

BLACK AMERICA

25¢



KEEP
ON
PUSHIN'

PURPOSE

Black America is the theoretical journal of RAM- Revolutionary Action Movement, Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A..

It's purpose is to bring clarity and give direction in revolutionary struggle. To help build revolutionary nationalist leadership.

To present a revolutionary program of national liberation and self-determination for the African captives enslaved in the racist United States of America.

To forge a revolutionary unity among peoples of African decent and to give a new international spirit to Pan-Africanism.

To unite Black America with the Bandung world (Asia, Africa and Latin America).

To fight for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

Our message of the Black peoples of the world: UNITE or PERISH-WE WILL WIN.



ROBERT FRANKLIN WILLIAMS-
chairman-in-Exile of the Revolutionary
Action Movement; Premier of the African-
american government-in-exile.

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Babu's speech in Harlem is probably one of the most significant steps ever taken by an African revolutionary toward greater connection between, and understanding of, African revolution and the developing black revolution. Therefore, Babu situating himself in Harlem where his entire audience was black, is a gesture that extends both backwards and forwards in time. It goes back to *Garvey* and the essential relationship between *Dubois'* Pan-Africanism as Afro-American's first envisaged it; its forward tendency lies in the fact that the oppressed peoples (colonial peoples), or what we call the "Bandung" world are beginning to link up internationally, to unite against the white slavemasters.

Babu and Malcolm spoke on the same program that night. We feel that Malcolm's assessment of the international situation lead him to the correct conclusions: In the international revolution now going on in the world, that Afro-Americans are an integral part of that revolution. That we must "internationalize our struggle," gaining strength in the process and uniting with our natural allies - our brothers and sisters in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This was Malcolm's great theme reiterated again and again in varying situations. Some "civil rites" leaders, James Farmer of CORE, in particular, try to assert that brother Malcolm was moving closer to the "mainstream" of the "civil rights" movement. Any such evaluation of Malcolm's political and strategical thought is hopelessly erroneous. Malcolm condemned U.S. imperialism in the Congo and Vietnam (see section Philosophies and Opinions of Malcolm X in *Afro-World*), while often reminding his black audiences that millions of Chinese supported us in our struggle for liberation.

Malcolm gave brother Babu a warm soulful introduction. He spoke very briefly about the nature of *real* revolutionary action and what it meant. He praised the Zanzibar revolution as an example of real struggle against the forces of imperialism. He spoke briefly and was more interested in the people of Harlem learning from Babu than hogging the show himself.

Babu is a revolutionary; as was Malcolm. And as such both are essentially *selfless*. Revolutions do not grow out of bourgeois competition *among* the various organizations, but instead, out of the implied unity and cooperation of the revolutionary groups. Malcolm knew this. But obviously the white ruling class and its instruments of terror and oppression (F.B.I. and C.I.A.), also knew it.

"Keep on Pushin' .. Change is gonna come"

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN WAR OF NATIONAL-LIBERATION



ON THE NATURE OF THE LIBERATION WAR

For five years now the Afroamerican has been in the streets demanding "Freedom Now" and singing "We Shall Overcome". What have we overcome? We see that we haven't achieved freedom yet. After five years of so-called revolution we find we are almost where we started. We are still the last hired and first fired, we are still beaten and shot in the streets. Realizing this we must ask ourselves, where do we go in 1965? With the climax of a race war brewing our people must develop a new philosophy for a new age. But before we can develop a new philosophy we must become familiar with two basic universal laws: "Know yourself and know your enemy." If we know our enemy we will win.

WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES AND FRIENDS

The western white man has proven to be our enemy. He has built his system of capitalism of slavery of us and continuously exploits us after a hundred years of so-called freedom. He constantly attacks our brutalized and abused nation-Black America. The western white man has the nature of a beast. He is a slimy, sick sadist and represents evil on the earth. We must understand he is a sneaky cheat and a unscrupulous liar, who hates black people. We must see this beast as our enemy. We must understand that his enemies are our friends and his friends are our enemies. We therefore must oppose everything he supports and support everything he opposes. Our alliance must be with our bandung blood brothers (Asia, Africa and Latin America). Knowing who are our enemies and friends we can begin to develop a new philosophy for black liberation.

REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM- PHILOSOPHY FOR THE AFROAMERICAN

Black people must realize that they are at war with the white world. The white man has distorted history and everything else to fit his needs to stay in power. The white man is an international white nationalist thinking of the white race, first, foremost and only. As Mrs. Amy J. Garvey stated in Garvey and Garveyism, "The only ground on which white people are really united is race, neither language, religion, nor political system.. divide them." (1) In order for black people to survive in a white, hostile, evil, reactionary world they must unite to destroy the universal slavemaster. Our philosophy must be that no black person is free until all black people are free. We must unite in a universal black liberation movement to strike the universal slavemaster at one time, one blow, one war-the war of armageddon. We must have one purpose, one aim, one destiny. One purpose meaning-to be free black people from the universal slavemaster (slang for capitalist oppression), one aim-to develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible, one destiny-to follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Toussaint L' Overture, Demark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, Dr. DuBois, Patrice Lumumba, Robert Williams, and Brother Malcolm, to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation, and national oppression. When we state to free black people from capitalist oppression it means the destruction of capitalism. When we state to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation and na-

tional oppression, we mean the destruction of the world order ruled by the racist capitalist and the establishment of a new world order. Once knowing our philosophy-revolutionary nationalism-black internationalism, we must become familiar with the historical nature of our struggle.

THE HISTORICAL NATURE OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN REVOLUTION

"The bourgeois revolution of the west was founded...maintained...on...national and international color injustice." (2) The nature of capitalist development and expansion was developed on the super exploitation of dark skinned peoples. Knowing this we see that Dr. DuBois's original thesis, "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line"... (3) is correct. If we face history realistically we will see that racism is inherent in capitalist expansion, especially on the North American continent.

As previous revolutions begin to degenerate and become more reactionary, the world revolution takes on a more racial character whether we like it or not. We see here in racist America with the white community becoming more reactionary the nature of the American revolution will be drawn on racial lines. "During the last hundred years the great majority of working people in the exploiting imperialist countries have been cut in on a share of the surpluses wrung from the labor of the exploited races and therefore have a stake in preserving the system of exploitation." (4) Therefore the "subproletariat" (exploited races) not the proletariat has become the vanguard of the world revolution. "To wish for a world revolution which does not pit colored against white and which makes no appeals to the past history and revolutionary solidarity of the colored peoples is exactly the same thing as wishing for no revolution at all." (5)

The historical reality is that the "subproletariat", not the proletariat, have created revolutions, are leaders of the world revolution, vanguard and dictatorship of the new world. The nature of the world revolution will be drawn on racial lines by the

very nature of history. This does not mean the world revolution will adopt the capitalist doctrine of racism but it does mean, that it will make appeals to the past history and revolutionary solidarity of the colored peoples of the world. Upon knowing the nature of our struggle we must know the conditions that our people live and must know the ghetto psychology.

