

Monthly

Vol. 1. Nos.

4-5

Africa Latin America Asia

REVOLUTION



Africa : 4 shillings

Europe : 6F. 9 shillings

America : \$ 1.25

Africa Latin America Asia

REVOLUTION

Incorporating "African Revolution"

DIRECTOR :

J. M. Vergès

EDITORIAL BOARD :

Hamza Alavi (Pakistan)

A. R. Muhammed Babu (Zanzibar)

Amilcar Cabrera (Venezuela)

Castro da Silva (Angola)

Richard Gibson (U.S.A.)

Nguyen Kien (Vietnam)

Hassan Riad (U.A.R.)

BUREAUX :

Britain - 4. Leigh Street, London, W. C. 1

China - A. M. Kheir, 9 Tai Chi Chang, Peking; distribution: Guozi Shudian, P.O. Box 399, Peking (37)

Cuba - Revolución, Plaza de la Revolución, Havana; tel.: 70-5591 to 93

France - 40, rue François 1er, Paris 8e; tel.: ELY 66-44

Tanganyika - P.O. Box 807, Dar es Salaam; tel.: 22 356

U. S. A. - 244 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.; tel.: YU 6-5939

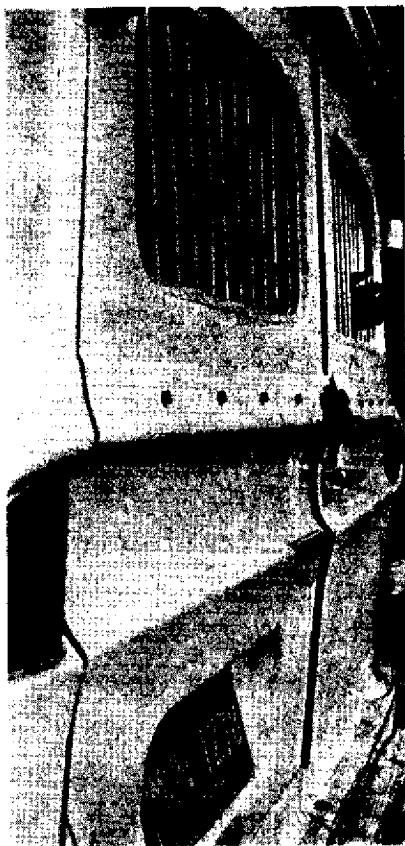
All enquiries concerning REVOLUTION, subscriptions, distribution and advertising should be addressed to :

REVOLUTION
Métropole, 10-11
Lausanne, Switzerland
Tel.: (021) 22 00 95

For subscription rates, see page 240.

PHOTO CREDITS: Congress of Racial Equality, Bob Adelman, Leroy McClucas, Associated Press, Photopress Zurich, Bob Parent, William Lovelace pp. 1 to 25; Leroy McClucas p. 26; Agence France-Press p. 58; E. Kagan p. 61; Photopress Zurich p. 119, 122, 126, 132, 135, 141, 144, 150; Ghana Information Service pp. 161, 163, 166; L. N. Sirman Press pp. 176, 188; Camera Press Ltd. pp. 180, 182, 197, 198, 199; Photojournalist p. 191; UNESCO p. 195; J.-P. Leloir p. 229. Drawings, cartoons and maps by Siné, Strelkoff, N. Suba and Dominique and Frederick Gibson.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLE



The black man was brought to what is now the United States in the early part of the 17th century, about the same time as the settling of the Jameston, Virginia colony. The great majority of American Negroes are now thought to have been brought from West Africa, even though there are some records of long marches from the interior, or even from East Africa to waiting slave ships in the West. But just where the American black man came from is not as important as the fact that he did come from Africa, and evidence of his ethnic and national genealogy is as blatant today as it was in the 17th century.

Any black man in the Americas is there only because his ancestors were brought there against their wills, chained and bound in the dark holds of fast slave ships. And since that initial arrival in America, the black man has been in an ugly and continuous struggle to free himself from the will of the Western white man. From African slave to American slave, from freedman to second-class citizen, the push has always been toward the same objective: complete freedom. The newly captured Africans who leaped off the slave ships to their deaths, or cut off their

limbs trying to get out of the chains ; martyrs like Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner; young Afro-Americans today fighting off police dogs and fire hoses in Alabama and Mississippi: all are common references in the long bloody history of the black man's constant efforts to free himself from the yoke of slavery.

The struggle of the Afro-American parallels in most ways the struggles of colonial peoples all over the world to rid themselves of exploiters and slavemasters. Medgar Evers was murdered in Mississippi for the same reasons Patrice Lumumba was murdered in the Congo: and by the same forces. The African black man and the American black man are fighting common enemies, whether they are Portuguese soldiers with N.A.T.O. weapons in their hands or the white police forces of the United States. In Asia, in Latin America, the same struggle is going on. Whether the fight is against an illegal blockade and embargo of Cuba, or the U.S. military "advisors" who prop up the Diem dictatorship in South Vietnam, it is essentially the same battle that is being waged, and for the very same reasons.



Negroes for Sale.

A Cargo of very fine stout Men and Women, in good order and fit for immediate service, just imported from the Windward Coast of Africa, in the Ship Two Brothers.—

Conditions are one half Cash or Produce, the other half payable the first of January next, giving Bond and Security if required.

The Sale to be opened at 10 o'Clock each Day, in Mr. Bourdeaux's Yard, at No. 48, on the Bay.

May 19, 1784.

JOHN MITCHELL.

Thirty Seasoned Negroes

To be Sold for Credit, at Private Sale.

A MONGST which is a Carpenter, none of whom are known to be dishonest.

Also; to be sold for Cash, a regular bred young Negroe Man-Cook, born in this Country, who served several Years under an exceeding good French Cook abroad, and his Wife a middle aged Wather-Woman, (both very honest) and their two Children. -Likewise. a young Man a Carpenter.

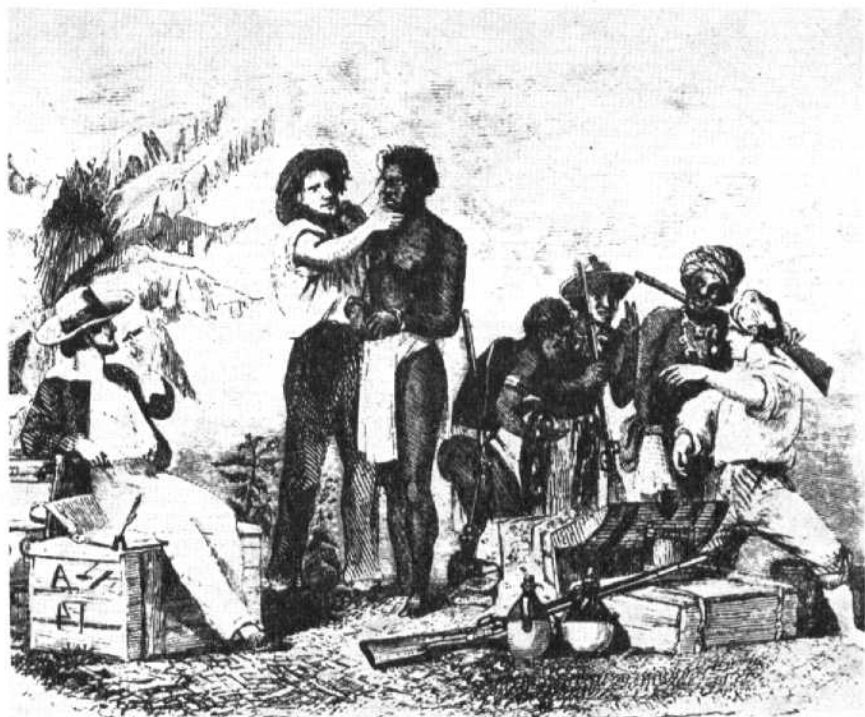
For Terms apply to the Printer.

