

# SOULBOOK

# 10

The Afrikan family as a unit  
of struggle  
for Afrikan National Liberation  
inside  
the u.s.a.



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*There is no force, however  
formidable, that a united  
People cannot overcome.*  
Kwame Nkrumah

This issue of SOULBOOK is officially dedicated to  
(Joan Chesimard) sister Assata Shakur and to sister  
~~JoAnn Little~~ who exemplify the best traditions of  
resistance and struggle by Afrikan women inside the  
U.S.A.

LONG LIVE Assata Shakur!  
LONG LIVE JoAnn Little!



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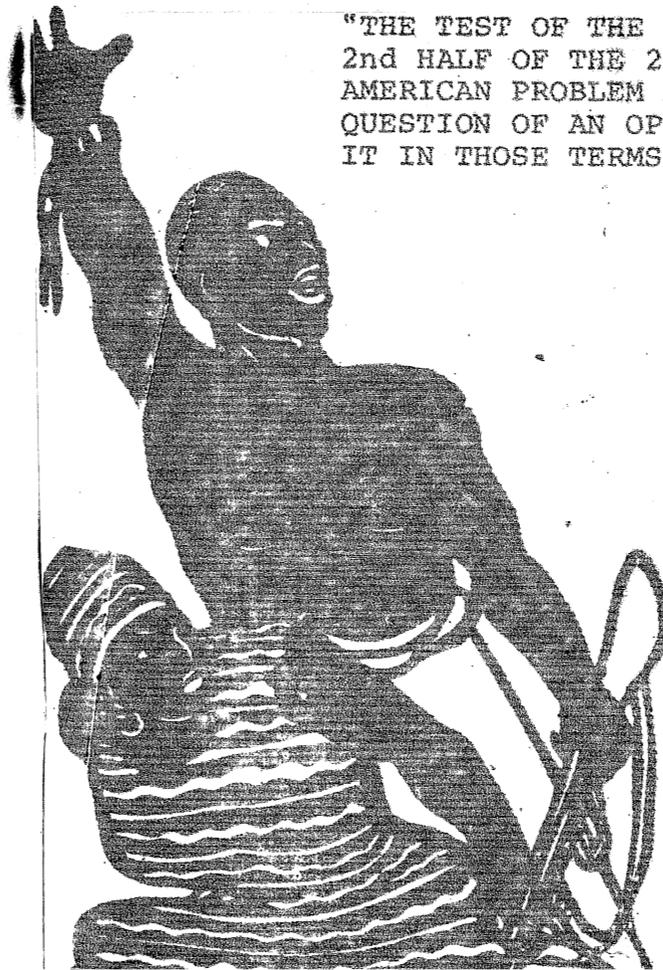
# SOULBOOK

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE CAMBODIAN REVOLUTION!  
LONG LIVE THE VIETMANESE REVOLUTION!  
WE WILL WIN!!!!!!

# The National Question

"THE TEST OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE  
2nd HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY IS TO SEE THE AFRO-  
AMERICAN PROBLEM AS A COLONIAL QUESTION, AS THE  
QUESTION OF AN OPPRESSED NATION AND TO DISCUSS  
IT IN THOSE TERMS IN THE VARIOUS WORLD ASSEMBLIES".

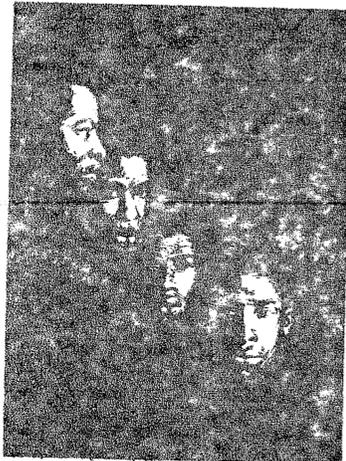
EUSI KWAYANA



the editorial board of soulbook

## TOWARDS IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY:

### Africans in the u.s.a.'s Sacred Right to Self-Determination



*They're gonna fight  
They'll make things right  
They'll give their babies  
Black stories to tell  
About brothers, brothers  
Everywhere,  
And not a one for sale.*

i see icy winter landscapes winterscapes

attacking my nation's body

Cold winds causing pneumonia & creating

wind chapped memories

have moved on us

Moved in hoping for the kill

kill it  
kill the niggas  
kill them  
kill the niggas

## EDITORIAL

They have attempted to transform land/life/scapes  
into Buffalo memories

and naked skeletons

i can feel the deathly claws

of new left erroneousness

Reaching out to smother Us in its snowy shadow

Our growing strength of nation

new way consciousness

kill it

kill the niggas

kill them

kill the niggas

My body wracks & jerks with the pain

the shooting pain

shooting thru my nerves in my hands

my fingertips

twisting my arms

crushing my chest

attacking my stomach

The Pain

making the tears stream

down my face



kill it  
 kill the niggas  
 kill us  
 kill the niggas

october '74  
 shafeah m'balia

\*\*\*\*\*

Most marxist -- both Black and white -- assume that racial prejudice is a product of capitalism; therefore with the disappearance of capitalism, racism also disappears.

In other words, what the latest ideological fad in a certain segment of the petit-bourgeoisie "leadership" of Black america is to treat anti-Black racism in the u.s. as if it were "merely" a component of the superstructure (1) of capitalist society which, after socialist revolution, the racist superstructure disappears and is gradually replaced by a new superstructure - devoid of racism - corresponding to the new economic basis. But this over-simplified schema fails for two reasons: "In a large part contradictions between the white working class and its own bourgeoisie is over the division of the spoils, superprofits, and surplus value produced by Black america and other colonized and neocolonized nations: ... The struggle over the profits and surplus value produced by the white working class and between its exploiting bourgeoisie is secondary". (2)

Thus the struggle for self-determination of Black america is crucial because it is a struggle to determine the fate of the Black people in the usa. It is a struggle to rip the entire New Afrikan nation & territory, this source of superprofits from the hands of the imperialists. Therefore: "a real victory by Afro-america and other small nations will create the

conditions for the end of white usa imperialist concessions to its working class". (3)

The second reason is that racism also manifests itself at the level of the superstructure. But historical evidence indicates that there is no a priori guarantee that racism will disappear during or after the transition from capitalism to socialism. In fact, its mere presence might retard the development of socialism, or worst, force the society back to a revival of capitalism. Therefore, it should be obvious that an independent struggle against racism is necessary inside the usa. The main basis and program of this independent struggle must be the right to self-determination up to and including secession for Black america and any other oppressed nation currently existing within the racist empire of the usa, from the us. So is it not ironic -- as well as ridiculous -- that Amiri Baraka and Ron Karenga, who through the doctrine of Kawaida and who, in the past, inspired so many Black people to appreciate self-determination (Kujichagulia) are now the leading exponents -- along with much of the white left, center, and right -- of denying the right to self-determination to Afrikans colonized inside the usa?

So much of the present confusion and drift of Baraka and Karenga towards integration is illustrated in their omission of the Haitian revolution in their historical analysis of significant events and struggles amongst and by Pan-Afrikan peoples. But should we be surprised? Carlos Moore told us: "They (Marx and Engels) ignored completely the greatest revolutionary event of the 19th century: The Haitian Revolution of 1894. Haiti: where for the first time in history, a revolution composed and conducted entirely by enslaved laborers overthrew the slavemaster and established the basis for the development of free labor. Haiti: where the Black masses triumphed over aryan oppressors; Haiti: where the first popular revolution in the americas emerged victorious, Haiti

was the revolutionary example that the champions of "international solidarity" chose to ignore". (4)

## UHURU SASA

### BLACK NATION

Can we deny the significance of the Haitian revolution to Black people in America when it is quite clear that this event of Black slaves demonstrating that Black people, relying on their own capacity and international contradictions, could defeat the most powerful European armies of the time? Can we imagine the impact of this great struggle for Black state power on the mass of Black slaves? On Denmark Vesey? On Nat Turner? On David Walker? On Martin Delaney? We submit that this great significant event did much to crystallize and consolidate Black confidence in developing Black nationalist institutions and ideologies as well as the aspirations of Black America.

By Baraka and Karenga (et al) ignoring this they are able to speak of Black nationalism in America as being "subordinate" to and merely a "reaction" to white racism.

So let us examine what Black nationalism in the U.S.A. is all about. Black nationalism is in a large part a product of the experience of being taken captive away from virtually all Black African societies as a consequence of the European slave trade and Western plantation systems. Emerging from this Pan African Nationalist resistance to this captivity (which meant the "maintaining of the basic African psyche (and being) in African communities" (5)) in the face of this dehumanizing process of the Euro-American chattel-slavery system came the reforging of a "common language, common territory, a psychological makeup manifested in a community of

culture" (6) -- as well as a common economic life that was so cohesive and integrated as to establish a mode of production (7) never before seen on the "American" continent.

Because this society was born in wars of white imperialism against Africans, Black nationalism inside the United States has been and is a reality; one that was deeply affected by the magnificence of the Haitian revolution, the trauma and the tradition of resistance against captivity and the "middle passage". We were also deeply affected by the semi-paralysis caused by the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and the disillusionment in white authority caused by the treachery of the U.S. government. Our nationalism is continuously refreshed and sustained by anti-Black thought and practices by the white left and white working class and peasantry in this country. Thus, the nature of the African-American experience has generated a national consciousness in which the nightmare of forced emigration to a hostile closed world and the dread of extinction by violence and dehumanization is ever present.

In a word, Black people in the U.S. constitute a nation of oppressed people which the migration to the cities and the civil rights movement has NOT diminished, but if anything has intensified and added to the preponderance of evidence of our nationhood. The cause of the civil rights concessions is that the U.S. imperialism in acute crisis has been forced to make tactical concessions on the Black question in the U.S. however, the dominant tendency of these concessions is to give the appearance of change without the substance.

Can we believe for a moment that in a society which maintains more Blacks in prison than in college simultaneously affords Black people the same rights as the members of the oppressor nation? Are we to believe that in a society that is accepting for the vice president of the USA a murderer who in 1971 was responsible for the massacre of more than 40 unarmed Black

men has eliminated its colonial domination of its Black subjects? Have we not understood the colonial nature of mass sterilization of Black women in America? The masses of the world can see the oppressor/oppressed reality between Black America and white America as it is so vividly demonstrated in the South Boston "busing" brutality.

Brother Akinshegun states it brilliantly:

"... the Nixon court's overturning of the 1954 (separate but equal) school desegregation bill by ruling that it is "unconstitutional" for pupils to be bussed across district lines ... and in San Francisco the Muslims are being jailed, along with many other Brothers, indiscriminately under the guise of the Zebra killer while Sister Assata Shakur, after giving birth to a baby girl, sent back to a dungeon to rot, and the RNA all stand unprotected by any formidable mass movement, all these and more, dear comrades, form our reality." (8)

Baraka's one-sided, distorted placing of the question of tactical concessions leads him to pretend that the colonial character of our struggle is finished -- when in fact, the colonial character of our struggle has only sharpened the internal and external contradictions involved.

How can he speak of the elimination of the colonial nature of our struggle by the civil rights movement while at the same time verbosely speak of anti-imperialist struggle? How can he support the independence of Puerto Rico as a necessary anti-imperialist act when the "Commonwealth" status of Puerto Rico has given Puerto Ricans the right to elect Puerto Rican mayors and also to elect the governor of Puerto Rico. But were these tactical concessions by imperialism sufficient to eliminate the colonial character of the Puerto Rican struggle? How could the civil rights movement which has produced less rights for Afro-Americans within the U.S. than for Puerto Rico be sufficient to eliminate the colonial character of our national oppression???

Can Baraka be serious about anti-imperialism if he rejects the colonized nation-state category for Black America and relegate us to a "national minority"? Any

6th grader in the Peoples' Republic of China knows that a national minority has no right to self-determination. But if a people are recognized by the international community as an oppressed nation then they have a right to self-determination: They have a right to control their destiny which among other things means their grievances and problems be listened to and adjudicated on an international basis.

So if you deny that you are a colonized, oppressed nation, but are still subjugated, then you are in effect denying your rights and aspirations of power and membership in the world community of nations. Therefore by this line of reasoning, we would continue to be an internal problem of the U.S.A.; Malcolm's strategy of internationalization of the Afro-American struggle would be permanently sabotaged and Black America's leadership would have -- for all time -- abandoned -- without struggle - one of the most effective weapons of power we have to achieve progress and liberation for the masses of subjugated Afrikans in the U.S.A.: that is the right to self-determination for all Afrikans colonized in the U.S. whether by means of a plebiscite, that is, a Black national vote to determine if we want to be citizens of the U.S. or any other nation-state already formed, or to be formed, and/or any other means available to us to make our national voice heard internationally. THIS IS A SACRED RIGHT OF OUR PEOPLE. It will not be bargained away by those who prefer mental deals with western civilization than a complete reliance on our people and the utter justness of our struggle to free our nation from U.S. domestic colonialism!!

WE MUST SURVIVE FOR AFRIKAN NATIONAL LIBERATION INSIDE THE U.S.A.!!!

# Liberation!

# black street nationalism

EDITORIAL

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Superstructure: Sum total of ideas, morals, philosophies, aesthetics of a particular society.
- 2) House of Umoja Self-Determination document, page 3
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Moore, Carlos, "Were Marx and Engels White Racists?" page 25
- 5) Ahmad, Muhammad, "The Politicalization of Afrikan Culture"
- 6) House of Umoja Self-Determination document, page 1
- 7) Mode of Production: Combination of productive forces and productive relations\*
- 8) Akinshegun, Statement of Afrikan Prisoners of War, October 1974

\*  
Productive forces: Includes the means of production, (which is the combination of instruments and objects of labor: Instruments of labor are any kind of tool that is used to transform nature. Objects of labor are anything upon which labor is expended upon or done.) and production relations (relations which arise among people during the process of production, distribution and exchange. These are essentially relations between people: who tells who what to do and when to do it.).

\*This statement is an editorial statement of SOULBOOK (Copyright, 1975 SOULBOOK ) Editorial Board, Theoretical Journal of AFRIKAN PEOPLES PARTY, P.O. Box 61213, Los Angeles, California 90059



As in most revolutions the great majority of the people never understand all the theoretical aspects of the revolution. This is also true of the black revolution in which the majority of the brothers and sisters will identify with the overall goals and objectives of the revolution, but will never, until after the revolution, study the dynamics of revolution. But this does not in any way mean that the people, the brothers on the block, do not understand revolution, are not willing to support the movement and are not prepared for what's to come; quite the contrary, sometimes the brother (do rag nationalist) on the block is more prepared to engage in revolutionary action than some so-called revolutionaries.

## STREET NATIONALISM

But to move to revolutionary action, the brother from the street must understand his contradictions, his experiences and must learn what has to be done in time of urban guerilla warfare if he is to stay alive.

