

BLACK AMERICA



FALL, 1964 25c



WE CAN WIN !

By Max Stanford

Dear Soul Sisters;

In a recent meeting with you and others, we discussed the black revolution and the black man taking power and maintaining it. In other words, the black man taking over this country by being victorious if there is a racial conflict (war) in the United States. There are some things I would like to clarify in this letter on this question, especially since there is so much confusion in the black community concerning the direction of the coming black revolution.

There are two conflicting views; the first sees our people as citizens denied their rights and believes that they will be assimilated or integrated by Revolution, reform, or other means into the White American way of life; which means exploitation of non-white peoples. The other sees our people as a nation within the boundaries of another nation, a nation in captivity striving to obtain independence, self-determination, or national liberation. One of the main reasons why many of our people take the position of integration, assimilation, or non-violent struggle is because they don't believe we could win if there's a race war in this country. They look at the oppressor's statistics and at his position of power, and say it's impossible to change this power without the help or support of white people. Many brothers and sisters on the street will say "But the white man has all the guns; he controls everything." So what is really holding our people back from realizing their power of being victorious in revolution and their position as a black nation, is their own defeatist attitude.

Well, now, as this country prepares to become an outright fascist state, the AfroAmerican no longer has a choice to worry could he win or not, can he be accepted or not. The AfroAmerican now has to worry about human survival. The AfroAmerican is backed against a wall with nowhere to go but forward, and standing in his way is White America. More and more the AfroAmerican is being forced to think like a guerrilla fighter. No longer is the question whether we are outnumbered or not. It's plain and simple: when three or four people are rushing towards you to kill you, all you are thinking about are the tactics you are to use to defeat them

and defend yourself. It's a matter of life and death.

In order for the AfroAmerican to have a correct prospectus, he must first destroy the philosophy of defeatism in the black community. We must understand our historical destiny and developments in the world, in order to have a clear view of our position in the black revolution. First of all, we must forget about whether or not we now have all the arms and must stop thinking that because we don't have any of the arms, we can't win. This is defeatism and defeatism is mental slavery! In order to free ourselves mentally, we must know the power black people have in this country.

These powers are, one, the power to stop the machinery of government - that is, the power to cause chaos and make the situation such that nothing runs. Two, is the power to hurt the economy. With black people creating mass chaos - especially in the major urban areas in the North - and disrupting the agricultural setup in the South, the economy of the oppressor would come to almost a standstill. Three, is the power of unleashing violence. This is the power that black people have to tear up "Charlie's" house. This is something that probably every Asian, African, and Latin American revolutionary wished he could do. But this goody is left to the AfroAmerican.

All AfroAmericans must begin to think like guerrilla fighters, since we are all "blood brothers" in the struggle. Let us learn from our mistakes in the past. Appealing to a power structure does no good. The only thing that power reacts to is more power. If we don't think we can win, then there is no use in trying. Cowards give up when the odds look bad. A guerrilla fighter knows he or she is right and attempts to win no matter what the odds are. Many of us say we can create chaos, but can't take state power. This is not true. Others say we cannot be successful without the physical help of our Asian, African, and Latin American revolutionary brothers. This is also a degree of defeatism. It is true that our struggle is part of a world black revolution, and we must unite with the "banding" forces, but it is incorrect and defeatist to say that

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we cannot win under any circumstances. We must, under all conditions, be united with our Asian, African, and Latin American brothers and sisters, but as Fidel Castro says "revolutionaries must make the revolution." This means that we (AfroAmericans) must make our own revolution. Also, we must be willing to accept the responsibility of revolution and be willing to go all the way, no matter what happens.

The failure to realize our power and position in this country has been the failure of AfroAmericans to see themselves as revolutionary nationalists. In doing this, they don't see our struggle as a national liberation struggle. Instead, our struggle has previously been defined along class lines only. This leads to confusion and failure to make a clear analysis - because there are more factors involved than class. What most young black intellectuals must do, is stop seeing themselves, our people, and our struggle through "Charlie's" eyes. We must become familiar with our revolutionary history as an oppressed nation.

For a period of three hundred years, the United States was the scene of constant revolt. During this period, White Americans - especially in the South - developed a fear of the "black hordes." The South was an armed camp, with every white man delegated with the authority of law and order in matters concerning the black man. But then, as now, law and order has meant the enslavement of a black nation. What most young black intellectuals fail to do is thoroughly study the slave system, the development of slavery from the sixteenth century on to the twentieth century, how our nation was taken into bondage, and the psychology of White America during this period. Contrary to the oppressor's statistics, the slave revolts were well organized, involved thousands of slaves, and sometimes had international implications. These revolts occurred on the average of every three weeks for a three hundred year period. The international perspective of the Denmark Vesey revolt with his attempted coordination with Toussaint L'Ouverture (military leader of the Haitian revolt which had defeated both the French and British armies in liberating Haiti) shook White America to its roots....With the population of African captives in the United States much greater than "Charlie" has ever been willing to admit, White Americans were faced with a black take-over or black revolution. Black revolution plagued them constantly. There was never any peace of mind. The fear of having a Haitian revolution on United States soil played a major role in the official abolishment of the slave trade. The Nat Turner revolt shook White America so much that the idea of abolishment of the slave system entirely became a feasible and practical concept.

Contrary to what most white historians would have us to believe, the Turner revolt was so well coordinated and planned, that it involved hundreds of slaves. Turner struck fear into all of White America by his tactic of "strike by night and spare none." Though the revolt was short-lived, many persons in positions of power realized that they would have to cope with a black revolution if the slave system wasn't destroyed. They knew that if they didn't do something quick, the slaves would develop national organization and they feared

that the "blacks" would take over the country. The horror of thinking of what the "blacks" would do to the whites if they were in power, was the nightmare of America. The slave system would have to go in order to to "save the Union" (White America). This was the situation that led to the Civil War. White power had to fight white power in order to keep control over the "blacks."

The next step is to develop the tactics for national liberation as "blood brothers and sisters" in the struggle. What we must understand is that "Charlie's" system runs like an IBM machine. But an IBM machine has a weakness, and that weakness is its complexity. Put something in the wrong place in an IBM machine and it's finished for a long time. And so it is with this racist, imperialist system. Without mass communications and rapid transportation, this system is through. The millionaires who control this country would be isolated from their flunkies who do their dirty work. When war breaks out in this country, if the action is directed toward taking over institutions of power and "complete annihilation" of the racist capitalist oligarchy, then the black revolution will be successful. Guns, tanks, and police will mean nothing. The Armed Forces will be in chaos, for the struggle of black revolution will be directed against the racist government of White America. It will be a war between two governments: the revolutionary Afro-American government in exile against the racist, imperialist White American government. It will be a war of the forces of the black liberation front against the ultra-right coalition.

Black men and women in the Armed Forces will defect and come over to join the black liberation forces. Whites who claim they want to help the revolution will

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INTEGRATION AND DEMOCRACY

TWO MYTHS THAT HAVE FAILED

By James Boggs

Myths, superstitions and folklore have been with us down through the ages and perhaps will always be with us. They have often served a useful purpose because they give emotional feeling to a philosophy. But myths endure much longer than philosophies because people will hold on to a myth even when cold reason tells them that the philosophy no longer has a basis in fact. It is then that what began as a philosophy becomes pure and simple myth, and it is then also that myths become particularly useful to the rulers of a society, whether these be tribal chieftains, feudal lords or capitalists.

Today in the United States there are two philosophies that have become myths; Democracy and Integration. The first, Democracy, is not unique to the U.S.A. Belief in democracy has been shared by almost all Western nations who have at one time or another tried to impose it upon the rest of the world. However, Integration as a philosophy is unique to the U.S.A. because this is the only country which has been built upon the systematic assimilation of successive waves of immigrants into the American, i.e. the capitalist, system. Each of these waves of immigrant was assimilated into the American system by climbing upon the backs of others, first and always on the backs of the Negroes, and then on the backs of other immigrants until each reached a status more or less equal to that of the "Founding Fathers." The word "Integration" was not used to describe this systematic process of assimilation until the Negroes (who had come here at the same time as the Founding Fathers) began to demand assimilation upon the same basis as the immigrant. It was only then that the concept of assimilation began to appear revolutionary rather than a natural part of the system.

However, the first thing that every revolutionist has to be clear about is that Integration is not in itself a revolutionary concept. What it means is assimilation into the American, i.e. capitalist, system rather than a radical transformation of that system upon the basis of new values and new methods. The only thing that has made Integration seem revolutionary up to now is the resistance that has been put up to it by whites, and particularly by those whites who have most benefited by it - the former immigrants. And it is this resistance which is beginning to reveal the mythical elements in the philosophies of Democracy and Integration.