THE PARADOX OF THE AFROAMERICAN

Our people live in a dual existence; being the super exploited "subproletariat" and as long as we collaborate with the racist U.S. government we are helping to exploit our blood brothers in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We are living in a paradox being the exploited and part of the exploiter at the same time. One of the reasons for a lack of political consciousness among our people is that they can get a Cadillac, a television set and can think of themselves as doing good when compared to other oppressed peoples. Though very few can afford this and often these material gains are shortlived they serve as examples to woo our people to sleep. The contradiction for the Afroamerican is that he thinks he has to give up something to get freedom whereas all other peoples seem to gain something and have nothing to lose. But the Afroamerican must learn is that he has nothing to lose but his chains. For isn't it better to die standing on your feet like a man than to live on your knees like a pig? The contradiction the African-American must face is that he must tear down the very society he built but was not allowed to participate in.. The African-American must now chose between the materialism of the west and the humanism of the east. The reason why our struggle must become anti-imperialist is because the contradictions of our existence are too great. The only segment of Black America that has reacted positively to this paradox is black youth. Part of this is due to the new humanistic ideas of the World War II war generation and the dilemma facing Afro-youth.

THE DILEMMA OF BLACK YOUTH

unity



" We are all BLOOD BROTHERS "

BABU/S HARLEM speech

DEDICATION
DISCIPLINE
DECISIVENESS
BY
MOHAMMED BABU

Brothers and sisters, I'm really honored tonight to be able to talk to you and tell you something about what is happening in Africa. I know the story of Africa is a very long story and it will be difficult to compress it in a matter of minutes...or hours...it's a long, long book which our children will write, which your children will write and of which we shall all be proud. The revolution in Zanzibar was a serious thing. It was very serious because Zanzibar was a feudal society supported by an imperialist power. We were ruled by a sultan who had been ruling the islands and indeed the whole east coast of Africa. For two centuries they were responsible for the most hideous slave trade that you ever had. I have no doubt that quite a number of our friends, our black brothers in the Americas, must have come through the shores of Zanzibar. I have no doubt at all.

The revolution of Zanzibar is significant because it summarizes the whole tragic history of Africa of double deck suppression of slavery and colonialism. This just shows you that as Mao Tse-tung said, "the imperialists are paper tigers". They really are paper tigers. In four determined hours we toppled the whole oppressive apparatus which ruled the country for two hundred years in the form of the sultan himself, which enslaved the people, exported the people like cattle. We uprooted the whole machinery of imperialism which was set up there...in four solid hours. If this does not show that the imperialists are "paper tigers", I don't know what else will show it.

What is needed is unity. Unity and discipline. Unity and discipline and a solid, correct leadership. Leadership which can never be bought over. Leadership which

does not think of itself. Leadership which could never be isolated from the people. That is the kind of leadership which helped us to overthrow this double deck system of oppression. Wherever there is oppression this experience will certainly be a very useful contribution. If it is contributed we shall be absolutely satisfied. The revolution was plotted for nearly six months, long before independence; we had a fake independence in December and in a little less than one month the independent government was overthrown and a government of the people took over. But for six months before the revolution people organized it; and not just one or two people...hundreds and hundreds of people were involved in it...and not a squeak. This is the essence of discipline. Not a squeak came out, and when it happened the entire spy ring of the British and the CIA was upset and cables went back and forth from embassies in Zanzibar asking them, "how is it that this thing has happened we're spending so many millions of dollars to get this news?" Why is it that this thing has happened and we did not hear a word about it?" It cost some of the top people here their jobs and you know we know it-some of the top people here have lost their jobs because of lack of information about Zanzibar. Their job was to forewarn the imperialist superstructure about what was to happen.

Six or seven hundred people kept a secret in a small country-and you know a small country or a small town is the most difficult place to keep a secret, because people feed on rumors. They've nothing else to do. No cinemas, no television, no football matches, nothing exciting but rumors. Talk about what the Jones next door have done

and what they are intending to do. In a town like this, if you are able to keep a secret for six months without a squeak - this has shattered imperialism. It shows how little they understand of the determination of the African people today in asserting their rights in their own country, whatever the consequences. And our people have been killed...died...they've lost their lives. But they lost their lives happily because they were setting up a society - which will be for the interest of their offsprings. And some of them were young people who were not even married, mere girls and boys lost their lives in order to keep us free, in order to give us the opportunity to build a country in which any oppressed man could walk free and feel that he's living in a free country. They lack this understanding. The imperialists misunderstand us completely. You hear the experts. They write big books...big reports on the African Character, the Essence of African Revolution or African Post Independence. Research books, study books, well learned books...you know with Rockefeller foundation money. They dish out money for scholars to write books about the African mind, African Post Independence, Africa Pre-independence, Africa Between Slavery and Independence, Africa Pre-slavery. They write all sorts of things to understand our mind and yet they don't know it. They don't know it because they have never made an actual effort to view the world from our point of view. They are viewing the world from a paternalistic point of view that they want us to view the world from, and consequently they miss the whole point. And when things happen they get surprised...amazed. How did it happen?

Today, they are shattered. They thought by intervention in the Congo (they have stooges all over the place, you know - somebody will get up with a big robe and a big stick or one of those things - you know - a big chief a feudal lord from somewhere - would be brought here to defend intervention - to defend civilization against barbarism.) They thought that they would intervene and then leave the country - clear everything; massacre the lot they wanted to massacre; clear

the country and then come and fight their case in the United Nations. This is what they thought. And they thought they could "bamboozle" the entire continent of Africa and it would come back here meekly begging because we want aid therefore we won't be able to challenge the treachery which the imperialists are inflicting on our continent. But they are mistaken again. They thought - going by their experience of what they've done to the "banana republic" in South America - they thought they were going to introduce the same pattern in Africa. We told them, "Brother, you've had it."

This is the continent of the oppressed people and when they tell you about oppression they know what they mean. There is no other continent in this earth that has suffered the oppression that Africa has suffered. There is no other continent that would serve the world better than Africa. Africa understands oppression of human beings. When the spokesman of the imperialist stands up there in the security council of the United Nations condemning Africans of racialism he thought the whole world would tremble, but instead the world laughs at them. They know it is a lie...a "white" lie. They know that this is not the time when they could conduct massacres in Africa and cover it up. They know the whole world would know, and we know it because not every white man is evil... There are some of them who couldn't "stick it" and they've written some very useful documents and they're piling them up. Some of the mercenaries who went there as soldiers of fortune - who never had sympathies with the Africans, but because they got sick of killing too much killing...men, women and children, burning them alive...it was too much for them; and they the Tshombe regime and went back to England and wrote stories; and we've the copies. They can never hide it! They tried all sorts of things! Accusing the Africans of going "back to barbarism," etc. And now they're exposing themselves; the native hatred of the African which they've been trying to cover under the name of "liberalism!" They're now exposing themselves at the security council, because the statement that Mr. Spaak of Belgium has made only three days ago re-

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We will win ...by any means necessary.

A NEW Philosophy for a NEW AGE

One of the main reasons why Black America has not made sufficient progress toward self determination – as witness *other* colonial peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America – is due to the total lack of a broad and powerful philosophy which is anchored in the realities of the present age.

