate activities of the revolutionary movement: the roles which they play (or fail to play) under their terms of office should serve as guidelines to future roles which they will be allowed to play during the course of the revolutionary struggle; for this reason alone we see the necessity of these militants being responsible to a dedicated revolutionary organization, which in turn must be responsible to the masses of black people whom it serves.

As Lenin stated in 1920:

"...the development of good, reliable, experienced and authoritative 'leaders' is a very difficult task, and these difficulties cannot be successfully overcome without combining legal and illegal work, and without testing the leaders..in the parliamentary area as well."

At the beginning of this section we posed three arguments currently advanced by a few of our Revolutionary Nationalist brothers. The majority of these points have now been refuted, but it would be helpful, I think, to sum up the proceeding discussion: the Boggs, though not stating this directly but rather by example, help to point out exactly what some of we "Youngblood" revolutionaries are at times likely to forget in our hast to bring about the "final confrontation:" that revolutionary action is not all physical combat but must take place in the "parliamentary" area as well. This use of "reformist" tactics will help us to mobilize broad masses of our people around vital issues (we can not always depend upon such issues as Vietnam, though this too is important to utilize), elevate the political consciousness of the masses as well as the revolutionary "leadership," and will act as a test of cadres in the Black Revolutionary Organization.

What about the statement pertaining to confusing "...the masses of our people by encouraging them to think in terms of 'reformism' at a time when revolutionary activity is the order of the day?" Quiet as it's kept, Lenin also answered this question over forty years ago, and his reply still stands firm today:

"Parliamentarism has become 'historically obsolete.' That is true as regards propaganda. But

everyone knows that this is still a long way from overcoming it practically. Capitalism could have been declared, and quite rightly, to be 'historically obsolete' many decades ago, but that does not all remove the need for a very long and very persistent struggle on the soil of capitalism." 6.

As long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and every other type of reactionary institution, you must work inside them, precisely because *

Unless black revolutionaries in the U. S. pay strict attention to detailed characteristics of other revolutions which have taken place throughout the world, both those successful and unsuccessful, then we all may be in the act of viewing the formation of a black "super-left" in the U. S., which like Superman (and Batman too) will remain a fiction and non-reality for the masses of our people. Furthermore we will be abandoning the black liberation struggle to Bourgeois Nationalists, as well as to various sectors of the "Ofay Left" who know the value of "reformist" tactics in a revolutionary struggle, and who also know well the value of "lollypops and white girls" to certain negroes who, in exchange for them, will write "black nationalist" bedtime stories for publication in their journals.

On this important point we state in conclusion that it is not the use of "reformist" tactics in the present struggle as some might profess, but it depends, rather, on who is employing these tactics: groups who believe in reformism and feel no need or desire for changing the basis of the present system or those militants who view reformism as an essential step in the tempering of a mass revolutionary movement and who are also determined to see the revolution through.

ON THE ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER

As stated previously, I have some very strong reservations concerning the Boggs' program in certain areas, and it is these points which I will bring up here. In a very real sense, Boggs and his wife confuse the seizure of power in the cities with the seizure of national state power. For in their discussion of a program which black government in the cities would institute, they state:

"Thus, for example, black political power would institute a crash program to utilize the most advanced

*turn to last page of this article for ending of this quote

technology to free people from all forms of manual labor." 8.

We will have something to say about the nature of this reform shortly. But they appear to be so mesmerized with their program, however, that it is almost as an afterthought that they add:



"There should be no illusion that this can be accomplished without expropriating those now owning and controlling our economy. It could not therefore be accomplished simply on a city-wide basis, is, without defeating the national power structure." 9.

Thus they are not really speaking of a program that black city governments would initiate but rather a program which would have to be instituted by a national revolutionary government. My position here is strengthened by the following quote:



"America has already become the dangerous society. The nation's major cities are becoming police states. There are only two roads open to it. Either wholesale extermination of the black population through mass massacres or forced mass migrations...Or self-government of the major cities by the black majority, mobilized behind leaders and organizations of its own creation and prepared to reorganize the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom."10.

"...prepared to reorganize the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom." I think here that the Boggs have assumed a little too much in their desire to bring reform to the cities. For as we will soon see, it would be quite impossible for any of the governments in major U.S. cities, white or black controlled, reactionary or revolutionary minded, to initiate any major reforms under the present economic system; within this context the problems of the cities are at present beyond the control of man's will, and will only come within control under a radically changed economic system. Just as the over-emphasis placed upon control of factories by workers led to reformism within the trade unions during the period of WWII,

so too over-emphasis placed upon control of the cities can lead to reformism within the programs of black revolutionary organizations.

"To grasp the social significance of the CIO it must be clearly understood that the workers in taking hold in the plants did not take power. They only took hold of the plants. They did not take over the state govt., or the national government, or the city police, or the national guard, or the army." 11.

Thus the workers seized control of the factories but did not, as we know, seize state power. We, as black revolutionaries, must not make the same mistake as did white workers, and it is because of this fact that I am slightly wary of the program of the Organization for Black Power. From the statement adopted at their founding conference which took place May 1, 1965 comes the following:

"The city is the base which we must organize as the factories were organized in the 1930's. We must struggle to control, to govern the cities, as workers struggled to control and govern the factories of the 1930's." 12.

As we well know, the labor organizers stopped at the factory level as soon as workers achieved their demands (I have in mind here chiefly the CIO). Then came WW11, and every bit of control over production which workers had achieved in the factories from the 1930's until that time was gradually handed back over to management by the union. The conspicuous absence of any mention of this fact in the statement adopted by the above-mentioned conference, plus the over-emphasis which they have placed upon control of the cities - a necessary tactical step in the revolution, admittedly - rather than seizure of power at the national level has led me to believe, and I hope I am wrong, that the Organization for Black Power might well be travelling the same route as the labor unions of the 1930's.

Would it be possible, after seizure of power in the cities by blacks, to institute reforms such as those which the Boggs have in mind, i.e., by "reorganizing the structure of city government and city life from top to bottom"? To answer this question it will be necessary in a very generalized manner to examine the present functioning (or rather non-functioning) of city governments, as well as assess the powers which

Afroamericans can presently utilize. Black America's political power manifests itself in the following three areas:

- i) the power to unleash violence
- ii) the power to hurt the economy
- iii) the power to stop the machinery of government

These powers must obviously not be confused with economic power (which we do not have), yet it is these powers of "destruction" which we must use in order to seize the cities; but it must be remembered that it takes economic power to run them. Let us examine the present source of funds for the functioning of the cities. Though the situation is far more complex than the following explanation might make it seem, we see these funds emanating from four areas in general: taxes and assessments from light and heavy industry, from commercial enterprises, and from the general population, combined with various forms of aid from state and federal governments.

In order to seize control in the cities it would be necessary to somehow transform our "destructive" power into economic power. From where would the funds for reform, let alone city maintenance, come? Could we count on the sources which the cities presently utilize? Let's analyze some recent (and very general, it is true) trends which are affecting the functioning of the major cities:

- i) in the past few years the trend of industry has been to move away from high taxes imposed by the governments of the larger cities and towards the lower taxes endowed by municipals which lie on the fringes of these larger cities; thus big cities lose more and more tax money each year as their industries move to other locales;
- ii) this relocation of industries away from the major cities as a consequence results in a decline in the number of jobs for the inhabitants of these cities (which, as the Poore point out, are becoming predominantly black;
- iii) this second factor, combined with the fact that whether these industries in the large municipals either remain there or relocate themselves, are in the process of introducing (or have already introduced) cybernated equipment in their plants, reducing further still the number of available jobs

(iv) the increasing amount of unemployment in the cities further reduces the amount of tax money available to the city in two ways: revenue obtained from direct taxation of the population obviously falls off, and at the same time, because the public is in the act of losing its purchasing power, the commercial sector of the city begins to fold, thus reducing the amount of tax money available to the city from that area.

All of these factors outlined above are broad trends, to be sure, but they certainly give an indication of things to come. "Turning the cities over to the black population" will hardly solve problems of such immense magnitude, for the possibilities of any type of reform in the major cities of the U.S. are gradually moving out of reach.

Recall the four areas previously mentioned from which the city currently obtains its resources. With relocation of industry, combined with the increasing use of cybernated equipment in their plants, the cities will be forced to count less and less upon the first three factors (i.e., taxes and assessments from industry, the commercial sector, and the general population), which means a greater dependence upon funds from both the state and federal governments. Needless to say, state and federal funds do not come unattached, i.e., without corresponding control over their use. Thus the black governments in the cities in seizing power would be inheriting problems which could not possibly be solved within the framework of capitalism, i.e., without having control over the surplus value of society, which means nationalization of industry.