Any radical, revolutionist or militant, socialist or

otherwise, who in modern-day society thinks of a revolution taking place through the democratic process is propagating myths and illusions and deluding himself and those whom he claims to lead. There is no question that in fighting for Integration the Negroes will have to resort to actions of a revolutionary character. But there is also no question that if the Negroes could achieve Integration into the American system by the democratic process, that would not be a revolution. A revolution involves the taking away of power, economic, political and social power, by one section of society (the oppressed) from another section of society (the oppressors). Up to now most Western Marxists have been frustrating themselves trying to reconcile Democracy with revolution. They have wondered, for example, why Castro (who admittedly has the support of the majority of the Cuban people) does not conduct democratic elections. They refuse to face the fact that democratic elections in Cuba would mean encouraging the old ruling classes to seek power which they could only win with the support of the military forces of imperialism. They refuse to face the fact also that it was the democratic process which created the conditions making the revolution necessary in the first place.

It is only when one begins to look at the whole world and see all the nations that have been dominated and exploited by the democratic nations of the world that one can begin to examine scientifically whether Democracy has been a philosophy for liberating the world or for subjugating the world. And unless one looks at Democracy in terms of the whole world, one is propagating a myth which is as much a vise around the minds of people as any superstition or folklore has ever been.

WHO INVENTED DEMOCRACY?

Democracy has been used for so long to describe so many different systems that it is only a source of confusion for revolutionists. The capitalists use it, the Communists use it, socialists use it, liberals use it, extremists use it, fascists use it, racists use it. It makes no difference what economic system is involved, what political objectives are at stake, nor what methods are being employed. The U.S. is in South Vietnam fighting for Democracy; it seeks to overthrow Castro in the name of Democracy. Wallace is in Alabama fighting for Democracy, and Goldwater is all over America.

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ne South Africans are upholding Democracy in South Africa. It makes no difference that the U.S. would never permit the Vietnamese to vote in an election on whether they want the U.S. in Asia or that the South Africans would never permit the Africans to vote on what kind of government they want. So long as Democracy has been used to obscure and evade issues that the real questions of "how", "what", or "where" to understand a system or to resolve any crucial issue can no longer be faced.

This confusion and evasion are built into the concept of Democracy. The Greeks invented the word to describe equality in the political arena. But Greek Democracy did not give political equality to the slaves. It gave no slave the right or the power to free himself from slavery. Instead it rested upon the foundation of slavery. Similarly Western Democracy has rested upon capitalist and imperialist exploitation. And the American Democracy of which this country has been so proud has rested upon the worst kind of exploitation of all - a class system of exploitation that is based upon the systematic exploitation of another race.

Thus democracy has never been nor was it ever meant to be a process by which an exploited people could make a revolution. At its best Democracy has been a means whereby minor reforms could be achieved inbetween revolutions. It has allowed the process of negotiation to take place during these interim periods between opposing sections of society, for example, through the union or a civil rights organization. But it has never been a means of making revolution because a revolution means the taking of power, and the taking of power means confronting the armed forces of the state by the armed forces of the oppressed.

THE SOCIALISTS AND DEMOCRACY

The socialists who say "Come the revolution" so glibly have never faced this question seriously because they have based their perspective upon a working class which is constantly growing in numbers and organization in the process of production and which will be forced to revolt by the agony of the work process and the unequal distribution of material wealth. For years in the U.S.A. particularly, socialists have visualized the revolt coming through the democratic process because of increasing unity, organization and control of production by the workers inside the plant. Then, in the 30s they witnessed the labor movement taking over the plant but not taking power in the political arena which is the only arena where they could control the military and other police forces of the state. Since that time they no longer even envisage the revolution in terms of the taking of power. Their policy centers instead around moral persuasion and embarrassment of the powers-that-be, accompanied by a vague hope that some day another Great Depression in the U.S.A. will cause the poverty-stricken masses to unite and fight again. Thus their perspective for revolution is based more on a catastrophe overtaking the capitalist class than on anything the people will do or could do or should do to take power.

Today few socialist envisage a revolution by the workers of North America or Western Europe. Whether they admit it or not, they know that these workers are the actual prop which support the counter-revolution of the U.S.A. all over the world. Wherever it goes, whatever it does, whomever it supports, the U.S. does it to save Democracy. The American workers are not ignorant of what this country is doing. Yet never do they ask themselves whether the U.S. is doing what it does by a majority vote of the people in these countries or on the invitation of some puppet minority which wants to preserve its political power, its social privileges, and its economic exploitation of the majority.

Today, whether Negroes realize it or not, as long as they demand Integration and Democracy they are demanding the right to become capitalist exploiters, first of each other and then if this is not enough, imperialist exploiters of the underdeveloped world. Yet the Negroes should understand this better than any other Americans. For over 300 years they have lived as a semi-colonial people inside the U.S.A. where Democracy has meant racist degradation of anyone colored and class exploitation of anyone poor.

For any socialist or black nationalist to be revolutionary today, they must be for a total change by revolutionary means of this society and the construction of a society which eliminates the exploitation of other races, classes and nations which are inseparable from Capitalism and Democracy. In the U.S.A., particularly,

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where for the first time in human history a majority is enjoying the material abundance of an affluent society, they have to be clear that majority rule does not mean a revolutionary transformation of society but rather continued repression of the substantial minority through whose super-exploitation this affluent society was built. At this point in particular they must grapple with the fact that majority rule inside the U.S.A. already means full-fledged fascist rule over the peoples of Asia and Latin-America, and is leading to full-fledged fascism at home, as already reflected in the white backlash majority and the growing retaliation against Negroes, radicals and liberals in every sphere who threaten the democratic right of the majority to uninterrupted enjoyment of the fruits of exploitation. Thus majority rule can easily become for all Americans the fascism that the Negro has known all his life.

The role of the revolutionist is not to encourage others to become part of a system. It is to change the whole system. The aim of the revolutionist is not more Democracy or more Integration. It is to create a system which assures the equal right of all, regardless of race or class or nation, to live as full human beings. Today a revolution has taken place in technology which makes it possible to free man for the first time from the slavery of the work process and the machine and yet provide enough material goods for this country and some of the developing world, so that exploitation and domination of classes, races and nations are no longer necessary and universal citizenship can be a reality. But such a way of life cannot come by voting nor by wishing nor asking nor persuading nor praying. It can only come by the Revolution.



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Max Stanford and James Boggs



Marcus Garvey

From LIBERATOR

By Marcus Garvey

BLACK LIBERATION

"We of the Negro Race are moving from one state of organization to another, and we shall so continue until we have thoroughly lifted ourselves into the organization of GOVERNMENT.....For over three hundred years the white man has been our oppressor, and he naturally is not going to liberate us to the higher freedom - the truer liberty - the truer democracy. We have to liberate ourselves."

FORCE

"..the powers opposed to Negro progress will not be influenced in the slightest by mere verbal protests on our part. They realize only too well that protests of this kind contain nothing but the breath expended in making them. They also realize that their success in enslaving and dominating the darker portion of humanity was due solely to the element of FORCE employed (in the majority of cases, this was accomplished by Force of arms). Pressure, of course, may assert itself in other forms, but in the last analysis, whatever influence is brought to bear against the powers opposed to Negro progress must contain the element of FORCE in order to accomplish its purpose, since it is apparent that this is the only element they recognize."

PRESENT DAY CIVILIZATION

"We see a small percentage of the world's population feeling happy and contented with this civilization that man has evolved, and we see the masses of the human race on the other hand dissatisfied and discontented with the civilization of today - the arrangement of human society. Those masses are determined to destroy the systems that hold up such a society and prop such a civilization..... As by indication the fall will come. A fall that will cause the universal wreck of the civilization that we now see, and, in the new civilization, the Negro is called upon to play his part. He is called upon to evolve a national ideal, based upon freedom, human liberty, and true democracy."

MAN KNOW THYSELF

"For man to know himself is for him to feel that for him there is no human master. For him, Nature is his servant, and whatsoever he wills in Nature, that shall be his reward.""To me, a man has no master but God. Man, in his authority, is a sovereign lord. As for the individual man, so of the individual race."...."If 460,000,000 Negroes can only get to know themselves, to know that in them is a sovereign power, is an authority that is absolute, then in the next twenty-four hours, we would have a nation, an empire, - resurrected, not from the will of others to see us rise - but from our own determination to rise, irrespective of what the world thinks."

By J.A. Rogers

ON THE BLACK MAN AND HUMAN CIVILIZATION

"To ancient Europe Africa was, for fully two thousand years, the civilized world. 'How low the savage European must have looked to the Nile Valley African looking north from his Pyramid of Cheops', says Professor Dorsey. When this Wonder of the Ancient World was some two thousand years old, Greece, first part of the European continent to be touched by civilization, was a wilderness. Athens, later to become the leader in world culture, was as late as 1500 B.C. totally unknown. Civilization came to Greece from Egypt by way of the island of Crete, as Sir Arthur Evan has shown.