Black America, unfortunately, is operating, or semi-operating on philosophies developed or rooted in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the early years of the twentieth century. These two ancient philosophies are "Bourgeois Nationalism" (based upon Marcus Garvey's militant improvisation and implementation of Booker Washington's "self improvement" theories for the black masses), and "Bourgeois Reformism" (based on Dr. W.E.B. Du-Bois's opposition to "Booker T.-ism", and initiated by the then embryonic NAACP).

"Bourgeois Reformism" and "Bourgeois Nationalism", though dynamic and fertile in their era, do not meet the current needs and realities of black people trapped within the technological barbarism of White American civilization.

The question giving reasons why the black intelligentsia, and bourgeois leadership has not overhauled these two philosophies, or invented "new" philosophies geared towards liberating their people. The answer – a tribute to American "education" and the "American Way of Life" – is that after being "processed" and channeled through the "Freak Factories" known as "Negro Colleges", they are only fit for the inferior roles of inferior people produced by these institutions. These monstrosities (actually glorified high schools) stunt, deform and drain every ounce of creativity out of their minds and souls.

On the other hand, the White American colleges are – in their conformist decadence – geared towards producing only one creature: the White American, middle-class male or female, cog for the wheel of imperialism. So, in essence, that's what our youth who attend these institutions become: White American, middle-class males or females who happen to be black in complexion and despise them-

selves and their whole race because of this fact.

So how – I ask you – can one expect anything from people who've been so maimed and twisted? This systematic *mis*-education and alienation has resulted – for almost half a century – in the stagnation and castration of *original, black* political thought, and serves as a partial explanation of why we haven't produced any noteworthy political theorists.

I will attempt to examine and analyze both philosophies and to explain why they are inadequate and obsolete in these times, beginning with BOURGEOIS REFORMISM.

Bourgeois Reformism

"Bourgeois Reformism" or Civil Rights, as it's popularly known, is that philosophy which states that black people are "second class" citizens, or citizens "denied their full rights," and so being, have a definite stake within the social & political framework of White American society. Its adherents feel that these "first class rights and privileges" can be obtained by legal action in the courts, and by "direct action" with massive non-violent demonstrations of protest throughout the country; especially of the racist domain of the south.

They rely upon the strategy – advocated and implemented by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. – of, appealing to the "conscience" of the White American system. The movement relies upon the aid and support – morally and financially – of the white liberal element, i.e. "good white folks", it has been the most highly publicized and dramatized "black" movement in American History. As for its general effectiveness: it has served to awaken certain segments of Black America – namely certain students, Christian congregations and clergymen. It has been able to bring to public light the great areas of oppression, hopelessness, and degradation smoldering within White America. It also has exposed the latent hypocrisy of the white liberal,

radical element. The latter is caused by the withdrawal of "liberal" economic support when black demonstrations get "out of hand".

But its overall weaknesses are: 1) the fact that with the exception of the church-people, ministers, and a few students, it has no mass support; because non-violence is unacceptable to the justifiably hostile temperaments of the angry, exploited masses. 2) in its appeal to the conscience of the society, it overlooks the hard facts that White America is a power-operated system feeding upon human exploitation that functions without a conscience. 3) The leaders, strategists, and adherents fail to recognize power relations within modern society and, therefore, spend their energies and resources upon such shallow goals as integrated movies, libraries, restaurants, churches, beaches, schools, etc. (although, recently, there have been moves by rebel elements towards fighting for better housing and jobs, using methods of social dislocation and disruption to achieve these goals. The New York World's Fair "stall-in" incident is a good example. 4) By depending upon white sympathy and economic aid, the leaders are vulnerable to the whims of the white liberals, and have developed the false attitude that blacks are "unable to make *real* progress without white aid or participation."

Also: there are the more recent cases of these organizations being "infiltrated" by a "fifth column" of white "radicals" who form blocs within the organizations and eventually obtain control of the offices and policy-making bodies through intrigue and seduction. These "radicals" tend to play a reactionary role - a growing tendency of "ofay" left - by seeking control of the black masses; by using them to "hammer" the racist power structure (the black masses being the most dynamic force in America today); and by cynically experimenting with their lives. These "radicals" generally, tend to follow a line of forcing "change" (reform) within the existing structure"; a kind of "domestic" peaceful co-existence with White America. Usually, when indigenous (black) revolutionaries appear and attempt to steer the people in a more militant direction, these "ofay" radicals become reactionary and clash with the indigenous revolutionaries. Needless to say, the infiltration of these "radicals" into "key" positions completely neutralizes any remaining militancy that the reformist organization might muster up.

Bourgeois Nationalism

"Bourgeois Nationalism", or militant "Booker T.-ism" (self improvement) states that

black people should strive to control the areas of the black ghettos and communities, substituting black-owned businesses and establishments for the white-owned businesses. The "radical" wing of "Bourgeois Nationalism" seeks to separate the black people from White America by either acquiring separate states within this nation, or being allowed to establish a repatriation program back to Africa, to help develop it into an economic power. The more moderate wing seeks to develop black political power by forming an independent political party within the current structure; thereby electing congressmen, assemblymen, and other officials, to office - responsible to said party.... "Bourgeois Nationalism" identifies with the "winds of change" sweeping the African continent, and endeavors to re-educate black people toward the African past by initiating programs dealing with African history and culture.

As for its general effectiveness: "Bourgeois Nationalism" attempts to move in a positive direction through its messages of racial pride and racial "self-improvement". Unfortunately, due to its policy of inversion ("black" capitalism for "white" capitalism), it does not get to the core of the black situation: the question of the elimination of "exploitation." Unconsciously - relying upon its western values of middle class "scorn" for the masses; it merely changes their "masters".... "Bourgeois Nationalism" is incapable of making the "internal revolution" or "revolution of the psyche" essential (to all revolutionaries) to develop "soul", or the embodiment of the aspirations and longings of the masses of the people. It also tends - especially in its "radical" or "separatist" wing - to develop into exclusive "cliques" separated from the "grass-roots" (masses) and any militant action that clashes against the racist power structure.

As time goes by, "Bourgeois Nationalism" becomes increasingly conservative - losing its militant stance and potential initiative; emphasizing "culture" and "economics" instead of politics. To proceed even deeper into this philosophy is to discover its childish attitude towards White America. Numbered below are some of the faults and contradictions which seriously mar the effectiveness of this philosophy.

1). *White America who - operating internationally as a wing of Western Imperialism - has been oppressing not only Black America, but three quarters of mankind, is going to "give" "Bourgeois Nationalists" separate states, is going to*

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APPEAL AND STATEMENT ON RACE TERROR IN USA

HAVANA, CUBA — JULY 23, 1964. Human decency demands that the civilized people of all the world vehemently condemn racist America's campaign of genocide against her citizens of African descent. Imperialist America's tradition of racist terror and violence against colored humanity has become more than just a natural reaction, emanating from a desire to perpetuate her cast system inherent in the "American way of life"; it is now an elaborately contrived plan to systematically exterminate that portion of American society which is nonwhite. All over racist America defenseless colored women and children are being savagely gunned down for no other crime than having been born black in the so-called "free world of representative democracy." Churches and homes are being bombed, burned to the ground and fired into. In barbaric America, the land that proposes to bring white supremacy justice to a multiracial world by force of arms, the racist government gives aid and comfort to fascist terrorists while the blood of Afroamericans, begging for police protection, flows through the streets.