My point is this: that we should build organizations for the purpose of seizing power in the cities, but that at the same time we should be under no illusions as to what we would be able to accomplish without first seizing power at the national level; it would be impossible for black power and for white power to coexist for any length of time within the United States. By this I mean that we must not confuse the

conditions of our particular revolutionary situation with those of past or present revolutionary struggles. And for those who do not yet understand this fact I would recommend very highly the reading of Mao Tse-Tung's profound essay, "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist In China?", paying particular attention to the second section: "Reasons for the Emergence and Survival of Red Political Power in China." 13 We must always keep in mind the following:

"...all organizations that spring up in a capitalist society and do not take absolute power, but rather fight only on one tangential or essential aspect of that society are eventually incorporated into capitalist society." 14.

And as two other black writers were later to amend this statement, these organizations, if they do not take absolute power, will either be incorporated, destroyed, or lose effectiveness. 15

We have shown the difficulties inherent in reforming the present system without the seizure of power at the national level, and have stressed that we should harbor no illusions concerning these difficulties. But it is not only the absence of these possibilities for basic reform that I am addressing myself to here; James Boggs has, since 1963 at least, consistently held to the proposition that the potential U.S. working population (which includes the actual), because of the arising of conditions in America which could provide for it, should be furnished with unconditionally guaranteed incomes. This was one of the major themes of his book, The American Revolution, the very same idea was presented as the "solution" to cybernation in the U.S. in "The Triple Revolution" document, of which Boggs was one of the signers in 1964, and this train of thought also pervade the present essay which was jointly written by he and his wife. In a review of The American Revolution which appeared last year was the following remark, applicable also to the Boggs' present essay:

"...we disagree with Boggs on at least one important point: his implication that work is somehow not a necessity for mankind, in general, to live.

We agree that if a man cannot work then he should be given means in order to live adequately. In spite of this fact we feel that work is still a necessary part

of man's life; there is an abundance of evidence to show that man developed from a lower to a higher being by working (with both his hands and his head), and we believe that man will continue to master nature and to solve his problems by working. Therefore we feel that work should not be deemphasized, even though it may not be necessary in the productive process, because of its essentiality to the further development of men." 16.



Furthermore, the following criticism of the program advanced by the authors of "The Triple Revolution" document is also applicable here:

?
 "Our conclusion can only be that the idea of unconditionally guaranteed incomes is not the great revolutionary principle which the authors of 'The Triple Revolution' evidently believe it to be. If applied under our present system, it would be, like religion, an opiate of the people tending to strengthen the status quo. And under a socialist system...it would be quite unnecessary and might do more harm than good." 17.

I both sincerely and strongly feel that the Boggs, before they continue on in their advocacy of unconditionally guaranteed incomes, should seriously address themselves to the above two positions. We will be very interested in seeing their remarks concerning at least this point, in particular, in some of their future writings.

The point stressing the development of "para-military cadres ready to defend black militants and the community from counter-revolutionary attacks" is an excellent and essential one. It is also very true, as the Boggs stated, that:

"the most difficult and challenging task is the organizing of struggles around the concrete grievances of the masses which will not only improve the welfare of the black community but also educate the masses out of their democratic illusions and make them conscious that every administrative and law-enforcing agency in this country is a white power. " 18.

I agree completely that this is a very difficult problem, but it is a task which must be solved in practice by the Black Revolutionary Organization, for if the link between the revolutionary organization and the masses is reliant only upon the spontaneity of the latter, the entire revolutionary program will then be doomed to failure simply because the masses will not sustain a revolutionary movement without a strong and dedicated leadership to provide them with an effective program of political education and guidance. 19

One apparent fault in the Boggs' paper is their failure to suggest any manner in which the struggle for power in the major cities (which are predominately in the North and on the West and East Coasts) could be linked up with the Southern Freedom Struggle, which we have recently seen (though after the publication of the Boggs' paper, I might add) is also becoming a struggle for power:

"Stokely Carmichael, new SNCC chairman, said about 35 members of the militant student organization had been invited to the conference (White House Conference on civil rights -- WG). He emphasized that in rejecting the invitations SNCC is following an aggressive new all-Negro course outside the white power structures of government - from the White House down to courthouses and city halls.

'Integration is irrelevant,' Carmichael declared. 'Political and economic power is what the black people have to have'. " 20.

Further:

"The Lowndes County Freedom Organization is not non-violent. Nonviolence is irrelevant. What King has working for him is a moral force, but we're building

a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally, we're going to take it the way the Americans took it in the Mexican Revolution." 21.

It has taken us ten long years since Montgomery to realize that political and economic power is what we really need, and though this is hardly the place to present such an ambitious project, all of us in the black liberation struggle should at present be in the act of formulating programs for the unification of these black power struggles, both North and South, keeping in mind at all times the concept of uneven development of struggle in different areas.

FOOTNOTES

Part I Next in Power

1. Grace and James Boggs, "The City Is the Black Man's Land," Monthly Review, April, 1966, pp. 35-46
2. Ibid., p. 35
3. James Boggs, "Integration and Democracy: Two Myths Have Failed," Black America, Fall, 1964, p. 4
4. V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, (New York, 1940), p. 47
5. Ibid., p. 48
6. Ibid., p. 40
7. Ibid., p. 42
8. Grace and James Boggs, p. 42
9. Ibid., p. 43
10. Ibid. p. 36
11. James Boggs, The American Revolution, (New York, 1965), p. 17.
12. Grace and James Boggs, p. 42
13. Mao-Tse-Tung, "Why Is it That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?," Selected Works, Vol. I (Peking, 1965), pp. 63-72.
14. James Boggs, The American Revolution, p. 28
15. Ernie Allen and Kenn M. Freeman, "Notes On James Boggs American Revolution," SOULBOOK 3, Fall 1965, p. 223
16. Ibid, p. 225

17. Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, "The Transition," Monthly Review, November, 1964, pp. 422-43.
18. Grace and James Foggs, p. 43
19. An excellent commentary on principles of leadership is to be found in Mao Tse-Tung's, "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," Selected Works, Vol. 1 (Peking, 1965), pp. 117-22.
20. San Francisco Chronicle, 5/24/66, p. 6
21. John Benson, "Interview With New SNCC Chairman," The Militant, 5/23/66, p. 8.

*there you will still find workers who are stupefied by the priests and by the dreariness of rural life; otherwise you risk becoming mere babblers". 7.

read

CHINA

by Mamadou GOLOGO

Editor of L'Essor, Organ of Union
Sudanese Party, Republic of Mali

**A GREAT PEOPLE
A GREAT DESTINY**

7222222222222222

published by New World Press, Peking

carol freeman |

THINGS THAT GO BUMP IN THE NIGHT

As far back in her life as she wanted to remember, she had been afraid of something. Respectable things that all children are afraid of, the dark, large dogs, dizzying high places... and when mother and daddy died in a car accident, she was afraid of cars. Then she became afraid of living with Gramma Foley in Arkansas. She was afraid of the truckfull of Black people carrying sharp shiny hoes to chop Gramma Foley's cotton. "They're devils!", Gramma Foley would say in her thin crisp voice. "Lazy good for nothings you have to watch all the time, else they leave the weeds and chop down the cotton."

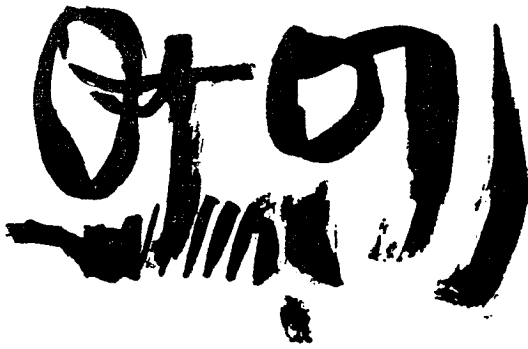
And when she was older, and going to school in starched white pinafores and red buster brown shoes, Gramma Foley said, "Don't let me catch you playing with those black savages, Missy! They ain't like us. God put a curse on 'em. They ain't more than trained apes, and all the boys thinking of is ravishing white ladies!"