"And this civilization was Negroid. For this, we have the word of Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), who travelled in Egypt and saw the Egyptians of his day. In Book Two, chapter 57, he says they were 'black', and in Book Two, chapter 104, they were 'black and woolly-haired.' The hair of the Ethiopian, he said, was 'very woolly.' He adds that in other parts of the Near East he visited, he saw other nations with the same racial characteristics as the Egyptians."

"As for West Africa, Songhay, with its capital, Timbuctoo, which flourished in 1500 A.D., and was more advanced than most countries of Western Europe, was known only to rare scholars. Other civilizations as the Mandingo Empire, Yoruba, and Ife were totally forgotten. Ghana, one of the greatest, had its name corrupted to 'Guinea.' Then the world's richest producer of gold, its name was given to England's largest gold coin - the guinea."

"As regards 'race', which was thrust upon me (I had never felt otherwise than as a member of the human race) I realized that the further back the Negro's past could be pushed, the more ridiculous would appear the old slave-holding dogma of 'Negro inferiority.' I saw, also, that the white overlords, to inflate the ego of their own group, had reached back to claim the coal-black Ethiopian, the malatto Egyptian, the black Hindu, the Negroid Polynesian, not to mention certain individuals of Negro ancestry as Esop, Terence, Cleopatra, Muhammad, as white. Later, I saw Mussolini trying to prime his people by telling them of their great Roman past; and Hitler puffing up his by calling them Aryans, and claiming that the ancient Egyptians were really Teutons. In short, Negro history was only a rebuttal of this braggadocio of the white masters."

By Elijah Muhammad

TO BLACK AMERICA

"We must remember that we are two different people and we must be separated. That is the only way out. The so-called Negro here in America does not have a future. Twenty-million people, but they own nothing and hardly have the privilege of having a job. I say, my beloved people, we must unite and get together, and go for ourselves. We must pool our knowledge; pool our little earnings; and do something for ourselves."



Elijah Muhammad

"In Asia and Africa, in 1959, when I visited there, I saw people weeping over your condition, wishing that they could give their lives for you. This demonstrates that they see and understand. You are born in it. You are bruised and murdered, yet you cannot see your own hurt as well as the people 5,000 or 10,000 miles from you. Why? Because you were made blind, deaf, and dumb when you were babes. There are no civilized people on the earth that will love their enemies as they love themselves. But you do - because you don't know. They call this hate teaching. But, I say, does White America love any enemies of theirs? It is true that White America does not love her enemy. If she doesn't like one of us, she goes to war and tries to get rid of that one.

TO WHITE AMERICA

"We are 20 million people who have come (according to the old prophets) through 'toil and tribulation.' We are asking for freedom that you claim you have given to us. Freedom to go for ourselves. We don't want to be beggars. But, if we are given freedom INDEED, we can go build for us the same that you have.....Our people educated in your colleges and universities, our technicians and engineers of all kinds: why shouldn't they go and make a way for their own people as a nation; build and construct a government for their people as your fathers did for you when they crossed the Atlantic?"

By W.E.B. DuBois

ON PAN-AFRICAN SOCIALISM

"When now, with a certain suddenness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of dying private capitalism into the last great battleground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial socialism. This would be a grave mistake.....For four hundred years Europe and North America have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightfully belong to the colonial peoples.....Those in control today of the dominant exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But, their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot - not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism.....She (the West) offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters if in turn they induce the nation's masses to



W.E.B. DuBois



Robert F. Williams



pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls."

"The coming world man is colored. For the handful of whites in this world to dream that they with their present declining birth rate can ever inherit the earth and hold the darker millions in perpetual subjection is the wildest of wild dreams. Humanity is the goal of all good, and no single race, whatever its color or deeds, can disinherit God's anointed people."

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far differences of race - which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and the texture of the hair - will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost ability the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization."

"Awake, awake, put on they strength, O Zion! Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly the virtuss of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa, awake! Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African Socialism."

By Robert Williams

ON BLACK SELF-DEFENSE

"I do not mean to convey the impression that I am against non-violent tactics when feasible: I advocate 'peaceful demonstrations' when conditions permit. The possibility of this type of struggle succeeding diminishes daily. What Negro leaders call 'peaceful' is more realistically being viewed as a guarantee of immunity from just retribution for sadistical brutes. 'Non-violence' is fast becoming a sophisticated term for self-imposed paralysis of the natural human nerve system and its automatic reflexes of self preservation. Many 'non-violent' proponents are advancing the theory that violence is 'immoral.' They speak of all forms of violence in the same terms. They fail to distinguish between the righteous violence of the noble patriots of Concord, Lexington, Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Harper's Ferry Richmond, and the great revolutionaries throughout the history of the world, and that of the savages who mur-

dered William Moore, Medgar Evers, and the innocent children of Birmingham. The word 'non-violence' is being used too loosely and mechanically in a deceptive way.....Self-defense is not a love of violence. It is a love for justice. Oppressive and malicious aggression show manifestations of love for violence and sadism. Are the so-called non-violent forces so overwrought with the sensual pleasure they derive from the violence of non-violence that their emotions obscure the clear-cut difference between self-defense (self-preservation) and oppressive aggression? Their actions suggest they are. When an AfroAmerican proclaims the right of self-defense, non-violent elements, without qualification, un-categorically squeal like probed pigs that the 'self-defense' advocate is a 'violent black racist.' No amount of polemics can prevail upon them that the self-defense advocate means anything other than a declaration of his love for violence and that all 'white folks' indiscriminately should be murdered in cold blood."

"We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must reject the unwritten commitment that so-called Negro leaders have made guaranteeing our brutal oppressors immunity from retribution for their heinous acts of violence against our defenseless people. Not only must we defend ourselves violently, but we must do it collectively. We must condition ourselves for defense, both physically and psychologically. We must become adept in the methods of massive defense."

"Yes, we should all advocate peaceful and non-violent demonstrations in order to mobilize the masses of our people, and to expose the true nature of U.S. racism to the world, but let us not be so naive as to believe that we can appeal to the conscience of a brutal oppressor to the extent that he will voluntarily release our people from almost 400 years of shackles and the dark dungeon of slavery and misery."

"Let us not develop a hatred of whites simply because they are white, but with the passion of our hearts hate oppression and the savage conduct of those racist savages who dehumanize us. Let us hate oppression to such an extent that we become fanatical in our determination to live in human dignity and freedom. Does not history prove that so-called fanatics constitute the greatest force in shaping world society? IT IS BETTER FOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE TO BE FANATICS FOR FREEDOM AND JUSTICE RATHER THAN TO COW TIMIDLY AND SUBMIT TO THE EVILS OF DEHUMANIZATION AND SLAVERY."



By Malcolm X

OUR STRUGGLES WILL MERGE

"There are some whites in this country who are still complacent when they see the possibilities of racial strife getting out of hand; and you are complacent simply because you think you outnumber the racial minority in this country. What you have to bear in mind, is whereas you outnumber us in this country, you don't outnumber us all over the earth.".... "And any kind of racial explosion that takes place in this country, today, in 1964, is not a racial explosion than can be confined to the shores of America. It is a racial explosion that can ignite the powder keg that exists all over the planet we call earth. Now, I think nobody would disagree that the dark masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are already seething with bitterness, animosity, hostility, unrest, and impatience with the racial intolerance that they themselves have experienced at the hands of the white West. And just as they themselves have the ingredients of hostility towards the West in general, here we also have twenty-two million African-Americans - black, brown, red, and yellow people in this country - who are also seething with bitterness and impatience, and hostility and animosity at the racial intolerance; not only of the white West, but of white America in particular."

"So 1964 will see the Negro revolt evolve and merge into the world-wide black revolution that has been taking place, on this earth, since 1945. Now, the black revolution has been taking place in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Now, when I say black, I mean non-white. Black, brown, red and yellow. Our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia who were colonized by the Europeans, and, in Latin America, the peasants, who were colonized by the Europeans, have been involved in a struggle since 1945 to get the colonialists, or the colonizing powers, the Europeans, off their lands, out of their countries."

"Among the so-called Negroes in this country, as a rule, the civil rights groups - those who believe in civil rights - spend most of their time trying to prove they are Americans. Their thinking is usually domestic - confined to the boundaries of America - and they always look upon themselves as a minority. When they look upon the American stage, the American stage is a white stage. So, a black man standing on that stage, in America, automatically is in the minority. He is the underdog, and in his struggle, he always uses and approaches that is a begging 'hat-in-hand', compromising ap-

proach. Whereas the other segment or section in America - known as the nationalist, black nationalist - is more interested in human rights than in civil rights. The difference between the thinking and the scope of African-Americans who are involved in the human rights struggle and those involved in the civil rights struggle is: those involved in the human rights struggle don't look upon themselves as Americans. They look upon themselves as a part of dark mankind. They see the whole struggle as not within the confines of the American stage, but upon the world stage. And, in the world context, they see that the dark man outnumbers the white man. On the world stage, the white man is just a microscopic minority."