Afroamericans have long pleaded to President Johnson for protection from racist terrorists to no avail. The President has responded to the pitiful cries of mercy by championing the rights of the oppressor to be secure in his acts of brutal oppression. He has ordered the press to suppress and conceal facts of the true nature and the vast extent to which terror and death are being visited upon black Americans. He has ordered the racist and reactionary Federal Bureau of Investigation to ruthlessly crush the feeble Negro self-defense elements in order to render Afroamericans more susceptible to extermination. He has ordered an investigation of those desperately struggling for human rights instead of those fascist elements that have sworn to eliminate black people from the American scene. President Johnson has ordered the Negro-hating F.B.I. to take ruthless action against the perennial victims of terror and oppression rather than against those who have long practiced it in the name of Christian white supremacy.

Jesse B. Stoner, national Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan and vice-presidential candidate of the National States Rights Party, is openly campaigning for "the Christian white people of America" to "eliminate African savages from America." These rightist forces have sworn to make America a white only country. They have already openly formed fascist armies armed with machine guns, light artillery, bombs and other light weapons of modern warfare currently used by the U.S. Armed Forces. Local police forces and National Guard units are working hand in hand with terrorist groups. Racist judges and their courts are racist instruments of the Ku Klux Klan. Black freedom fighters are helpless in legally defending themselves in these kangaroo courts serving as the legal arm of terrorist groups.

White supported and Government approved Negro leaders are being forced to denounce outside support as possible interference in America's internal affairs. These Negro mercenaries are being ordered to proclaim themselves impartial and objective while proposing to lead a partisan struggle. The racist slaughter of helpless black Americans in America is as much the affair of the civilized world as South Africa and Portugal. America has no special writ from God to be exempt from norms of civilized conduct and international law. The U.S.A. stands arrogantly in contempt and violation of the Human Rights Charter of the United Nations. It is time for justminded peoples of the world to brand her as a barbaric, uncivilized, outlaw nation.

As exiled leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, I beseech the decent and civilized peoples of the world to support the Afro-American in his desperate struggle for survival. We ask for support from all the civilized world in our just struggle for human rights in America, and when possible, we ask that moral support be supplemented by more tangible aid. The present situation is so desperate that armed self-defense is becoming mandatory, if our savagely besieged people are to survive, we also need financial and arms aid. We call upon all decent minded peoples to aid us through those who will soon be personally soliciting aid abroad.

**Robert F. Williams, Exiled leader of
The Revolutionary Action Movement**

NEW PHILOSOPHY

"allow" them to return to Africa (which Western Imperialism is exploiting for all it is worth), to stir up trouble for the West and its lackeys!

Since White America operates internationally as a wing of Western Imperialism oppressing the Bandung or non-white world, Black America's freedom struggle now becomes a part of the world struggle against the "universal Slavemaster", Western Imperialism. Therefore political organizations operating *within* this structure are in the long run, inadequate (except as organs of mass-education through struggle for immediate gains; at best a temporary solution) — because in order for Black America, Africa, Asia and Latin America to obtain universal self-determination: the present economic and political structure of White America — *citadel of Western Imperialism* must be totally changed.

2). "Bourgeois Nationalism's inversion of community control leads to the "capitalist outlook", i.e. exploitation — economic and political along with the attitude of businessmen (profits before loyalty), and materialistic hedonism which is rampant in the West. As to the idea of black congressmen, assemblymen, and other officials: to reiterate: this is at best a *temporary* solution. The main power within the structure will *still* be wielded by whites: furthermore, White America lives by the "law" which states that "might makes right" Even if we elect these officials, they can be neutralized by the armed might of white military forces within the country (as witness Reconstruction times after the Civil War). What Black America needs in the long run, is *not* black businessmen, congressmen, or bourgeois leaders and officials, but militant, revolutionary leadership rooted in the masses of the people, articulating and implementing their highest aspirations.

A New Philosophy

The new philosophy is "Revolutionary Black Nationalism", or more specifically, "Revolutionary Black Internationalism". It states that the world is divided by two nationalisms: "white" and "black". "White" nationalism dealing with the European or Western nations with their policies of colonialism, Capitalism, White Supremacy, or racism which has led to the oppression — economic and political — of three quarters of mankind: i.e. the "black" or red, yellow and brown peoples.

(Russia and her eastern European supporters are drifting closer and closer to the West in their ideological war with China. In following the strate-

gy of "peaceful co-existence", they neglect the colonial revolutions — championed by China — which rock the "co-existence" boat; and emphasize the building of socialist societies, into propaganda showplaces of "peaceful" competition).

So we see, from this description, that black and white "nationalism" is really internationalism. "Revolutionary Black Internationalism" also refutes the "Bourgeois Reformist" theory that Black Americans are "citizens denied their rights". It goes on to state that Black Americans are colonial people, and that the United States contains two distinct nations: White America - citadel of Western Imperialism - and the captive nation, colonial Black America. It states that White America following the European colonization of Africa — also developed its colony — internally — within the slave — holding south instead of the African homeland. Thus began Black America's freedom struggle; lasting more than three hundred years.

Black America's fight for self-determination is tied up with the colonial revolutions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Thus, we are involved in a new age, an age of Universal or Planetary Revolution: three quarters of mankind against the Universal Slave-master; and the blazing voice of "Revolutionary Black Internationalism" marks Black America's entry upon the revolutionary stage of history — linking up with her colonial brothers. Furthermore: as an oppressed, colonial *nation*, Black America is justified in using *every* method that other peoples use to obtain self-determinationIn so doing, "Revolutionary Black Internationalism" repudiates the narrow, cowardly, latently masochistic philosophy of non-violence in the face of racist terrorism carried on by sadistic beasts.

Though approving of, and advocating racial pride and racial elevation, "Revolutionary Black Internationalism" repudiates the outmoded and contradictory philosophy of "Bourgeois Nationalism" by totally rejecting Western Capitalism and its sick values in favor of the humane principles of Pan-African or "Bandung" socialism with its inherent philosophy of class destruction and peoples democracy (true democracy; rule by and for the people through their able revolutionary parties and leadership); and also rejects the clique of "separatism" (from militant action by the black masses) by total "locking with" the oppressor's racist system in every feasible way.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF REVOLUTIONARY AFRO-AMERICAN MOVEMENT TO THE BANDUNG REVOLUTION

"The Black Revolution's Relationship to the Bandung World" was the point of ideological departure for the second Afro-American Student Movement (ASM) Conference. This conference preoccupied itself with the consolidation of existing revolutionary Afro-American Youth potentialities and the development of a revolutionary Black Youth Movement, *in depth*, that can initiate and sustain revolutionary action.