And Missy (whose real name was Margaret Ellen Foley) remembered and never played tag, or may hide, or little sally walker, or hop scotch with the shy doe-eyed black girls, whose parents share-cropped for Gramma Foley. The fact was that Missy hated and envied them--those skinny tattered waifs that went to school 3 months out of the year and sharecropped 9. When she was older, Gramma Foley let her keep the wage book for the piece

workers; those were the negras that worked by the day for Foley and Missy felt very important with her money sack in book, sitting at a table under the high hickory nut tree in the calling of the names of the shuffling, dusty, silent negras. "Tobe Boscum, let's see. Tobe youall picked 300 lbs of cotton today, Thats \$7.50 for you." And she would put the crisp \$7 bill and two one- and a new 50¢ piece on the edge of the table for the ashy black hand to ease away. "Thankymm", he would mumble, and tip his battered hat, and shuffle off. She rarely looked the negras in the eye when paying them off, but preferred to watch the grey black claws they sneaked up to pocket the wage money. She never made jokes or chided them as some white ladies would --for you never could tell when they would get out of their place. When she was 18 she was allowed a steady beau, and chubby Cap Breedlove was it. He would race his green Ford convertible down the dusty road and park in front of her house, taking one last sip of white lightning before he came in. Cap was eligible, White, and Single --making him a "catch. He was also the son of Hank Breedlove who owned the drug store and soda fountain in town, and who had the distinction of having on his watch chain a thin, soft, little bone that he claimed his grampa got off a bad nigra that was lynched 20 years ago: he called it His pecker and he cleaned his teeth with it.

Cap was soft and fat with a flushed face and a charming smile; and when Gramma Foley wasn't looking, he tried to feel her breast. After a year of courting they got married in the Baptist Church and Gramma Foley died, and Missy learned what it was to be Frigid. Frigid meant a tightening of nerves and a shuddering that went all through you when Cap lowered his fat body into bed demanding his "duty." Sometimes after the shuddering, Cap would curse her, or drink half a bottle of Lightning, or slap her. But all men were dogs, and she expected it, because Gramma Foley had warned her before she died.

She became a Matron and went to teas and charity dinners, and paid off the negras, and complained about the heat, and the negras, and the price of cotton, and the negras. She met other white matrons and they would go calling one each other, and stare vacant eyed at the passing world, not quite sure that they were being left behind. Cap took to staying out all night when she would not have him in her bed, and she began to wonder if she was losing



his love. After a while she did not notice the whine in her voice, because she had lived with it too long. The crowfeet came, the strands of gray hair, and she wept a little for the passing of her youth, and wondered where the time went. She went on paying off the negras that worked for wages, but now

her eyes strayed a bit, and she would let them linger on a particularly fine young buck in the manner of a woman shopping for a choice cut of beef roast. Then came the time when she held back one Black boys wages 'till last, and held the crisp green money in her limp hand so that the grey black claw had to touch hers lightly to get its money. That night she dreamed about the negra, and the dream was a bit erotic, and she was ashamed and complained to Cap the next morning about the brash negra getting out of his place and how she would not give wages any more if that young buck would be there. So Cap took his morning drink of Lightning and went into town and told all the fine white men about the negra trying to touch his wife, Missy. And they came back with a gallon of kerosene, shot guns, and plenty of rope. Missy was afraid, and excited, and pleasantly surprised. Cap loved her after all. Going through all this trouble for her. And they caught the negra while he was picking cotton and beat him till sundown, cut off his tongue and let him go with a warning: and the negra ran off across and down the road and into the swamp, and was bitten by a rattle snake and died. The sheriff found him three days later covered with flies, and swollen dead, and said it was a good thing the snake bit him and killed him, because otherwise Cap would have had to stand trial for lynching a nigra. But the sheriff laughed and took a drink with Cap to show he was only kidding. And Missy went to bed with Cap and found out that she had only to think about the big Black nigra boy, writhing and screaming when Cap and the other white men cut out his tongue, and she was not frigid any more.

anita cornwell

THE BITTER HARVEST



Paratroops, exile Cuban pilots, and white mercenaries from South Africa are dispatched to the Congo; paratroops, marines and soldiers are rushed to the Caribbean while paratroops, the army, the navy, the marines, the coast guard, the seabees (and perhaps before it all ends, the boy scouts and the girl reserves) crowd into South Vietnam in a vain effort to keep those areas safe for white supremacy.

However, it seems that no one will ever be able to stampede "lightbulb" Johnson into making "democratic" America even moderately safe for the segregated Negro.

In a flimsy attempt to justify the flagrant violation of another nation's sovereignty, Lyndon Johnson said of the American invasion of the Dominican Republic late last April, "Wherever U.S. citizens go, the American flag follows and protects them."

And that, of course, is a patented lie. The American Flag follows and protects U.S. citizens wherever they go, unless they are black and in the U.S.A. convinced that the elegant speech plus the token gesture will somehow manage to keep the American black in his place, LBJ continues to blunder his way toward oblivion by adhering to a foreign policy designed by a set of advisers who seemingly cannot get it through their thick, racist skulls that what England and other continental European countries did to the nonwhite world in previous centuries can never again be successfully done by any white nation.

Due to the incredible stupidity, the unbelievable cruelty and the inordinate greed of the white man in his dealings with those whom he considered beneath his level, he is now thoroughly detested

throughout the so-called
"un-developed" world.

And mainland China
which the United States
fears and despises even
more, in many respects
than it does the Negro,
matches America's
attitude snarl for snarl
on every front. And
if the animosity of
these two scowling
monsters doesn't one
day erupt into all-out
war, then it surely
must be counted a
miracle. For America,
and Russia, are so
busy trying to keep
China in her place
that those two rivals may
never even get around
to a real confrontation
themselves.

The American
Friends Service
Committee, in urging
the United States to
recognize Mainland
China and support its
admission to the
United Nations, re-
marked this past
spring that, "During
the 100 years prior to
1949, human misery
and mass starvation
were unfortunately



common in China. The Communist government of the People's Republic has succeeded in altering these conditions, and more Chinese now are living under decent conditions than during the previous century. . . ."

And that is indeed a noble sentiment, but what the Friends have not taken into consideration is that the United States cares not one bag of beans about the Chinese and their lack of suffering. As a matter of fact, America wants the Chinese to live in misery, for then they would be easier prey for the U.S.A. whose foreign policy toward weaker and/or smaller nations is identical with its domestic policy toward the unprotected, outnumbered American Negro: bribe, buy and brutalize. And if that method fails, there is always the final solution, the rope, the bullet and the bomb.

Of course, in his twisted way of seeing the Other, the American white has always believed that no matter how inhumane he treats the nonwhite, these people who are made to endure, will endure, and, oh miracle of miracles, will also love their tormentors until the end of time. That is why the first large scale civil rights' demonstrations in this country caused such astonishment and outrage.

"Why I can't believe our Negroes would do such a thing. The southern crackers cried along with the northern bigots. Then they all latched onto the same refrain, "Those people are being stirred up by outside agitators!"

And throughout the world, whenever any nation makes a bid to free itself from America's vicious yoke, our cliché-ridden administration in Washington, now stuck in its tragic rut, declares, "Communist-led agitators attacked the U.S. Embassy in Panama today." or Cairo or Jakarta or Caracas or Montevideo, and on and on as the furious rejection travels around the globe.

One would think that any reasonably intelligent government would perceive that this is precisely what the Communists want, to be identified with the "havenots" in their search for freedom and dignity. But by now America is too frightened and too sunk in its web of self-delusion to see anything but a reflection of its own hate and fear.

It has been aptly stated that the white man's problem in Africa was, "Too little, too late." And, needless to say, that is the white

man's problem period! When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in a Montgomery bus ten years ago and set off the bus boycott, Negroes in that city merely asked for one concession, to be allowed to retain a seat once one was seated. They did not seek, as was their legal right, to sit wherever they chose. They were willing to fill up from the rear.



But those "good" southern Christian democratic Americans said no. Any Black person, male or female could not sit while any white person, male or female was standing. And that no cost them dearly as will all the other no's they have flaunted in the face of the downtrodden since this country was first settled by dispossessing the hapless Indian.


By now, of course, America is so steeped in myths, legends and out-right bald-faced lies which pervade all levels of public and private consciousness, that it no longer recognizes the real from the fantastic or the tragic from the merely ridiculous. For only a nation bereft of all sense of reality and common decency would systematically destroy another country in the name of peace and democracy when there's not one shred of democracy and very little peace in its own back yard. And how could anyone but a madman bomb another nation with one hand and drop "rehabilitation leaflet" with the other hand?

To be sure, America's "We want peace" myth deceives no one but America herself. What this nation actually means is, "We want peace if you do as we say." And naturally no country in its right mind is going to follow power-mad, race-baiting America anywhere voluntarily. But having raped and robbed, lynched and lied to the Negro for so long, the United States sees no reason why it cannot do this to other Colored Peoples. However, these other colored peoples have guns and tanks of their own and perhaps even an atom bomb or two and they do not intend to play Uncle Tom to America's mass jim.