"..So, in this country, you find two different types of Afro-Americans: the type who looks upon himself as a minority, and you as the majority - because his scope is limited to the American scene; and then you have the type who looks upon himself as part of the majority, and you as part of the microscopic minority. And this one uses a different approach in trying to struggle for his rights. He doesn't beg. He doesn't thank you for what you give him, because you are only giving him what he should have had a hundred years ago. He doesn't think you are doing him any favors."

By Harold Cruse

ON DOMESTIC COLONIALISM

"The American Negro shares with colonial peoples many of the socio-economic factors which form the material basis for present-day revolutionary nationalism. Like the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, the Negro suffers in varying degree from hunger, illiteracy, disease, ties to the land, urban and semi-urban slums, cultural starvation, and the psychological reactions to being ruled over by others not of his kind. He experiences the tyranny imposed upon the lives of those who inhabit underdeveloped countries."

"From the beginning, the American Negro has existed as a colonial being. His enslavement coincided with the colonial expansion of European Powers and was nothing more or less than a condition of domestic colonialism. Instead of the United States establishing a colonial empire in Africa, it brought the colonial system home and installed it in the Southern states. When the Civil War broke up the slave system and the Negro was emancipated, he gained only partial freedom. Emancipation elevated him only to the position of a semi-dependent man, not to that of an equal or independent being."

"It is not at all remarkable then, that the semi-colonial status of the Negro has given rise to nationalistic movements. It would be surprising if it has not. Although Negro Nationalism today is a reflection of the revolutionary nationalism that is changing the world, the present nationalist movement stems from a tradition dating back to the period of the first World War.... Negro Nationalism came into its own at that time with the appearance of Marcus Garvey and his "Back to Africa" movement. Garvey mobilized large sections of the discontented urban petit-bourgeois and working class elements from the West Indies and the South into the greatest mass movement yet achieved in Negro history. The Garvey movement was revolutionary nationalism being expressed in the very heart of western capitalism."

A STRATEGY OF CHAOS



By Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr.

ON UNITY AND BROTHERHOOD

"Black Nationalism or Black Brotherhood offers a powerful weapon ready at hand because it has been forged by the chains and shackles of oppression. Every hand which has been raised to strike a black man down, has driven all black men closer together. The Negro has been persecuted, abused, oppressed, and discriminated against BECAUSE he is black. The white man's hand has not been raised against him because of anything he has done, but of what he is...BECAUSE HE IS BLACK.".... "So, the white man's hatred has fashioned a BLACK NATION WITHIN A NATION. A BLACK BROTHERHOOD OF NECESSITY IN WHICH BLACK MEN MUST UNITE AND LOVE EACH OTHER IF THEY ARE TO SURVIVE!"

ON INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL ACTION

"We have come a long way. We have used a lot of methods. We have come to the point where we can see without any question that the only possibility for effective action to make basic changes in the Negroes' condition in American life, the only sensible approach to the Negro problem, is a political approach.....We have got to take some kind of action. The only step which now is obvious to more and more of our people is the fact that we have got to take independent, black political action. WE HAVE GOT TO MOBILIZE THE MASSES OF NEGRO PEOPLE INTO AN INDEPENDENT, BLACK POLITICAL MOVEMENT. The masses of Negro people have got to understand that this is a power struggle, that we are engaged in, a power struggle against the white man in all phases of life, and have got to bring to bear, in this power struggle, our mass political strength. We must mobilize this on a nationwide basis."

"In terms of the realities of the situation, we have to evolve a strategy of chaos. Deliberately we have got to tear up everything that doesn't give us an equal shake. They say Negroes always had a genius for tearing up things. I'm not talking about that natural ability that we have to tear up things. I'm talking about a deliberately conceived plan to tear up those things from which we are excluded, those things that do not give us equality of opportunity, anything that exists in these United States...."

"You know the old game the kids used to play on the highway - they call it "Chicken." Two people get into cars and drive towards each other, and see who chickens-out first. Well, that is what we are playing now. And if the white community thinks we are going to chicken-out first, they are in for a terrible disappointment. Because we will play chicken right up until the explosion comes."

By Max Stanford

WE ARE AT WAR WITH WHITE AMERICA

"..As revolutionary black nationalists, we do not believe that standing on the street corners alone will liberate our people. Revolutionary black nationalists must act as a vanguard to show our people how to seize power so that they may gain some control over their lives. The main reason they are treated the way they are is because they are powerless. In the school construction site demonstration, our people saw the system denying them opportunity. As our struggle developed, they saw that the police who represented the state, or state power, were not on our side, but on the side of those who uphold racism. This brought in the concept of government, protection of the community by a black people's police force, and the concept that we are at war with White America. Thus, by our action, our people gained a vital lesson in the need for a revolutionary organization that has power by physical example and involvement."

THE WORLD BLACK REVOLUTION

"RAM's philosophy may be described as revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism, or just plain blackism. It states that black people of the world (darker races, black, yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces. RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slave-masters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a 'new world'.

free from exploitation and oppression of man by man."

"In the world today, there is a struggle for world power between two camps, the "haves" (Western or white capitalist nations), and the "have-nots" (Eastern or newly independent nations struggling for independence, socialist nations). There are two types of nationalisms. One type suppresses or oppresses, that is, a nation or particular group reaps profits or advances materially at the expense, exploitation, slavery, or torture of another group or nation. In this nation, and in the world today, this nationalism is considered 'white' nationalism, or the cooperation of the white Western nations to keep the newly emerging, oppressed world in bondage. This is capitalist or reactionary nationalism. The other type of nationalism is to liberate or free from exploitation. That is the binding force of a nation or particular group to free itself from a group or nation that is suppressing or oppressing it. In this country, and in the world, this is considered 'black' nationalism or revolutionary nationalism.....We can see that black nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism; black nationalism being revolutionary and white being reactionary. We see, also, that nationalism is really internationalism, today."

By James Beags

THE LAND OF OPPORTUNISM:

"The slogan of 'Black and White, Unite and Fight,' which is explicitly or implicitly accepted by so many liberals and radicals, is based on the erroneous conception that there has been a working-class unity between the races in North American history. The fact is that the white workers have been gaining at the expense of the Negroes for so long, that for them to unite with the Negroes would be like cutting their own throats. After the Negroes were set aside to be systematically exploited, every white immigrant who walked off the gangplank to make his way in America was walking on to the Negroes' backs. The classless society, of which Americans are so proud, is the society in which white workers have been able to climb on the backs of others out of the working class into the middle-class. This backclimbing has only been possible because there has always been a Negro underclass at the bottom of society to take the leavings of the jobs, homes, schools, public buildings, etc., as technological development and economic expansion created better opportunities for the whites.....Thus the American Dream has been a reality for the white man only because it was a nightmare for the black man."





A Study in Conflict: Birmingham, Spring 1963.

By Max Stanford

THE LONG HOT SUMMER

By Rolland Snellings

(This article was written in June, before the now famous riots in Harlem, Brooklyn, Rochester, and the New Jersey towns of Patterson and Elizabeth.)

As America - White America - prepares to meet the "Negro Revolt" head-on this summer, with its now famous "White Backlash:" people are wondering just where this struggle's going to end. The "irresistible force" (Black America) meeting the "unmovable object" (White America) in the hopped-up atmosphere of the turbulent, American 'sixties....will greatly affect White America's future and, i.e., the "Free World" for the years to come.

In the Deep South, the freedom movement led by SNCC and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s SCLC, has begun to hear the death knell for civil rights - as the black masses' smoldering consciousness starts its turn from "non-violence" to the sane and vigorous policy of self-defense against the racist beast. National mass communication has beat its drums long and loud-concerning the liberal "Freedom Summer Project" (a kind of Peace Corps) taking place in Mississippi, flowering heart of the rabid, racist South. The Johnsons - Paul - Mississippi's governor, and Lyndon - America's President - are doing all they can to "keep order" and uphold "the traditions of the American Way of Life" - whatever that means.

Not only are the Civil Rights organizations faced with the crisis of emerging awareness and vengeful anger developing among the blacks; but now SNCC is being shaken with a new and deadly crisis from within. This new crisis stems from the revolt of black field workers against the white-led offices - Main and Field. White liberals and radicals - it seems - have infiltrated and formed power-blocs within the decision-making structure of the group....thereby castrating and invalidating the potentials of this outspoken organization. The SNCC crisis

now raging within the Deep South is another example of the deadliness of the astute "fifth column" of "liberal" and "radical" whites working to undermine and neutralize the black freedom struggle. This "fifth column" - if "radical" - seeks to exploit the black masses by using them as a hammer to wear down the Southern power structures; and if wholesale violence erupts, seeks to use their blood to force federal occupation prelude to "reformist" change within the structure. Now any revolutionist knows - studying White American history - that all the Northern whites have to do is recall their troops (as in Reconstruction Times) and watch the Southern slaughter of the blacks begin. It is also common knowledge that capitalism - international or domestic - can't "reform" itself, being a power system without a "conscience" to appeal to. To continue: if "liberal" this underground seeks to dilute their (blacks') militant drives and natural instincts of self-preservation; brainwashing them with "Martin Luther King" and twisted "Gandhism": thereby blunting their legitimate thoughts of righteous retribution; creating sheep: thereby maintaining the American status quo.