A poster advertising a slave sale in 1784



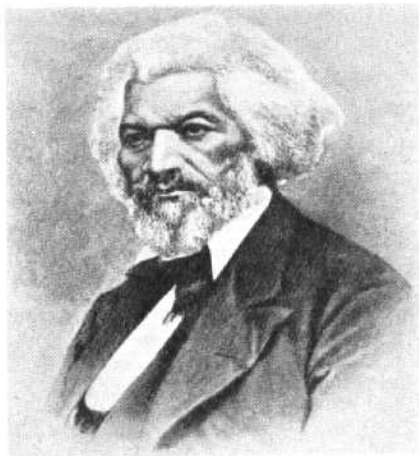
The "cargo" of a British slave ship.

Young men and boys were the prize items sought by the slavers. And even though the new slaves were inspected like cattle or horses by prospective buyers to make sure they got their money's worth, later on they treated their "property" with unbelievable cruelty.

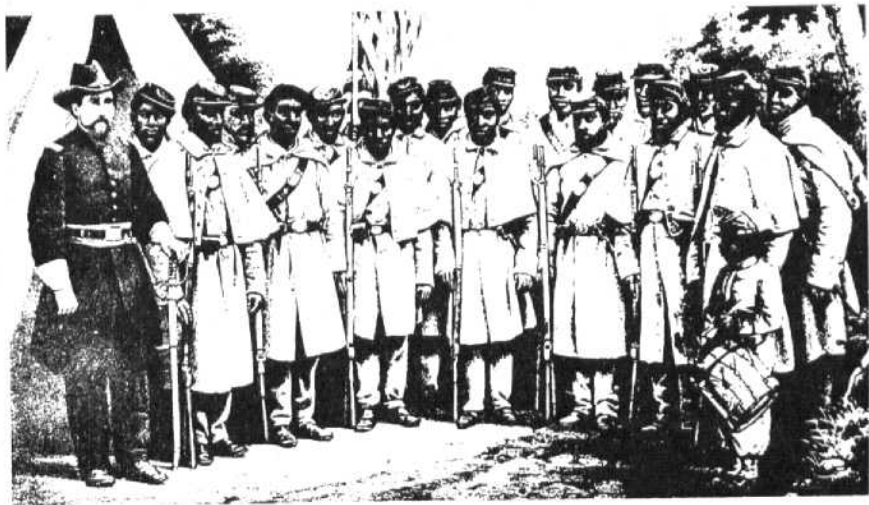


Inspection and sale of an African captive.

One of the long-lasting myths that has been perpetuated by apologists for slavery has been that the black man was content to live in slavery. But then the chronicle of the innumerable slave rebellions such as those led by black men like Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner very seldom finds much space in Western history books. Also the role of Negroes like Frederick Douglass and Henry Highland Garnet who campaigned in the North and in Europe for the abolition of slavery. As soon as the Civil War was declared in 1861, many slaves as well as free Negroes immediately joined the Union Army to help bring about forcibly an end to slavery.



**Frederick Douglass,
Afro-American leader (1817-1895).**



Black troops in the Union Army during the Civil War.

After the Civil War, Reconstruction governments, including many of the ex-slaves, were set up through most of the South. But Northern industrial interests joined with the remnants of the Southern planter aristocracy to weaken these governments and turn poor whites against Negroes. The withdrawal of the Union Army of occupation from the South made the Reconstruction governments completely ineffectual, and helpless to cope with movements of repression like the Pale Faces, Knights of the White Camelia and Ku Klux Klan, which sought to completely disenfranchise Negroes again. These forces, helped along by the so-called "Redemption of the South" in 1876, made possible the passage of segregation measures throughout the South by the end of the 19th century, and virtual restoration of slavery.

A Ku Klux Klan member. ►



One of the ways in which the Southern white man hoped to maintain his "superiority" over the Afro-American was by keeping him from the polls, even if it meant murdering him. A great many lynchings throughout the South have resulted from even a rumour that a certain Negro planned to register to vote. Mississippi has been notorious in this respect. But the poll taxes and elaborate "voter qualification examinations" have made murder unnecessary in most cases, simply because Negroes were discouraged by all these barriers from exercising their Constitutional right to vote.

Each attempt by Negroes to gain full citizenship has been met by strong reactionary elements, not always outside the Federal Government. Southern senators have done almost as much to obstruct the Negro's efforts to attain full citizenship as the Ku Klux Klan or anonymous white lynch mobs. Certainly inflammatory statements by many of these men have helped keep resentment among the poorer Southern whites at a high pitch.



A Negro in Mississippi registering to vote.



American Nazis picketing in front of the White House in Washington.



Club-swinging white police in Jackson, Mississippi arrest a Negro demonstrator.

Freedom Riders' bus being burned in Alabama.



The "Sit-Ins" and "Freedom Rides" were two of the methods employed by Afro-American students in attempts to break down the legacies of Jim Crow, i. e. discrimination in restaurants, hotels, theatres, bus stations and other "public" facilities in the Southern and border states. Resistance by thugs, segregationists and white supremacists has been constant. Incensed white mobs have beaten and harassed Freedom Riders and non-violent pickets and students participating in Sit-Ins. And in North Carolina when Robert F. Williams, a local leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, offered organized resistance to segregationist fanatics, he was quickly framed on a "kidnapping" charge by local police officials (with the help of the Federal Government) who were very anxious to see Williams out of the way. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, President Kennedy's brother, ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to bring in Williams dead or alive, but Williams succeeded in reaching safety in Cuba.

All over the South, as well as the North, young Negroes, whether or not they have been aided by their parents, have resisted all efforts to discourage or disrupt their protests. Since the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 against segregation in public schools, enrollment by black children in previously all-white schools has been one of the most constant sources of friction. Yet after nine years there are still only 6.9 per cent of eligible black students attending integrated schools, and even this figure gives a false impression of the effectiveness of the Supreme Court's decision, since most of the Negro students in integrated schools are in the previously segregated areas of border states like Delaware and Maryland or cities like Washington, D.C. The vast majority of Southern schools are still segregated, though the pressure brought by Negroes to change this situation is on the increase every day.



A student being arrested in Alabama.