And the sooner the U. S. realizes this, the sooner will she cease her suicidal madness which is slowly but surely edging the world toward nuclear war.

STATEMENT ON THE WHITE MAN'S DRAFT BY ERNIE ALLEN,
CO-EDITOR OF SOULBOOK (given on April, 1966)

Today, April 14, 1966 I was ordered to appear for induction into the Armed Forces of the United States. I did not appear as ordered and have no intentions of doing so. By appearing I feel that I would have betrayed not only my people but in addition, all other peoples in the world who are also struggling under the yoke of white oppression. I would have betrayed my wife, now pregnant with child, who expects me, as a black man, to live in the tradition which Afroamericans have always followed in struggling against white oppression. And finally, by appearing for induction in White America's Armed Forces I would have betrayed myself as a soldier in the battle for Black Liberation.



While the growth of Black Nationalism, the drive of the basic masses for self-realization and identity is objectively revolutionary and anti-imperialist, this by no means implies that all its forms and manifestations are revolutionary. The question is not so simple.

IS THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE THE LEADER OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT?

harry haywood

Black Nationalism, as that of all oppressed peoples, is of a contradictory nature. There are tendencies within it which forward the struggle for liberation, and there are tendencies which objectively detract from the struggle, which warp and hinder it. This distinction arises from the dual nature of the nationalism of an oppressed people, based upon class conflicts within the national revolutionary movement. For this reason, revolutionaries cannot indiscriminately support all features and manifestations of nationalism, but must emphasize the demands and aspirations of the basic masses. Our criterion must be to what extent specific forms, expressions or tendencies bring the masses into conflict with the dominant white power structure. From this point of view, there are reformist and revolutionary tendencies in both the integrationist movement and the nationalist-oriented movements.

It is our opinion that the "Great Debate" raging in the Black community over integration vs. Separation gives only a superficial and distorted picture of the true issues and problems involved. it reflects mainly the power struggle between two sections of black bourgeoisie.

The direct integrationist or assimilationist group fights for ideological leadership of the masses, mainly in order to advance its own narrow group of well educated and "acceptable" Negroes, although their integrationist program is entirely unrealistic for the vast majority

while the ghetto nationalist sector, economically based on the northern urban Black community, indulges in fantasies of building up a separate Black "Free Enterprise" economy as the solution. Neither section of the Black bourgeoisie is capable of leading the type of struggle necessary to win Black freedom. The basic masses must therefore forge their own instrument and fight for a program of liberation that will not subordinate their interests to those of either sector of the black bourgeoisie.

The main overriding task confronting the Black people is the mobilization of their entire resources to take full advantage of the present crisis within the ranks of the enemy.

Harold Cruse in his article, "Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American," 1 which has exerted considerable influence in left circles, involves himself in the toils of the ghetto nationalists, elaborates a theory for them, and then calls upon white progressives to fall in behind this "revolutionary" leadership. Instead of fighting

for a revolutionary program based upon the needs of the masses of working people he seems to be distracted by the din and clamor of the integration versus Separation debate and disparages the self-defense movement in the Deep South. He sees only two trends; the integrationist trend as represented by the assimilationist sector of the Black bourgeoisie, and the separatist trend represented by its nationalist sector. He then proceeds to narrow down the issue to the clash between them. The masses, he contends, have no choice but to follow one or the other sector of this bourgeoisie:

"... Negroes must either follow the road of integration or the road of separatism. There is no middle ground. The masses must choose between these two paths, and they must choose quickly."

Cruse thus neatly writes off the possibility for the basic masses to fight independently and forge their own revolutionary movement. Evidently dazzled by the "militant" talk of the nationalist leaders, he latches onto the ghetto nationalist current, seeing in it the wave of the future. Equating the narrow class aims of this stratum to those of the masses, he imputes a revolutionary potential to its petty strivings for a larger share in the ghetto market in the northern urban centers.

He professes to see in this conflict a "challenge" to white ruling class domination of the Negro urban communities, "which are owned lock, stock and barrel by white absentee proprietors" and are "the crucial areas in which the economic exploitation of the Negro is focused."

"... in this area," he contends, "that the most crucial American class struggle lies... It is only the nationalistic wing which vocally objects to this exploitation." (our emphasis "FF")

Cruse berates the Communist Party for its failure to see the class divisions among the Black people, for pursuing the "myth of a uniform Negro people," and attempting to beguile us into believing that any Negro was simply one of the 'Negro' people whether a cotton picker, a show girl, a steel worker, a political appointee of the power in power, or the editor of Ebony Magazine."

This blurring over class lines in the Black community, he contends, has led the Communist Party into "adopting a position essentially no different from that supported by the NAACP." Ironically, Cruse while seeking to dissassociate himself from the old Left, falls into the same type of mistake which, if pursued, would lead to the same bankruptcy

and blind alley in which the CPUSA now finds itself. Cruse differentiates between the assimilationist and nationalist sectors of the Black bourgeoisie, but at this point his class analysis falls down. He fails to mention the objective conflict of interest and aspirations between the basic, most exploited and oppressed Black masses, north and south, and the aspirations of the ghetto nationalists sector of the Black bourgeoisie. While the CPUSA glosses over clear lines in the Black community and ends up tailing the bourgeois assimilationists, Cruse glosses over the objective conflict of interest among the class components of Black nationalist movements and ends up trailing the ghetto nationalists. While the CPUSA rejects all nationalism as

an "obstacle in the path to Negro freedom." 3 Cruse apparently considers all Black Nationalism, even its most escapist, utopian manifestations, as revolutionary, and is prepared to follow their leadership. Clearly, both positions subordinate the interests of the basic masses to one or the other sectors of the Black bourgeoisie. Both tend to hinder the development of a revolutionary Black nationalist trend



which is already beginning to manifest itself in practice in the movement for self-defense in the Deep South, and among Black workers and radical intelligentsia throughout the country.

The key to Cruse's thinking on the question of liberation of oppressed peoples is his assumption that nationalist movements are primarily a bourgeois effort, in which the struggle of the bourgeoisie for control of the national market is the pivotal revolutionary factor. Hence, his reliance on the bourgeoisie as the natural leader of those. This over-

simplified formula runs throughout his article and is a complete variance with contemporary theory, practice, and experience in national liberation movements. It is an outdated concept. And it is particularly unrealistic when it is applied to the Negro question and the attempt is made to impute to the conflict over the ghetto market the importance of a major contradiction between the nationalist bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism. The petty strivings of this weak, non-industrial, marginal bourgeoisie, largely removed from the Deep South areas of Black population concentration, and operating in the major cities of the North is presented as a "challenge" to white ruling dominance, and as the "real economics of the American race question." He attempts to identify the ghetto petty-bourgeois stratum with the colonial bourgeoisie whose fight is for a national market. He fails to understand that even in the advanced semi-colonial countries today, the market factor is no longer the major element in the national revolutionary movement. He fails to take into account the change in the social essence of the national question since the onset of the general crisis of the imperialist system following World War 1.

"...The essence of the national question lies at present in the struggle of the masses of the people in the colonies and of the dependent and of the dependent nationalities against financial exploitation against financial enslavement, and the cultural effacement of these colonies and these nationalities by the imperialist bourgeoisie of the ruling nationality. What significance can the competitive struggle between the bourgeoisies of the various nationalities have when the national question is presented in this manner? Certainly, not a decisive significance, and in certain cases not even important significance. It is perfectly obvious that we are concerned mainly, not with the fact that the bourgeoisie of one nationality is beating or can best the bourgeoisie of another nationality in the competitive struggle, but with the fact that the imperialist group of the ruling nationality exploits and oppresses the main masses, and above all, the peasant masses of the colonial and dependent nationalities, and exploiting them, it thereby draws them into struggle against imperialism" 4

RIGHTS

1. Studies on the Left, II, 2 and III, 1, 1961
2. Ibid.,
3. Clude Lightfoot, Political Affairs, July, 1961
4. J. Stalin, Leninism, Leninism, I, 247-6



GLOBAL VIEWS

NEWS AND COMMENTARY ON
THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-
IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

Published by Global Views
P.O. Box 16022
San Francisco 16, Calif.