In its sacred crusade to stifle black liberation: the choicest weapon in its arsenal of candid trickery and righteous platitudes is the white female. "Beastina" - the H-bomb of the arsenal - is vented right and left - crushing down the prize, young leaders and rendering militant action impossible. The yearly SNCC "conferences" - called "orgies" and "other things" by militant blacks - are many times the stage for infamous conquests. For example: if a certain young leader is known

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to have been "sounding off" about too many whites calling the shots; if he's been devising schemes to "keep 'Charlie' in the North and his money in the South;" if he complains about the way whites tend to "lead" blacks and fear to go in (white communities) and "lead" whites....they assign "Beastina" to "persuade" him that militance is not the way (MILITANCE meaning possible violence - meaning wounded white folks!), and "love" will conquer all. This "persuasion" sometimes goes to the depths of drugging the young leaders with alcohol and getting into "brainstorm sessions" with them concerning the next day's decisions concerning policy. These "sessions" followed by sexual seduction of the dazed young leaders leads to astounding changes in policy-making the following day. Yes, unfortunately, this "LOVE" does seem to conquer....all the militant, young leaders, that is. So deadly has this tool become that informed sources have it that white females control the Executive Secretary, and, also, the bespectacled intellectual chairman of the Mississippi voting project. Further, sources have it that "Beastina" broke up the marriage of the young Executive Secretary....and now controls SNCC policy-making from the top.

With these problems - "Beastina," and the decadence running rampant among the young field cadre - sleeping around, interracial coupling before the eyes of an increasingly angry community, the "fair-haired, 'Charlie' freedom-fighters" chasing black high school girls, drunkenness and other scandals - looming unsolved...these alone will eliminate SNCC from the running if the violent vigilantes don't themselves. (While I write, three field-workers - two white, one black - have disappeared in Philadelphia, Mississippi... Nothing found of them except a burnt-out station wagon.) These same racist beasts have at least 60,000 men armed with the best of modern weapons - machine guns, 10 lb. bombs, submachine

guns, high-powered rifles, hand grenades, cannons, etc.: all this - organized terrorism - against unarmed, mainly unorganized black folks. Sources have it that some SNCC brothers sought to put weapons in the threatened "Freedom Houses" where the workers sleep, and in the offices - the targets for many threats and occasional bombings. This move - it is said - sent the main offices into a panic and they took immediate moves to censure these "violent, black racists" (reportedly sending one to an analyst....he MUST'VE been insane!); firing them from their projects and shipping them throughout the state. "SNCC" - they reportedly said - "is non-violent, and when one becomes 'influenced' by any other philosophy; one should leave the organization." This writer wonders what their rhetoric will be when the vigilantes come bombing and burning; raping and shooting; beating and looting liberals and black folks alike.

The facts are becoming increasingly clear in the North and South alike. "Bourgeois Reformism" (Civil Rights) - with its policies of "turn-the-other-cheekism," lascivious interracial coupling, and hedonistic decadence - is on its way out as a philosophy for black people. With the resentment against whites - all whites! - now brewing within the awakening black communities: the long awaited BLACK backlash (recently, waves of indiscriminate terrorism in the northern cities, by exploited black youth against whites, have been reported) yes, the state is being set for a new kind of freedom-fighter; a Universal, Revolutionary Freedom-fighter - as with Asia, Africa, and Latin America; a fighter who won't shun a gun to liberate his people.

As the smoldering masses of Black America march forward through heroic struggle, they will develop their OWN INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP, which will lead them - with the BANDUNG Spirit of the world's colored peoples - out of the dark caverns of racist oppression and into the brilliant light of the long awaited SUNRISE!

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Don't miss THE RED CHINESE AMERICAN NEGRO by William Worthy in the October ESQUIRE.

BLACK YOUTH AND AFRO-AMERICAN LIBERATION

By Don Freeman

May 1-3, 1964, the AfroAmerican Student Movement, representing young nationalist groups and tendencies throughout the North and South, convened in Nashville, Tennessee, to form a Black Nationalist Youth Movement.

The first conference session evaluated "bourgeois reformism" -- the integrationist civil rights organizations. The prevailing view was that the current activities of CORE, SCLC, SNCC, NAACP etc. substantiate Dr. W.E.B. DuBois' conviction that "capitalism cannot reform itself, a system that enslaves you, cannot free you." Progressively frustrated, perceptive militants are gravitating toward nationalism. The anticipated "long, hot summer" will disillusion millions of AfroAmericans and enhance the potentialities for the emergence of a viable Nationalist Youth Movement. The conclusion was that nationalists could accelerate this process by forging a concrete alternative now.

Traditional American Marxism was also analyzed. The conference concurred with Harold Cruse's Liberator article, "Marxism and the Negro," especially his statement that the racist American working class seeks

form of capitalism, not to revolutionize the social order, leaving white Marxists without a proletariat to lead. Since the only revolutionary force in this society is embodied in the AfroAmerican struggle, any revolution in the United States must be led by BLACK radicals, not opportunistic white Marxists.

The impotence of traditional or "bourgeois" nationalism was examined. The delegates agreed that the traditional nationalist approach of rhetoric rather than action was ineffectual because it posed no programmatic alternative to "bourgeois reformist" civil rights activities. It was merely "catharsis" street oratory for the masses of Harlem. Nationalist demands for an autonomous Black American economy were termed bourgeois due to failure to differentiate such an economy from capitalism and unfeasible because of the white and Jewish capitalists' intention to perpetuate "suburban colonialism" -- their exploitation of Black Ghettos. The consensus was that AfroAmericans must control their neighborhoods, but the realization of this aim necessitates, in Rev. Albert Cleage's terms, a "strategy of

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From LIBERATOR



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chaos" involving more devastating civil disobedience than the kind undertaken by the established reformist groups.

The participants supported Minister Malcolm (X) Shabazz's contention that it is erroneous to define Afro-America's fight as "civil rights" and protest exclusively in congress; instead, we should utilize the UN Declaration on Human Rights, and petition in the United Nations for "human rights." Further the conference maintained that the federal government's refusal to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments renders AfroAmericans slaves or a colonized Black Nation, not American citizens, thus relegating them to a position analogous to that of Afro-Asian and Latin American nations under Western imperialism.

This young vanguard criticized the "domestic orientation of "bourgeois reformist" leaders or their refusal to align AfroAmerica's struggle with the colonial revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They demanded that AfroAmericans vehemently oppose American imperialism and neo-colonialism in the "Third World" or nonwhite nations, and endorse the Pan African objectives of the Addis Ababa conference.

A young Pan Africanist and African scholar presented a critique of contemporary Pan Africanism, delineating Western neo-colonialist machinations to thwart it. He accused African nations of deviation from the original Pan African unity encompassing all peoples of African descent and concerning themselves solely with removal of Portuguese and British colonial rule in Central and Southwest Africa, and elimination of apartheid in the Union of South Africa. He commented on the lack of appreciable progress toward political, economic, and cultural union of African states. He emphasized the necessity for resurgence of the universal Pan Africanism manifested in the Dr. DuBois, Nkrumah, Kenyatta sponsored Manchester Conference of 1945. He remarked that only permanent revolution that annihilates neo-colonialist "puppet regimes" and establishes completely socialist African societies can achieve the goals of Pan Africanism and relate Africa meaningfully to the AfroAmerican struggle.

The young nationalists insisted that prerequisite to a genuine Black Revolution is a fundamental "Cultural Revolution" -- "ReAfricanization" of Black People in America. "ReAfricanization" repudiates decadent bourgeois, materialistic values, and the "rat-race" or "pathological" egoism and individualism inherent in American society. It embraces a humanism derivative of the African Heritage which exalts aesthetic, intellectual, and spiritual development, and "Communalism" or cooperation rather than exploitation. "ReAfricanization" is preferable to American materialism as a source of cultural values. AfroAmerican must know their authentic history in Africa and America in order to demolish the "Psychological rape" or inferiority instilled by American "indoctrination." The AfroAmerican's self-image and conception must be revolutionized to foster a sense of "collective ethnic identity" as a unique Black People, before Black Nationalism can emerge triumphant.

Pan Africanism, "ReAfricanization." "Strategies of Chaos," and anti-American and NATO imperialism constitute a revision of Black Nationalism that incorporates Dr. DuBois' and Marcus Garvey's theories which are relevant to the present crisis of Black America. This potent ideology eradicates the "Ideological confusion" prevalent today, and facilitates the formulation of strategy and tactics which will enable nationalists to participate more meaningfully in the AfroAmerican freedom struggle, and exert a significant influence on the revolutions of the "Bandug" nations and Latin America.