The brother from the street having survived the traumatic era from 1930 to 1950 is still undergoing a psychological revolution and events are more and more making him into a guerilla. With the destruction of the Garvey movement by 1929 and the depression, our people collectively went through a mental as well as an economic depression. It has taken our nation some forty years to recover from this traumatic experience. The destruction of the Garvey movement and the systematic, well-planned character assassination of Marcus Garvey branding him as a crook, was part of a systematic plan by the white power structure to destroy the desire of the African-American to lean towards Black Nationalism and to destroy Garvey's influence within the United States. With constant brainwashing about the failure of Garvey and his being a crook, the black mass soon became convinced that joining the movement has been a mistake. This conviction affected at least five million and influenced an entire generation. The trend or thought in the street while still being one of an intense hate for the white man, the soul brother soon felt that the white man had all mighty power and began to worship unconsciously white, Anglo-Saxon symbols of beauty, authority and power. The depression generation (those now in their late forties and fifties) suffered from this the most, having grown up in an era in which throughout the nation by gun and rope "white was right, this is a white man's country, you getting smart boy, you know what happens to smart niggers", "if you're black, get back; Tarzan, a white man, scares all the natives in their own forest, even the man-eating animals, little black sambo is the national joke along with the young rascals". Within the traumatic period

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Hitler emerges with his doctrine of Aryan superiority, the KKK goes on another lynching spree to keep the niggers in line and the brother on the street, just barely being able to eat and sometimes not even doing that, watches in rage, waging individual confrontations but knowing that we as a people are disorganized; so he attempts to survive the best way he knows how. But somewhere in the wilderness of North America he hears a voice cry out "the whiteman is the devil; separate and join your own kind." It's the voice of the most honorable Elijah Muhammad, Messenger of Allah and father of the Black Cultural Revolution.

The brother survives the traumatic period becoming more of an outlaw during the 1940's when, because of a white man's shortage during World War II, he gains in economic status only because his labor is needed and because through the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph a national strike and national chaos threatens, and through waging self-defense against racist attacks in northern cities a national disaster threatens in time of a major war. Black soldiers facing racial discrimination and racial abuse at home and abroad take over towns, engage in open warfare with white troops, come home prepared to join the movement only to find the major Negro organization, the NAACP; unwilling and incapable of waging a national liberation struggle. Further tactic terror swept America after the war to force the black soldier back into submissiveness, but the brothers struggle and organize as best they can under the given conditions. Unable to find work more and more brothers turn to hustling (getting some back dues) in order to survive. The mass exodus from the rural areas to the city continues as millions try to find work and in many cases to avoid terrorism. Then comes the Korean War, a generation is evolving out of the

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traumatic period, slowly developing a passive resistance movement against the racist system, sometimes not answering to being called "boy", or not always smiling when a white person looks at us; sometimes looking them straight in the eye, showing anger and black hate; sometimes not even getting off the sidewalk or moving over when white people walk down the street.

Then came the transitional period from 1950 to 1960. Though we still hated being black because black meant failure, nothing and everything bad, why even Africans looked down on us and didn't want to have anything to do with us, no one wanted to be an American Negro, something without a history who sat through three hundred years of slavery without even raising a finger, being freed by a good devil and being treated as well as could be expected since we didn't have the brains to do anything. These are some of the stereotypes that white America has tricked us into believing for some forty years. This will prove to be America's doom because superimposed inferiority complexes will produce reinforcement that leads to drives to excel or become superior to the colonizer. The colonizer, without realizing it, by racial discrimination and injustices, produces a superior nation out of the colonized nation, because the colonized nation must excel by far the colonizer just to be accepted on an individual basis as equal. The cultural dynamic through the dialectical process produces a whole generation from the oppressed, capable of excelling the oppressor's generation, making the oppressed more capable of running the society than the oppressor. Realization and motivation to excel or surpass the oppressor began to take place within the black community within the transition period. The drive was expressed in the black bourgeoisie's call for full integration. Without realizing it, they were laying

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the base for a mass revolutionary black nationalist movement that would eventually strive for independent Black nationhood. The Korean War was the turning point for the brother from the street. As usual he was forced to fight another white-man's war, but this time he had a different kind of experience. Many black soldiers returned to America with a different outlook; for one, the all mighty white man united could not win the Korean War, the white man, America was fought to a stand-still, and in many cases the brother who was captured, surrounded by North Koreans or Chinese was treated as a brother and was told that they (the Asians) were fighting the same enemy - the foreign "devil". Events picked up at a swift rate after the Korean War: the myth had been destroyed. The murders of Emmitt Till and Mack Parker almost touched off national race wars as confrontations occurred across the country. The black mass was beginning to move collectively. The Supreme Court decision was a victory for the black bourgeoisie creating the illusion of rising expectations of full equality for their next generation.

But then came the impossible - total unity of a black community to achieve an objective. One afternoon in December, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, an active civil rights worker, decided she was not going to give her seat to a white man while sitting on a bus coming home from work. The Montgomery, Ala. black community organized a massive, year-long boycott which produced a mass spokesman, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr. King advocated massive passive resistance through direct action demonstrations against racist system. From 1956 to 1959 cadres began to form around Dr. King's philosophy of passive resistance. In 1958 Dr. King lead a prayer vigil to Washington, D.C. and emerged as the new national leader. Also developing was active resistance when

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in 1957 Robert F. Williams, then president of Monroe, N.C. chapter of the NAACP, armed the black community and fought it out with the Klan.) William's activity, statements and militancy soon led to his suspension and expulsion from the NAACP. During this period a spokesman for the Nation of Islam, Minister Malcolm X, began to attract many brothers from the street as they heard of the coming War of Armagedon between God, whose proper name is ALLAH, the Asiatic Blackman and the Caucasian Devil.

The brother from the street during this time was going through many changes. Because of economic recession, more and more brothers became (lumpen proletariat) underemployed or unemployed and many more turned to the "life" to make it. Black consciousness began to slowly develop among the brothers as they began to see African nations gaining independence and felt the impact of the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. Slowly, he began to dig his blackness, often expressing it in black music. Simple things, but profound, began to happen; like a brother or brothers stopped using the "black" in a derogatory way, stopped fighting one another because someone called you black. Black wasn't so bad, even though we still processed our hair getting that do "good hair", but the Muslims, the Nation of Islam, began to awaken many brothers from the street.

But the thing that affected the entire black community, though the brothers from the street didn't agree with their tactics, was the birth of the sit-in movement. The sit-in movement ended the transition period and started the protest era in which the entire black community became involved in protest in some form or another. The brothers who have always been victims of racist terror could not stomach the concept of non-violence knowing that the enemy is violent,

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has been violent and remains violent. In many instances they protected non-violent demonstrators and when racist brutality did occur in outright, blatant form they took to the street waging revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence. This process developed until, through the efforts of nationalists, Muslims, Black consciousness had developed in black America especially in the North. This development continued in 1964 when Brother Malcolm, by developing a new trend, openly advocated armed self-defense and guerilla warfare along with Robert Williams' broadcasts through Radio Free Dixie from Havana, Cuba and through his newsletter, the Crusader, which he developed the concept that the black man could win a revolution by waging urban guerilla warfare. These events, including the murder of innocent black children especially in New York, touched off a spontaneous rebellion by the brothers with the brother taking to the streets. The violent just rebellions against racist brutality which spread across the east coast came after a year of failure by Dr. King to desegregate Birmingham, Ala. and the bombing of Black children attending Sunday school. Brother Malcolm was assassinated in February of 1965. Then came Watts. During the Watts rebellion it was evident that the brother from the block had gained a degree of nationalist consciousness when he raised the cry of "burn, baby, burn" advancing the steps from passive resistance to total community active resistance. As active resistance continues to develop as it has since 1965, developing in a dialectical progression of better-organized resistance from Cleveland, in 1966, Newark, and Detroit in 1967 where brothers held the Army at bay for a couple of hours, stole a tank and waged an advanced stage of guerilla warfare and in Washington, D.C. after the assassination of Dr. King in 1968 forces brothers

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from the street to re-evaluate what they are involved in; a war of national liberation and self-determination; they must realize that when rebellion occurs that it is "no time for looting but time for shooting"; it's no time to be risking your life for some clothes, a television set, washing machine or some beer; if you gonna risk your life let it be for freedom, when the enemy attacks hit him where it really hurts, as brother Rap has said, "I don't have to tell you what to do -- you know what to do and when and how. If you must have whities' material things let the women and children get it and if the enemy attacks them, then it's national war." The brother from the street is beginning to realize he is in a revolution; he should because if he doesn't he will become an expendable generation to the emerging revolutionary generation who's not going to take this shit any longer. The brother will have to become revolutionary by the force of the changing times or will be cannon fodder, useless to himself and to the liberation of the Black nation. In order to survive and fulfill his role in the Black revolution, the brother from the street must transform himself, develop different concepts of manhood, and become a guerilla.

The Black male being totally castrated (psychologically) in the white man's world, searches for a sense of identity of manhood when he becomes conscious of himself. Freed into a condition of economic servitude, social degradation, the Black manchild doesn't have many positive male authority symbols. Searching for positive manhood symbols, not being reinforced in the home, usually having a weak father, the Black manchild searches for identity early in life. Grier Cobbs in Black Rage describes, "...The Black boy in growing up encounters some strange impediments. Schools discourage his ambitions; training for valued skills is not available to him. And when he does triumph in some youthful competition he receives

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compromised praise, not the glory he might expect." Having to cover any form of Black masculinity which is usually taken as rebelliousness in the matriarchal society, Black youth living in the ghetto develop worship for symbols that resemble some form of masculinity; gang leaders, pimps, petty gangsters, or athletes, but he constantly sees his idols compromise and every Black male image in the community submit before the beast.

The Black manchild develops manhood drives in the initial years of adolescence when Black youth's consciousness of manhood between the ages of 14 and 19 become their major preoccupation. The period from junior high to high school are years of formulative manhood authority symbols and moray building. Rebelliousness within the Negro subculture though suppressed to keep the caste system of Black male submissiveness intact, is a vital part of Black manhood. Within this period, if a Black youth has not compromised after high school graduation or forced (dropped) out, he will prove to continuously rebel. The starting from the matriarchal at home which enforces the moray of submissiveness in order to survive, or the "accepted" manner for a Negro male to act on a job, or how a Negro male is not supposed to talk harshly to a white male in the economic situation, economic dependancy of the Negro male on the white male for economic survival enforces informally and consolidates compromise of Black manhood. Therefore, if Black youth have not found a political outlet for rebellion by the age of 21 or 22 they will probably compromise and attempt to "adjust" (make it) in the system. Black Youth will begin to think of securing a position in the system or just surviving and making the best as things come to pass. Grier and Cobbs' once again in Black Rage give us one of the clearest descriptions of the socialization process of manhood and how it reflects

to the Black manchild. "Manhood in this country has many meanings but a central theme is clear. Men are very early taught that they have certain prerogatives and privileges. They are encouraged to pursue, to engage life, to attack rather than to shrink back. They learn early that to express a certain amount of aggression and assertion is manly. Every playground, every school yard is filled with boys fighting and attacking, playing at being grown up. The popular heroes in this country are men who express themselves aggressively and assertively.

As boys approach adulthood, masculinity becomes more and more bound up with money-making. In a capitalistic society economic wealth is inextricably interwoven with manhood. Closely allied is power -- power to control and direct other men, power to influence the course of one's own and others' lives. The more lives one can influence, the greater the power. The ultimate power is the freedom to understand and alter one's life. It is this power both individually and collectively, which has been denied the Blackman"...2

The white man physically enslaved and psychologically castrated the Black man. That is, by physically conquering and controlling the Black man and psychologically debasing him from the concept of manhood, he continues to control him. Black manhood in America can only come when the Black male can control his own community and master, determine his own destiny. This means the Black male being the ultimate authority symbol in his community having power to decide the course of his nation. Manhood is synonymous with independent nationhood.

#### A. Hip concept of manhood

The hip concept of manhood is to be slick, hip,

that comes from being the high man in the Black community as a result of lacking any power in the total society. This concept is a concept of false manhood which is actually rebelling against whitey's society without political and military direction. It is an escapist solution to the castration of the Black man.

#### B. Petty-bourgeoisie concept of manhood

The Black bourgeois' concept of manhood is material accumulation in the white man's capitalist system. In essence it is a total compromise or sellout of Black manhood in order to obtain what appears to be manhood through whitey's eyes. The Black bourgeois being brainwashed have no imagery of their own and therefore see everything through whitey's eyes. The closer one comes to obtaining the things that whitey has, the more "man" one is supposed to be. Prestige, status, honor and any form of esteem is seen through one's level of recognition by whitey.

#### C. Petty-bourgeois, pseudo-intellectual concept of manhood

Most brothers who fall into this category are confused intellectuals and have not dealt with the western and eastern concepts of society. Sometimes this does not take an overt form, but is seen in the following ways: the need to see oneself as an intellectual, an intellectual as whitey sees intellect. They usually see themselves as a class separated from the masses of our people. They usually develop a superiority complex as intellectuals, as a result. They still have a degree of whitey's concept of man separated from nature, of brain separated from brawn. Because the creative force is not properly dealt with these brothers are not willing to physically become part of the Black liberation army which

means that they still have bourgeois, romantic concepts of life. These brothers usually place more emphasis on brain and tend to de-emphasize the aggressive spirit of man. They are usually isolated, ivory-tower intellectuals who bicker over nothing.

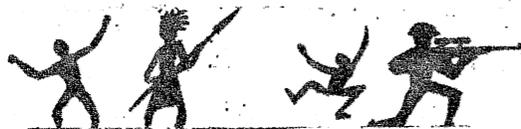
#### D. Black revolutionary concept of manhood

A Black nationalist man is one who has dealt with nature and natural existence of man and the universe. This means that he has come to grips with being the created and the creator at the same time, static and active, God and man. Upon understanding his creative force and powers, the ingenuity of the Black man, he accepts this and puts it in its proper perspective and does not fear this as being any sign of egotism. He gives equal respect to the physical attributes of man, hard work, not classifying the intellect above the brawn. He sees the intellect without the brawn would be incapable of doing anything and vice versa. He embraces the eastern concept that man is inseparable from nature, that they are one. He sees whitey's system of evaluation, the setting of standards for manhood do not apply to him. He sets eastern standards of his own, man's worth according to his contribution to society and according to his needs; one with nature, in time with the universe, always striving for perfection. Every Black revolutionary is a Black revolutionary soldier and not an ivory tower intellectual; he is part of a Black liberation army. In each other concept there is no room to any extent for bourgeois individualism. Each individual drive in the Black revolutionary must be a collective drive and the collective drive must be the individual drive. There must be no desire for individualism, special allowances, the drive must be collective, the concept of we, not me, must stand out.

In developing Black revolution the question of the role of revolutionary Black women must be seriously dealt with. No revolutionary movement has succeeded without involving women in all roles. Also, revolutions usually cause social revolutions in the relationship between man and woman, bringing more social equality to women in the new society. In America the problem is more than surface-deep. For revolutions to be effective they must revolutionize the cultural and family traditions of the old society. While most societies have had strong chauvinistic, patriarchates, in America within the Black communities is a super-imposed matriarchate family system with 40 per cent of the Black families being fatherless. While the Black woman, more so than the Black man, is a victim of psychological degradation being that the beauty symbol in white America is white Anglo-Saxon, straight, long blonde hair and blue eyes and thin lips and flat hips, the Black woman is put in a double trap. The double trap is that she is doubly exploited, forced to man the home because the economic system in order to reinforce the matriarchate and to keep the Black man from having a stable economic base of power grants her more jobs than granting the Black man; she is forced to act out the man's role plus the woman's role in the community. Being able to get jobs more easily than the Black man, outnumbering the Black man two to three to one, and having an oppressive, super-imposed matriarchate system, the cultural question of new relationships of women in a new society that is going to build a strong nation is rather perplexing. This question, though not clearly articulated at the present, will be finally defined as our struggle progresses, but the revolutionary role of Black women in the revolution can be generalized now.