Name

(please print)

Street Address

City & State

Single Copy 25¢ - 10 or more 15¢

Subscription

\$ 2.00 Yr

HAITI:

paul lantimo

A BLACK REVOLUTION WILL REPEAT ITSELF

translated from the spanish by SOULBOOK

The Dominican Republic, a nation in which 80% of the people are of African descent, has been for over one year the victim of whitey's intervention to stop the people from solving their problems of brutal poverty and anti-black oppression. The intervention which L. Beast Johnson and his brothers were in large part responsible with infesting and perpetrating on the island. On the western part of the island(which is named Santo Domingo) the people of the Republic of Haiti, whose collective soul and collective resistance to white oppression is still exhibited in the religion of our African ancestors, have yet to enjoy the fruits of their successful Black(and also the first non-white) revolt against Europe or its descendants. So, judging from recent prententious U.S. State department "leaks" that the U.S. has stationed troops

off the shores of Haiti to prepare to "evacuate" Americans citizens in case of a bloody revolt against the Duvalier regime. They are again preparing an attempt to put out that single Haitian spark that started a universal Black prairie fire.

But our Haitian Brothers are preparing for this oppression and some of the things they are doing are exclusively told by Paul Lantimo, a representative of the Haitian Liberation Movement. Run it down, Bro. Paul!

Brother Delegates of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: In the name of the oppressed people of Haiti, the delegation from the United Democratic Front of National Liberation warmly salutes the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are struggling against international imperialism for the sake of economic and political independence, social progress and peace. The Front transmits its message of vivid encouragement to the people of Congo(L), Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, the peoples of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala and Laos, who struggle heroically against imperialism and the retrograde governments of their respective countries. The Haitian delegation sends a special greeting to the Dominican people and assures them of the complete solidarity of the Haitian people in their struggle against the Yankee troops. Finally, admiration is expressed for the valiant people of Vietnam who at this moment deal serious blows to imperialism and its lackeys. By landing numerous troops in Vietnam and intimidating the people American imperialism thought that the situation would be placed in their favor. Mr. Johnson and the pentagon militarists were grossly mistaken. In Vietnam it is the people that have the initiative -- Northamerican imperialism will be crushed sooner or later. Today, confronted with the willful intensification of imperialist aggression the delegates of the progressive and revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America are reunited so that conditions for decisive response from all the peoples may be planned. Oh, how the imperialists tremble!

Brother Delegates: the people of our country have already lived in memory of revolutionary feats. In 1791, under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture and Jean Jacques Dessalines, and utilizing inter-

* This is the translation (by SOULBOOK) from the Spanish text of a speech given in French at the recent Afro-Asian-Latin American Conference.

colonialists rivalries, the French slave yoke was broken, the war of independence was victoriously sustained, and the napoleonic armies were thrown out of the country. This was in 1804.

But in the conditions of that epoch in which growing international capitalism leaned upon the colonial slavery in Africa and America (and thus determined the future of humanity), it was extremely difficult for a small country to develop an independent economy. The capitalist countries imposed upon us a sort of economic blockade,

and refused us credit and technical equipment so vital to us after a dozen years of devastating war. Leaning upon the military chiefs and the enormous import-export commerce in foreign hands, they succeeded in making our country into a semicolony, thus condemning the Haitian masses to misery.

This situation became worse in the first part of the century. Yankee imperialism, taking advantage of the rivalries between the European powers following the first world wars, sent their marines to our



Henry Christophe
King of Haiti 

territory and occupied our country for 15 years(1915 - 1930). The American imperialists utilized their presence in our country to outstrip their English, German, and above all, French rivals. They directly controlled our banks and our finances. They established a custom house management that bequeath the foreign trade to their monopolies they installed a judicial system according to their fancy, and an administration and military that permitted them to control the economic and political life of our country, which continued after their departure. They imposed on us the purchase of their oil and their coffee prices; they expropriated our peasants in the Northeast, in the Artibonite Valley, and the West for the installation and working of their sugar and sisal refineries, and for the extraction of copper and bauxite, which instead of being processed in the country, is exported to the U.S.. By robbing us of our mineral riches and ferociously exploiting the labor of our people, imposing their trade and their prices, Northamerican domination succeeded in aggravating and accelerating the internal crisis of the regime.

Northamerican imperialism ended its occupation of Haiti in 1930. But it has left behind itself its slaughterhouses and a system conforming to its interests. The government of Duvalier is its present representative and faithful servant.

Put into power by the Haitian army with the benediction of the State Department, Duvalier has not ceased to maintain for it an internal and external reactionary policy. He has supported and maintained: a free rein for the investments of imperialist capital; sabotage of the national effort in economy, fiscal policy that crushes agricultural producers, starving the mass of workers and middle classes; intolerance and persecution of syndical and democratic organizations leaving the oppressed classes to the mercy of their masters, the feudal lords and the state; total support for U.S. foreign policy; notorious support to the imperialist intervention of the Congo, the Northamerican intervention in the Dominican Republic, and to the policy of U.S. hostility against Cuba.

But Northamerican imperialism and its flunky Duvaliers cannot maintain domination of our people much longer. Already there have been outward signs of a crisis. The phenomenon of the insolvency of state has reappeared in dramatic manner: entire ranks of public employees and employers do not receive their semi-monthly, and monthly salaries and/or they collect it with great delay -- this situation places them in the hands of usurers. Certain enterprises of production controlled by the

state(essential oil factories nationalized in 1959, central confectioner of Cayes) are in constant deficit. The morality and state credit is bankrupt; the national, secondary and university teaching have lost their prestige because of the meddling of the "tonton-macoutes" (armed civil agents, members of Duvaliers repressive police) among professors; who in part are provoked into departing for Canada or Africa(on the other hand harm done to the low-income citizens provokes and increases the prestige of private schools). In the custom houses and post offices pillages

of foreign packages have been organized with the immense anger of citizens and especially businessmen. justice has entirely disappeared.

All conflicts are settled under the pressure of a "tonton macoute", who heap abuses on all classes. The political prisoners without trial are executed or else they rot in prison, completely cut off from the outside. An unimaginable terror is thrown down over the cities and countryside. The families of Benoit Riobe a P-au-P, Sansarick a Jeremie and many others were assassinated in broad daylight because of police denunciation and without any other



Charlemagne Peralta's Martyrdom- is portrayed by the Haitian painter Obin who knew the guerrilla leader. Peralta was killed by U.S. Marines.

foundation. On the border (Dominican-Haitian) areas hundreds and hundreds of peasants were machine-gunned and thrown to the pit and graves simply for having sold or supplied the Haitian rebels with food who fought in the mountains at that time. In short all levels of political and military authority are controlled by sinister persons, who owe no allegiance to any class, and who are ready to complete, if it is ordered of them, all the sorrowful tasks, and in case of necessity commit the most dishonest and cruel acts. The Haitian crisis thus became more visible, clear for all the world to see. But this was worse, because now a principal, decisive sphere of action has to be passed, the power sphere of the reactionary classes. The state is discovered to be incapable of satisfying the appropriate elementary obligations to the classes that sustain it. Their debts are inflated indefinitely to the detriment of the bank, or some big businessmen, and certain imperialist companies. And now it (the state) is faced with the necessity of utilizing extraordinary methods of taxation that are simply exigences of investment of this or that sum of money or opportunity. Thus, more and more the machinery of the state functions in the interest of one reactionary group against another. From that results an aggravation of the contradictions inside the exploited classes. It becomes vital for each group to directly take over the state machinery for themselves. In the long electoral campaign that was ferociously fought between the different traditional political sectors, the winning Duvalierist gangs used the state machinery not only against the people -- which was to be expected -- but also against the other gangs of reaction. Public liberties do not even exist.

In summary : the incredible misery of the working masses, the weakness of the regime as a result of the hostility between the different reactionary gangs, the blind and ferocious repression and disappearance of all liberties for the people has created a new situation that permits new forces to advance steadily in the country.

The Duvalier Government did not fall from the sky. It is the expression of the crisis of the regime and of world imperialism. Because the reactionary classes have been and always will be impotent in solving crisis, only the revolutionary action of the people will be sufficient to change the situation.

Up to now the Haitian masses have developed combat under different forms. The workers, students, and professionals have sustained important syndical and political battles despite the repression. During 1961 students organized a powerful strike which took an immediate



political character and endangered the power of Duvalier. The peasants have often undertaken violent manifestations in order to defend themselves against the expropriation or the abuses of the "ton-ton macoutes." Likewise on three or four occasions groups of patriots took the initiative of armed action that failed because of the authors' political inexperience and their isolation from the people.

The new opposition constantly organizes itself on a superior level: it supports portions of the vanguard, it does not yet entrust to itself the Role of Liberators, it works together on the basis of a program or

any way on the basis of ideas; it turns its back on the past and looks toward the future, condemning the imperialists, the big businessmen and the feudal lords; it desires to lean upon the masses, to conscientiously support and guide them in assault: for these reasons this front has been established -- the United Democratic Front of National Liberation.