The assembled nationalists asserted that young nationalists are the vanguard of a Black Revolution in America, but they must create - 1) an organizational apparatus to "translate" Nationalist ideology into effective action; this requires Black financing to insure Black control. 2) Dedicated, disciplined, and decisive youth cadres willing to make the supreme sacrifices to build and sustain a dynamic Nationalist Movement. The profound commitment of this young nationalist vanguard conference to AfroAmerican liberation is superbly proclaimed in Dr. Fidel Castro's Second Declaration of Havana ... "it is the duty of the revolutionary to make the Revolution."

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POTENTIAL OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

"The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessiated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power. If it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed." - ROBERT WILLIAMS

By Rolland Snellings



SONG OF FIRE

(to Asia, Africa, Latin America,
and emerging Black America)

II

Tears that weep for shattered Sunday schools
are lost
like diamonds leaving ebon hands - among the dark
South African sands: lost-lost...and never found!
Save your tears! Save your anguished cries!
Save your prayers to barren, silent skies:
Wait-wait awhile!

For soon the Dawn will come to men once more -
and Buddha's eyes will smile from burning
saffron robes and charred pagodas -
Shango

will shout his rumbling song to
joyous Congo tom-toms...in the night.

Allah
will send his flaming sword a whistling
through the "chosen land"...and bellow:

Free-dom! Free-dom! -
Here comes the Rising Sun!
And HERE...my twenty-million, tortured,
chosen children:

your day will come!

When it comes - like a tropic summer storm:
the earth will shake as Calvary at crimson sunset.
Blood will stain the moon; snuff out the stars!
Blood will clog the wheels of Mighty Juggernaut
and send him crashing from his Atom Throne!
BLOOD will wash your pain away!

(Fire!)

Bright red flames! Burnt, charred death!
Grinning skulls, rolling eyes and mad-mad
cries to mute Madonnas!

(Fire!)

will scorch the "lonely crowd" with death's embrace
like Mushroom Suns...in mutant Hiroshima.

(Fire!)

will vindicate the blues; sanctify the earth;
resurrect the mangled Jesus from...the Nordic
lynch-trees!

(Fire!)

will cauterize the racist plague!

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III

Here I stand - at twenty-five, dark...and lonely for my mother's womb.

An angry, fiery man - awaiting Nature's call
to act out
my deadly hour upon the Western Stage. "all

fall down!"

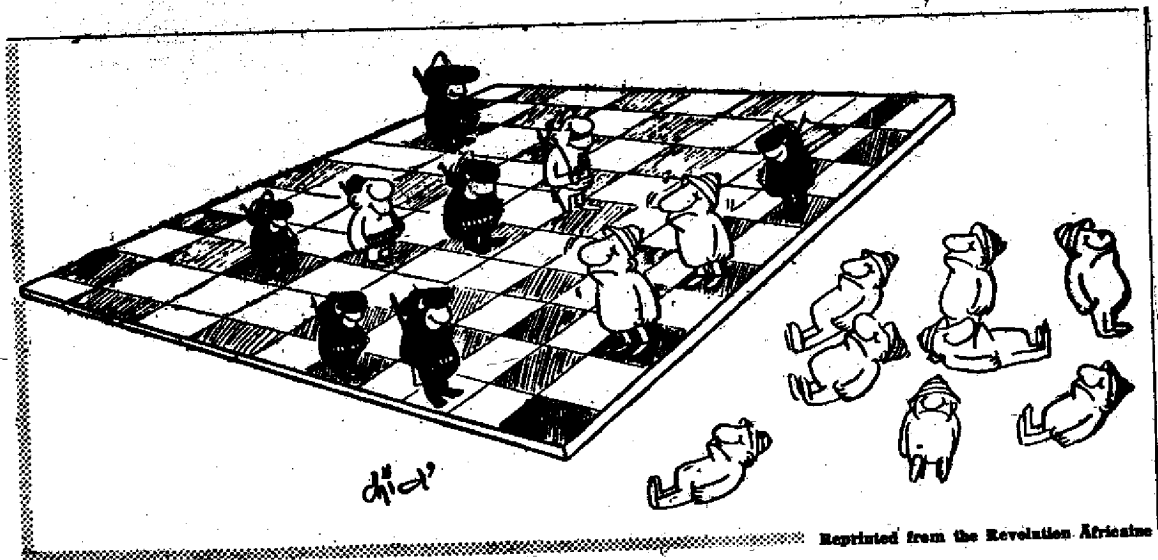
Exclaimed the anguished poet. He is right. "All
fall down!"

And so, we will all fall down someday.

But, to start anew - the old must fade away
or burn...or...crumble in the savage wind.

Therefore: the hordes that plundered Rome
were bringing in a New Age - and the Hun
...became a Herald of the Dawn.

So hush, now my wooly-headed lambs - dry your eyes!
Lift your withered hearts; throw your chains away
and wait for:
the smell of BRIMSTONE!



Reprinted from the Revolution Africaine

Uncle Sam,

I'm dark from Alabam

You give me this gun to fight

for you and Freedom

But Uncle Sam,

How 'bout me

I'm dark from Ala-bam

If I live through this war

For you and Freedom

Can I take some home to Ala-bam?

Answer: "When you are ready for it, boy."

THE WHITE MAN'S HEAVEN IS THE BLACK MAN'S HELL

(Declaration of Conscientious Objectorship to
Local Board 90)

Charles W. Johnson, Jr.

#20-90-41-667

"There are some wars...that the American Negro will not
support..." -- James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time

I do not believe that Uncle Sam really wants this angry black man in his army. And he'll know it when he reads this declaration. I certainly want no part of this White Man's army. The army itself discriminates, as do all of America's armed forces, against the black man; anti-Negro insults and other racist degradations are standard procedure on all army bases. The army serves in turn as the chief repressive instrument of America's racist-thug society which systematically exploits the AfroAmerican and imperialistically exploits and oppresses my non-white brothers around the world. I will not fight in the service of such a brutal, beastly white imperialist and racist aggressor nation.

The black man in America is brutally subjugated into

a subordinate caste position in this society. His "place" - to which the Emmett Till murderers, Barnett of fascist, police-state, 100% American Mississippi, and to which other well-adjusted, "normal" American refer - is that of a brutally attacked SUB-HUMAN, SUPER-EXPLOITED BEAST OF BURDEN. This is the so-called "place" of the American black man in this anti-Negro color caste society, North or South. In the South, the "White Devil" is an open, honest fascist; in the North, he is a hypocritical "liberal" who will lynch you from "a low, low limb."

Either "Whitey" must cease to oppress and super-exploit black people in America or black people will get together and smash this rotten, exploitative, unjust.

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(concluded from page 19)

decadent society. Either we get our human rights immediately or we'll tear it up and nobody gets nothin'!

It is both outrageous and insulting to Negroes for this racist society to try and draft black men into such an anti-Negro machine as the U.S. ARMY. I will resist and fight any such move as regards me personally. But if I am snatched in over my objections, I pledge for my people to agitate among black soldiers to unite them around the following revolutionary principles:

1. SELF-DEFENSE & VENGEANCE
2. ALL-BLACK INDEPENDENT ACTION
3. TO FIGHT FOR "INTEGRATION": INTEGRATED POOLS OF BLOOD.

The policy will be, as noted by Mao Tse-tung, brilliant leader of the Chinese people, "to give tit-for-tat and to fight for every inch of land." And furthermore, as Mao wrote on, "we will not attack unless attacked; but if we are attacked, we will certainly counterattack...to wipe you out RESOLUTELY, THOROUGHLY, WHOLLY, COMPLETELY, AND UTTERLY." Since everybody in the world knows that America is going fascist, and that AfroAmericans will be the scapegoats of American fascism, black people must adopt these principles of Mao Tse-tung and unite at once under independent, all-black leadership to fight for survival.

Obviously, I regard it as an insult to my intelligence for the racist white man to have the audacity to draft black men into its cannon-fodder corps. The whole world knows that the U.S. Army is nothing but a bunch of rapists, napalm-bombers of helpless civilian non-white men, women, and children (in Japan, in Korea, and currently in South Vietnam, where in spite of genocidal practices by America, the glorious People's Liberation Front or Vietcong is beating the U.S. into the sea); they are arrogant racists and cynical cowards with whom it would be a dishonor to serve. I want no part of such an outfit!