## STREET NATIONALISM

The question of revolutionary Black womanhood can only be solved through revolution. Being culturally debased to hate herself, the Black woman through the matriarchate sub-culture has also been taught to hate the Black man as he has also been taught to hate himself, Blackness, and his woman. The Black woman cannot produce positive love until she learns how to admire, respect her man as a man and a warrior. She must see him as a revolutionary soldier in the home and in life. Unless she does this she will still reflect the negative rebelliousness to his authority which comes from the Negro woman's self-concept or psycho-cultural ego that has been produced and is reinforced daily by the white man's society. If the Black woman fails to do this -- change her present psyche -- she will only serve to further castrate her man even in attempting to follow him, because she will still consider herself in the context of white western society. But as the new crop of Black women begin to take their roles, new definitions of womanhood will manifest and a new positiveness will occur in the Black community. Black women have a very constructive role to play in the Black revolution -- one of cultivating and socializing a new Black nation. Black women are the value setters in the community. Their cultural readjustment and scientific planning of a nation will lead to the emergence of scientifically-trained Black homes which will produce a scientifically-trained Black nation.



## STREET NATIONALISM

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Grier and Cobbs, BLACK RAGE, PP. 58, 59.
- 2 IBID., p. 60.



Willy green



At an international meeting of the Pan African Secretariat<sup>1</sup> held in Georgetown, Guyana, 1971, delegates passed a resolution recognizing the colonial status of Black people in the u.s.a. That resolution called for the liberation of the Black and Indian nations held captives.

A similar resolution was passed the following year. That same year in 1972, CRAC<sup>2</sup> (Committee for the Removal of all Colonialism) was formed. CRAC stated part of its objectives as to "keep before governments and the public the issue of colonialism in the still remaining colonies of the world."

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Particular attention was given to Caribbean nations as Cayenne (Guyane = French Guiana), Suriname, Belize, and the Amerindian people. Small nations are often ignored unless there is an explosion to bring them to the attention of the world. Territories held by the u.s.a. as Guam, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, & Virgin Islands were not ignored.

In an official public statement CRAC called for the "liberation of the largest remaining colony", Black America.<sup>2a</sup>

That is how serious revolutionaries treat the question of Africans in the u.s.a.; they treat it as a colonial question, the continued domination by the slaveowners over the slaves after emancipation. That is how the question is posed to the public, to governments, to international bodies, and to liberation organizations.

The old call by the Nation of Islam of "separation from the white devils" and the call by the Republic of New Africa for "independence now" is correct. Daily, Blacks face the contempt of white america. Because white american society is both racist and capitalist, it is fascist. We can expect no other solution to the racial problems in america than the standard ones, lynch law and genocide. National independence is the only decent solution to the problems of Blacks in the u.s.a.

THE BICENTENNIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

Neither Blacks nor Indians have anything to celebrate other than 200 years of continuous oppression. It is similar with the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians. To all of them the bicentennial is a reminder of how white america scorns them. It is a victory of the descendants of the slaveowners over the slaves, of capital over labor.

**SELF-DETERMINATION AND  
AFRICAN NATIONAL LIBERATION  
IN THE U.S.A.**

The bicentennial will be more than a celebration of capitalist victory though. It will announce to the world that labor and the national question have been tamed, and fully incorporated into the "american melting-pot". A massive effort is now in motion to convince the world the Blacks and Indians are not domestic internal colonies. Propagandists will claim that Blacks and Indians have no stated right of independence; these people only want to be fully integrated into america as equal citizens.

This type of propaganda is not just for home consumption. It is aimed at the Black governments, Third World nations, and liberation organizations. Many of them were only recently dominated by some European power or are presently still fighting colonialism. U.S. imperialism would like to avoid being attacked on the issue of its own colonies. Yet this is the most important weapon that anti-imperialist forces have against u.s. imperialism.

One organization within the Indian nation, the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) is boycotting the bicentennial. The movement is declaring its opposition to u.s. colonial policy with regard to the Indian nation.

The attitude of all anti-imperialists must be to boycott all celebrations of the bicentennial. Governments, nations, and organizations cannot declare that they oppose u.s. imperialism and at the same time support the bicentennial. They cannot claim that they are for the self-determination of nations and national liberation and at the same time support the bicentennial.

#### THE INDEPENDENT BLACK STRUGGLE

What is clear to us is that the 350 years of Black history in North America has been a history of the struggle for self-determination and freedom. This independent struggle waged by Blacks occurred at

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every period. Even before the boarding of the slave ships, we can see it. It occurred on the slave ships, throughout the entire slave era, during reconstruction and post-reconstruction, and on through both World Wars until the present.

This independent Black struggle was fought before white labor was transformed into a modern proletariat or before there was a modern bourgeois capitalist class in the u.s.a. Historically, it actually antedates the modern proletarian struggles in the u.s.a. that are a part of today's reality. No greater "proletarian" consciousness was exhibited than that of the slaves on those southern plantations. American capitalism was tied to those cotton and tobacco plantations.

The slaves ran the plantations. They worked the most modern machines of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Black slaves were the primary source of skilled and unskilled labor in the most advanced industry of the day.

The content of those struggles was generally expressed as Black (African) revolutionary nationalism. Writing in his biography of Henry Garnet, Brother Ofari is correct in stating that, "Black nationalism was as integral a thought in the middle of the 19th century as it is now."<sup>3</sup>

Then, Ofari plainly saw this Black nationalist consciousness in the life of Black people:

"In the south, slave rebellions and the maintenance of Africanism were prominent factors of Black national consciousness. In the North it was expressed in the early 19th century state and national Negro Conventions, the formation of Black churches, schools, and benevolent societies to protect the Black Community from attack by racist whites."<sup>4</sup>



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Blacks recognized their national oppression. David Walker in his Appeal (1827) saw us as a "nation within a nation" and that the slaves must be free. Garnet's experience abroad taught him the value of Black self-determination. As repression of Blacks increased he found that others were also considering a Black nationalist solution to the problems of the Black man and woman. Here is how Garnet responded in 1854 to questions put to him about the course of this independent Black struggle and where a Black nation could be established:

"I hope in the United States: especially if they reopen the slave trade. Then, if we do not establish a nationality in the South, I am mistaken in the spirit of my people."<sup>5</sup>

Garnet, as the mass of Black folk, could see the economic and class basis of their exploitation. Listen to his biographer again:

"Garnet and others saw that economic exploitation was a major factor facing Blacks. Although he did not analyze the system of capitalism from a 'scientific socialist position' (Marxism had not made any appreciable impact on American society in the ante-bellum period), he perceived that Black oppression was closely connected with the dominance of a wealthy landowning class."<sup>6</sup>

It was the daily fight of Blacks that drove men like Garnet to have a clearer view of their oppression. This Black nationalism so endemic to Black people was profoundly against the domination of the class of slaveowners, capitalists, and all exploiters. That is why we are still astounded by the impossible confusion of the new/and old Black adherents to Marxism. Brother Ofari, for example, has outdone himself with his "catholic" conversion. He concludes elsewhere:

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"Nowhere in the world has 'revolutionary nationalism' solidified working class power, overthrown imperialism, or begun the process of building socialism. Without a struggle to transform national consciousness into class consciousness, 'revolutionary nationalism' is just one more illusion to blind blacks to the necessity of socialist internationalism."<sup>7</sup>

This line of reasoning parrots some "official" white marxist masters, who also never cease to label Black nationalism reactionary and who deny to Blacks the right of self-determination. Blacks understand well what kind of tutelage to expect from these "social scientists" and their "scientific analysis".

But what would the 'black revolutionary nationalists' in Haiti have thought of this?<sup>8</sup> Haiti is an example of how Black solidarity was able to overthrow slavery, defeat three imperialists, and embark upon building a collectivist economy. Upon the "revolutionary nationalism" of Haiti rested the hopes of other freedom fighters in South America, the Caribbean, and the u.s.a. Men like Simon Bolivar rushed to Haiti for aid against their class and national oppressors.

Nor was there any lack of class consciousness within the new nation. The social nature of the Haitian revolution and the class struggle which intensified afterwards was the cause of Dessaline's death. He was the danger of a new landed Black and mulatto oligarchy and sided with the poor peasants. Speeches like the following were typical of Dessaline's class loyalties:

"We have waged this war for the others. Before taking up arms against Leclerc, colored people born of white fathers, had absolutely no right of inheritance. How is it then possible that the sons of the settler we have thrown out of the

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country now claim their riches? Shall the Blacks whose fathers are in Africa then be entitled to nothing? Be careful you Blacks and mulattoes! We have fought against the whites. What we have won with our blood belongs to us all. And I shall see to it that it is divided with equity."<sup>9</sup>

Such arguments as Ofari's have always been used to throttle the Black liberation movement not to advance it. Under the mis-used banner of "socialist internationalism" lie a long history of treachery and betrayal of Blacks. This usage of the slogan we strongly oppose. Aime Cesaire, when he was still a revolutionary marxist, made it clear that:

... "Marxism and communism must be harnessed into the service of Black people, and not Black people harnessed into the service of marxism and communism."<sup>10</sup>

But what is more important is to know that the independent struggle of Black people in the u.s.a. has not been halted. At the basis of that struggle is the right to self-determination and freedom. That is clear. Let us see briefly the main trend.

### A LITTLE HISTORY

To be complete we would have to begin from antiquity and talk of the African experience. But for our purposes we pick on the ravages of the slave trade in the 15th century as Africans were transported to the Caribbean and the Americas to be broken in. The slave ship logs are filled with countless entries of revolts aboard deck. The acts of defiance do not stop when land is reached. Those rebellions continued. Neither Spain, nor France, nor Holland, nor Portugal, nor England could suppress those strivings for freedom.

In Brazil the first Black Republic in the Americas was founded in 1630 at Palmares, in the province of

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Pernambuco. It lasted until 1697 when the combined onslaught of several European powers finally overran Palmares. Even then every "quilombo" (village) fought back to a man and to a woman.

In Mexico the Spanish were forced to concede territory to their Black slaves for self-government. San Lorenzo de los Negros became a mini state in 1627.

Cuffy, a Black slave in the Dutch territory of Berbice in Guiana (now Guyana), led a successful revolution in 1763. The slavemasters were defeated and routed in battle. Slave society was completely overturned. Relying upon the memory of their African traditions and customs the slaves destroyed the plantation economy, they proceeded to build a collectivist economy and begin to manage government and civil affairs themselves. Though that Black Republic only lasted a year its revolutionary deeds is a landmark in the struggle for self-determination.

Throughout the Caribbean we see the same course of events in every territory. Whenever the slaves are able they flee the plantations, or take them over to manage them themselves. They set up their own organs of government and self-rule. There is no West Indian or African nation that cannot be proud of this legacy.

Then in 1804 the greatest revolutionary event in the 19th century erupted. Following a long period of revolutionary struggle, the Black slaves tore down the French flag and proclaimed the new nation of Haiti. For twelve years the slaves fought, unaided, not just the French, but defeated the military and diplomatic armies of Britain and Spain.

This was the first instance in modern times in which a major colonial and imperialist power was defeated. Haiti, an oppressed nation of slaves did it. Only the Vietnamese were to repeat this, by defeating the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.

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In Haiti also the former Black slaves immediately began a program of collectivist reconstruction of their nation. We feel it is no accident that Haiti has been nearly bypassed in the history of revolutionary struggles and national liberation movements. Among English writers, only the Black Marxist CLR James has treated that revolution with necessary seriousness in a long study.

In the U.S.A. the Black liberation movement showed its independent existence. The Spanish colony in Florida was not able to restrain the slaves from fleeing to freedom in the forests and establishing independent, self-governing settlements. The French could not stop them in the vast Louisiana territory. The American colonists had little more success in restraining their slaves. Every turn confronted them with acts of defiance and rebellion.

Then the American colonists themselves revolted against England. Slaves in large numbers went over to the British side seeing an opportunity to seize their independence and destroy their slavemasters. The British offered independence as a necessary condition to employing these courageous Black men in their armies.

Other slaves proposed to George Washington that they would fight with the American colonists against British colonialism if their freedom were guaranteed. At first Washington and the other slavemasters refused. Later they had no choice but to accept. Washington himself wrote that, "success will depend upon which side can arm the Negro faster." It was this decisive act of massive numbers of slaves fighting on the side of the colonists that helped save the "American Revolution."

Though Crispus Attucks was brave and outspoken and died at the head of a group of white American colonists defying the British, it was the thousands of Black slaves that wanted their own independence from both the British colonizers and the American slavers that was the important feature of the "American

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Revolutionary War."

The later betrayal of this drive for Black self-determination by the 'bourgeoisie' and later by white labor was to recur over and over.

Following the War and the betrayals, the slaves still continued to organize themselves. In Virginia, under the leadership of Gabriel Prosser in 1800, they organized for the capture of Black state power. Gabriel's plan was to seize the capital, destroy the power of the slaveowners, and establish a new Black state. Only a natural calamity and later an act of betrayal prevented the plan from being put into action. This was one of the largest organized plans for freedom uncovered. It compares with the organization that Denmark Vesey headed in 1822.

Vesey was greatly influenced by the Haitian revolution and the continuous revolts that were taking place on the plantations in America. Like Gabriel he fully intended to establish a new Black state after smashing the power of the slavemasters. Again an act of betrayal prevented success. Yet, the remarkable fact is that the ten to fifty thousand men and women estimated to be part of the organization gives only an inkling of what mass support existed for bold actions to gain freedom.

The revolt carried out by Nat Turner in 1831 electrified the African population in the U.S.A. and shocked the slaveowners. What was his intention? Again, it was to end the domination of the slaveowners over the slaves and construct a Black Republic.

Underlying all of the hundreds of slave rebellions recorded between 1619 and 1860 was the quest for self-determination. Many of them had the direct intention to establish a Black Republic or state. Some of the independent settlements in the forests existed as virtual small states.

It was these ceaseless acts that prevented unity between the northern capitalists and southern slavers during various periods as the Abolition movement and the underground railroad. Most of the

abolitionists as well as the 'conductors' of the Underground Railway were Blacks.

During these periods when "proletarian solidarity" was needed most the white working classes and emigrants from Europe were often in the forefront of anti-black resistance.<sup>11</sup> Whenever a temporary unity occurred as during the Abolitionist movement the break-up inevitably came on the issue of Black independent action and self-determination.

This still did not halt the drive towards Black freedom. Prior to the Civil War Blacks had organized throughout the South and North in widespread secret underground organizations. One of them, the Knights of Tabor (Knights of Liberty) was poised to strike down the slavocracy, abolish slavery, and proclaim a sovereign nation.

Only the approaching conflict between the North and the South, one system based on free exploited labor, the other based on slave labor, held back the launching of a people's liberation war. The North, opposed to the extention of slave labor in new territories, appeared to be for the Black man. Thus, these Black military units of the Knight of Liberty were dissolved and entire bands joined the Union armies.

Without question it was the support of Africans that finally defeated the Confederacy and gave victory to the Union. We are clear that it was Blacks fighting for their freedom that was the decisive element in the war.

(The 4,000,000 Black slaves in the South were absolutely essential to the South to carry on production while the "white army" fought. When these same slaves became part of the northern military force it was disastrous. The south lost all of its productive laborers. This act alone did more to destroy the Confederacy than has been admitted. Though the situation is obviously not the same today, the implications of Africans withdrawing into a separate nation state of their own is still devastating to capitalism in the u.s.a.)

During reconstruction the northern bourgeoisie betrayed and abandoned the Blacks. White labor which rioted against Blacks during the war also opposed Blacks by forming anti-Black terrorist gangs as the Klu Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils. Similar terrorist organizations, called Vigilantes, had already seen action on the west coast in California against Chinese labor.

The attitude of white labor is summed up in a popular burlesque song made popular during the Civil War. It was entitled: "Sambo's Right to be Killed."<sup>12</sup>

Thus the domination of the slaveowners was reestablished. Even so, efforts as the Port Royal experience, and the example of groups of soldiers in Mississippi obtaining land collectively demonstrated that Blacks were still determined to fight against the plantation economy and the bourgeoisie. The betrayal of the bourgeoisie, the rise of white racist terrorism, and counter-revolutionary acts of white labor all combined to deal a blow to post-reconstruction liberation efforts by the Black freedmen.