It is a front which agrees to solve the present revolutionary situation. Our work is to unify the action of all Haitian revolutionaries and put an end to the division within our ranks in order to lead the masses in armed struggle against Duvalierism. We are convinced of the future demolition of the Duvalierists (by the popular forces), the bulwark of imperialist domination in Haiti. The popular forces will lead radical changes in the in the structure of the regime and will strike a strong blow against

imperialism.

The demolition of Duvalierism and the regime which sustains it will constitute our particular contribution to the struggle of the peoples of Santo Domingo and of Vietnam, to struggles of the peoples of the world against international imperialism, against Northamerican imperialism.

Brother Delegates: when the Northamerican imperialists occupied our country the Haitian people heroically resisted Yankee aggression. Our valiant peasants under the leadership of Charlemagne Peralta and Benoit Batraville entrenched themselves in the mountains and molested the U.S. Military. But due to lack of a revolutionary vanguard and isolation from other countries they were eventually annihilated, and their leader Charlemagne Peralta was captured then shot after being appended to a wooden cross. Since then the times have changed. On Dominican soil and in Haiti determined and shining vanguards work in order to unite both peoples against their principal enemy -- U.S. imperialism. Besides, the socialist countries and revolutionary movements of other countries are determined to aid our two peoples. Imperialism cannot take action on their whim. Recently, U.S. imperialism disembarked troops in Santo Domingo, but it is incapable of imposing its peace; it is incapable of dominating the popular resistance. The Dominican people will conquer U.S. imperialism.

The Northamerican imperialists have cynically affirmed, since the events of Santo Domingo, their will and right to land their troops where they please.

But the Haitian and Dominican peoples learn their lesson of history. And now on Dominican territory workers and patriots have begun to get along with the people that struggle against Northamerican imperialism.

The Haitian and Dominican peoples under their respective vanguards and leaning upon Brother peoples are obliged to cooperate and they will cooperate in order to make the imperialists pay dearly for the humiliations of yesterday and today. They must wage a long and difficult struggle. But closely united with and aided by Brother peoples, they will fling the Northamerican imperialists into the sea and annihilate, internally, the puppets that support yankee imperialism.

Brother Delegates: the Haitian people must meet above all else the battle against Northamerican imperialism. But we are jointly liable with the struggle of all the peoples against the other imperialists and

we want to extend our hand especially to the West Indian people who struggle against French, British, and Dutch imperialism. Since all the imperialist have an understanding amongst themselves to maintain their colonies in the Carribean, the Carribean people must unify their action against international imperialism headed by the U. S. A. We propose that the Tricontinental Conference should adopt a practical resolution with that perspective. Equally, as they come to their accursed agreement on their passing divergences on less essential questions, they are determined to smother the peoples' struggle for social progress, peace and socialism. It is in response to this that the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America united in common action against international imperialism. Because of that we desire that the Tricontinental Conference make a resolution by which to establish a permanent organization to coordinate the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

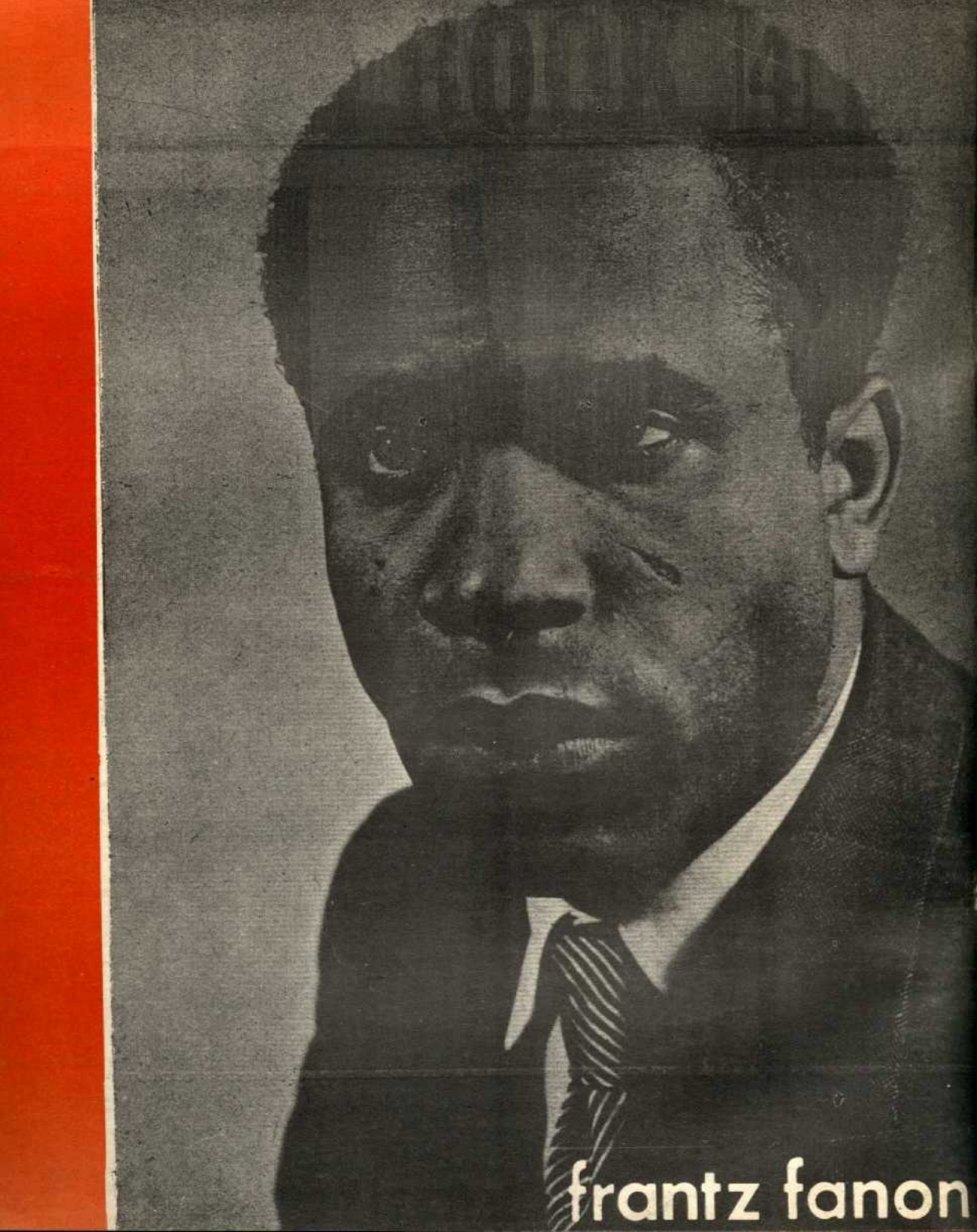
DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALISTS!

LONG LIVE THE WEST INDIAN PEOPLES!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA, ASIA, AND LATIN AMERICA!

1. page 50 "...without a revolutionary mood among the masses, and without conditions favoring the growth of this mood, revolutionary tactics would never be converted into action; but we.. have been convinced by long, painful and bloody experience of the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built up on revolutionary moods alone...Expressing one's 'revolutionariness' solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, solely by hurling abuse a repudiating participation in parliaments, is very easy; but just because it is too easy, it is not the solution for a very difficult, problem." 4.
2. page 51 ii." the election to public office of these militants from the organization should constitute a test of these cadres within the day to day activities of the revolutionary movement; the roles which they play (or fail to play) during their terms of office ~~should~~ serve as guidelines to future roles which they will be allowed to play during the course of the revolutionary struggle; for this reason alone we see the necessity of these militants being responsible to a dedicated revolutionary organization, which in turn must be responsible to the masses of black people whom it serves. "
3. (page 60 top of the page).....
 " a force to take power. We're not a protest movement. We're out to take power legally, but if we're stopped by the government from doing it legally. We're going to take it the way everyone else took it, including the way the Americans took it in the American Revolution." 21.
4. Page 72 (first quote)
 "The Negro workers must either follow the bourgeoisie when it leads on civil rights or swing to the (bourgeois) nationalist wing. It has no other perspective except racial apathy." 2.
5. Page 72 (second quote)
 "It is in this area," he contends, "that the most crucial American class struggle lies.It is only the nationalist wing which vocally objects to this exploitation."