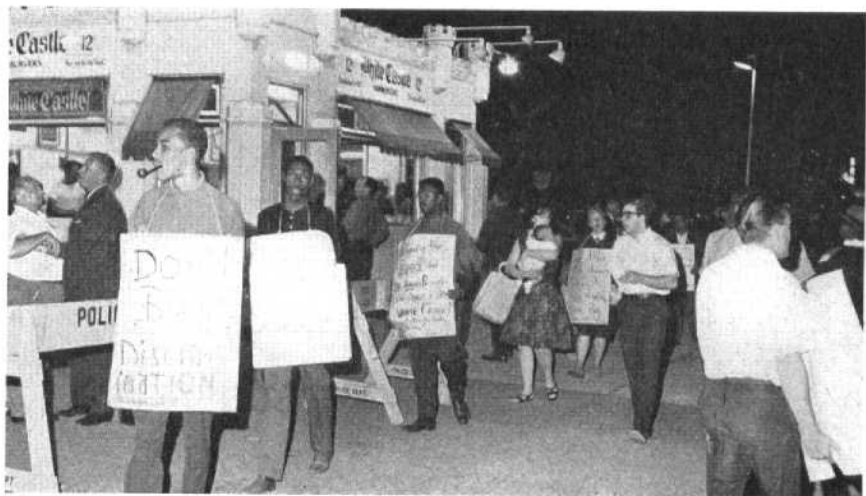
Savage police dogs have been turned loose against Negroes in both the South and the North. ►

A white integrationist being led away after being clubbed by police in Jackson, Mississippi.





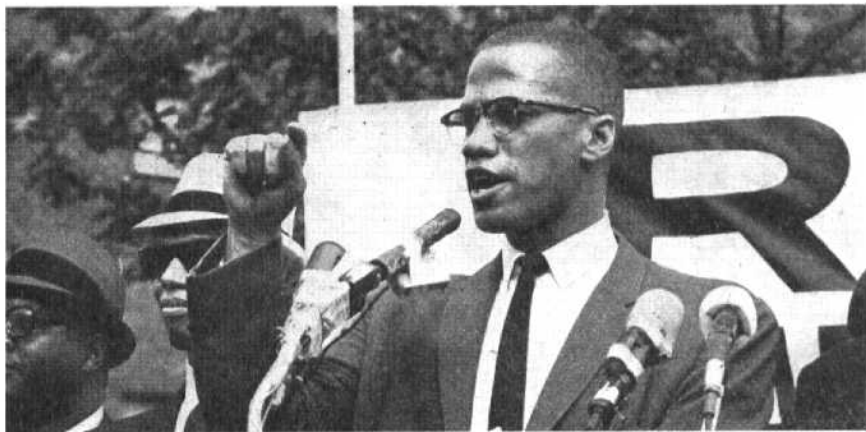
In the North, though it is usually more subtle, segregation and discrimination are no less real. Sit-Ins and demonstrations against the more sophisticated bigotry of the North are as constant and volatile as they are in the South. And even the most conservative Negro leaders are organizing and participating in these activities, even civil disobedience, the black man's determination has grown so evident. But many Afro-Americans, especially the poorer and more oppressed blacks in the large cities, have turned away from the more conservative civil rights organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and the Congress of Racial Equality and have joined, or at least sympathize with, the Nation of Islam, called the "Black Muslims." The Muslims, led by their spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad, and the very articulate minister of the New York mosque, Malcolm X, advocate not an integrated society, but maintain that the American white man will never integrate black Americans and demand that the U.S. Government give Afro-Americans land to set up their own separate society. The Muslims also reject the idea of "passive resistance" and "non-violence" as the guiding principles of the black revolution, as advocated by black middle-class leaders such as Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P.



A demonstration against racial discrimination in the North.

(Below) A Sit-In at New York's City Hall.





(Above) Minister Malcolm X of the "Black Muslims."

(Below) Three conservative leaders being interviewed—Roy Wilkins of the N.A.A.C.P., James Farmer of C.O.R.E. and Martin Luther King of the S.C.L.C.



A demonstration at the construction site of a New York hospital against job discrimination against Afro-American and Puerto Rican workers. Note the number of police assigned to "protect" the demonstrators. (Page 20-21) In Alabama, there is less hypocrisy—fire hoses and police clubs are used to break up Afro-American demonstrations.



WE LEARNED
WE OBTAINED

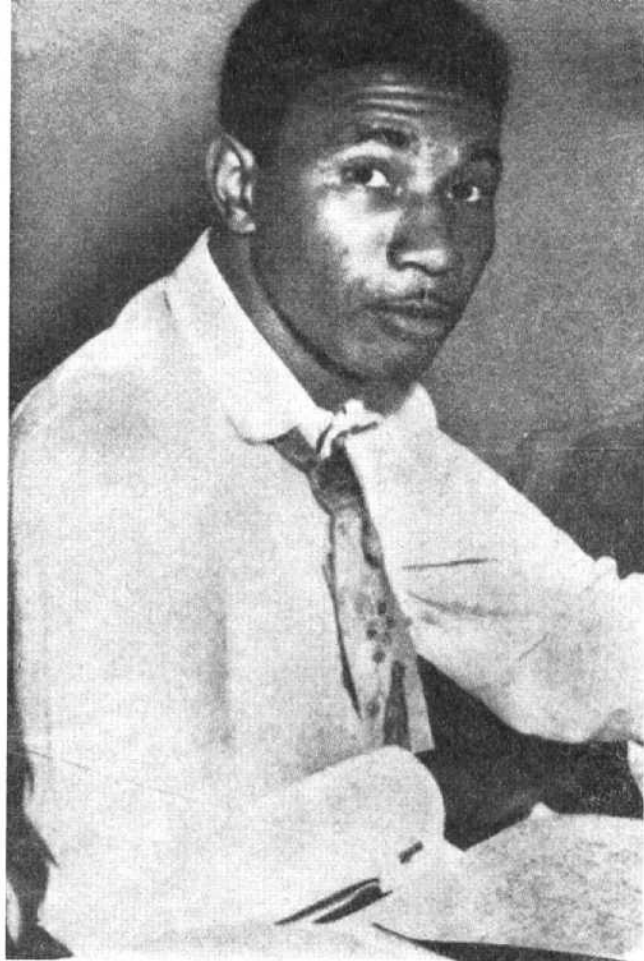
ENDING PRACTICES
AND DISCRIMINATION
CONTRACT