You must think I am a stone fool to go out and risk my precious life in the service of a callous white beast - I won't call him a man - who before the whole world showed his willingness to use the white man's best friend - the vicious killer-dog - on unarmed black men, women, and children, and to train high-pressure fire hoses onto these same freedom fighters. Hell, you didn't even do that to the Japanese or Koreans and Chinese! And everyday, the fascist, racist-thug, mad-dog police are even further unleashed against black people, as anti-Negro "sco-keepers" to brutally terrorize and subjugate the Negro into his "place," and to add insult to atrocious injury by herding black freedom fighters into Hitler-like concentration camps with electric prods used to herd cattle to slaughter....THERE AIN'T NO WAY IN HELL that black people will remain nonviolent when white beasts are trying to annihilate them! Such white savages must be OFFED (killed) and the rotten society that breeds them smashed!....THERE AIN'T NO WAY IN HELL THAT A NEGRO CAN BE CALLED A CITIZEN OF THIS HELL-DEN! A

Common street dog has more rights than a Negro. We are denied the right to vote and are taxed anyway. WE ARE TREATED LIKE MODERN-DAY SLAVES! Four little, innocent and beautiful black girls get blown to bits, and the FBI - which so vauntedly and zealously persecutes progressives and black militants - can't turn up a clue. White rapists and out-and-out murderers get away scot-free for the most heinous crimes against Negroes; Negroes accused of rape of Miss Anne can't get safely to trial past howling lynch mobs. The whole court system, North and South is anti-Negro!

The Negro cannot "integrate" into this anti-Negro machine. We're already integrated into a "no-citizenship" position of subhuman, super-exploited beasts of burden. The only obligation we have is to fight for the destruction of all racists. The only sense you can talk of "integration" is in reference to the integrated pools of blood that will result from black people using their guns, razors, and lye-cans against frantic white attacks.

THERE AIN'T NO WAY IN HELL that I'm going out like a fool and fight my non-white brothers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America for "White Devils." In fact, I ain't going to risk my life fighting against your white enemies. I like to see "White-Eyes" killing each other for a change. And anyway, I support everything you oppose and oppose everything you support.



"Lest Ye Forget"

PATRICE EMMERY LUMUMBA

GREETINGS TO OUR MILITANT VIETNAMESE BROTHERS

July 4, 1964

On this Fourth of July 1964 when White America celebrates its Declaration of Independence from foreign domination one hundred and eighty-eight years ago, we of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) congratulate the Vietnamese Front of National Liberation for their inspiring victories against U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam and thereby declare Our Independence from the policies of the U.S. government abroad and at home.

RAM does this because, as the Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A., our philosophy is one of the world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slavemasters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a new world free from exploitation and oppression of man by man.

We of RAM know that in South Vietnam today, U.S. imperialism is trying to fill the vacuum left by the Indochinese rout of French imperialism ten years ago, as elsewhere in the world it is trying to fill the vacuum left by Britain, Holland, and the other European imperialist powers. We are well aware of the undeclared war that the forces of U.S. imperialism are



Vietnamese meet to support American Negro struggle

fighting today, against the people of Southeast Asia, in the name of the "Free World", and also of the intrigues by which U.S. imperialism seeks to divide your country; in order to cripple its economy and make it completely dependent upon U.S. aid. We know that U.S. capitalism is the citadel of world capitalism. That is why we of RAM do not seek assimilation or integration into this "Free World." We do not want to share in the oppression of our brothers anywhere on earth; we will not join in the White American counter-revolution that is attempting - at home and abroad - to crush the mounting revolutionary struggles.

We hope that our solidarity will encourage our brothers in South Vietnam and the world over to intensify their revolutionary efforts so that in the near future, all of us will be able to meet and lay the basis for a new world society in which all forms of colonialism and exploitation - political, economic, social and cultural - will have been buried and all those who have been oppressed will have the power to decide their own destiny. Then and only then will men be able to live as human beings and not as slaves and slavemasters.

The F. N. L. of South Vietnam

"The F.N.L. (Front National de Liberation) of South Vietnam must not be considered simply as a maquis. Within the territories under its control, a genuine administration has been established, and above all, a new social, economic and cultural life is beginning. The struggle against illiteracy, by mass education, is being vigorously carried out. Intellectuals and artists who have escaped from the cities are beginning to produce a literature and art inspired by traditional culture and the revolutionary movement. At the beginning of 1963, according to statistics given by the "Agence Liberation-press" of the 17,000 villages (a "commune" is composed of several villages) of South Vietnam, 4,400 were complete-

ly liberated; in 8,980 others "the grasp of the American and Diem military and police machine had been broken," which is to say that the communal administration is only apparently under the authority of the Saigon government. Some provinces, such as Camau, Bentre, have been 90 per cent liberated. Fifty per cent of the total population has escaped Diem's control in order to live under a new regime. About 700,000 hectares have been retaken and distributed to poor peasants; depending on the province, farm rents have been cut 40 to 50 per cent since 1959. It is hence easy to understand why the Americans and Diem have wanted to force the entire rural population into strategic villages."

From NGUYEN KIEN's "Le Sud-Vietnam depuis Dien-Bien-Phu", published 1963 by Françoise Maspero, 21, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine, Paris Ve, France.

WE CAN WIN

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be sent into the white communities to divide them, fight the fascists, and frustrate the efforts of the counter-revolutionary forces. Chaos will be everywhere and with the breakdown of mass communications, mutiny will occur in great numbers in all facets of the oppressor's government. The stock market will fall; Wall Street will stop functioning; Washington, D.C. will be torn apart by riots. Officials everywhere will run for their lives. The George Lincoln Rockwells, William Buckley, Goldwaters, Duponts, Carnegies, Rockefeller's, Kennedys, Vanderbilts, Hunts, Johnsons, Wallaces, Barnetts, etc. will be the first to go. The revolution will "strike by night and spare none." Mass riots will occur in the day with the AfroAmericans blocking traffic, burning buildings, etc. Thousands of AfroAmericans will be in the street fighting; for they will know that this is it. The cry will be "It's On!" This will be the AfroAmerican's battle for human survival. Thousands of our people will get shot down, but thousands more will be there to fight on. The black revolution will use sabotage in the cities - knocking out the electrical power first, then transportation, and guerilla warfare in the countryside in the South. With the cities powerless, the oppressor will be helpless.

Turner's philosophy of "strike by night and spare none" is very important because it shows us that Turner knew the psychology of White America, and that we had leadership with the guerilla instinct. Turner knew what black terrorism meant to the whites, and struck, even though the odds were against him. His sense of annihilation of the enemy is very important for our struggle even today, because unlike Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the AfroAmerican has a great bulk of the mass against him. White America can be neutralized only by fear of high stakes. That is, if they know that whole families, communities, etc. of their loved ones will be wiped off the face of the earth if they attack AfroAmericans, they won't be too eager to go to war against us. This will be especially true if the AfroAmerican revolutionary forces make it clear that they are fighting the capitalist ruling class oligarchy - but if White Americans fight on the side of the white racist oppressor's government, they will be wiped out with no questions asked. For to support the oppressor's government is to be murderers, and they would be treated like murderers. With the terms of the revolution spelled out, this will divide White America. So, we can see that just by observing Nat Turner, we can gain something for our coming revolution.

The whites have had to use terrorism in order to control Black America. By the proportion of the population - in the South especially - AfroAmericans constitute a nation within a nation. As in slavery times, the only thing that has kept us enslaved is the white man's superior political machinery. By the political machinery, I mean the governmental machinery that controls the mass communications and transportation has kept the white man in power. If we would look at our situation today, we would see that if the white man didn't deny us the right to vote or gerrymander our vote in the North, we would have significant political power - if not political control of this country.

We see that in the Southern states - especially Mississippi - where blacks outnumber whites by a very large portion - the situation would be completely turned around. And with us controlling our communities in the North, we could have the ten major urban centers tied up. If White America wasn't a racist, capitalist state, half of Congress would be black. The whites in control know this and this is why the federal government will never do anything to change its racist character. Yes, it's the United States government who perpetrates racism. The Southern "cracker" (bigot) doesn't count, because the U.S. government is a "cracker" government. Knowing our position, our historical destiny, we should be willing to go all the way.

Neither the CIA, FBI, National Guard, Army or local police will be able to control our people; due to their internal conflicts. The oppressor's racist government will weaken and begin to fall more and more with every day of revolutionary struggle on its hands. Foreign imperialists' holdings will be seized by the various revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. U.S. lackey governments will topple everywhere, once the racist White American government is no longer able to come to their aid. With the White American ruling class wiped off the face of this planet, and the remaining reactionary forces suffering eventual defeat, the revolutionary AfroAmerican government will call on the help of other revolutionaries and revolutionary governments to help restore order and to fulfill the ultimate objectives of the world black revolution.

Thus we will have the fulfillment of a four hundred year destiny, and with the Beast (Western Imperialism) destroyed - the birth of a New World!...We must realize that we are the key to the world black revolution and that the rest of the world is waiting for us. We must remember that History is on our side. Not only can we win, we will win!