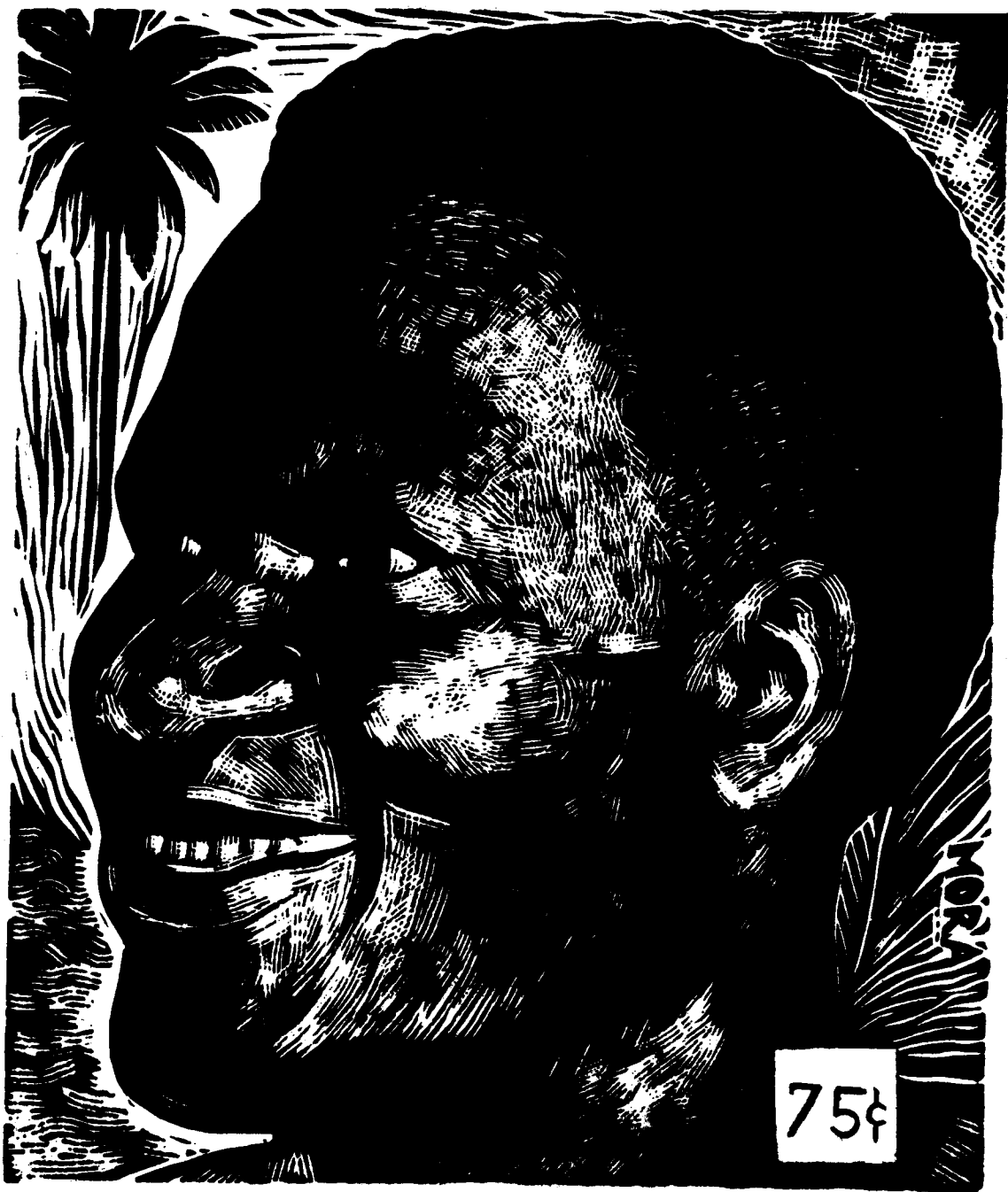


frantz fanon

SOULBOOK

no.

6



the original

SOULBOOK

P.O. BOX 1097
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94701

LIBRO de NEGRISMO

LIVRE de NÉGRITUDE

Kitabu cha Wensu

distribution manager : MWANANCHI harold robinson

editorial board : WANANCHI donald freeman, issac moore. ernie allen,
alvin morrell, kenn m. freeman. carroll holmes, bobb hamilton.
leo r. huey

new york representative : MWANANCHI bobb hamilton

atlanta representative : MWANANCHI donald p. stone
2170 penelope st. n. w.
atlanta, georgia

SOULBOOK contributors
WANANCHI

harry haywood	anita cornwell
willie green	larry neal
carol freeman	ed bullins
willy kgotsitsile	cedric little
leroi jones	rolland snellings
clarence major	alfredo pena
doug allen	
hassan	

cable address: E M I R

labor donated

THE ORIGINAL
SOULBOOK

editorial	85	blackness, that's where it's at!!
mohamed cherif	89	science in the service of revolution
frantz fanon	94	racism in france
j ponder	111	a 'ghetto' masculinity
ernie allen	98	love me
reject notes	120	poetry of carol freeman, leroi jones, sonia sanchez, major carter wright, h winfield tavasti, william r lamppa, k william kgositsile, bobb hamilton
harry haywood	137	the nation of islam
cedric little	146	problems facing black america
willie green	153	the world is the black man's land

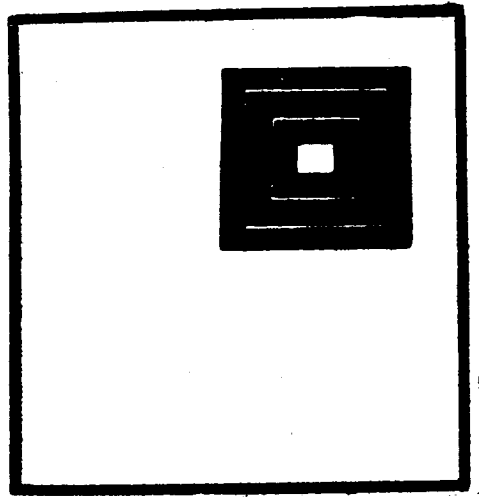
volume **2**

number 2

winter - spring issue

year of organization 1967 mwaka wa kuratibisha

Copyright, 1967, by SOULBOOK inc., p.o. box 1097 berkeley, calif.
94701, all rights reserved. all correspondence concerning manuscripts
and business matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p.o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. 94701.



blackness, thats where its at!

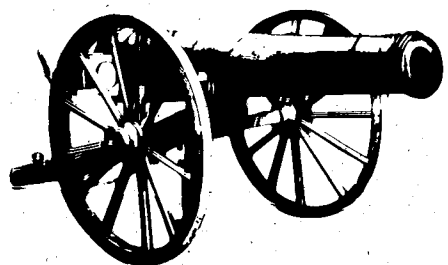
Editorial

/ Na Watengenezaji

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



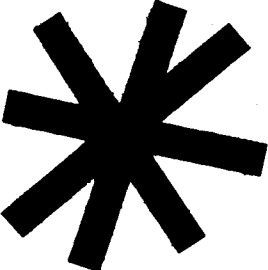
Uwezo Meusi!

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."

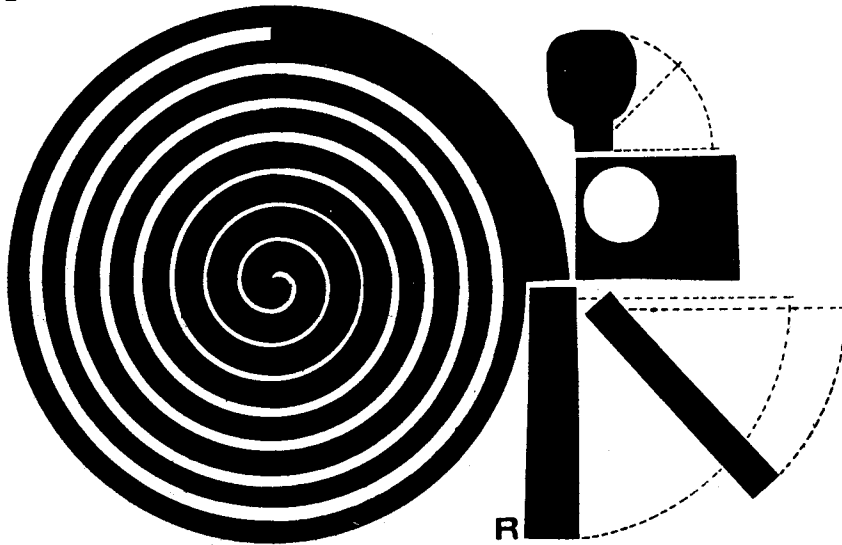
OUR ANCESTORS, THE GAULS

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.³ 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 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 BOURGEOSIE

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 naturalize 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 DeGaulle 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.



"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 blancs* (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," ⁵ 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." ⁹ 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." ¹⁰.

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." ¹¹.