Similar events occurred throughout the Populist Movement, the period of Booker T. Washington, Garvey, the Southern Tenants Farmers Union movement, formation of the IWW, CIO, Civil Rights Movement, and on to the present.<sup>13</sup> During all this time the self-activity of the Black masses remained constant.

With 350 years of history on this continent the independent nature of Black people's struggle is clear. At every opportunity, whether it was fleeing to freedom in the swamps and forests, disrupting the plantation economy, revolting, or striking, the movement has been towards self-determination.

#### MARXISM IN GENERAL

Marxism has made the most profound analysis of capitalism. No serious person can ignore it, not just because it is the official ideology of many nations,

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parties, and individuals. Marxism is important generally because as a political economy as expounded in Capital and other works, it is a powerful indictment of capitalism, its mode of production and the relation of labor to it.

As the most revolutionary extension of western judeo-christian tradition, marxism embodies the millenary dream. Faced with the brutal capitalist monster devouring European labor, Marx was fully involved with how to liberate the class from its miserable conditions. He demonstrated to the proletariat that capitalism was not a perpetual feature of social life, but a stage in the historical evolution towards a socialist society. Marx realized that it was not sufficient (but essential) just to destroy the bourgeois mode of production. The material conditions had to be right. These conditions would include what Engels described as the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which would clear away all vestiges of bourgeois power, including the bourgeois superstructure.

Besides the transformation of society, Marx was concerned with ending all previous contradictions, i.e. ending 'history' or 'pre-history' as we know it. This would be the beginning of a new stage of justice, fraternity, and freedom. With that perspective humanity must be purged of all scorges; classes as well as nations in order to bring about a fraternity of individuals, equal and practicing the same cultural and technical values.

It is no longer a point of debate that Marx and Engels did not study Afro-Asian people as thoroughly as they studied Europeans. Their study of African civilization was non-existent. In many instances their essential eurocentric outlook is revealed.<sup>14</sup> We realize that Marxism is not concerned with the cultural problems of Africans. Nor can all the "official" marxists continue to mystify by claiming the complete

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universality of marxist thought and laws. No matter if this is hidden behind slogans as, "marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action." That hides another kind of dogma.

Brother Cheik Anta Diop, who has done a tremendous amount of work uncovering the socio-political lines of development of Africa says this:

"The accidents of european history which lead to the systematic expropriation of the peasantry are not general laws. Without this phenomenon of expropriation, capitalism would not have even seen the light of day. Thus we would like to know the immutable sociological laws which explain the necessary passage from the stage of domestic economy to capitalism for all societies."<sup>15</sup>

In his study of African society and features of the matrilineal family in Cultural Unity of Negro Africa, Diop had to point out very basic errors in Engels study of the development of the family in his Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State.

Marx and Engels' theories focused primarily on the large industrialized states of western europe. They regarded large industrialized economies as essential to world progress. Though they decried national oppression, Marx and Engels had little sympathy for the demands of small nations.

Support for or opposition to national liberation movements was determined by one criterion: did these movements delay or advance the forward progress of the industrialized European proletariat, the class deemed to lead the world.

In the voluminous writings on the French revolutions and other struggles after 1789, there is no mention of the Haitian revolution. Nothing can be found on the impact and problems of the Haitian revolution as we find on european struggles. This can only be further indication of the essential

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euro-centric attitudes and traditions of Marxism and its founders.

Even less developed European nations were looked upon unfavorably. In 1848 Marx rejected Irish liberation as a nuisance to the British revolution. Twenty years later he realized the Irish struggle helped weaken the English bourgeoisie thereby advancing the English proletariat. Therefore the struggle was necessary and to be supported.

Also in 1848 Engels showed nothing but dislike for the Slav nations, who were in revolt against Germany. The Slavs hindered the consolidation of a German nation-state by the German bourgeoisie. By resisting "germanization", which he supported, Engels considered the Slavs to be obstructing the eventual German proletarian revolution. Engels remained a German chauvinist to the end of his life.

Marx advised the Russian socialists in 1870 to work for Polish independence. But since the Czarist occupation of Poland was primary prop of the military regime in Germany, the Russian socialists and Polish liberation would assist the destruction of the German military regime. Marx regarded this as a prerequisite for the emancipation of the European proletariat. Seven years later, however, Marx urged the Poles to delay their struggle for national liberation, because the Russian proletariat was active and Marx did not wish them to provoke the intervention of the militarist, Bismarck.

The attitude to small and colonized nations as appeared in a letter from Engels to Karl Marx, Moscow, September 12, 1882 was colonial:

"In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population - Canada, the Cape (South Africa) - will all become independent; on the other hand, the

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countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated - India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence."<sup>16</sup>

Thus Marx and Engels left for their future adherents many theoretical and practical problems; the chief one we are concerned with here is their predisposition for large, centralized, industrial states, and their pre-occupation with the European industrial proletariat at the expense of small and colonized nations.

## A LITTLE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Marx analyzed the collapse of capitalism as "the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation." This is the insoluble contradiction wrecking capitalist society. It is a relationship of capital to the working class, the domination of capital over labor.

The greater the use of and increase of machinery the less relatively is there a need for labor power. The lot of the laborer worsens, "be his payment high or low," and the rate of capitalist profit declines. For the motive force of capitalist production is the accumulation of surplus value, unpaid hours of labor.

This process is also expressed by two basic laws: (1) the law of value and surplus value, and (2) the law of concentration and centralization of capital. The law of value and surplus value states that labor is paid at its value, the amount necessary to feed, house, clothe, and reproduce the laborer. A strong union or organized labor force can compel a higher wage. Simultaneously, unpaid hours of labor, surplus value, is extracted from some workers, while others are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.

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The concentration and centralization of capital means the growth of big capital, the expropriation of many capitalist by a few, and its opposite - the growth of a socialized labor force and unemployed labor. This process leads to trusts, huge corporations or monopoly capitalism, and ultimately the stratification of production.

"In a given society the limit would be reached only when the entire social capital was united in the hands of either a single capitalist or a single capitalist company."<sup>17</sup>

Colonization, external or domestic, enhances this law by achieving an international division of labor. Thereby, some nations are relegated to producing raw materials, agricultural products, or supplying surplus labor for imperialism. Colonial revolutions against imperialism upset this international division of labor which capitalism relies upon. Capital can no longer exist without the most extreme concentration, centralization, and control of all capital, both constant capital (machines, raw materials, means of production - dead labor) and variable capital (labor power - living labor). That is why worker revolts and national liberation struggles pose such a danger to capitalism as a system. The Black nation in America is an example of a nation confined to providing cheap surplus labor and mercenary soldiers for u.s. capitalism. Likewise, nothing threatens or weakens American capitalism any more than the Black national liberation struggle.

Within the u.s.a. the predominance of the state as a "single capitalist master" is well underway. Already the U.S. Government is the biggest employer of labor, and the biggest spender. This year government spending will reach \$359.4 billion

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(Washington Post, Feb. 4, 1975). Its many commissions and agencies regulate more and more of the productive process. Nixon's New Economic Program was nothing less than the State Plan to organize the economy. You see, the bourgeoisie can "plan" and "nationalize".

Even the U.S. bourgeoisie recognize that state capitalism is replacing private monopoly capitalism, or at least serving it better, more efficiently. Some even call for it. Like many "socialists" the u.s. bourgeoisie does not know the difference between socialism and state capitalism.

"An economic system in which the government uses instruments, vibrant and otherwise, targets major flows of capital, is a system properly called state capitalism. That is a synonym for socialism. Such an economy is dominated by bureaucrats who direct capital outlays, and hence shape the economy and hence determine the range of social choices, and hence shape the way people live. Businessmen like Wile and especially Rohatyn are advocating giant steps toward that kind of statist society."<sup>18</sup>

Capital needs Black labor, all labor, since labor is the only source of surplus value, even though the motion of capitalism constantly creates unemployment. President Ford has rightly singled out unemployment as a greater problem than inflation, not only in terms of capitalist profit and stability, but in terms of potential social and national revolution.

Considering these political-economic facts many people can see only defeat and not see the real revolutionary implications of an independence struggle.

"Even more important is that the Black Nation concept fails to realize that white America can economically do without black people. Its world-

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wide racist imperialist control would not be weakened. In fact, no matter how many blackfolk separate, our jobs - meager as they may be - could be taken over by unemployed whites and/or automation and the global exploitation could proceed more efficiently; meaning that the colored people (including a separate Black Nation) would have to fight against a more efficient and technologically advanced beast."<sup>19</sup>

The above writer admirably favors revolutionary solidarity between Africans in the u.s.a. with our African kin elsewhere and between all other genuine anti-imperialists. But we have no idea how or what it means that:

"Black Americans should move to control America, not from a minority standpoint, but from an important strategical component of the anti-racist/imperialistic global system!"<sup>20</sup>

The implication is that all the anti-imperialists outside of America will band together to jointly rule the American empire, with the partnership of Black Americans - and perhaps Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

At the very least the positions of the above writer reveal a shamefaced vacillation and weak knees before white capital, fused with a lack of reliance on the self-activity of the Black masses. He also commits grave errors of political economy. Furthermore, an independent Black nation does weaken U.S. capitalism, not strengthen it. U.S. capital will be deprived of that much more material and living resources with which to exploit and control. On the possibility of capitalist America doing without Black people another writer concluded after a study on the hellish demand for Black labor:

## Self-determination

"The ruling class is caught in its own contradictions. It needs Black workers.... Since the black ghetto institutions are deeply intertwined with the major urban system, the American government does not even have the option of decolonializing by ceding national sovereignty that the British and French empires have both exercised. The racist structure can not be abolished without an earthquake in the heartland. Indeed, for that sophisticated gentleman, the American capitalist, the demand for black labor has become a veritable devil in the flesh."<sup>21</sup>

Thus, each and every victory by a national liberation struggle further erodes capital's power and control. A free and independent Black nation would substantially reduce the power of capitalist America. It will no longer be possible for capitalist America to continue to bribe its white workers with \$6.5 to \$15 billion a year.<sup>22</sup>

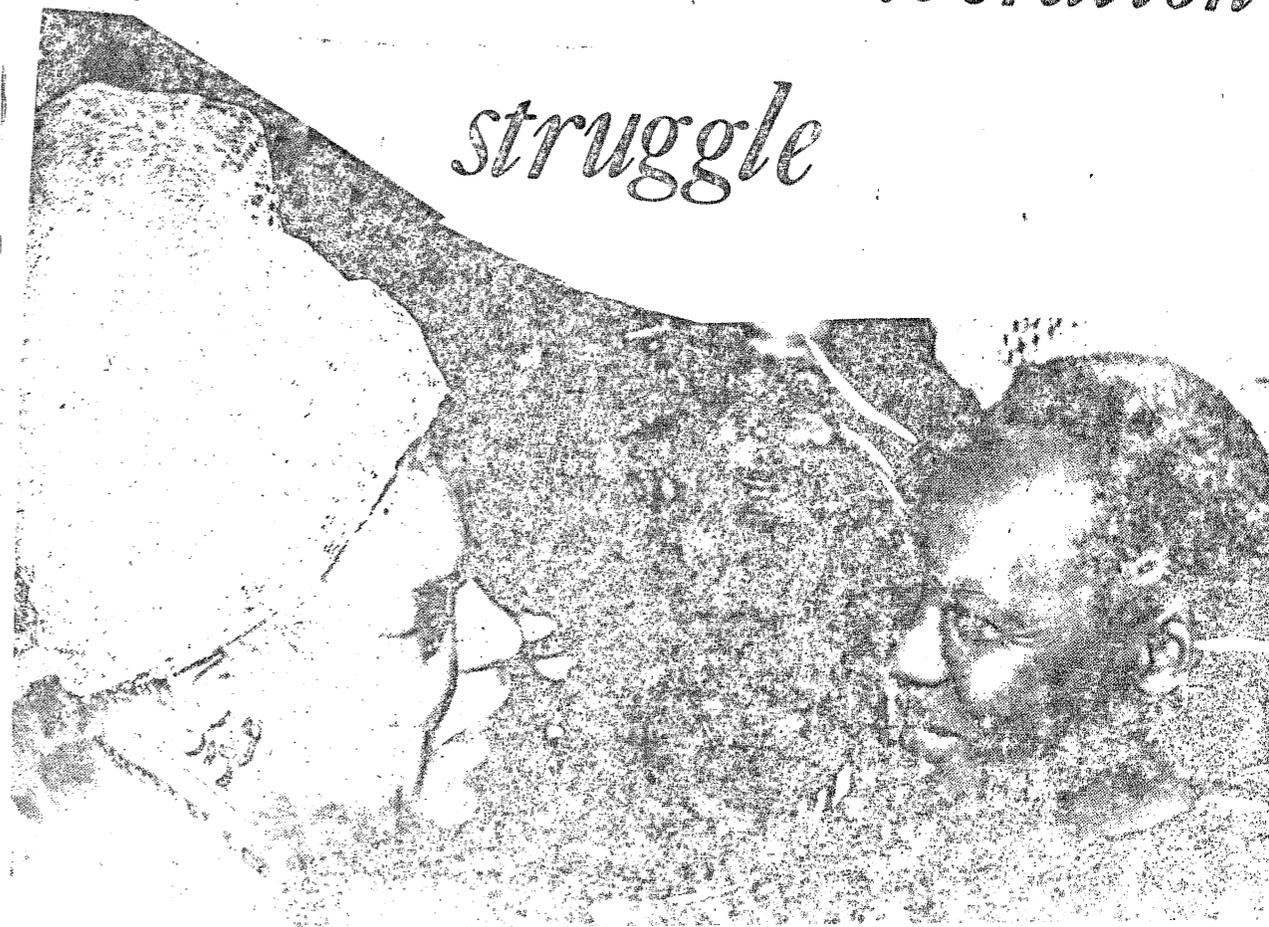
It is urgent to see how essential national oppression is to the existence of capital. The truth is that capitalism was first enriched from the fruits of racial-national oppression. Capitalism cannot do without exploiting nations even if it must occasionally "grant independence" then collaborate with a "nationalist bourgeoisie" to retain its former control.

The self-determination of nations is a key element in the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, socialist struggle. To anarchists and socialists of big nations, and some small ones, this has become merely another slogan. But as long as Africans in the u.s.a. have not achieved national independence, we will know that this historical phase of our enslavement has not ended.