THE END
HIRING NOW

ACT NOW
FOR FREEDOM
NOW

INTEGRATE
HARLEM
HOSPITAL
WORK CREWS

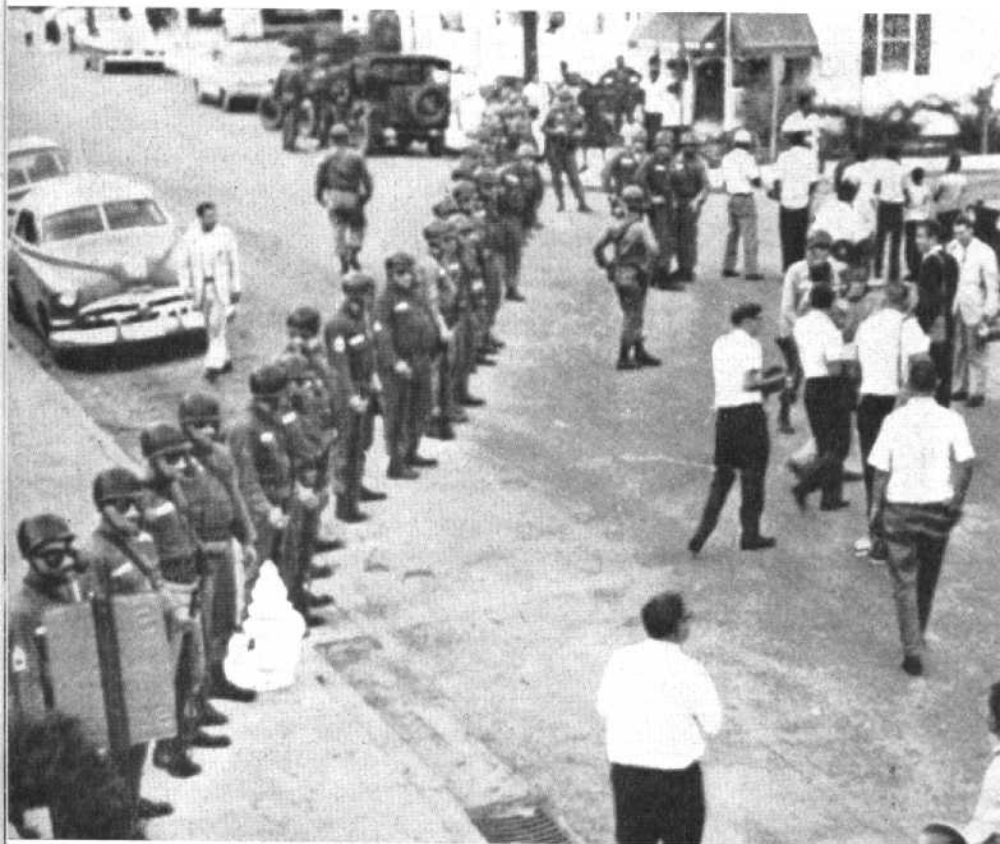




Medgar Evers, another recent martyr of the Afro-American struggle, and a police official with the rifle used by white racists to kill Evers.



The American black man like the black man in Africa, and like the colonial peoples in Latin America and Asia are becoming much less willing to accept tragedies like the murder of Patrice Lumumba or Medgar Evers (a Mississippi N.A.A.C.P. official who was shot in the back for leading demonstrations in Jackson, Mississippi). But it is because of the inspiration offered by the martyrdom of black men such as these that Afro-Americans, and oppressed men all over the world are shouting, "NOW! FREEDOM NOW!"





**NEGRO
NATIONALISM
AND
THE
LEFT**

BY HAROLD CRUSE



The relations between Afro-American nationalism in the United States and the white working class movement, and in particular its Marxist vanguard, have not always been harmonious. In the following extract taken from his lengthy analysis in the American journal of social theory, *Studies on the Left*, the Afro-American author, Harold Cruse, presents his views of those unfortunate misunderstandings and attempts to outline a policy for fruitful collaboration in the future in the common struggle of both White and Black for liberation.

To the extent that the myth of a uniform "Negro People" has endured, a clear understanding of the causes of Negro Nationalism has been prevented. In reality, no such uniformity exists. There *are* class divisions among Negroes, and it is misleading to maintain that the interests of the Negro working and middle classes are identical. To be sure a middle class leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.) and an illiterate farmhand in Mississippi or a porter who lives in Harlem, all want civil rights. However, it would be far more enlightening to examine why the N.A.A.C.P. is not composed of Negro porters and farmhands, but only of Negroes of a certain "type."

What we must ask is why these classes are not all striving in the same directions and to the same degree of intensity. Why are some lagging behind the integration movement, and still others in conflict with it? Where is the integration movement going? Into what is the integration movement integrating? Is the Negro middle class integrating into the white middle

class? Are integrated lunch counters and waiting rooms commensurate with integration into the "mainstream of American life"? Will the Negro ten percent of the population get ten percent representation in the local, state and national legislatures?—or ten percent representation in the exclusive club of the "Power Elite"?

Negroes Against Integration?

Why are some Negroes anti-integration, others pro-integration, and still others "uncommitted"? Why is there such a lack of real unity among different Negro classes towards one objective? Why are there only some 400,000 members in the N.A.A.C.P. out of a total Negro population of some 18 to 20 million? Why does this membership constantly fluctuate? Why is the N.A.A.C.P. called a "Negro" organization when it is an *inter-racial* organization? Why are the Negro Nationalist organizations "all Negro"? Why do Nationalist organizations have a far greater proportion of working class Negro membership than the N.A.A.C.P.? Finally, why is it

that the Marxists, of all groups, are at this late date tail-ending organizations such as the N.A.A.C.P. (Rev. Martin Luther King, the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.), etc.), which do not have the broad support of Negro workers and farmers? We must consider why the interests of the Negro bourgeoisie have become separated from those of the Negro working classes.

Tracing the origins of the Negro bourgeoisie back to the Booker T. Washington period (circa 1900), E. Franklin Frazier, a Negro sociologist and non-Marxist scholar, came to the enlightening conclusion that "the black bourgeoisie lacks the economic basis that would give it roots in the world of reality." Frazier shows that *the failure of the Negro to establish an economic base in American society served to sever the Negro bourgeoisie, in its "slow and difficult occupational differentiation," from any economic, and therefore cultural and organizational ties with the Negro working class.* Since the Negro bourgeoisie does not, in the main, control the Negro "market" in the United States economy, and since it derives its income from whatever "integrated" occupational advantages it has achieved, it has neither developed a sense of its association of its status with that of the Negro working class, or a "community" of economic, political or cultural interests conducive for cultivating "nationalistic sentiments." Today, except for the issue of "civil rights," no unity of interests exists between

the Negro middle class and the Negro working class.

Furthermore, large segments of the modern Negro bourgeoisie have played a continually regressive "non-national" role in Negro affairs. Thriving off the crumbs of integration, these bourgeois elements have become deracialized and de-cultured, leaving the Negro working class without voice or leadership, while serving the negative role of class buffer between the deprived class and the white ruling elites. In this respect, such groups have become a social millstone around the necks of the Negro working class—a point which none of the militant phrases that accompany the racial integration movement down the road to "racial attrition" should be allowed to obscure.

The Negro Intellectual

The dilemma of the Negro intellectual in the United States results from the duality of his position. Detached from the Negro working class, he tries to "integrate" and to gain full membership in a stagnating and declining western society. At the same time, failing to gain entry to the status quo, he resorts to talking like a "revolutionary," championing revolutionary nationalism and its social dynamism in the underdeveloped world. But this gesture of flirting with the revolutionary nationalism in the non-west does not mask the fact that the American Negro intellectual is floating in ideological space. He is

caught up in the world contradiction. Forced to face up to the colonial revolution and to make shallow propaganda out of it for himself, the American Negro intellectual is unable to cement his ties with the more racial-minded sections of the Negro working class. For this would require him to take a nationalistic stand in American politics—which he is loath to do. Nevertheless, the impact of revolutionary nationalism in the non-western world is forcing certain Negro intellectuals to take a “nationalist” position in regard to their American situation.