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-americanans 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 underlies this slogan, but rather, that the sentiment is channeled into a "cultural" bag. And one of the biggest practical problem presently facing our liberation struggle is precisely the politicization 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 go through 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 he 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 woman 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 oppressors, 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 confusion 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

- 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 egos 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

BROTHERS

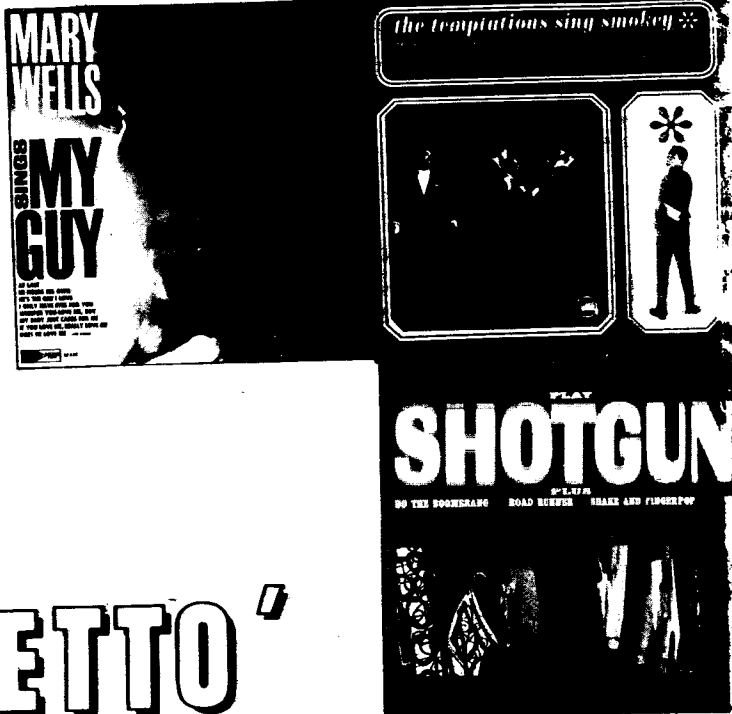
&

SISTERS

JOIN :

BLACK PANTHER PARTY





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 Cordones 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 Cordones 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 Cordonces 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 Mataniquais, c'est la pemie fois que je viens en Fance."
 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
-

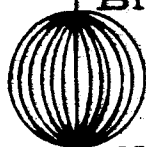
353 East 31st Street
Chicago, Illinois
60616

5 east
Gallery

3

Phone 842-0188

Mary Daniel
Jose Williams
Al Tyler
Bill Daniel
Howard Mallory



OPEN DAILY 3 P.M. TO 9 P.M.
CLOSED MONDAY

From **KUMASI** superlative collection of ultra-African feminine elegance comes

AFRICAN EMPIRE JEWELRY

Designed with a contemporary flair, this unique jewelry exhibits a dynamic combination of shapes with bold and powerful, thick-thin, rhythmic lines. You will be fascinated with the artistic use of black and gold and the earthy flavor of natural woods. Each piece is delicately sculptured for the lady who is discriminating both in taste and care of her finery.

KUMASI

A leading Afro-American artist-designer, excitingly displays the superb strength of his African heritage. Cultural consciousness and majestic craftsmanship passed on to him over the centuries, from father to son, in the finest of African tradition.

The name of the jewelry is a tribute to the Empires of Africa and all aspects of her culture - people, places, events. Each creation is sculptured with meticulous craftsmanship that is unmistakably **KUMASI**

KUMASI
3001 FULTON STREET
BERKELEY, CALIF.
PHONE: 849-4513



FOR MALCOLM:

POEMS ON

THE LIFE AND THE DEATH OF MALCOLM X

"Perhaps no one in many years has stirred the emotions and the imagination of his people so profoundly as the late Malcolm X. This memorial volume of poems testifies to the deep and varying impressions he has left. It is a book of eloquent and impassioned verse, sometimes thoughtful, sometimes elegiac, sometimes angry, sarcastic or violent."

for information, write to: BROADSIDE PRESS,
12651 Old Mill Place, Detroit, Michigan 48238

BLACK **A** **R** 

reject **No**

120

mashairi

ULOZI

Black Panther
MUSLIMS
CORE
SNCC
poesia
negra

MONK

leroi Jones

Carol Freeman

Marange

Philly Dog

JAMES BROWN

Bougaloo

Claude McKay

Placide

COLTRANE

Cake Walk

YORUBA

Tchicaya U Tam'si

NOMMO

Touré

Samori

SHANGO

RA

LUMUMBA

Maceo

nat Turner

MALCOLM X

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

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 vengeance 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
motorcycled 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 miasmic 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 of

mened anguish roars
and mumbling

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

ordoned that, the
intrusions

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 citys cry
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...

william r. lamma

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

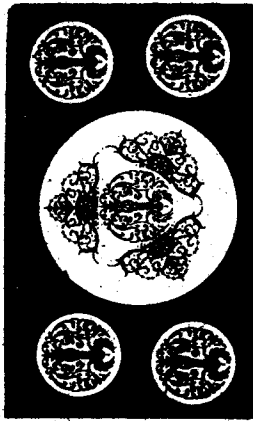
W.W.

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.

leroi 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. ¹

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." ² 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 sitiners - 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



Whiteney 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) ⁶

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. ⁷ We also negotiated with various Souther 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. ⁸ 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. ⁹

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. ⁹



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 bourgeoisie-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

145

don't join

*devils'
army*



join

✉ *afroamericans
for freedom*

P O BOX 6161

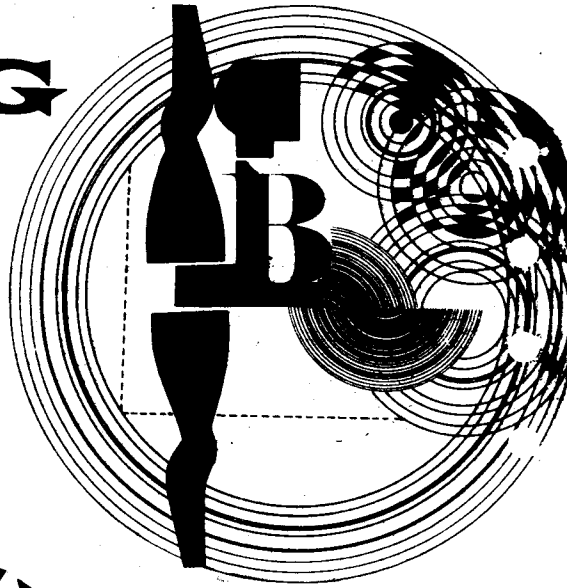
ELMHURST STATION

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 salvemasters.

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.

BLACK POWER!

p o box 15187

bi-weekly

san francisco, calif. 94115

10¢ per copy



the world is the black man's land

part 2: power in the world

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. ²⁶ 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 arising 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. ²⁷

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. ²⁸

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)." ²⁹ 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").

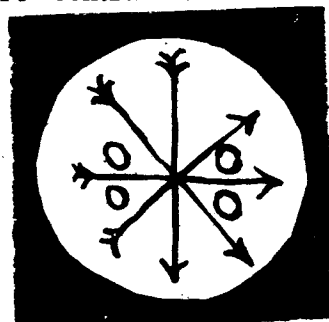
There is one last position to which we must address ourselves; this is the solution which was posed by the Boggs, one which is tied up with the struggle for Black Liberation in the US as well as the rising conditions for the Cybernetic Revolution. Because so many words have interjected themselves from 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.³¹ 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.³² 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. ³⁴

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 hungering 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 wolf, 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 "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^{no} 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'arprauvrir 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!!

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 Césaire and Fanon should inspire us all in our own personal relationships. And to those of us who still believe in "gay" Pared his exposé 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

PARTIAL CONTENTS OF **SOULBOOK** 7 & 8

1. more unpublished writings by FRANTZ FANON
2. FANONIAN IDEOLOGY AND THE PEASANTRY OF THE
THIRD WORLD by abdelbaki hermassi
3. RACISM AND SOCIALIST SOCIETY , WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO THE CUBAN REVOLUTION
4. more writings by HARRY HAYWOOD
5. poetry by HOCHIMINH;leroi JONES;Ca Rol f RE E man
soniasanchez; BOBBHAMILTON;clarencemajor
6. CHEIKH ANTA DIOP'S writings on Egypt
7. a thorough critical analysis of LIBERATOR magazine
8. a thorough critical analysis of BLACKNESS and all its
related aspects!!!

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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES :

annual subscription by ordinary mail is \$3.00 inside u.s., \$4.50 outside
u.s.; annual subscription by airmail is \$5.50 inside u.s., \$10.00 outside
u.s.; . there are four issues in an annual subscription.
one copy costs 75¢.

آرسل سلا

(Peace Man)

We're in it together



Kitabu Cha Weusi