The nature and essence of the Revolutionary Afro-American Movement's ideology was delineated by veteran Black Revolutionists. In these presentations, the anti-imperialist rather than bourgeois reformist character of the Black American's struggle was emphasized.

The goal of the Black American Revolution is the international eradication of "Yanqui" (U.S. & NATO) imperialism, not integration within this decadent imperialist framework. Therefore these Afro-American radicals denounced neutralism in the bipolar struggle between capitalist and socialist forces, and demanded global *polarization* of anti-imperialists and capitalist imperialism. They asserted that the Afro-American revolutionists have a vanguard role in this historic task, by virtue of their unique four hundred year endurance of "Charlie's inhumanism" and their strategic domestic bondage within his "belly"

The critical problems confronting the African Revolution, especially the Congo, and Asia and Latin America were analyzed. The hypocritical stance of bourgeois African nationalist leaders who via neutralism have abandoned anti-imperialist African revolutionists such as the Congolese under Gbenye, was condemned. The lack of an uncompromising commitment to anti-imperialism has relegated the Organization for African Unity to the status of a medium for "neo-colonial subversion" of the African people's freedom. Thus genuine revolutionists are forced to align themselves with China. China, Cuba and Zanzibar comprise the vanguard of the Bandung Revolution now pervasive in the non-Western World, North Vietnam, Indonesia, and Algeria are also responding positively to these bi-polar conflicts. The Revolutionary Afro-American Movement pledges solidarity with the Bandung Revolution and regards itself as the North American Vanguard of this "emerging World of the Future."

The second ASM conference defined the goal of the Bandung Revolution as the eradication of "Yanqui" inhuman imperialism and the establishment of a new world based on the humane socialist values of "Bandung Humanism," the humane aspirations of the Bandung Revolution.

"Bandung Humanism" constitutes a *revolutionary* revision of Western or traditional Marxism to relate revolutionary ideology adequately to the unprecedented political, socio-economic, technological, psycho-cultural developments occurring in the post World War II era. The failure of Marxism to revolutionize Western Europe and the United States, especially in the depression era of the 'thirties, has forced committed Afro-American revolutionists to formulate "Bandung Humanism" or Revolutionary Black Internationalism. This ideology was initially proclaimed at the first or May conference of the Afro-American Student Movement. "Bandung Humanism" envisions a "dialectical eschatology" or apocalyptic culmination of the conflict between the inhuman "Yanqui" imperialist *thesis* and the anti-imperialist humanist Bandung *antithesis*. The humanist synthesis of this dialectical "Armageddon" is a socialist "classless" world democracy predicated upon the total demise of "Man's inhumanity to Man" in terms of war, socio-economic exploitation, and moral decadence and psychosis.

The Afro-American corollary to this "dialectical eschatology" is that the historic destiny of Afro-America has, through its four hundred year travail, created the socio-economic, cultural foundations of the dominant imperialist *thesis* and as a result of "Charlie's" inhuman oppression becomes *internal humanist anti-thesis*, the "Samson" of the decadent "Yanqui" imperialist social order and the "David" of the humanistic Bandung World or *Synthesis* of the Future. This prophetic mission is implicit in the Afro-American music of modernists such as Bird, Miles, Trane, etc. The task of the Revolutionary Afro-American Movement is to express via political action the dynamism embodied in Afro-American music. The invincible optimism manifest in the second Afro-American Student Movement Conference is evident in its adoption of the motto of the Cuban Revolution:

Venceremos!! (We Will Win!!)

CAN WE WIN

"The automation revolution in American industry is... "fast"... sweeping away the economic gains of Negroes made during two world wars." (6) The segment of the black community that is affected by this the most is black working class youth. The Afro-american World War II war baby generation is faced with a new dilemma. They are faced with the fact that this system so highly developed no longer needs them. The paradox the Afroamerican must face is that he built this country off his sweat, blood, slave and semi-slave labor only to be completely shut out of it (the society) when he was best prepared to be assimilated in it.. This contradiction polarizes for black youth since they are the generation that would have emerged as the assimilated petty bourgeoisie of the Afroamerican. But since America is both a racist caste and class society this is impossible. Black youth are now faced with no where to go but to the streets. Black youth are being forced by this society into becoming an unemployed mobile force in the wake of economic stability for white Americans. Due to the tightening of the automatized clamp Afro-youth have no alternative but to revolt. The question may arise, "Now that we know this, what about unity among our people?"

UNITE OR PERISH THE ALTERNATIVE FOR BLACK AMERICA

The population in the U.S. will unify out of necessity. This necessity will be brought about both from inside and outside of its ranks. As the struggle becomes more intense, a Mau-Mau of a political form will probably have political ambitions which the house niggers, (uncle toms) and the public racist will be unable to fulfill. It will probably assassinate racist leaders and house niggers who don't follow its line. The cry in the black community will be "Liberation or Death!" On the other hand the greater the black community struggles, the uncontrollable ultra right (John Birch Society, KKK, Nazi's, etc.) and the controlled right (CIA, FBI, Secret Service, etc.) will step up their programs of black extermination. The black community will unite for human survival or perish. The question most of us get hung up on is, "Can we win?"

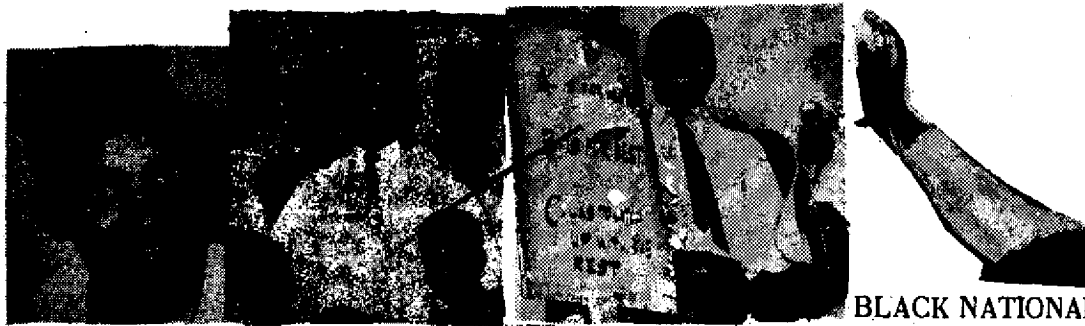
Yes, we can win. In the fall 1964 issue of Black America in the article, "We can win", it described how we will win. We will win because our struggle is just, and because our forces will have superior wills, minds, armies, strategy and tactics. History will absolve us and dissolve the enemy. Just because our analysis defies the "holy trinity" of the ofay left, does not doom us to defeat, extermination or hell. The only absolute we know is change and change we will... the history of the world. We can and will win! When blacks talk about winning, racial solidarity, repudiating western values, not waiting for or giving a damn about the white racist working class and what it thinks, ofay so-called radicals scream "RACIST" and say our analysis is unscientific, shows bougeois tendencies and has contradictions.