Although Frazier does not delve into the nature of Nationalism or con-

nect the rise of Nationalism with the failure of the Negro bourgeoisie to establish the “economic basis” of which he writes, it can be seen that the sense of a need for “economic self-sufficiency” is one of the causes for the persistence of nationalist groupings in Negro life. The attempt to organize and agitate for Negro ascendancy in and control of the Negro market is expressed in such slogans as “Buy Black.” The Negro Nationalist ideology regards all the social ills from which Negroes suffer as being caused by the lack of economic control over the segregated Negro community. Since the Nationalists do not envision a time when the whites

AFRO-AMERICAN PROTESTS

UNITED NATIONS - U.S. delegate at the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson has reportedly warned the White House of a massive campaign of protest by Afro-Americans against continued U.S. support of the Republic of South Africa and Portugal. The campaign apparently frightens white officials, long used to only token comment by black Americans on foreign policy matters, including U.S. policy on Africa. Some U.S. officials, like Stevenson, are worried that American support in the U.N. for the racist Verwoerd regime in South Africa and Portuguese colonialism in Africa may touch off black demonstrations, both inside and outside U.N. Headquarters in New York, on a much larger scale than the violent demonstrations of February 1961 after the announcement of the murder of Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba.

will voluntarily end segregation, they feel that it is necessary to gain control of the economic welfare of the segregated Negro community. Moreover, many Negro Nationalists, such as the Black Muslims, actually believe that "racial separation" is in the best interests of both races. Others maintain this separatist position because of the fact of the persistence of segregation.

"American Marxism" and Negroes

Thus, when some Communists and other Marxists imply that "racial integration" represents an all-class movement for liberation, it indicates that they have lost touch with the realities of Negro life. They fail to concern themselves with the mind of the working class Negro in the depths of the ghetto, or the nationalistic yearnings of those hundreds of thousands of ghetto Negroes whose every aspiration has been negated by white society. Instead, these Marxists gear their position to Negro middle class aspirations and ideology. Such Marxists support the position of the Negro bourgeoisie in denying, condemning, or ignoring the existence of Negro Nationalism in the United States—while regarding the reality of Nationalism in the colonial world as something peculiar to "exotic" peoples. The measure of the lack of appeal to the working classes of the Marxist movement is indicated by the fact that Negro Nationalist movements are basically working class in character whi-

le the new Negroes attracted to the Marxist movement are of bourgeois outlook and sympathies.

Ironically, even within Marxist organizations Negroes have had to function as a numerical minority, and were subordinated to the will of a white majority on all crucial matters of racial policy. What these Marxists called "Negro-white unity" within their organizations was, in reality, white domination. Thus, the Marxist movement took a position of favouring a "racial equality" that did not even exist within the organization itself.

Today, the Marxist organizations which advocate "racial integration" do not have a single objective for the Negro that is not advocated by the N.A.A.C.P. or some other reform organization. It is only by virtue of asserting the "necessity of socialism" that the Marxist movement is not altogether superfluous. It could not be otherwise. For Marxism has stripped the Negro question of every theoretical concern for the class, colour, ethnic, economic, cultural, psychological and "national" complexities. They have no programme apart from uttering the visionary call for "integration plus socialism" or "socialism plus integration."

What Kind of "Socialism"

However, when Marxists speak of socialism to the Negro, they leave many young Negro social rebels unimpressed. Many concrete questions remain unanswered. What guarantee

do Negroes have that socialism means racial equality any more than does "capitalist democracy"? Would socialism mean the assimilation into the dominant racial group? Although this would be "racial democracy" of a kind, the Negro would wield no political power as a racial minority, he might, even under socialism, be accused of being "nationalistic." In other words, the failure of American capitalist abundance to help solve the crying problems of the Negro's existence cannot be fobbed off on some future socialist heaven.

We have learned that the *means* to the *end* are just as important as the end itself. In this regard, Marxists have always been very naive about the psychology of the Negro. It was always an easy matter for Marxists to find Negro careerists, social climbers, and parlour radicals to agree with the Marxist position on the Negro masses. However, it rarely occurred to Marxists that, to the average Negro, the *means* used by Marxists were as significant as the ends. Thus, except in times of national catastrophe (such as in the depression of the '30s), Marxist means, suitable only for bourgeois reform, seldom approximated the aspirations of the majority of Negroes. Lacking a working class character, Marxism in the United States cannot objectively analyse the role of the bourgeoisie or take a political position in Negro affairs that would be more in keeping with the aspirations of the masses.

The failure to deal adequately with

the Negro question is the chief cause of American Marxism's ultimate alienation from the vital stream of American life. This political and theoretical deficiency poses a serious and vexing problem for the younger generation who today have become involved in political activity centered around the defence of Cuba. Some accept Marxism; others voice criticisms of Marxist parties as being "conservative," or otherwise limited in their grasp of present realities. All of these young people are more or less part of what is loosely called the "New Left" (a trend not limited to the United States).

It is now the responsibility of these new forces to find the new thinking and new approaches needed to cope with the old problems. Open-minded Whites of the "New Left" must understand that Negro consciousness in the United States will be plagued with the conflict between the compulsions toward "integration" and the compulsions toward "separation." It is the inescapable result of semi-independence.

Revolutionary Nationalism

The Negro in the United States can no more look to American Marxist schema than the colonials and semi-dependents could conform to the western Marxist time-table for revolutionary advances. Those on the American left who support revolutionary nationalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, must also accept

the validity of Negro Nationalism in the United States. Is it not just as valid for Negro Nationalists to want to separate from American Whites as it is for Cuban Nationalists to want to separate economically and politically from the United States? The answer cannot hinge merely on pragmatic practicalities. *It is a political question which involves the inherent right accruing to individuals, groups, nations and national minorities, i.e., the right of political separation from another political entity when joint existence is incompatible, coercive, unequal, or otherwise injurious to the rights of one or both.* This is a principle that must be upheld, all expedient prejudices to the contrary.

It is up to the Negro to take the organizational, political and economic steps necessary to raise and defend his status. The present situation in racial affairs will inevitably force nationalist movements to make demands which should be supported by people who are not Negro Nationalists. The Nationalists may be forced to demand the right of political separation. This too must be upheld because it is the surest means of achieving Federal action on all Negro demands of an economic or political nature. It will be the most direct means of publicizing the fact that the American Government's policy on "underdeveloped" areas must be complemented by the same approach to Negro underdeve-

WHAT COULD BE MORE HORRIBLE ?

BAGHDAD - Michel Aflak, General Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, declared recently that "he had no criticism of, or objection to," the anti-democratic measures taken in Irak by the Aref regime. Aflak said, "The Communists should be grateful to us, had it not been for the attitude taken by the Iraki Baath members, horrible tragedies would have taken place in Iraki..." According to western newsmen, more than a thousand Communists and other democrats have been shot or tortured to death since the February 8th coup d'etat. Thousands of others are held in prisons or concentration camps.

lopment in the United States.

It is pointless to argue, as many do, that Negro Nationalism is an invalid ideology for Negroes to have in American life, or that the Nationalist ideas of "economic self-sufficiency" or the "separate Negro economy" are unrealistic or utopian. Perhaps they are, but it must be clearly understood that as long as racial segregation remains a built-in characteristic of American society, Nationalist ideology will continue to grow and spread. If allowed to spread unchecked and unameliorated, the end result can only be racial wars in the United States. This is no idle prophecy, for there are many convinced Negro Nationalists who maintain that the idea of the eventual acceptance of the Negro as a full-fledged American without regard to race, creed or colour, is also utopian and will never be realized. These Nationalists are acting on their assumptions.

Can it be said, in all truth, that Nationalist groups such as the Black Muslims are being unrealistic when they reject white society as a lost cause in terms of fulfilling any humanistic promises for the Negro? For Whites to react subjectively to this attitude solves nothing. It must be understood. It must be seen that this rejection of white society has valid reasons. White society, the Muslims feel, is sick, immoral, dishonest, and filled with hate for non-whites. Their rejection of white society is analogous to the colonial peoples' rejection of imperialist rule. The difference is only

that people in colonies can succeed and Negro Nationalists cannot. The peculiar position of Negro Nationalists in the United States requires them to set themselves against the dominance of whites and still manage to live in the same country.