**cont'd in next issue**

1. The Pan African Secretariat was formed after a Seminar of Panafricanists and Black Revolutionary Nationalists in Georgetown, Guyana 1970. The seminar was called by three Caribbean organisations, ASCRIA in Guyana, the Forum in St. Vincent, and the Afro-Caribbean Movement in Antigua. The PAS was the organisation that initiated African Liberation Day in 1971 from its headquarters in Guyana. That call reached Africans from Peru to Belize to Australia.
2. CRAC was formed in 1972 following a serious meeting of revolutionaries from Cayenne, Guyana, Africa, and the U.S.A., and members of the Pan African Secretariat. Its duties were eventually taken over by the Caribbean Steering Committee of the Sixth Pan African Congress.
3. Earl Ofari, Let Your Motto Be Resistance. Henry Highland Garnet, beacon press, 1972, p. x
4. Ibid. p. 71
5. ibid. p. 86
6. ibid. p. 125
7. Ofari, Earl, "Marxism-Leninism: the Key to Black Liberation" in Black Scholar, vol 14 #1, Sept. 1972, pg. 35-40
8. Again, what would the "revolutionary nationalists" of Viet Nam have thought of this! Was not the anti-French colonialist, anti-U.S. imperialist content of Vietnamese nationalism an essential ingredient to defeat the French and begin building socialism in the North and force the U.S.A. to depart in the South? Finally, no one has made any more master use of Marxism than the Vietnamese, despite their nationalism.
9. Rene Depestre, "A New Identity for Haiti", Tricontinental 13
10. Aimé Césaire, lettre à Maurice Thorez, Sécrétaire Générale du Parti Communiste Français, 24 Oct, 1956.
11. Karl Marx's friend Joseph Weydemeyer and other trade unionists were not exceptions. Weydemeyer formed the Arbeiterbund in 1853 which advocated Marxian socialism, but the organization never got a clear attitude on slavery. In April 1858 the new organ of the Arbeiterbund wrote, "... the question of the present moment is not abolition of slavery, but the prevention of its further extension and that Negro slavery was firmly rooted in America." pg. 24, DuBois Black Reconstruction.
12. The most popular lines of the song were: "the right to be killed I'll divide with the nigger/ and give him the largest share." The gist of the ballad was that every bullet stopped by a Black man saved the life of some white man. The song was so successful in getting white labor to accept Blacks in Union Army uniforms that Lincoln was prompted to say "That song is good and will do well." See J.A. Rogers, Africa's Gift to America, p 167

*afrikan women*  
*an integral part of the*  
*afrikan national liberation*  
*struggle*



## universal association of ethiopian women position paper on the

### national question

What are we fighting for? What is the future of Black people existing in America? This question has become more and more of a burning issue within "the Black Movement" in the U.S.

There are three main viewpoints that are common to the struggle to this date. The first is that we are fighting for a "Socialist America" whereby all people would be united as one in a socialist society devoid of all racism and exploitation. The second sees Black people maintaining inseparate autonomous political, economic, cultural and social communities or city-states based on ujamaa within the context of the U.S. The third see Black people as a Nation with the right of self-determination, as is the right of any nation, establishing an independent nation and participating in the process of smashing the U.S. system of racism, capitalism and imperialism.



### THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The dynamics of racism in the United States have been grossly underestimated. Racism has been built into the foundation of U.S. society from its birth as bricks are made with straw.

The so-called "founding fathers" of this country when they spoke of the unalienable rights of man did not consider the Afrikan stolen into slavery as human beings who therefore were not considered to have rights to be respected. Many of these so-called giants owned slaves themselves.

The economic system of the U.S. thru the plantation system of the south upon which the northern industry was based was build upon the free labor of Afrikan men and woman.

To this day Afrikan people in America have not been repaid for building the economic foundation upon which U.S. imperialism now stands.

The living standards of the european society and working classes have been qualitatively raised by the free labor before 1861 and the underpayment since of Afrikans in the U.S.

The white working class which might have been progressive or revolutionary was co-opted and tricked into believing that it was the Afrikan (and other people of color) who was his enemy; instead of seeing the antagonisms inside European society both in the U.S. and in Europe.

The european working class has proved time and time again to be reactionary and openly collaborates with the european ruling class against Afrikan people. The "draft riots" of 1860 were not sole against the draft but northern european workers attacked in the streets and dragged out of their homes hundreds of Afrikans who they saw as taking their jobs and moving them out of their "comfortable" homes.

The period of Populism (from the 1880's to the early 20th century) was another case in point. Populism, the movement of small landowners to fight

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

the growing monopolistic tendencies of America was supported by Black people; and Black people played a vital role in this movement. That is until white populists falling back on their racism, turned on them in the era of disenfranchisement, ousted them from the Populist Party and the movement and continued, as always, to vote against any progressive measures if they were sponsored by Afrikans.

In the 1930's, Black people fought for the formation and recognition of unions and then were refused membership by these same unions which later were co-opted into the camp of management.

In the 1960's, unions gave financial assistance to the civil rights movement until the movement came "up South" and began to demand jobs, better pay, better living and working conditions and entrance into the unions for Afrikan people. In 1968 Martin Luther King was assassinated while helping to lead the struggle for union recognition of Black garbage workers in Memphis.

In 1974, in Philadelphia, Pa., a home in the Kensington section was completely destroyed by white youths when it was rumored that a family of color was to move into that white working class area.

The dynamics of racism, which is much more ingrained, institutionalized than prejudice and discrimination reach even further than the boundaries of the inherently racist U.S. While the social, political, educational, and economic achievements of Cuba are testament to the necessity of building a socialist society, racism still does exist. One could never tell that there are much more than a handful of Black Cubans by looking at the government, the Central Committee of the party or even the national radio station.

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In the 1960's there were numerous incidents of Afrikan students being attacked in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, or in the mother country of socialism, the U.S.S.R. for dancing with white women. While these socialist countries may have "progressive" or even "revolutionary" laws on the books, racism is still very much alive.

In 1935, Afrikans around the world were aghast by revelations that Stalin had sold oil to Benito Mussolini during Italy's fascist invasion of Ethiopia.

Time and time again, the Communist Party U.S.A. has allowed itself to be manipulated on the "Negro Question" for Russian national interests.

So that what is being said is that one can destroy capitalism and create a socialist state and still find racism healthy, virile and possibly rampant.



As of yet there has been no clarification of what form this struggle for a "socialist America" will take. It has been said that "Black workers must take the lead". The question is as what, and of what form is all of this to occur? Of what are Black workers to take the lead of? A united front? A liberation front? A party? As what will Black workers take the lead? On all levels of whatever organization? And the Army? The Cannonfodder? And what form is this "socialist America" to take? What form will it take to ensure that the racism historically rampant within the politically backwards European working class of the U.S. will be wiped out? It has become a common saying inside the Black community -- that "they ain't never gonna legislate morality". In other words, because laws are passed

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does not mean that individual racism, which reinforces institutional racism, will be destroyed. Institutions do not create themselves, nor do they fall out of the sky; they are created man. Non-racist institutions are not created by racist men.

Black people in the U.S. constitute a nation by virtue of the history and oppression suffered by Afrikans in the U.S.A.; the common culture and life style which we have developed by merely existing here -- a culture of resistance to European physical and psychological violence upon us and one of accomodation to the e things positive to our existence. Common political and economic exploitation as a people have rained on Afrikans in the U.S. from slavery to the neo-colonial "anti-poverty" pacification program which usurps the indigenous leadership and political institutions inside the Black Nation.

Not only do Afrikans in the U.S. constitute a nation, but we are a nation colonized inside of the so-called "mother country". We are a colony. Exorbitant profits are made off Black people thru inhuman overpopulated and over-priced housing. High priced, low quality food and cheap over priced clothing are the same. The only commodity that the Black Nation "exports" is cheap labor. Black people work the longest, dirtiest, lowest paid jobs, are historically the "last hired, first fired". The Afrikan Nation in the confines of the U.S. has provided the United States with its reserve force. We are its surplus labor -- Black unemployment is virtually always twice that of the U.S. national unemployment rate. 39% of Black youth are not working. This does not take into account those who



# HARAMBEE

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

have given up looking for work. Black men and women railroaded into prison detention are paid pennies for long hours of forced labor.

The economy in the Black Nation is separate but subservient to the main economy of the U.S. There are separate job markets, separate consumer goods produced by the larger European oppressor nation specifically for "the Negro" which is neither produced, nor distributed by the Afrikan Nation here. All labor is done for the benefit of foreign companies, who pay lower wages and who turn the profit into further exploitation of the colonized nation. Because companies can force Afrikan workers into lower wages, not as individuals, but as a group, the work levels and living standards of white workers are raised onto the backs of Afrikan people. Thus a ceiling is created above which the Black Nation cannot rise above and which the European oppressor nation uses as its floor or base.

The monies made by Afrikans goes right back into the colonizer's economy because the sub-human food, shelter and cheap clothing are all produced, distributed and retailed by the oppressor or colonizing nation.

In order to allow the colony-the nation of Afrikans in "America" autonomy within itself, the colonizing nation must cut loose its industrial reserve force, let the floor of the white worker fall, and give up the super profits made by the labor in the mills, factories, plants and points of production of Afrikans.

The imperialist continuous need for "grab and gobble" will not allow for this to happen. As Third World people continue to cut themselves away from the U.S. and refuse to serve as markets or sources of raw materials and minerals, the U.S. system of racism and capitalism will seek to further exploit the internal colonial market of Black

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

people which has traditionally been its stepping stone to power.

What is the logical solution for a colonized nation oppressed by another nation?

It cannot be the national suicide of Afrikans in the U.S. dividing themselves to "unite" with the white worker, the most racist, reactionary segment of the U.S. society.

Neither can we naively believe that the U.S. with all its ingrown racism and imperialism, will peacefully or otherwise give up its political, economic, and social so-called claim to the Black community and still allow it to exist within itself.

National liberation means just that: a nation liberating itself, freeing itself, separating from and destroying all forms of foreign domination, racism, monopoly capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. A nation freeing itself from all forms of oppression.

National liberation must also mean independent nationhood. The establishment of an African Peoples' Republic. The term 'national liberation' for Afrikans in the U.S. cannot mean anything else but a nation of people determining its own destiny, becoming self-governing, establishing its own government.

The national responsibilities of Afrikan people in "America" is to become a self-determining self-governing nation controlling a land base and everything that transpires on that land.

## MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND UNITED FRONTS

Being that the Black Nation is basically unorganized, one of the next steps to be taken is the

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

organization of our people along the lines of the major sectors of our population. This is key. The organization of Afrikan women, Afrikan youth and Afrikan workers into functional units for our peoples liberation will begin to consolidate and mold our movement much tighter.

Black women, Black workers, and Black youth are major segments of the Afrikan population and must be organized and mobilized around our national liberation, thru beginning to meet the needs of our communities; creating institutions that speak to our needs of survival and resistance (mere survival is not enough). Mass organizations will bore the movement in with our people, will make the movement one with the interests of Afrikan people.

Just as no national liberation struggle is apart from, can function, outside or in isolation from the rest of the world of color fighting against racism, colonialism and imperialism, neither can any organization function in isolation from the masses of Afrikan people. The Black United Front begins to build more unity within the Black Nation by fostering systematic organizational co-operation around issues and community struggles on a local and national level.

Particularly on a national level, united fronts can make clearer the principle contradiction of imperialism (the struggle between the haves and the havenots) working through its primary manifestation of racism. The united front will sharpen the awareness of the need of Black people to establish their own self-governing nation.



## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

### THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES

We see the international responsibilities of Afrikan people in the U.S. as fighting and destroying imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism -- the seat and mainstay of european domination throughout the world.

As revolutionary Pan-Afrikan Nationalists/Black Internationalists we see the first problem in the world is the struggle of peoples of color to throw off racist european imperialism. Afrikan/Asian/Latin American peoples are being super-exploited by the European peoples.

Even European "socialist" countries have bowed to racial and cultural chauvenism (racism) when it has served their interests. Many times these so-called champions for world socialism have allowed themselves to work hand in hand with capitalist governments and further exploit and oppress Third World peoples. Witness Nixon in Moscow, U.S.S.R. policy in Palestine; USSR policy and China, Stalin and Mussolini.

Colored peoples of the world are the crests of the waves of revolution whereby the Black/Brown/Red and Yellow peoples are the vanguard of real progressive movement.

Our national responsibility is to free our nation from colonialism and become a self-governing nation. Our international responsibility is to crush racism and imperialism in all forms.

Afrikan women in the U.S. must build ties and have complete solidarity with Sisters of the Third World, particularly in this period, with our Sisters fighting on the continent.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

## MASS AFRIKAN WOMENS ORGANIZATIONS

Why a mass organization of Afrikan women?

There is no part of the nation which is separate from it. What affects the nation affects all parts of it.

"Far from creating divisions the struggle of our Women is a sector of the front in the great movement for Afrikan emancipation; it is one of our instruments to speed up the liberation and social advancement of our people.

In this context our Womens' organizations assume a political character which demands from every woman conscious and consistent militancy, a high degree of political awareness and active participation in national and African activities."

--Ahmed Sekou Toure

Afrikan women in the U.S., just as Afrikans in general, are generally unorganized around a general purpose.

We must be organized around the liberation of our people. If we are unorganized, undisciplined, and unpolitical then we, who as a group comprise a majority of our people, will be the weakest link of our nation. We will be what the enemy will attack the most viciously. He will look for our weakest areas and will try to annihilate us, directly or indirectly, at those points.

We all must become involved at every level or organization and struggle, in all periods of struggle. And we must know why we are struggling and how our particular jobs are important to the movement.

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

We must organize to fight the bourgeois tendency of "Black Feminism"--womens' lib in colored face. Womens' liberation is a bourgeois trait of middle and upper class white women who have nothing else to do with their time. It is a family spat between the male and female in the European clan of which we have no part. Womens' lib is just white women struggling to get a piece of the capitalist pie; the American system--the same system which oppresses Black people.

Our men do not oppress us (nor do Black women oppress Black men). The European dominant nation creates roles to divide us. It creates roles for the Black man and the Black woman which are antagonistic towards each other and subservient to it. We may subjectively, incorrectly, react to each other and these roles, but neither one of us has the power to oppress each other.

Our fight is not with the Black man, our fight is with racist, imperialistic, European system of domination.

The European woman has picked a fight with her man as to who will control how much of the world; again a family quarrel in which the only way she sees us, particularly Afrikan women, is as tools to be used for her own ends.

Our primary problem is our nation oppressed by a European nation. Our jobs to organize and be used as tools by the Black Nation to further our national liberation war.

Our job is to move our Sisters to fight for the future of all Afrikan children the way we fight for our biological children--on all levels of struggle--in all levels of organization.

# THE *read* BURNING SPEAR

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## BLACK POETRY

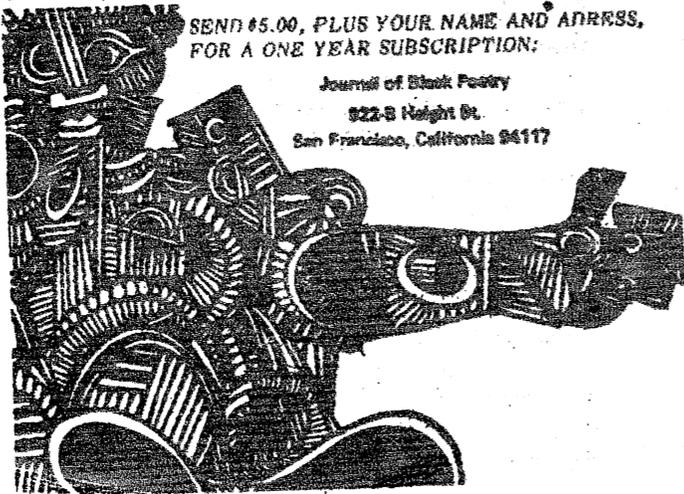
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# Popular Issues



When a person is a drug-addict, he's not the criminal; he's a victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings this drug into the country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles-those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the rest of it until we strike at the man downtown.

OAAU Founding Rally-  
Brother Malcolm X

baba lumumba

# THE MOVEMENT AND THE DRUG PROBLEM

We know that there are close to 500,000 heroin addicts in this country, approximately 75% of these are non-white and the majority of these non-white addicts are Black males.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this reality Black people in general and the Black professional in particular have tended to minimize the implications, thus the action needed to deal with these implications. All the evidence suggest grave political implications that most of us probably do not understand or wish to deal with. The following is an attempt at a fuller understanding of the politics of the Black drug problem and a suggestion as to what it is that the Black professional along with the Black community could do to meet this challenge.