WHY WHITE AMERICANS FEAR BLACK NATIONALISM

Most white Americans either don't understand or fear nationalism among black americans because they usually have paranoid tendencies concerning the racial situation in the U.S. and around the world. This comes from their guilt complex and is usually covered by paternalism. White America know what their ancestors have done to the Afroamerican and they usually feel that one day they will have to pay for their deeds. When blacks start talking about killing whites and destroying the U.S. so-called white radicals say that we are not talking about "real" revolution.

WHAT IS "REAL" REVOLUTION?

"Political power comes from the barrel of a gun." (7) "Real" revolution is a political economic war that is a war with political objectives waged by the oppressed to destroy the oppressor's power over them. When white radicals talk about revolution without destroying the existing American society they are not talking about "real" revolution. What they fail to understand is that you have to destroy the old society in order to create a new one. They fail to understand that the racist ruling class oligarchy stays in power because of its ma-



BLACK NATIONALISM ON THE RIGHT

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

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

In order to establish a stronger identification with Africa it is customary for "cullud nationalists" to take on African names; this is seemingly a militant position (and can be), inasmuch as it is "radical" for Black people in the context of the "American way of thinking." However, when we consider the opportunistic policies that those "nationalists" pursue, it can only be concluded that their names should be relegated to the class of the Tubmans, Kasavubus, Mobutus and Tshombes, all of the reactionary, African "leader."

The seeming militancy of reactionary "nationalism" arises when we consider the manner in which these "nationalist" groups vociferously denounce both the so-called "black bourgeoisie" and the present "Civil Rites" movement. It is certainly true that the bourgeois elements within the Black

community should be denounced; it is equally true that the "Civil Rites" program is leading itself up a "blind alley" to the extent that it depends on the Federal Government to step in at the point where the movement has reached a "dead end", or where it relies upon the morality of WHITEY to bring about a solution to the multitude of contradictions inherent in the Black man's presence in America. Thus, criticism of the "Civil Rites" movement is indeed justified in many cases.

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

One implication of the "self-help" program is that Afro-Americans ought to pursue the same path that virtually every minority group in the U.S. has followed, at one time or another, during its history, in the racist quagmire; that is, by rejuvenating the ghettos in which they live (in terms of improvement of buildings and of stimulating greater economic activity in the Black community), going

BLACK NATIONALISM ON THE RIGHT

through the "bootstrap scene", and eventually becoming an integral part of the so-called "affluent society", Now, all of this above nonsense would make prolific material for a very interesting Horatio Alger novel (as applied to the "success story" of a mass of people), but in terms of economic realities it is strictly not on the case. First point: during the time which minority groups made their "debut into the mainstream", the U.S. Economy was in a state of expansion therefore affording the members of these groups ample opportunity for "upward mobility". Today we find U.S. capitalism in its highest stage of development (that of Imperialism) and totally inadequate in providing a sufficient number of jobs for white workers, let alone black workers.

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

It is characteristic of these reactionary "nationalists" to spout cliches about a non-existent, American "free-enterprise; if our brothers had done their reading on economics faithfully, they would perhaps realize that "free-enterprise" was dead in Europe in the late 1800's and was on the decline in the U.S. during the early 1900's (along with the formation of the first billion-dollar trust in history, United States Steel.) The free-enterprise is spoken of as if it were still a reality in the racist U.S.A. It just doesn't exist any more, and in actuality exerted itself only for a short period of time during the Industrial Revolution in the U.S.

Let's "bring it down front": "self-help" for brutalized Afro-Americans at the present stage (of development) of "WHITEY'S" economic system is a *necessary but not sufficient condition for Black Liberation*. Evidently, some Afro-Americans feel that Black people need only pool their financial "resources," establish Black-owned and controlled"

banks, and from this dream (and it is a dream) create a vast network of Black businesses on the spirit of the "American Ethic," which is an ethic of demagoguery and "tricknology." All are myths.

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

BLACK on the RIGHT

six counties studied by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, you may have an income of only \$531 a year. In the last 77 years there have been 578 lynchings of which 538 were of Negroes.

If you have children in one of the 151 school districts (none desegregated) the state will expend \$174 a year on your child - less than any other state. Federal funds for the Negro Public Schools amounted to 42% of \$193,061. "If you are a Negro woman and had a child in 1959 and the child died at birth, it was one of 51.3% per 1,000 Negro infants who died that year in Mississippi.

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

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

It's been pointed out previously that "Whitey" has found himself in a "trick bag" relative to the prospects of continually expanding the U.S. Economy (at least with respect to the present job situation); U.S. Imperialism is suffering more and more each day as a result of the head whipping it is receiving in Southeast Asia.

At a recent conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo, "Whitey" was denounced for his involvement in the Congo fiasco. Now, the Beast needs markets and cheap sources of labor and natural resources in order to insure his continued realization of super-profits, but because of his past trickery he finds that many nations now close their doors when they see him coming. What is the solution to his problem? At least with regard to Africa, Whitey is attempting to gain a greater economic foothold through the "patriotic" acts of "cullud," bourgeois mercenaries (including such Negro Mythologists as publisher John H. Johnson of *Ebony Magazine* and Uncle Ralph Bunche, Carl T. Rowan, Emerson Payer, etc.) "Big Charlie" is not particular which Afro-American lackey he sends abroad as long as this lackey "brings home the ham hock." He would logically, therefore, be willing to send reactionary nationalists to Africa as well as Uncle Toms in order to do his bidding; as a matter of fact,

this has already occurred.

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

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

Let us keep in mind that the racist U.S. did not become a "have" nation and the vast Black World-Africa, Asia, Latin America become a group of "have not" nations simply because "Whitey" worked diligently while the rest of the world set back on its hind quarters; the role of U.S. "tricknology" and imperialism with respect to the Black world is well documented, and need not be belabored here. However, the point which we have made in preceding paragraphs is not irrelevant to our present discussion.

Afro-Americans will definitely find it necessary to procure support for their struggle from peoples through out the world, particularly the Black World. In order to achieve this support it is imperative that Afro-Americans not only denounce, but boycott (among other things) the system which seeks to destroy humanity. Any other position taken by Afro-America offers only a reactionary mythic solution to its problems; a "solution" which, because of other realities, is destined to fail.

Con't- Next Issue

DIALECTICAL ESCHATOLOGY:
DESTINY OF AFRO-AMERICA

by El Mahdi

Alienation is the plague afflicting Man in the contemporary world. Man's response to this pervasive condition determines his destiny, because according to existentialism-existence precedes essence. The burden of creating freedom or enduring slavery rests on modern man's shoulders-is totally his responsibility; the oppressed must liberate themselves. Revolution is not only the American Black Man's responsibility, it is his redemption. Only total revolution can resolve the pathological contradictions engendered by the Afro-American's utter alienation in the United States.

The revolutionary implications of the Afro-American's fate have become increasingly more manifest in his music-jazz. The work of Bird, Diz, Monk, and co. initially appeared so perplexing because it represented an abrupt, revolutionary development beyond traditional Afro-American music-spirituals, blues, and swing. Aesthetically it expressed the Afro-American's rebellious but more sophisticated posture toward his alienation in post World War II America.