Integration: an Impossibility

It has to be admitted that it is impossible for American society as it is now constituted to integrate or assimilate the Negro. Jim Crow is a built-in component of the American social structure. There is no getting around it. Moreover, there is no organized force in the United States at present capable of altering the structural form of American society.

Due to his semi-dependent status in society, the American Negro is the only potentially revolutionary force in the United States today. From the Negro, himself, must come the revolutionary social theories of an economic, cultural and political nature that will be his guides for social action—the new philosophies of social change. If the white working class is ever to move in the direction of demanding structural changes in society, it will be the Negro who will furnish the initial force.

The more the system frustrates the integration efforts of the Negro, the more he will be forced to resolve in his own consciousness the contradiction and conflict inherent in the pro and anti-integration trends in his racial and historical background. Out of this

process, new organizational forms will emerge in Negro life to cope with new demands and new situations. To be sure much of this will be empirical, out of necessity, and no one can say how much time this process will take to work itself towards its own logical ends. But it will be revolutionary pioneering by that segment of our society most suitable to and most amenable to pioneering—the have-nots, the victims of the American brand of social underdevelopment.

The coming coalition of Negro or-

ganizations will contain Nationalist elements in roles of conspicuous leadership. It cannot and will not be subordinate to any white groups with which is "allied." There is no longer room for the "revolutionary paternalism" that has been the hallmark of such organizations such as the U. S. Communist Party. This is what the "New Left" must clearly understand in its future relations with Negro movements that are indigenous to the Negro community.

Harold CRUSE

END OF THE WHITE RACE ?

WASHINGTON - Among the considerations that apparently prompted the Kennedy Administration to coax Nikita Khrushchev into signing a nuclear test ban was the fear that a nuclear war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. might mean the end the white race. U.S. Marine Corps Commandant, General David M. Shoup recently told a Congressional Committee that he agreed with Khrushchev that 700 to 800 million persons would die in a nuclear World War III. "We are then looking at a situation.," Shoup added, "where we have the white race or Caucasian race-and I don't know whether it would be good to eliminate the white race from the face of the earth or not, but I am convinced that a nuclear exchange will do it.," There might be some Whites left in Australia and New Zealand, Shoup said, but there would be "plenty of Yellows and Browns to take that over, in a matter of a few years.,"

UNCLE TOM GOES TO AFRICA

by Julian Mayfield

Author of three highly praised novels, "The Hit," "The Long Night" and "The Grand Parade," Afro-American author Julian Mayfield was also closely associated with Robert F. Williams, now in exile in Cuba, in the armed defense of the black community of Monroe, North Carolina—see Williams' "Negroes with Guns" in REVOLUTION's first issue. Julian Mayfield has lived in Ghana for two years, where he is now editor of the new monthly, AFRICAN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

ACCRA — Uncle Tom is more difficult to recognize in Africa than he is at home. I refer here to the North American genus of the species—"homo Tomo Americanus." This type of Tom is often a technician of some sort, in Africa on a two or three year contract, on the payroll of the U. S. Government or a private firm. Frequently he is a scholar or a writer who is merely passing through on a lecture or a study tour, sponsored by the State Department or one of the many wealthy foundations.

At home you can easily identify the average Tom by the way he relates to the white world. Whether a day laborer, college president, clerk or scientist, he has been convinced by the enormity and seeming indomitability of white power that he and his kind are indeed inferior beings. Prudence and common sense dictate to him that he should do everything he can to remain on good terms with the master race. Tom's philosophy is Don't Rock the Boat.

But to isolate the genus here in Africa requires keen perception. When he alights at the airport Tom becomes first and foremost an American abroad, with all that that implies; he carries himself with a confidence unknown to him at home. And he is always on important business; he wishes to see the President or the Prime Minister immediately. If he has travelled much he is on a first name basis with all the African leaders: "I told Kwame that I thought he should..." "Jomo met me at the airport and we had a drink together..." "Julius asked me for my advice about..." How can one help but be impressed?

Reprinted with the permission of the LIBERATOR, 244 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y., U. S. A.



STRELKOFF

Always a Radical

Another thing that makes it difficult to identify "homo Tomo Americanus" in Africa is that here he is always a radical. Back home you could probably not get his signature for a petition defending the right of women to have babies, but once on African soil he becomes a vociferous advocate of "socialism," not even lowering his voice or looking over his shoulder. One also detects in Tom a vein of militancy he never displayed at home. To listen to him talk at a party or over dinner, one imagines that Tom would, if he had his way, singlehandedly set to rout all the white settlers and drench the continent in their blood.

If someone is unkind enough to point out to Tom that this is strange talk coming from someone who works for the U. S. embassy (which means they must be certain that he is "safe") or that his tour is being financed by white foundation money, Tom laughs without the least hint of embarrassment. He looks at you with pity and amusement in his eyes, as if you are out of touch with what is going on back on back home among the really hep Negroes of his group. Yes, he says, it is true that he is on **their** payroll, but he is not with **them**. He knows what those white so-and-sos are trying to do in Africa and that they are trying to use him, Tom, because of his black skin, but—and here Tom usually winks at you—he is smarter than all of them (the State Department, the U. S. intelligence services, the foundations, the African study groups, etc.). Tom actually believes—or at least he wants you to believe—that he is taking their money while at the same time he is helping to promote the African Revolution!

But there is one certain way of identifying "homo Tomo Americanus" in Africa: he never does or says anything that might annoy the local U. S. embassy. Thus, however militant he may sound in private, he can never publicly give a straight answer to a simple question about American racialism. At one of Tom's lectures, for example, if he is asked to comment on the spectacle of Mr. Meredith's rather noisy enrollment at Ole Miss, Tom replies: "Yes, it was shameful, but the important thing is that Meredith got in. That's progress!" But, he is asked, why didn't President Kennedy use the occasion to teach the morality of human equality to the nation instead of merely pleading with the white students to obey the law?

"Well, you see," says ambassador Tom, who values his passport highly, who likes the idea of being an international traveller, and who knows that there is **always** in the audience an agent from the local embassy recording everything he says, "Mr. Kennedy has many problems, and let me say right now that I think this administration is doing everything it can to eliminate discrimination..."

Poor Tom! For all of his apparent sophistication, he lacks sensitivity. He returns home, now an expert on Africa, to write his articles and give lectures, unaware that he has been the object of derision and contempt, for most informed Africans have no illusions about American racial problems. Even more regrettable is the fact that, while travelling through this continent of revolt where millions of people are crawling, stumbling and pushing forward toward a better life, Tom did not draw the obvious conclusion, the conclusion that thousands of young black Americans are reaching every day: that the only way to make progress in a situation of oppression is to rock the boat, and to rock it with such violence that either it sinks or it becomes a decent place in which to live.

Julian MAYFIELD

You Can't Come Home Anymore

by William Worthy

William Worthy, Boston-born Afro-American newsman known widely for his outspoken anti-colonialism, has visited 46 countries, including much of Africa and Asia. In 1956, the Union of South Africa deported him for entering that country after he had been refused a visa. The following year, as correspondent for THE BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN and C. B. S. News, he spent six weeks in China.