The Black Drug Problem

## Political Oppression & Drugs

There are several examples in modern history of the addiction of one group of people by another being a matter of government policy. The best known of these is the use England made of opium addiction to alter its balance of trade debit with China. The addiction of hundreds of thousands of Chinese, in order to give England something other than gold to use in trade for the teas, spices and silks it obtained from China was the basis for the opium wars.<sup>2</sup> It is also well known that Japanese established "health clinics" in China before the second World War for the purpose of addicting as many people as possible on morphine so that they might pose no resistance to the conquering Japanese army.<sup>3</sup> In America, alcohol was used very effectively against the original Americans, in the White man's conquest of his land. There should be no question in anybodies mind that drug addiction often has political and/or economic intent.

## The Civil Rights Movement, Black Power & Black Drug Problem

Simultaneously with the emergence of African Independence in 1959-60, young Black Americans began to consider the humiliation of inferior and segregated facilities in the South too much to bear. So they began the "freedom rides," as they were called, which signalled the start of the "Civil Rights Movement." Out of the Freedom Rides came the Montgomery Bus Boycott and its leader the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. who was to become Mr. Civil Rights. Dr. King's movement

was led and supported respectfully by a powerful coalition of Southern Black Clergy and Northern White Liberals with the blessing of the Semi-Liberal Kennedy Administration in Washington, D.C.

By 1967 the intergrationist minded Civil Rights Movement was shaken by the defection of the very same element that was responsible for starting that movement, the youth. S.N.C.C.'s declaration that intergration was not a goal worth seeking was hard to accept by most of the Civil Rights Movement. Until this point intergration had been the sole ideological framework, the very definition of freedom. It was S.N.C.C.'s disavowing of that goal that caused a loosening of the White-Black coalition throughout the Civil Rights Movement. The next crack in this coalition, that was the economic strength of the Civil Rights Movement, came largely as a result of the term Black Power and its sequel Black revolution. Again both of these ideological changes came about due to the same force that had caused the Civil Rights Movement, the youth.

This new direction on the part of the youth was significant to the Civil Rights Movement for two reasons: the first was that the, heretofore, liberal government in office in Washington, D.C., the Kennedy Administration, gave limited support to the relatively non-threatening goals of the intergrationist Civil Rights Movement, the second was the fact that the Northern white liberal supported Dr. King's movement largely because he could demonstrate that he was the ideological and spiritual leader of his people and that his leadership was effectively pointed in a direction that they could identify with on humanitarian grounds.

The ideology spawned by the youth segment of the Civil Rights Movement undermined Dr. King's leadership thereby weakening the support on which his movement

was built, the Federal government and the Northern white liberal. After the death of John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson's Administration continued to give limited support to Dr. King's movement primarily as a means of bolstering his ideological persuasion against that same youth element. This support continued until Dr. King took a stand against the war in Vietnam.

In 1968 four distinct occurrences combined to produce the death of the decade of the Civil Rights movement. The first was the death of Dr. King himself, secondly, the large scale urban rebellions, at the time of his death, thirdly, Richard Nixon became president of the United States and fourthly, the Civil Rights, Black Power and Black Revolution Movement became Black awareness and the Black psychic transcended the middle passage with Black people becoming aware of a self greater than the shores binding their immediate oppression.

#### Dope in the Black Community

Co-incidentally or not 1968 was also the year that the great heroin epidemic struck the Black Community, reaching its peak in 1969 and 1970. It is the opinion of this writer that any Black person who does not at least entertain the likelihood that the movement was somehow related to the flood of heroin appearing in our communities at this particular point in history is guilty of either extreme escapism or extreme naivete. The probable goal of this, more than likely government directed scheme, was to blunt the same youth element that had started the movement and had

## The Black Drug Problem

pointed it in its new direction, robbing it of its potential soldier, young Black males living in the Northern urban ghettos of this country. This same scheme also took into account the fact that many youth who had been inspired by the movement of the early mid-sixties were now feeling very frustrated by the fact that much of the movement was now on the decline. These youth would be at this point particularly susceptible to the illusion of manhood created by heroin.

For most of us who would rather hide behind slogans such as Black Survival or Black Genocide, because such vague generalities demand little or no direct action, dealing with this reality presents a real problem. This is a harsh but true example of the fact that most of us have found security in our status as slaves in this society. That even in the name of our struggle for freedom, we accept our slavery, is another example of the Black professional classes' refusal to be relevant to the struggle for Black freedom even in the areas of their claimed expertise. They prefer to talk about "Black Survival" which turns out, in most instances, to really mean personal well-being or an escape from acting as a member of an aggressive Black force working towards the collective goal of Black freedom.

If there were any doubt about the relationship between the Black movement and the Black drug problem, the direction of drug treatment in this country should have cancelled all of them.

### Drug Treatment as an Extension of the War Against Black People

The heroin used to blunt the Black Revolution

## The Black Drug Problem

created one undesirable side effect, these newly made addicts began stealing and committing other crimes in order to support their habits. This created a new problem for the architects of this scheme, the problem then became how to continue the addiction of these potential revolutionaries but stop the petty crimes they were committing. The answer was soon to be found, methadone, a heroin-like narcotic reared its ugly head in the name of "treatment." (An addicting narcotic to treat an addicting narcotic became the cry) Methadone is, in fact, the greatest treatment "force" in the history of this country and it is a force directed against Black people in general and the Black movement in particular. In light of all the other evidence suggesting that the government has worked against the youth element of the Black struggle, the dispensing of methadone, a narcotic, openly to young Black men should have brought the Black middle class professional into action against a situation that directly affects his people.

The fact is that almost the entire drug treatment arena in this country has a negative affect on the Black struggle. Even the most human treatment model generally in practice in this country, the therapeutic community, takes a heavy blow at Black manhood and Black womanhood by demanding that the individual accept the total responsibility and thus guilt for his addiction as even a partial definition of a cure.

If the Black professional can not be directly criticized for not helping to stop the chemical war waged against the Black struggle he would certainly be condemned for not developing and implementing a drug treatment model that at least restores the victims of this war to active participation on their own side. This could have been done by simply developing an alternative to current treatment approaches.

The Black Drug Problem

A Community Involvement Treatment Model

One obvious approach to the treatment for Black addicts, that did not receive its just support should have been to base the treatment of addiction on involving the addict in the betterment of his own community. Partly because it was those communities that contributed so much to the creation of the addiction. This approach could have formed the basis of an honest perspective in which to view Black drug addiction. It could have also given the addict a basis to simultaneously solve his own problems and those of Black people in general. For the overall Black struggle it could have meant a significant rejuvenation that the Black professional could have been largely responsible for creating.

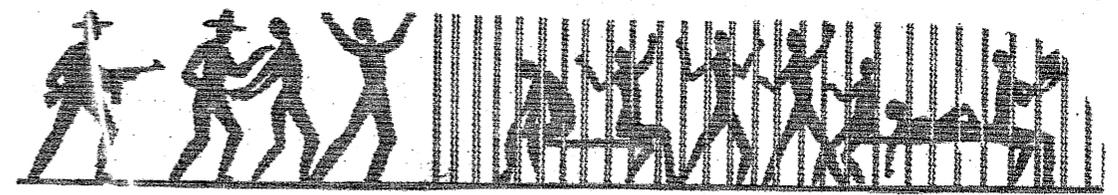
What is at stake is not simply the rehabilitation of a few members of the Black race. What is at stake is what has always been for Black people collectively in this country, our freedom. It is whether we will continue to be dominated by Whites or not, it is whether or not our movement towards freeing ourselves from that domination will be blunted or not, and those of us who see it in less terms have, in fact, begun to resign ourselves to a perpetual state of slavery often in the name of ones' individual wellbeing.

*To prevent drug abuse is to  
struggle against imperialism  
and white racism*

The Black Drug Problem

Footnotes

- 1 Delong, Hutt, Wald & Wilson, Summary of the Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations at the Drug Survey Project., Ford Foundation, 1970, page 3.
- 2 Pepper, Claude, House Report No. 91-1808, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, Select Committee on Crime - Heroin & Heroin Paraphernalia, Jan. 2, 1971, page 4.
- 3 Ibid, page 7



"We believe that acupuncture will allow for painless drugless withdrawal. These treatments will be combined with our political education classes and after care programs, housing, vocational, educational, legal, etc. Since the drug plague is the result of the diabolical, avaricious, racist, sexist, and classiest nature of this society, acupuncture is no cure for addiction. In that it will allow for drugless detox, we believe it will help people to better deal with the root causes of addition. As a people's medicine it is a big step towards reclaiming control over our own bodies and minds."

LINCOLN DETOX  
BRONX, NEW YORK

# Reject Notes



# Rhythm



# of the Word

Rhythm must always be associated with time. It is a kind of marking or pulsating acknowledgement of the passing of time in its cycles, and the bare rhythms of the universe were the skeletons upon which the WORD and all creation were fashioned. It was the mythological rib of Adam and the breath which animated first human, fashioned as he was from mud, excrement and refuse. There is simply no basis for the conceptualization of any form of image, thought symbol, mythology of history of any people outside of the notion of time.

## Rhythm of the Word

Let us attempt to criticize some of the stories of human beginnings that have come down to us. Gerald Massey, in his Book of the Beginnings says the following:

The first words of the Hebrew Book of Genesis, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," have simply no meaning; no initial point in time, or place in space; no element of commencement whatever, nor means of laying hold to begin with. Whereas the beginnings in mythology were phenomenal, palpable, and verifiable; they were the primary facts observed and registered by the earliest thinkers. The Egyptians did not begin with nowhere in particular, to arrive at nothing definite in the end.

The Hebrew "BEGINNING" does not enable us to begin. It is a fragment (M.L.) from a primitive system of thought and expression which cannot be understood directly or according to the modern mode. When the ancient matter has been divested of all that constituted its character as real myth, it only becomes false myth, and is of no value whatever until restored to its proper place in the mythical system.

Let us take a look at a version of the "Creation" that is closer to home. The Black man in the Southern United States whose mythology brought over from Africa was constantly being derided in an attempt to displace it with the mythology of the hebrews, records this conceptualization of a creation in which we see again aside

## Rhythm of the Word

from the beautiful rhythm of the words/  
there seems to be no notion of time to  
which a life-rhythm could cling and in-  
fuse itself as a measure of the deeds of  
gods and men.

And God stepped out on space,  
and he looked around and said:  
I'm lonely --  
I'll make me a world.

And far as the eye of God could see  
Darkness covered everything,  
Blacker than a hundred midnights

Down in a cypress swamp.

Then God smiled,  
And the light broke,  
And the darkness rolled up on one side,  
And the light stood shining on the other,  
And God said: That's good!

But wait, suppose, at the risk of being sacriligious, we interpreted this story as pure mythology, and we substituted for the word "God," the notion of time. In that case we would have the image of time, in its loneliness flirting with nothingness, and the result of their union being the first spark of light.

If we allow ourselves to think along these lines, we will see from later comparisons that in this case (as in many, many others) Southern Blacks were able to re-infuse (re-animate with basic life rhythms)

the Hebrew mythology with a rhythm that is definitely African. Let us compare this rendering of the "Creation" with the sacred story of the tree of life (The self created) which is a translation of the Zulu story of the beginnings. In this version there is no confusion as to the primacy of the notion of time, and time's infusion with the rhythm and breath of life is not only philosophically sound, but it is in the most beautiful poetic form to be found(it remains only to be translated into Afro Americanese).

No stars were there -- no sun,  
Neither moon nor earth--  
Nothing existed but darkness itself--  
A darkness everywhere.

Nothing existed but nothingness,  
A nothingness neither hot nor cold,  
Dead or Alive--  
A nothingness far worse than nothing  
And frightening in its utter nothingness.

For how long this nothingness lasted,  
No one will ever know:  
Anyway there was nothing but nothing is something  
We must never try to learn.

Nothingness had been floating  
For no one knows how long,  
Upon the invisible waters of time--  
That mighty River with  
Neither source nor mouth,  
Which was--  
Which is  
And ever shall be.

## Rhythm of the Word

Then one day--  
Or is it right to say "one day"?  
Nothingness at first had tried  
to smother it in Darkness which is  
The enemy of Light,  
But the spark resisted brighter--and became yet  
brighter.  
Then Nothingness cast a spell of cold upon the  
spark;  
Cold--a deadly foe of heat,  
But this induced the spark to grow  
Only hotter and yet more hot.

The Living Spark did grow, and grew until  
At last it equalled Nothingness in size,  
And to sustain itself--proceed with growth,  
It devour'd its mother, Nothingness--  
And digested her  
With the most awful flash of light  
That anyone or anything had ever chanced to see.  
"I am what I am," it boasted.

But River Time was very cross with what the spark  
had done  
And quickly sent the Spirit Cold to fight the spark  
outright.  
A mighty battle soon ensued, in which the spark,  
Now a universal roaring Flame  
Which filled the sky with many soaring tongues,  
Tried to meld Cold's Spirit, and devour it complete,  
While Cold its icy Spirit blew,  
Its cold wet breath into the Flame;  
But it only turned a portion of the Flame  
Into cold white ash

## Rhythm of the Word

And this ferocious battle, which started so long ago,  
 Today still rages unabating, and shall yet proceed  
 Till time shall cease to flow.

And the Wise men of the tribes relate  
 That if the Flame one day shall win,  
 All that exist shall perish  
 In one consuming Fire.

While if victory goes to the Spirit of Cold  
 All living thing shall freeze to death!

May the Great Spirit who is Lord Almighty  
 And Paramount Chief of all

The River Time desired Nothingness  
 Like a flesh-and-blood male beast  
 Desires his female partner.  
 As a result of this strangest mating  
 Of time and Nothingness,  
 A most tiny nigh invisible spark  
 Of living Fire was born.

This tiny, so tiny spark of Fire could  
 think  
 And grew conscious of its lonely state;  
 No one nor nothing could hear its cries  
 In the lonely depths of Utter Nothingness--  
 Like forlorn a babe,  
 Lost and in despair,  
 In a cold dark forest.

"I exist--I am what I am!"  
 Was the living thought that pulsed through  
 the "mind"  
 Of the tiny spark as it wildly flew through  
 the dark  
 Trying to flee from where there was no  
 escape--  
 Trying to evade the lifeless,

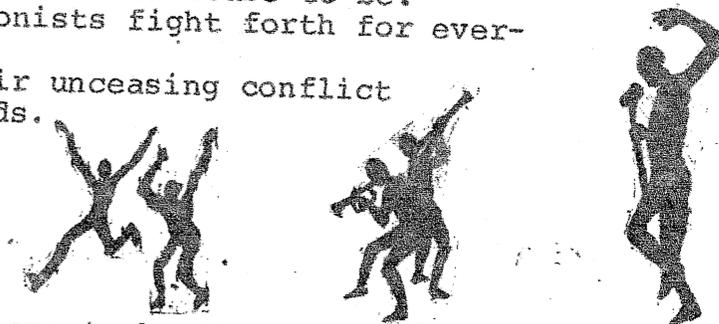
## Rhythm of the Word

Empty, dark and Utter Nothingness.  
 It was like a tiny firefly lost  
 In a dark cave 'neath a berg  
 From where it could never escape.

"I must either grow or end my life,"  
 Thought the spark at long, long last;  
 "If Nothingness wishes to engulf me  
 In my present size and state,  
 Then I must increase my size  
 Till I equal that of Nothingness!"

There was nothing for the spark to feed  
 upon and grow,  
 So it fed upon itself  
 And grew in size until at last its  
 mother Nothingness  
 Became aware of its unwelcome presence  
 And decided to destroy it.