Your Soul Brother,

Max Stanford





OUR TRIP TO CUBA

The members of the Black liberation Front composed of Afro-Americans who traveled to Cuba feel compelled to issue a statement as to why they felt that it was necessary to defy the travel ban to Cuba. We are members of an oppressed group living within the scene of United States power and influence, but not a significant part or major force of the power and influence. We are brutalized, murdered, raped, discriminated and segregated because we are weak, because we are disorganized, because we are black. The constitution of the United States has never preserved, defended or protected our rights as American citizens. We seek solutions to our problems, solutions that will preserve our people, who are being systematically liquidated in many sections of the United States by organized Military, police, para-military forces, and by mob violence. This activity must stop now. Many non-white societies outside the United States are attempting to merge the mutual interests of their black and white citizens. Cuba in our judgment is having success while the United States is hard pressed to grant its black citizens their total rights under the Constitution. In Cuba black men and women fought with Fidel Castro in the mountains and streets, the alleys and byways; therefore demonstrating their loyalty to the revolutionary aspirations of the Cuban Revolution. Black men and women have fought in every major struggle ever carried on by the United States Government. We have shed blood, died irrespective of the cost to home and family. Today one of the black revolutionaries who fought with Fidel, Juan Alemida, is a vice-minister and top leader in the Revolutionary Army. In the state of Georgia white racists shot and killed a black, high-ranking military officer because of their hatred, their hostility to his rank, his influence in the military service.

One of the most far-reaching and important developments of the Revolution has been in the area of mass education. In Cuba, the Revolutionary Government has carried out a program that has virtually eliminated

the scourge of illiteracy while huge pockets of illiteracy remain in many southern areas of the United States. In all sections of Cuba black and white students are working together, studying together, living together, eating together, sharing together the toils, the rewards that they feel are sure to be theirs in new Cuba.

We, the Afro-Americans who traveled to Cuba, were privileged to be a part of this vitality, this new look in Cuban education. We were the guests of Cuban Professors, teachers and students at Cuban universities, Cuban technical schools, Cuban secondary schools, at Cuban schools for the elementary and kindergarten level children and at the extraordinary teacher training schools in the mountains of Escambray in Las Villas province and in the Sierra Maestra mountains of Oriente province.

Black Cubans work as teachers, students, workers and technicians at both mountain regions where the fighting that preceded Fidel's march to power took place. At the teacher training school at Minas De Frio in the Sierra Maestra mountains, black Cubans not only make up a large number of the student body; but what is even more important occupy vital positions in the administrative, academic and ideological levels of the school. At our last day in Minas De Frio one of the black Cuban sub-directors of the school gave a very moving address on the role of the school in the Cuban Revolution, how the school came into being, how students are brought to the school and what relations to what we had seen at Minas De Frio might be as we return to the United States. The mis-education of Black Americans, the challenge that productive life in a so-called free United States have never been successfully met by the American educational leaders. The numbers of black educational administrators, professors or teachers; the declining

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ranks of the numbers and quality of Black Americans who occupy positions of influence in American educational institutions attest to their lack of influence in these centers of higher learning.

The inadequate, inaccurate role of American history in giving due credit and justice to Black Americans for their part in the creation and building of the United States is widespread and notorious.

In Cuba, one of their greatest military leaders, Antonio Maceo, was black while one of their greatest living military leaders - a black man - is an "El Comandante" in the armed forces. Their pictures in many homes all over Cuba; their history is Cuban history. This history is taught to all Cuban children black and white.

In Cuba, one of their greatest trade union leaders, Jesus Menendez - a black Cuban, laid down his life at the age of 37 for the cause of the Cuban worker. What American trade union leader has shown himself willing to sacrifice his interests or his life for the American worker?

In the area of personal involvement, the Black Americans have met many people, formed new relations, and discovered many new allies hitherto unknown who have stated their vital interest in our struggle in the United States. To the black people of the United States, we can say "Take heart, ours is not an isol-

ated fight." No black man, woman or child who was, is or may at some future date be another victim of racist oppression, stands alone. We have found that we have friends all over the world who stand ready to aid us.

We have attempted in this statement to address ourselves to the realities of life in Cuba and in the United States for the Black Cuban and for the Black American respectively. To the black Cuban child life holds great promise for a bright future. What is the future of the Black child in the racist, fascist state of Mississippi?

It is the success of Cuban story in seeking solutions to its racial, political, social and economic problems that prompted Black Americans from many sections of the United States to risk life, limb, and even prison in order that they might offer some new knowledge, some vital experience to a storghouse which seems to be destroying itself by useless racial conflict.

While Cuba builds on its racial groups, the United States is destroying one of its most vital racial groups. It was to address ourselves to this problem

that further communication with interracial societies like Cuba becomes vital. The most oppressed racial group in America, namely the Black Americans, draw meaning, strength, and a continued importance from such liberating acts as travel to a disputed area such as Cuba.

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 UNITED AFRO-WOMEN'S LEAGUE, 637 West 119th St., Los Angeles 44.

In Illinois

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS NEWSPAPER, 634 East 79 St., Chicago 19.

In Michigan

Central Congregational Church, 7625 Linwood, Detroit 6, Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., Minister
 GOAL (Group on Advanced Leadership), 11605 Linwood Ave., Detroit 6, Richard Henry, Pres.
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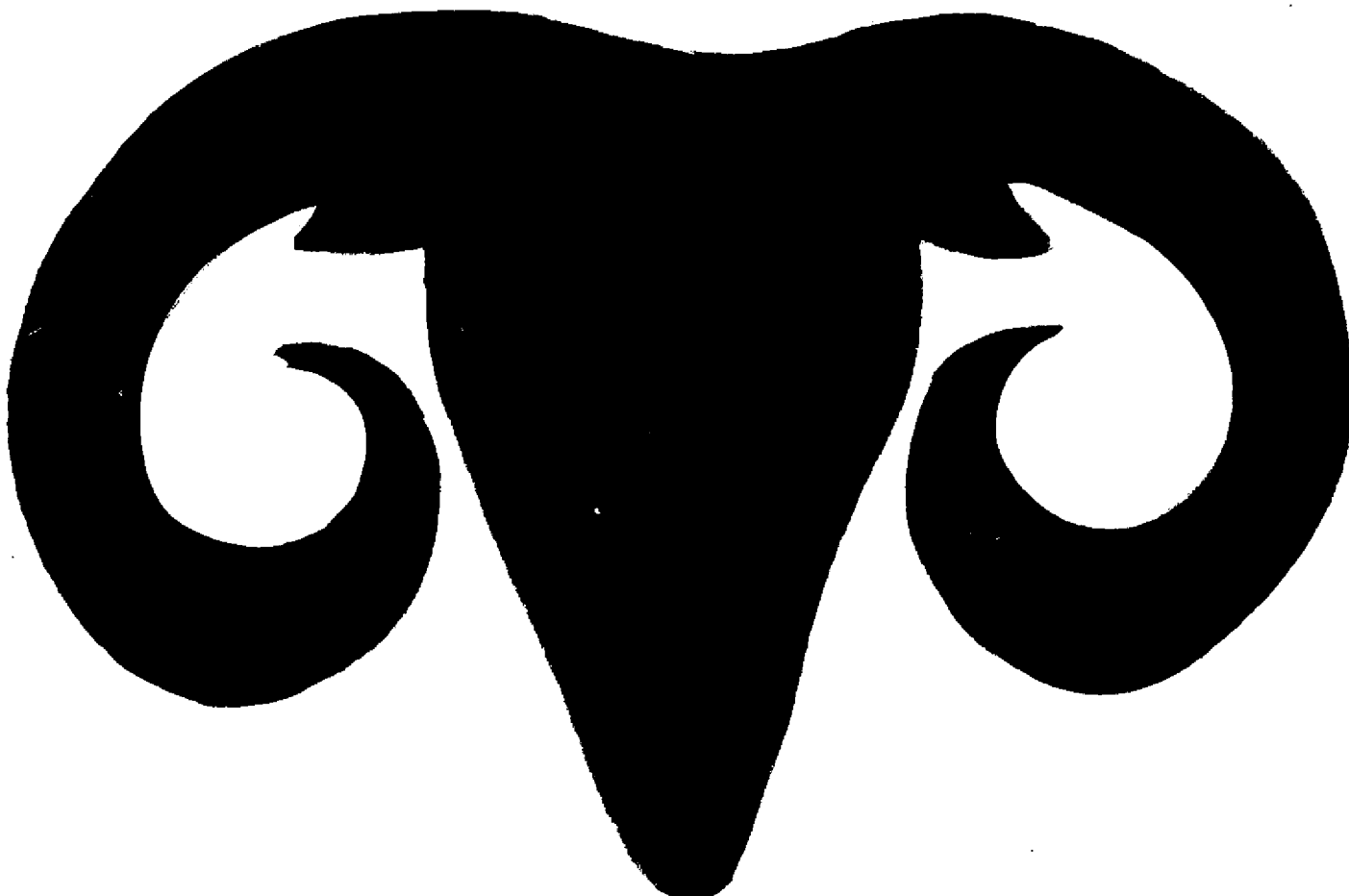
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