A fundamental "ennui"-spiritual paralysis besets the Western world. The "bohemianism" of the European and American intellectual embodies a romantic posture toward their "spiritual wasteland"; but today romanticism is anti-dialectical or counter-revolutionary because it is decadent and degenerate. Nineteenth century romanticism was a critique of the materialistic, anti-humanistic character of the bourgeois social order produced by the industrial revolution. However, Marx emphasized that artistic and sociological criticism must be oriented toward transforming society. The Nietzschean assertion that "God is dead" in bourgeois society, compels man to resurrect God via revolution. The failure of romanticists and Marxists to revolutionize the West condemned them to a permanent "ennui" which is apparent in contemporary Western art, literature, and music. Only the Afro-American has not completely capitulated to this "spiritual pathology", this is perceptible in the perennial vitality of his music.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, theoretical father of the reformist civil rights movement, ultimately realized that such a decadent, "sick" society "cannot reform itself; any society that enslaves you, cannot free you," and he repudiated his "baby". The Afro-American revolutionist's basic indictment of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the other bourgeois reformists is their desire to assimilate or integrate Black People into the "polluted" American mainstream of exploitation and inhumanity, which is now undergoing its final stages of decay and collapse. Only a movement which embodies the aspirations and emotions expressed in the Afro-American's music can captivate and galvanize Black America. Marcus Garvey's nationalism elicited unprecedented Afro-American attention, but it was dialectically or historically premature. Never-the-less only an ideology which incorporates the anti-imperialism of Garvey and DuBois can liberate Afro-America. Such an Afro-American anti-imperialist movement, united with those of the Bandung World, can revolutionize the globe.

The consummate historical irony of the Afro-American's "travail" in the United States is the revelation that it has been his prophetic mission via his labor, to build the economic foundations of the most decadent imperialist empire, produce its only cultural contributions to the world, and ultimately to annihilate the "imperialist beast" that its toil created. In essence, the Afro-American produced the "imperialist" thesis (United States), and its oppression in the United States has ultimately forged it into the anti-imperialist humanistic antithesis. Thus the emerging Afro-American Revolution is an aspect of modern "dialectical eschatology"-Armageddon, the ultimate, final confrontation of the inhuman West and the humanistic Bandung World-Asia, Africa Latin and Afro-America. The resultant humanistic "Bandung Synthesis" will create a World devoid of imperialistic contradictions-Man's inhumanity to Man and the consequent dehumanization in terms of poverty, racism, chauvinism, psychosis and "ennui".

The nature of Afro-America's problem is international, therefore its solution must be international.. creation of the "Bandung

veals the entire thinking of the NATO powers and western imperialist... what they think of the Africans, because we were shattered for the first time in the history of the United Nations. The African nations came together collectively and told the United States, "you are an imperialist power!" This was never said before. Never, never said before. Because each of our leaders, perhaps, scared that Wall street might withdraw its investments or the donor countries would withdraw their aid. But today we say we couldn't be worse, "you can go away with your aid and couldn't be worse." We have suffered long enough and we'll struggle on our own effort and build our own country, if we have to do it.

They misjudge the activities of Africa but we always come forward with new stories...with new activities. For the first time in the history of the world, a continent has come together and formed a continental union in the form of the Organization of African Unity. No other continent in the world has done this. You hear about the Organization of American States but we know it is not an organization of American states; it is an organization against Cuba. We know it. And we know also, that it is not an organization of equal or free people; it is an organization of master and slaves. But the organization of African Unity is another matter. For the first time in the history of this world, people are prepared to sacrifice their sovereignty in order to bring a new unity on earth, and that is the African Unity. African Unity is sovital; it is not merely a racial unity. It is an African Unity to safeguard our interests, because we know what these people have done to us. We know the treacheries of imperialism.. We don't have to go through them...we don't have to repeat them.

We know what they have done...millions of people have been killed in order to serve the imperialist role; in order to build big cities and countries...to transport them from one corner of the world to the other....and under horrible conditions and we know that if you're not alive and you're not united the same sort of thing will come back. We know it.

That's why they are trying to shoot the Congolese people. They are testing. They are testing our position on this question of the Congo. It is a serious test because if today they can prop up a Tshombe---that renegade who can sell his own brother and sisters (the Tshombes are the same type who sold their brothers and sisters two centuries ago), and if they can keep that renegade then we are weak. To what extent will the people of Africa resist him? If today they succeed in the Congo, tomorrow it will be Mozambique, it will be Kenya, it will be the United Arab Republic, it will be all of Africa.

And so we say, we stand united on this issue. The whole of Africa is standing united and I can guarantee you, if there are any renegades among the African leaders who are prepared to be sold out on this particular issue of the Congo, the African people in their countries will be the answer. Tomorrow you will hear a very big line from a very important man. You'll see in your papers tomorrow; (I'm sure the imperialists will make full use of it.) This man-we call him the "Voice of America"- this man is shamelessly talking against his own folk and kin-supporting massacres in the Congo. He'll get a very big line-splashed all over. A bank balance. A huge bank balance, I've no doubt about it. But in Africa there will be activities. These people can stand and act shamelessly on the behalf of imperialism-supporting massacres in Africa as if we haven't suffered enough! As if we must repeat history all over again. These are the very people who want to enslave us as they fatten their coffers. But we tell them Africa of today is not the Africa of yesterday. There are five million of us. We shall all fight and fight until we keep Africa free. And it shall remain free. UHURU!

BLACK AMERICA

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chine. This machine controls all of the institutions of American society. If one is serious about "real" revolution he will realize that American society as it exists must be destroyed. Blood flows in "real" revolution. Millions of Americans blood will flow both white and black in the coming revolution. This description is built on realism not utopianism. It is built on the concept of two different ways of life clashing, essentially two different nations-white America vs. Black America. Our concept of revolution is not designed to frighten off punks, spineless and gutless people. It is important for us to know what "real" revolution means. Once knowing what "real" revolution is we can estimate who will be on our side and who will be against us. To do this we must know what has been the relation between Black America and white America.

THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHITE AMERICA AND BLACK AMERICA

The American white working class has benefited for over one hundred years from the super exploitation of the Afroamerican. The white working class has been those who have led lynch parties and castrations against us. The only time the white working class has ever united with the Black man, (something the ofay left always brags about) is when it could use the black man to attain a higher status in American society. Ever since the African-American was stolen from Africa this has been happening. Whether the movements were successful or not, the African-American never gained from his alliance and still remained an out-cast.

During the revolutionary war, the Black man was promised freedom from chattel slavery if he fought on the side of the American patriots. This promise was left unfulfilled. In fact so blatant was the racism of the American patriots that they classified the African-American as 3/8 human to justify their continued enslavement of him in their newly found constitution of the United States of America. The U.S.A. government of the people, for the people and by the peo-

ple; that is... white people. During the civil war the African-American was promised if he fought on the side of the union he would get, "forty acres and a mule". Again the promise was broken. Historians say that there were clashes between the Blacks who seized the land and federal (union) troops after the war. So it goes on and on. The Populist movement "united" with the African-American as small farmer movement but when it's bid for power was defeated it turned racist again. The labor movement developed along similar lines and the American communist movement which even promised the African-American a "Negro nation" ended up selling out to the Roosevelt machine.