Grant that neither Flame nor Cold  
 Shall ever win the War.  
 Because whosoever beats the other--  
 The sun, the moon, the earth and stars  
 And all that live shall cease to be!  
 May both antagonists fight forth for ever-  
 lasting time,  
 Because on their unceasing conflict  
 All life depends.



Congratulations to brother Gil Scott-Heron  
and the Midnight Band for being loyal to  
Black people (for appearing at Black commu-  
nity benefits) and this shows that they are  
not being spoiled by success.

SUPPORT

JIHAD NEWS

ONE PEOPLE ONE AIM ONE DESTINY



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New

Afrikan

Unity

"THE REVOLUTIONARY BLACK MOVEMENTS IN THE CARIBBEAN HAVE THE CLEAR DUTY OF CONVERTING THE BLACK MASSES FROM AN IDEOLOGICAL RESERVE OF THE RULERS OF AMERICA TO AN EFFECTIVE IDEOLOGICAL RESERVE OF THE BLACK MASSES OF AMERICA, WHO IN TURN SHOULD BECOME THE STRONGEST ALLY OF THE WEST INDIAN PEOPLE FIGHTING FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FROM THE CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL IMPERIALISM OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

Committee for Removal of All Colonialism  
in the Caribbean (CRAC)

# mamadou lumumba

Was the Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress a Congress for Self-Determination of Afrikan people or was it a tool of U.S. Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism? Were the many hard-working sincere concerned brothers and sisters of our struggle once again sold out by our so-called leaders? This is a question which is haunting the minds of many sincere brothers and sisters throughout the Pan-Afrikan movement.

## TO THE BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE PAN-AFRICAN WORLD



### THE PAN-AFRIKAN WORLD

While the International Secretariat of the Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress (6th PAC) have paid lip service to the Self-Determination of Afrikan people, one wonders why the Secretariat denies the right of Self-Determination of Afrikan people, particularly those in the Caribbean Region. This grievance is represented through the repudiation of the Congress by two original sponsors of the 6th PAC, who have consistently demonstrated their loyalty to Afrikan people. One of these brothers is C.L.R. James, the only participant of the Fifth Pan-Afrikan Congress held in 1945, being a participant and/or sponsor in the Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress. James is also author of the most enlightening book on the first successful Afrikan revolution in the world (the Haitian Revolution), the Black Jacobins. The second brother is Eusi Kwayana, the articulate and dedicated Afro-Guyanese Pan-Afrikanist who was the coordinator of the Caribbean Region, Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress. The brothers, rightfully so, question the objectives of the International Secretariat, who took away the right of the Caribbean Steering Committee to decide democratically (as the Caribbean Steering Committee was chosen) who will represent Caribbean people in the Congress. Instead, this right was reserved for neo-colonial Caribbean governments who have collaborated with U.S. Imperialism while sporting their Pan-Afrikan rhetoric and garb. This was done by the same International Secretariat who state in their CALL (of the 6th PAC) ... "The Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress affirms all who struggle that the only principle upon which Afrika and Afrikan peoples can base their future is the concept of self reliance. We stand with those who are avowed and open enemies of the elite who wish to lead a life of privilege among our people."

The CALL (of the International Secretariat of 6th PAC) also states ... "The Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress must draw a line of steel against those, Afrikans included, who hide behind the slogan and paraphernalia of national independence while allowing finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life."

## THE PAN-AFRIKAN WORLD

When the Secretariat abuses the rights of Caribbean people by banning its delegation, chosen in a democratic process, and chooses to give this right to neo-colonial elite governments then it violates the very principles which they have propagated. Were they (the International Secretariat) hiding the "slogan and paraphernalia of national independence"?

Also I strongly criticize the North American Region Secretariat for the failure of producing a national position paper for Afrikans in North America. The Southern California Pan-Afrikan Congress constantly tried to increase Afrikan people's participation in Southern California projects as the Pre-Caucas Conference (where 51 community organizations and 250 people were in attendance) were attempts to get a broad mass-based position to be taken to the Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress. We wished to develop input "from all at all levels", realizing that "elitism helps our oppressors". Why didn't the North American Secretariat wish to implement a broad based position paper to represent the aspirations of Afrikans in North America? This is the question we, the West, have tried to bring to the North American Secretariat to answer not only to the Afrikan nation in North America, but to the Pan-Afrikan world.

I am also in complete solidarity with James, Kwayana, and the Steering Committee of the Caribbean region, as we of the Southern California 6th PAC Conference support not only the right of Self-Determination of the Afrikan nation in North America but the right of Self-Determination to Afrikan people wherever they are. As we constantly tried to increase Afrikan people's participation in Southern California, we repudiate the denial of the Caribbean peoples right to Self-Determination. We also wish to enlighten Afrikan people to the counter-revolutionary actions of Courtland Cox, Secretary General, International Secretariat, 6th PAC, and others who contributed in such treachery. If they would betray Afrikan people in the Caribbean, they would betray Afrikans in North America and Afrikans on the mother continent. They have denied the very principles of the Fifth Pan-Afrikan Congress of 1945

## THE PAN-AFRIKAN WORLD

which unanimously decided that "... the independence and freedom of Africans could be won only by the action of the great masses of African peoples themselves."

Brothers and Sisters, at the present time the Pan-Afrikan movement is at the crossroads. Will our movement become a strong movement for Self-Determination and Independence or will it become a transmission belt for U.S. Imperialism and Neo-Colonialism? This is what we, Afrikan people, are confronted with and must answer for our survival and sustenance as a race. This packet is our offering to you in your/our quest to answer and deal with the opportunism and indecision which represents itself as an obstacle to the determination of our people to establish a New World and a place under the sun for our children. Asante Sana!

WE WILL WIN WITHOUT A DOUBT!!!

FRATERNALLY,

MAMADOU LUMUMBA  
Chairman 6th PAC Political  
Concerns Workshop

Chairman Political Education  
A.L.S.C. of Los Angeles  
P.O. Box 61213  
Los Angeles, California 90059

# INTERVIEW WITH EUSI KWAYANA

## Caribbean Interview

Interview by WHUR with members of Caribbean Steering Committee for 6th PAC: Eusi Kwayana and Geddes Granger

WHUR: Yes, I just raised the question.... (Will members of the Caribbean delegation still attend the PAC now that they are bared?)

KWAYANA: Our decision on the question that in our attempt at participation and we were unanimous and we have no difficulty with this. No one is going the try to get in through the backdoor. In fact the brothers from North America in a fraternal solidarity gesture/inviting us to join their charter flight from New York. We thought it was a very good gesture, but we thought it was not in keeping with the position of the Caribbean people in the Sixth Pan African Congress, and we should not attempt to get in through the backdoor.

WHUR: Just one other question on that point then?.. (inaudible) on this Pan African Congress, what type of decision have you reached?

KWAYANA: We have decided that this is the greatest act of betrayal of Black people in the Caribbean that could have been committed. Upon examining all the evidence we are sure that it was instigated by the United States of America since we are the only people in the region that explain to the people in clear terms the nature of American imperialism. And since we dared to raise at the Georgetown Congress not only the question of the Caribbean reality, the conditions of life of the Caribbean people, but also the question of the Afro-American nation and the Indian nation oppressed by U.S. imperialism.

## Caribbean Interview

WHUR: Let me ask here then why do you say it was instigated by the United States of America, what do you have to support that?

KWAYANA: Because of the amount of U.S. capital at present being committed to the Caribbean governments. Because we have been pointing this out to the people and because colleagues in the U.S.A. are being harassed by the F.B.I. in direct connection with the Sixth Pan African Congress.

At the Georgetown Congress we also pointed out very clearly with statistitcal data that the Guyana government was simply a bridge between U.S. imperialism and revolutionary countries of the third world. It is therefore in the interest of both of them to prevent this delegation going to Dar es Salaam.

WHUR: Do you have any particular criticisms of Prime Minister Burnham or of President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania?

KWAYANA: We have no particular criticism of Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania. But we are completely opposed to the kind of system run by Burnham in Guyana and all the Caribbean leaders for that matter. It is simply a question of playing with slogans, sloganëering, while the people are dripping in the very depths of misery.

WHUR: Now what about the Sixth Pan African Congress. Do you think that in any way it will be a successful Congress?

KWAYANA: It will be a large gathering of people. Among them we hope there will be people committed to achieving anti-imperialist African revolution.

## Caribbean Interview

But a large number of people going there are simply going to pay lip service to slogans. They will take up positions in public that they have no intention of implementing at the level of the people.

We expect that there will be one or two, not more than one or two committed governments and the liberation movements. But there are going to be a number of people there, particularly from the Caribbean, who will take up apparently very radical positions which are in distinct antagonism from what is practiced in their countries, particularly the government of Guyana.

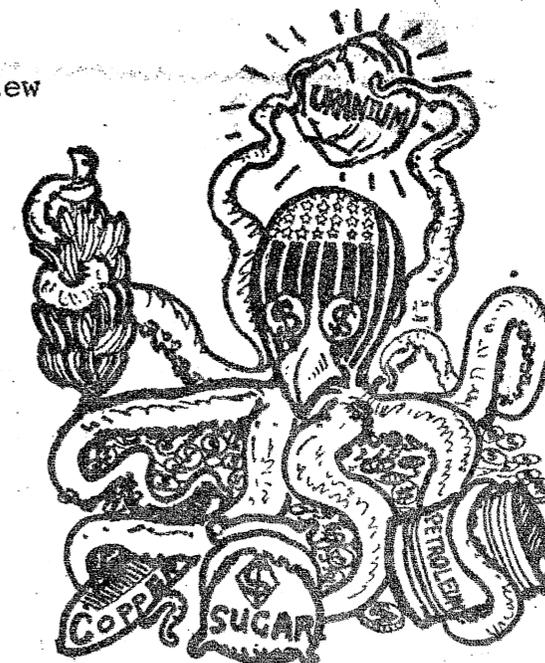
One more statement on the Caribbean scene. It is very significant that only after this announcement came out in public that the Government of Trinago, of Dr. Williams, for the first time committed itself to a donation to the Pan African Congress which request has been made since the middle of last year. Secondly, they have decided to send only an observer to the Congress; after the National Joint Action Committee was kicked out. They have decided to participate only at the level of observers. And shortly after that there was an announcement of United States assistance going to Trinidad and... (inaudible)

WHUR: Why do you think the United States, U.S. imperialism, would want to prevent certain left wing Caribbean delegations from attending the Sixth Pan African Congress?

KWAYANA: They do not want the game to be exposed.

WHUR: And that is the game between them and the various Caribbean Governments?

## Caribbean Interview



KWAYANA: Yes. Precisely. You see, we are very anxious to warn certain governments of the role, the real role of these Caribbean Governments who take up an apparently radical position on the world stage, but practice the most reactionary policies at home and are deeply enmeshed in the web of United States finance capital. And this matter was raised at /mainly the Guyana conference/ because it was one of the vital principles of the call which is the basic document of the Sixth Pan African Congress.

WHUR: Do you feel in anyway that you have been betrayed by the organizers of the Sixth Pan African Congress such as Courtland Cox? Do you feel that they have let you down?

KWAYANA: It is the unanimous feeling of the Committee that Cox has betrayed the Caribbean. Because he is in a position to put up a fight against any kind of negative proposal coming to the QAU.

screening Committee.

The other point is that since the fourth of May, Courtland Cox has refused to communicate with me as Regional Coordinator without raising any kind of controversial question. He has simply cut off communication. The last communication I received from Cox stated that a certain African Ambassador would arrive in Guyana with full details. That was on the fourth of May. No such visit has taken place and it was the last communication dispatched from Dar es Salaam. The next thing we saw was in the ruling parties newspaper in Guyana.

WHUR: So you never received an official notification that you and some others had been barred from attending the Sixth Pan African Congress.

KWAYANA: We have not received a direct notification, but this has appeared in the PNC newspaper. We have cabled Cox and the Foreign Minister about it but they have not replied and most recently a brother from North America spoke directly with Cox and he confirmed it. Also Cox refused to vote any travel assistance to the Caribbean delegation. He has had us waiting. And this is a function of the International Secretariat, to assist in the financing of certain delegations.

WHUR: Why do you think Courtland Cox had done this?

KWAYANA: I don't know. I think perhaps he is part of that group of organizers that does not really want to see this delegation at the Congress, and this has begun to come out more openly since the Georgetown Congress to which he sent a message asking us to raise a non-governmental delegation of 35. But after that international maneuver

started into action he complied.

There is another brother here whom might like to say a few words to you. He is Geddes Granger of NJAC, Trinidad.

There is one other point I wish to make. Seeing that the Secretary General has betrayed the Caribbean delegation and the whole Congress because he has acquiesced in an act which overthrows the entire nature of the whole Pan African Congress. He himself stated in a briefing paper sent out to all regions and participants after the Governments had been brought in as patrons the following words, "that the nature and principle of the Sixth Pan African Congress is non-governmental."

...(inaudible) at a recent meeting in Guyana the Prime Minister of Guyana had refused to vote any money if it were to assist any people as ourselves to the Congress.

WHUR: Now, Courtland Cox indicated this?

KWAYANA: He himself, in the presence of several witnesses, including CLR James. Now I want to say in addition to this that I happen to be a sponsor of this Congress. I was invited by the organizers to be a sponsor. The meeting is being called in the names of a number of sponsors. Now the very nature of the meeting is being upset and overthrown without any previous consultation. So we regard this as a great betrayal and a very unprincipled and high-handed act.

**"THE TRIUMPH OF THE BLACK MAN'S STRUGGLE IN AMERICA AND AFRICA DEMANDS ABSOLUTE UNITY, ORGANIZED ACTION, SOLID LEADERSHIP BASED AMONG OUR PEOPLE AND WITH DEFINED AIMS."**

# why i did not attend

## the 6th p.a.c.



The question of why I did not attend the sixth Pan African Congress has been asked of me on different instances, and because I was a chosen delegate entrusted with the responsibility of representing the Southern California area, it is my clear duty to let my reasons be known. It is because I am responsible not only to those who elected me but to the African masses of North America whose fate and aspirations I was to articulate that I site those points which I consider to be the most significant factors that determined my choice NOT to attend the sixth Pan African Congress in Dar es Salaam.

- 1) The exclusion of the duly elected representatives of the Caribbean Delegation---the replacement of these peoples' representatives by representatives from neo-colonial Caribbean governments whose sole purpose for attending would be to harness the Pan African revolutionary thrust and direct it into the path that their imperialist co-conspirators would direct them to. The violation of the rights of self-determination of the Caribbean Black masses is very serious. If Pan Africanism is to be a reality, and not merely rhetoric, we must take pains to safeguard and respect the rights of all the branches of our Pan African Civilization. We should not condone an injustice that is done against a particular segment of our people that we would not want perpetrated against ourselves. One of the central issues that we struggled to implement was the maximizing of mass participation and decision making in the selection of 6 P.A.C. delegates and in the formulation of political positions. To deny the Caribbean masses the same right that we hold in such high esteem is a grave violation of Pan African Unity and has serious implications for the methods that we chose in the furtherance of our own struggle- if we were to ignore, for whatever reasons, such a violation of Pan African principle.
- 2) The decision of the International Steering Committee to allow the exclusion of two prominent Pan African revolutionaries, C.L.R. James and Eusi Kwayana, BOTH SPONSORS of the 6th P.A.C. itself, clearly highlights the base treachery that motivated the organizers of the 6th P.A.C. Using the well deserved reputations of these men as symbols of integrity, anti-imperialist struggle, and devotion to the Black masses as a promotional and organizing tool to give the 6th P.A.C. some revolutionary credibility while the conference itself not being concerned with even allowing the viewpoints that these sponsors represent to be aired at the 6th P.A.C. itself. Using the images and energies of these men and their associates

## THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

to organize the conference, the International Steering Committee saw fit to discard the revolutionary commitments that are the corner stones around which the Black masses rally. Their charade is to look and sound like they encourage revolutionary principle and Black mass self determination while in reality functioning as brakes on mass Pan African decision making and objectively aiding imperialism in its continued subjugation of our people. To use the energies of these men and to manipulate the aspirations of the Pan African masses can be described as opportunism at best and traitors at worst.