On October 10, 1961, following an 11-week stay in Cuba, Mr. Worthy flew from Havana to Miami, Florida on a regular commercial flight of Pan American World Airways. He was admitted to the United States by U. S. Immigration officers after showing a copy of his birth certificate and his smallpox vaccination certificate. A half year later, after his lectures and articles on Cuba, the Kennedy Administration suddenly decided he had entered the country "illegally."

At present, Mr. Worthy's own government restricts him to the United States. Readers can support his court appeal against a Federal prison sentence and his efforts to tour Africa again by publicizing his case, by writing or cabling President Kennedy, and by protesting to local U. S. embassies and consulates. If oral and written protests do not produce satisfactory results, picket lines and demonstrations may be necessary around the world to free William Worthy.

In the year 1963, if an Afro-American is seriously interested in becoming free, if he perceives that freedom necessitates the decolonization of the United States, he has to expect to be jailed repeatedly by the Federal government as well as by the different states.

But until I was actually indicted for re-entering my native land from Cuba "without bearing a valid passport," I had credited Washington with *some* intelligence, *some* finesse in the art of repression, *some* ability to cover up its real motivations. But the government has displayed none at all in its determination to "get" me. As a consequence, for over a year the Kennedy Administration has been painfully embarrassed. And the worst is yet to come.

The transparent and futile purpose of the Federal indictment on April 24, 1962 was to silence me. Ever since my first visit to Revolutionary Cuba

in 1960 I had been contradicting the tissue of lies about Fidel Castro. The lies emanated from Washington and from U.S. business interests adversely affected by the Revolution. In addition to my dispatches in *The Baltimore Afro-American*, the largest Negro weekly in the United States, I had lectured widely across the country, especially on college and university campuses.

With facts and documentation I listed the many tangible ways in which the poverty-stricken peasants and urban proletariat were benefiting from the Revolution. Above all, I informed Negro citizens that, on an island just ninety miles from Florida, racial discrimination and segregation had been effectively abolished and outlawed by Fidel Castro within a matter of weeks.

The U.S. Secret Police

I was well aware that our thought-control secret police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was investigating and re-investigating me, in a desperate and fruitless search for something illegal or unsavory in my background. This intensive activity and surveillance had been going on since 1957 when I defied a U. S. State Department ban on travel to China. Shortly after my return from Peking my passport expired. Despite a court suit against John Foster Dulles, the late Secretary of State, I have never been able to get a new passport.

It became more and more clear that, in hailing nearby Cuba as a society that had eradicated the cancer of racism, I was touching on Washington's most sensitive political nerve. The discontent and disaffection of black Americans is the Achilles' heel of U. S. colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the time of the invasion of Cuba in April, 1961, U. S. public opinion polls revealed considerable Negro support for Cuba's revolution. All of our television newscasts of the so-called Cuban "refugees" in Florida were noteworthy for the almost total absence of black faces. Even illiterate Negroes here began to realize that Afro-Cubans were quite satisfied with the Revolution and had no desire to swap a newly hopeful life in their liberated homeland for a racist existence in the United States.

A journalistic scoop chalked up another black mark against me in the files of Washington's Central Intelligence Agency. In the October 15, 1960 issue of the New Jersey edition of *The Afro-American*, I had published the story of secret C.I.A. preparation for the invasion of Cuba. Until then, the beguiled American people had known nothing of this criminal misuse of \$45 million of their tax money.

Because I was openly and directly challenging the headquarters of Western colonialism on its home grounds, I knew that one day the axe would fall. But, to repeat, I had expected a degree of subtlety and at least a

plausible charge. Instead, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy lost his head and struck out blindly in fury and vindictiveness.

“Bobby’s” Discomfort

As a consequence, I am able legitimately to greatly discomfort “Bobby” by comparing the rawness of my persecution with that of Nelson Mandela, former secretary-general of the South African National Congress. Two years of Mr. Mandela’s five-year prison sentence were imposed last November because he had returned home, just as I did, after having left without a passport.

Nations, like individuals, are known by the company they keep. I intend to continue reminding the world that some of South Africa’s most repressive legislation has been borrowed from novel legal concepts embodied in the U.S. 1952 McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act (under which I was indicted), the 1950 MacCarran Internal Security Act and the menacingly loose treason and sedition laws enacted decades ago by Congress. One must never forget that when Hitler decided to harrass and oppress the Jews, he sent a special commission to the U. S. southern states to study the operation of segregationist laws and customs.

With its awesome powers of intimidation and its unlimited legal and financial resources, the Federal government obtains the convictions of 90 per cent of all persons whom it indicts. Therefore, at no point did I entertain any illusions that I might be acquitted. The only protection was to fight back in the arena of world opinion. The stakes were high. The maximum sentence for the “crime” of coming home without a passport is five years in prison, \$5,000 fine, or both.

It is gratifying to report that protests by indignant Negroes at home and by Africans, Asians and Latin Americans resulted last September 17 in a surprisingly light sentence: three months in prison and nine months on probation. Radio Havana, Prensa Latina, Hsinhua, Tass and other press agencies circulated to all the world each new development in the case. At one point, *Bohemia Libre*, a Cuban counter-revolutionary magazine which is published in the U. S. with the help of a C.I.A. subsidy, complained bitterly about all the favorable publicity that I was receiving. In two speeches that were broadcast to Latin America and the world Fidel Castro excoriated the U. S. for prosecuting me.

Protest demonstrations across the U.S. have kept the Administration on the political defensive. At President Kennedy’s press conference on March 21, 1963, a Rightwing woman journalist from Texas complained to him that 200 Americans (all white, incidentally) had violated with impunity the State

Department's ban on travel to Cuba. In view of that record, she asked, how could our Latin American satellites be pressured into keeping their citizens out of Cuba?

In replying, the President insisted that the Government was doing everything within its power to isolate the Castro government. Almost plaintively he indicated how unenthusiastic he was about indicting anyone else for the same "crime":

"There has been some criticism, as a matter of fact, about an action we took against a newspaperman."

A Cuban diplomat friend remarked to me: "They don't want 200 additional Worthy cases!"

U.S. "Justice"

The court appeals are moving very slowly. As recently as this July (1963), the Department of Justice asked my attorney to agree to an extension for filing the Government's brief in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The indications now are that the case will reach a climax during the 1964 presidential campaign. If the U. S. Supreme Court should refuse to review this political hot potato—just as it refused in 1959 to review my civil suit against the Secretary of State—, I will be going to Mr. Kennedy's jail at a time most damaging to his re-election efforts.

Quite aside from the diplomatic necessity of explaining to Africa why an anti-colonial Afro-American is in prison just for traveling abroad and reporting the news, the Administration will also have to explain to Negro voters this obviously discriminatory imprisonment. The Kennedys will not be able to shift the blame for this case to the openly racist southern state governments. *My adversaries are John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy. It is not the governors of Mississippi or Alabama who are trying to lock me up.*

Not very often does a black man in this country have the colonialists unmistakably by the throat. Publicity is my profession, and the Democratic administration cannot stand an increasing volume of publicity on this case. Once inside the prison walls, I shall in no way cooperate with prison discipline. I shall do no work. I shall eat none of the food (most of it, parenthetically, unfit for human consumption).