The present day left promises the Afro-american everything from racial, economic and political equality (integration) in a socialist America to the right of self-determination ("Negro" nationhood in southern states) and the right to separate (one or more states as a nation). The relationship of unity even in radical ranks has been of an exploitative nature; to use the African in America as a propaganda tool to get it's (ofay left) program across.

THE OFAY LEFT

"The ofay left refuses to recognize that America is a caste and class society. The nature of the American caste is racial; therefore, any revolution in racist America will be on racial lines." (8) The only organized force in the white community capable of attempting to seize power is the ultra-right. If the ofay left sees this development then it's historical role is to go into the white community, organize it for revolution and fight the fascist. The American left has lost it's roots in the white community. It is broken into a hundred different pieces wasting time debating among itself while the ultra-right continues to gain power. The ofay left which spends most of it's time telling us what to do should shut up for a while, until it gets itself together and then talk to those white working class bastards that lynch, castrate, rape, murder and brutalize daily.

THE NATURE OF OUR STRUGGLE

As the Afroamerican war baby generation attempts to fight for integration (an impossible goal under the racist capitalist system) and becomes frustrated from such, it will begin to repudiate white America's value and lean towards nationalism. By the nature of oppression and struggle they will realize that they must seize, control and maintain state power before achieving any goal (integration, separation, migration back to Africa, black nationhood, assimilation, etc.). The faster the African-American struggles for assimilation in racist America, the faster he will become discouraged about integration as a goal as counter-revolution (so called white backlash) grows in white America. As the southern Afroamerican pushes for the right to vote, raising the question of self-determination; he will receive more resistance from the southern state apparatus and it will be easier to show him it is to his advantage to seize state power.

ON INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Since America is the citadel of imperialism, (twentieth century Rome) and it (America) can temporarily bring the world revolution to a stalemate, it is to the advantage of all revolutionaries to come to aid with political, economic and physical support in the course of a revolutionary war inside the racist U.S.A... Latin American revolutionaries especially play a strategic role in this because they are in a position of immediate physical support. A young Black Revolutionary was told recently that FALN, the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Venezuela, had blown up one of Rockefeller's imperialist investment in Venezuela in support of our struggle. This incident, it was stated, occurred concerning the bombing of the six Black children in Birmingham.

When revolutionary war breaks out in the U.S.A. it would be to the advantage of Latin American revolutionaries to wage war against their reactionary regimes who are lackeys of U.S. imperialism because the U.S. would be unable to come to their aid. The seizure of and/or destruction of the imperialist property would create a major cri-

sis for the racist U.S. oligarchy. An example of a limited effect of this was the F.L.N. liberation fighters of South Vietnam. With racist America having to cope with a revolutionary war within her borders and pressured from the outside by anti-imperialist forces, it would suffer a political and economic collapse. It would be to the advantage of every revolutionary to wage war against the U.S. and its lackeys in every way possible during this crisis because it will be the weakest period for world imperialism. The Afroamerican revolutionary would become therefore the pivotal point for the destruction of world imperialism.

THE RESPONSIBILITY AND THEORETICAL POSITION OF THE AFROAMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Afroamerican revolutionary being inside the citadel of world imperialism and being the Vanguard against the most highly developed capitalist complex has problems no other revolutionary has had. His position is so strategic that victory means the downfall of the arch enemy of the oppressed (U.S. imperialism) and the beginning of the birth of a new world.

The African-American revolutionary awaits the day when Black humanism will prevail over white decadent materialism; for on that day the oppressed will see the sunrise again, the redeemers will walk the earth, Hiram shall awaken and the meek shall inherit the earth! Up you mighty revolutionaries, you can accomplish what you will!

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DIALECTICAL ESCHATOLOGY con't

Synthesis", a new humanistic world order. As a result, the Afro-American revolutionist is an international outlaw, the "North American Vanguard" of the Bandung Revolution. His "Blood Brothers" are anti-imperialists of the world, the balance consists of actual or potential enemies; there can be no neutralism. Thus the Black American radical and China are the paramount polarizers of the globe, dedicated to precipitating Armageddon, "Dialectical Eschatology", or the final showdown between "Yanqui" Inhumanism and Bandung Humanism. The Afro-American revolutionist is the Humanist of the future whose life is consecrated to the obliterating of U.S. and NATO (Yanqui) Inhumanism.

To him nationalism is an anachronism, "no anti-imperialist nation can be an island unto itself"; the liberation of all Bandung Peoples is predicated upon their unity and collective consecration to total war against the "Yanqui" oligarchy. Nonalignment is betrayal because it subordinates international freedom (humanism) to national neo-colonialism. The intent of Western economic aid is to perpetuate "neo-imperialism", not bury it.

The dialectical progression of modern history has conferred a crucial role upon the Afro-American revolutionist because of his strategic position within the national boundaries of the prime imperialist, the U.S.A.. Only the Afro-American can devastate the "North American Colossus" internally.

Thus all genuine Bandung revolutionaries must unequivocally support the Revolutionary Afro-American Movement. The Black American radical is a redeemer who must resurrect a colonial people who suffered centuries of spiritual and psychological genocide, and who acknowledge but one history-slavery. Consequently, before the Afro-American can revolutionize the world, he must revolutionize himself; he must reject the decadent, bourgeois syndrome of materialism, hedonism and egoism, and create new humanistic values for himself, his people, and the world. The Afro-American revolutionist is the humanistic antithesis of the inhuman West. Central to the im-

potence for Maxism in the West is the absence of this total humanistic conception of socialist proletarian revolution. Socio-economic change alone cannot regenerate an inhuman bourgeois order, societies must be revolutionized culturally and spiritually in order to establish a genuine world socialist democracy. It is imperative that all socialists realize that humanism, not industrialization is the essence of socialism; otherwise all revolutions will suffer betrayal. The task of the Afro-American revolutionist is first to fashion a humanistic ideology which embodies politically the humanistic dynamism of the Afro-American music creativity of Bird, Monk, Miles, Trane, etc. and through anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, demolish the American oligarchy and its global lackeys - the personification of Satan on Earth."



BLACK AMERICA

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In Summary: A New Philosophy

We now witness the emergence of a new philosophy for Black America - stemming from the universality of Dr. DuBois, and the militant, mass-oriented action of Marcus Garvey linked with the anti-imperialism of the Bandung world. It is one with this age of Universal or Planetary Revolution against the Universal Slavemaster, Western Imperialism, it is pushed forward by a new generation of black men and women dedicated to the total liberation of Black America - and, i.e. the Bandung world - by all forms of revolutionary struggle. We of Black America - the captive nation of North America - join hands with our brothers throughout the world, as we march from the crumbling bastions of this Spiritual Dark Age - four hundred years of universal servitude - into the blazing, glorious valleys of the long awaited SUNRISE!