- 3) Another factor that influenced my decision was the lack of seriousness on the part of the National Steering Committee of 6 P.A.C. After considerable work had been done on the regional bases to construct position papers that reflected the concerns of Afro-Americans in various locations the National Steering Committee failed to meet its responsibility of constructing a national position paper that would rationally reflect the areas of worry as well as the revolutionary strides that Africans in North America are making. This responsibility was NOT met and in abdicating its role the National Steering Committee failed to meet its historic task. A national position paper would have been an invaluable aid toward uniting the various trends within Africans in North America, in providing a document for national discussion and revolutionary analysis, and it would have been an indication to our Pan African brothers and sisters that Africans in North America are serious about eliminating the conditions of exploitations that burden us. But because the National Steering Committee was more concerned with publicity and the pleasures of travel a substantive step toward Pan African unity was not taken. The lack of a national position paper allowed individualism and sectarian self interests to dominate and subordinate the principle of individual

## THE SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

responsibility to the collective will. It allowed the imperialist stereotype of "fun loving", "singing, dancing, jiving" image to remain largely intact at the expense of the emergence of a serious revolutionary image.

There are certainly other factors associated with 6 P.A.C. that I can state but in order to keep this letter brief I have highlighted three (3). I am willing to discuss the reasons that I've mentioned as well as any others. Anyone who reads this can feel free to contact me for further discussion.

YOURS IN BLACKNESS

SHABAKA BAYANO  
UHURU NA UMOJA



**SPECIAL FOCUS**



**rayford bullock**

**AFRICAN DESCENDANT LAW**

**STUDENTS IN DISNEYLAND?**



"Disneyland is a land of fantasy and make-believe. It is said that one's dreams can come true in Disneyland. Little does one realize that the fantasy and make-believe of Disneyland is actually the dreams of another. It is created and produced by another. You pay an admission fee and enter into the make-believe world of another."

"Equality of opportunity in legal education without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race or color is beneficial to legal education, and will contribute to the improvement of the legal profession. It is in accordance with our democratic creed and would enhance our nation's influence in world affairs."

This quotation was followed by a "new objective" which the association shall encourage its members to maintain:

"Equality of opportunity in legal education without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race or color."

Refusal to admit Afrikan descendants to public schools became a legal issue in the 1930's; it was not until 1950 that the Association of American Law Schools took formal cognizance of the problem.

The first case to arise in the United States Supreme Court involving a state supported school and its refusal to admit Afrikan Descendants because of race was the State of Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, 305 U.S. 337 (1938). There were no law schools in Missouri for Afrikan Descendants. A state law provided that the state would pay the tuition for an Afrikan Descendant to attend a university of any adjacent state to take any course given at the University of Missouri (white school) and not given at Lincoln University (Black school). The court held that this was not sufficient and that the state must provide Gaines, within its borders, a legal education substantially equal to that provided by it for members of the white race.

In 1948, the Supreme Court decided the case of Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, 332 U.S. (63) (1948). The court held that

the Afrikan Descendant is entitled to a legal education as any group of that state.

In Sweatt v. Painter, 70 S. Ct. 848 (1950) an African Descendant was denied admission to University of Texas Law School because of race pursuant to state law. The state quickly organized a law school for Afrikan Descendants to deny Sweatt admission to the University of Texas Law School. The Supreme Court held that neither the original nor the new law school for Afrikan Descendants was substantially equal to the University of Texas Law school in the educational opportunities offered white and Negro law students by the state.

In McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, the Supreme Court decided the issue of whether a state may after admitting a student to graduate instruction in its state university afford him different treatment from other students solely because of his race.

The supreme Court held:

"(T)he conditions under which this appellant is required to receive his education deprive him of his personal and present right to equal protection of the laws ... under these circumstances the fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in treatment by the state based upon race."

The court also stated that the plaintiff in that case was:

"... handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction. Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, and, in general, to learn his profession."  
McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, 70 S.Ct. 851, 854, (1950)

## DISNEYLAND

What happened to equality of opportunity? In 1965, fifteen years after the announcement of formal cognizance of the problem of Afrikan Descendants and American Law Schools, Harvard Law School estimated:

"... it appears that there are no more than 700 Negroes among the 65,000 men and women who are studying law in the United States." L.A. Toepfer, "Harvard Special Summer Program" (1965)

However, 267 of the 700 were in six predominantly Afrikan Descendant law schools.

By the mid-1960's individual law schools and their collective conscience, the A.A.L.S., had recognized that it was not enough merely to remove restrictions, at least where the real objective was to increase the number of minority group lawyers in the profession. Belatedly, the American legal community, the law schools, the bar associations, and the law firms developed programs to attract minority group members to the study and practice of law in large numbers. A.A.L.S. Proceedings (1970), sec. 11 page 10.

The enrollment of Afrikan Descendants in American Law Schools rose from 700 in 1965 to 4,423 in 1972. However, the total enrollment for American Law Schools have doubled:

"Again in the fall of 1972, total enrollment increased in American Bar Association Approved schools, rising from 94,468 in the fall of 1971 to 101,770 in the fall of 1972." Ruth, "That Burgeoning Law School Enrollment Shows" American Bar Association Journal, 150, 157 (1973)

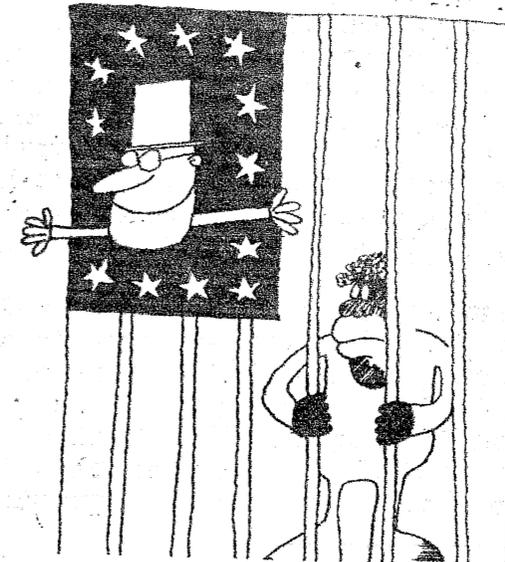
If we look closely at these figures again, you will discover that 1,146 of the 4,423 Afrikan Descendant

## DISNEYLAND

law students may be from predominantly Afrikan Descendant state law schools. These schools are North Carolina Central University, Texas Southern University and Howard University. From 1871 to 1972 inclusive, Howard has graduated 2,348 lawyers, most of them Afrikan Descendants.

It is very difficult to believe that the American Law Schools have made a significant effort either to create opportunities or develop programs to increase the number of Afrikan Descendant lawyers. Afrikan Descendants have since 1938 attempted to create equal access to the educational opportunities open to other citizens by petitioning the courts, protesting and rebelling:

"... professional representation can provide substantial benefits in terms of overcoming the ghetto resident's alienation from the institutions of government by implication in its processes. Although Lawyers function in precisely this fashion for the middle-class clients, they are too often not available to impoverished ghetto residents." U.S. Riot Commission Report, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968)



## DISNEYLAND

REACTIONS TO DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR AFRIKAN DESCENDANTS

"... another recognizable group of faculty is much concerned about any discriminatory approach to minority students' education. In spite of the fact that new programs and policies discriminate in favor of groups historically discriminated against, special admission, academic, and financial assistance efforts are viewed as being racist. These teachers believe the compensatory discrimination is both immoral and illegal; furthermore some predict that the approach will fail in that it will produce substandard attorneys, both minority and otherwise, who will not be equipped to deal with the complex social and legal issues requiring the attention of the legal profession." Association of American Law School Proceedings I-II, (1970)

"My basic objection to the new admissions policy is that insofar as it results in the admissions of unqualified or unprepared students to law schools, it is likely to benefit no one and harm many. Whatever the validity in general, of the principle that racial discrimination may be used as a means of compensation for past injustices, it can have no application to admission of unqualified students to institutions of higher educational opportunities cannot be redressed by offering quality law school education. In quality law school education it is not possible to begin at the top. Denying admission to qualified students because they are Black is not the remedy." "Special Admission to Law Schools", 119 University of Pennsylvania Law Review 853 (1970-71)

The constitutionality of preferential admissions has been raised by Defunis v. Odegaard, 94 S.Ct. 1704 (1974), about the efficacy of special admission standards for Afrikan Descendants. The supreme court refused to answer that question by holding that case moot because Defunis had graduated. Unfortunately, the United States Supreme Court has left the question of the

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constitutionality of special admission open for a ripe case and to erroneous assumptions and speculations.

In a very recent 1974 superior court case, a University of California policy favoring minority students was held unconstitutional. The superior court judge declared the policy violated the Equal Rights Amendment of the United States Constitution. The court stated:

"This court concludes that there isn't any compelling or even legitimate public purpose to be served in granting preference to minority students in admission to medical school when to do so denies white persons an equal opportunity for admittance."

In retrospect, a case involving the denial of an Afrikan Descendant the right to practice law in the state of Maryland. The court held:

"Under section 3, of the Act of 1876, ch. 264, the privilege of admission as an attorney in the courts of this state is limited to white male citizens above the age of twenty-one years." In the Matter of Charles Taylor, 48 Maryland Reports 28 (1877)

This law was held not repugnant to the fourteenth amendment nor a right or immunity belonging to citizens within the meaning of the fourteenth amendment. The practice of law was held to be a privilege governed and regulated by the state legislature.

If preference to minority students in admission to law school denies white persons an equal opportunity for admittance and there is no compelling or even legitimate public purpose to be served in granting this preference, then where have American Law Schools and this country gone from the Gaines case in 1938? Again that court held:

"... the state must provide Gaines, within its borders, a legal education substantially equal to that provided by it for members of the white race," (supra)

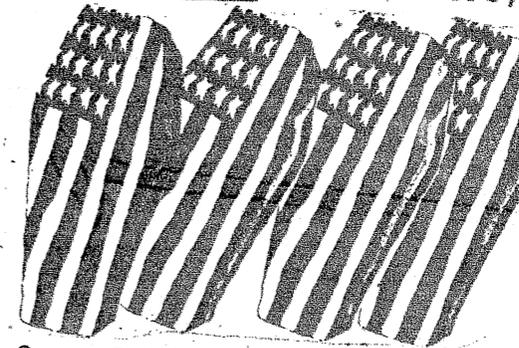
Must Afrikan Descendants give up the 4.3 percent of the total law school enrollment to more "qualified" white students, when Afrikan Descendants comprise 12 percent of this nation's population? It has been estimated that Afrikan Descendants make up 90 percent of this nation's criminal court's calendars, yet a little more than one percent of this nation's lawyers are Afrikan Descendants. Must Afrikan Descendants begin again and ignore the many years of litigation to attain access to law schools? Must Afrikan Descendants begin again to create a climate when the problem of Afrikan Descendants and American Law Schools be recognized?

If Afrikan descendants are denied the right to attain access to the legal education offered to white students because they are Black, will we not return to the holding of In the Matter of Charles Taylor (supra), with one minor exception "white males over the age of 21"? "More qualified" will certainly take its place.

Afrikan Descendants have not forgotten the Dred Scott Decision when the United States Supreme Court held:

"The words 'people of the United States' and 'citizens' are synonymous terms, and mean the same thing. They both describe the political body who according to our republican institutions, form the sovereignty, and who hold the power and conduct the Government through their representatives. They are what we familiarly call the sovereign people, and every citizen is one of this people, and a constituent member of this sovereignty. The question before us is, whether the class of persons (Afrikan Descendants) described in

~~think not and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizen' in the constitution, and therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States.~~ On the contrary, they at that time considered as subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them." Dred Scott v. Stanford, 60 U.S. 393, 404-5 (1856)



Once Admitted, Is There a Problem

As of this date, there has been no litigation on the question of the high attrition of Afrikan Descendant students. There has been no litigation on the question of academic expulsion.

A university which allows an Afrikan Descendant student to enroll with a 2.0 or above grade point average and low L.S.A.T. score cannot justify expulsion for academic reasons without proving it has done all within its power to remedy his academic inequalities.

The 1971 study of the Academy for Education Development states:

"The best available facts show that the attrition rate for all students about eight to nine percent,

while that of Black students is around twelve percent for academic failure."

The study further reported that the rate for "all causes" is well above 20 percent for Afrikan Descendant law students.

Is it fair to allow Afrikan Descendants to enroll in an institution when that institution by its catalogue and application forms give the applicant the impression that all within the university's power will be done to remedy his academic inequalities. Afrikan Descendant students must seriously question the expulsion of Afrikan Descendant students for academic reasons. The university must have the burden of proof that they have in fact attempted to remedy the academic inequalities of Afrikan Descendant students.



#### Remedies?

There are very few differences between private universities and public universities. However, the federal courts are reluctant to review expulsions and suspensions of students of private institutions. Suits against large private institutions have usually been dismissed without discussion or inquiry into the institution's character, its sources of support or its actual relations with government.

In theory, private actions should be reviewed by federal courts if its actions are impregnated with state actions. The fourteenth amendment applies only to acts performed by the state somehow attributable to it.

The grounds for finding state action is many:

"three lines of decisions, however, dominate. First, there are cases in which private conduct is subject to the fourteenth amendment because of governmental aid and support through cash payments, donations or loans of land or buildings, special tax exemptions, or some combination of these ingredients. Second, state action may be found without and public financial support where a private entity holds an inherently governmental power ..." O'Neil, "Private Universities and Public Law" 19 Buffalo Law Review 155, 168

Afrikan Descendant students dealing with private institutions on a fourteenth amendment question of due process or equal protection may well run into problems. However, seeking a remedy in contract law may be an area of successful inquiry.

#### Student-University Contract Doctrine

"The implication that the institution had obligated itself - subject, of course, to changes in plans, curriculum, and the like - to permit a student in good standing to continue the particular course for which he has entered upon payment of the necessary fees and compliance with other reasonable requirements." "Contract Law and the Student University Relationship", 48 Indiana Law Journal 253, 255

An Afrikan Descendant student when entering a private or public institution, if there is no document or contract signed at the time of application, admission or registration, entry onto the campus is the point of formation of the student-university contract.

The terms of a student-university contract will generally be the catalogue or bulletin as the primary

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document to determine the relationship.

"Thus dormitory contracts, registration cards, admission applications, catalogue supplements, as well as oral statements have all been found to contain contract terms. Such terms are binding on the parties, independent of whether the university so intended, and regardless of whether the student knew of them or understood them to be a part of the contract."

"Student reliance on misrepresented academic standards may stop the university from changing its agreements."  
Contract Law and the Student University Relationship,  
48 Indiana Law Journal, 253, 258, 259

The remedies granted for breach of student-university contract are of three types: damages, injunction and specific performance.

CONCLUSION

Disneyland is an experience which lasts only for a moment, a day. You must return home, back to reality. You look back and realize that you have only been for a ride on many different machines. You plan to return to Disneyland someday, if only for a moment, a day.

Afrikan Descendant law students have had their day in Disneyland for only a moment in history. Disneyland is closing for the day. Maybe, the gates of Disneyland will open again. Maybe, after the gate is soaked with the blood from the pounding fist of Afrikan Descendants.

**SUPPORT**

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