Various pacifist friends and segregation resisters who have undertaken protest fasts in Federal prisons have usually been allowed to go hungry for about thirty days. After that, alarmed at the possibility of death, the authorities do one of two things. With great chagrin they free the prisoner. Or they institute forced feeding—a procedure thoroughly demoralizing for the guards

who have to carry it out. Details always leak out through the prison grapevine.

So, unless I am freed after a month, the powerful government of the United States of America will be on world exhibit—forcing painful tubes down the nostrils and pumping fluids into the stomach of an anti-colonial Negro newsman. Into this impossible corner the supposedly intelligent Kennedys have planted themselves.

After the term behind bars the conditions of my nine months' probation require me to obey *all* state and Federal penal laws. I shall *immediately* proceed to Mississippi and violate some notorious local law requiring racial segregation—such as drinking water from a “white” fountain. The Administration will then be required to re-imprison me in a Federal penitentiary for violating my probation. If they try to ignore my open violation, they will see their original scheme of silencing me reduced to the ultimate, humiliating absurdity.

Meanwhile, until the final adjudication of the case, I face the practical task of earning a livelihood as a foreign correspondent. Later this year I should like to tour Africa where I last visited in 1956. But the Kennedy Administration inserted in my \$1,000 appeal bond a restriction against leaving the U. S.

An Appeal to Africans

With the articulate help and moral support of my African brothers and sisters I know that this restriction can be removed so that I shall be enabled to return to the land of my forefathers.

No man who has had a direct legal confrontation with this punitive monster emerges unchanged from the experience. Immediately after my indictment I did not know whether we would have the resources, the technical skills and the time to mobilize world opinion in my behalf. From April 24 to September 17, I had to face the very real possibility of five years in prison in this racist country. The experience has forced me to review my political position, to re-evaluate my role in a criminally insane and suicidal society. Again and again I had to ask myself how adequate were our minority group efforts to attain equality and justice if the U. S. Government had the open effrontery to indict a Negro newsman ostensibly for coming home.

A year of political and racial persecution has convinced me that the Kennedy Administration, with its false “liberal” pose, is more of a menace to the Negro struggle than are the openly discriminatory forces. In the March, 1963 issue of *Esquire* magazine, author Gore Vidal reported on “Bobby” Kennedy’s 1968 presidential aspirations and described him, con-

servatively, as “dangerously authoritarian.” The civil rights issues will be much clearer, the worldwide anti-colonial battlelines will be less confused if the Kennedy dynasty goes down to defeat, once and for all, in 1964.

Out of my new orientation has come the concept of an all-Negro Freedom Now Party. In future issues of REVOLUTION, as well as on my hoped-for tour of Africa, I should like to keep readers updated on the implementation of this concept. The politics of the new party would be the politics of revolutionary ideas, not the sordid politics of Democratic and Republican misgovernment and graft. In 1964, as I see it, the new party would run independent black candidates—presidential, congressional, gubernatorial, legislative—, not with any hope of winning the first time except in isolated instances, but with the determination on a nationwide scale to discuss the real issues of colonialism, exploitation, racism and their relationship to peace.

“Freedom Now”

In 1960 President Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon by fewer than 100,000 votes. Sad to report, most Negro voters supported him. They were misled by our very inadequate civil rights leaders who, since Franklin Roosevelt, have favored the Democratic Party. But many things have changed since this spring’s racial crisis in Birmingham. I am convinced that, if offered a real political alternative, enough Negroes in 1964 will vote for a Freedom Now presidential candidate to defeat Kennedy. The next President, whether a “liberal” or conservative Republican, would then be painfully aware that he too would serve only one term in the White House unless he made substantial concessions to Negroes.

If we are able to launch the Freedom Now Party—and legalistic, financial and other obstacles cannot be discounted—, I want to see its leaders fearlessly discuss the sordid U. S. role in the Congo, in Angola, in South Africa. I want the Party to resist U.S. colonialism in Latin America and South Vietnam. I want it to condemn oil imperialism and American support of feudalism in the Middle East. In a word, I want to help raise the political consciousness of 20 million Afro-Americans so that we here will belatedly reinforce all of the nationalist and anti-colonial struggles being waged so valiantly outside the United States of America.

This we owe to Africa, Asia and Latin America. If Bobby Kennedy’s crude indictment clarified my thinking and advanced the prospects of a Freedom Now Party, then, in retrospect, let’s all thank him for his spring fever and political rashness on that twenty-fourth day of April, in 1962.

William WORTHY

AIDING THE STRUGGLE IN "PORTUGUESE" GUINEA

REVOLUTION recently received a visit by Abilio Monteiro Duarte, representative of the P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for the Independence of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde); and also member of the Central Committee of the P.A.I.G.C.

Duarte explains the struggle of the people of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde and why this fight is the fight of all Africans.

Before the Fight

Even before the creation of the Party, there was an attempt to struggle by legal means against Portuguese colonialism, but this legal fight had nothing to do with an opportunism. It was a revolutionary tactic to open the eyes of the people to the lies of the colonialists, the falseness of their institutions, these institutions which they had created under the pretext of defending the people of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde and giving them all rights of Portuguese citizens. But how could these institutions defend the population for Guinea when they did not even defend the Portuguese themselves, who lived in terrible misery ?

This effort gave plenty of evidence to the Guineans of the futility of the so-called legal fight ; that it was incapable of opposing efficiently exploitation and repression by the Portuguese. A people's party capable of directing the fight became a necessity.

The P.A.I.G.C. was created in 1956. From this stage on, conscientious political sections carried out all their revolutionary projects with the help of a clandestine Party. They continued to direct and to intensify the legal fight necessary to expose colonialism and to develop the political consciousness of the masses. Taxes and commerce were boycotted, strikes were organised.

At this stage in our battle, the colonialists increased their means of repression, the colonial troops helping a lot in this ; a few hundred men in 1956, 10,000 in 1962 ("Portuguese" Guinea has a population of 600,000). The massacres became more and more frequent.

But in the battle, the political consciousness of the whole people developed and the conflict between the colonial authorities and our people became sharper.

The Armed Struggle

What were the aims of our clandestine Party ? To destroy the machinery of colonial repression and achieve independence in order to build a future of progress and happiness for the people. Having used up all the possibilities of a peaceful struggle, which had been savagely beaten down, the people of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde have understood that in order to obtain their objectives and realise their hopes it is necessary that the political struggle becomes an armed fight.

The 3rd of August 1959, at Bissao, the Portuguese colonialists savagely attacked dockers on strike ; fifty among them were killed.

The 4th of February 1961, the Portuguese put down the revolt in Angola

and started their action of genocide which has killed 80,000 people in our brother country.

On the 3rd of August 1961, the P.A.I.G.C. affirmed the necessity of the direct action of armed fighting. What has this armed struggle implied up till now ?

In order to support our choice and to build a future of happiness and progress for our people we have had to attack the three key sections of the colonial domination: The army, the police and the militarized "civil" administration.

To attain our aim, we had to decide the means for our action and then create these means. We had to educate the masses politically in a new way in order to be able to employ them in a new action. The success obtained in this new way enabled us to resist a colonial army, growing ever larger and better equipped. This using of an ever increasing force convinced us that the colonialists were ready to crush the people in order to crush our battle for freedom. Only our vigilance and our determination enabled us to carry on the fight and every day increase the losses of the colonial army. We provoked, by exploiting rationally the contradictions in the enemy headquarters and by our own actions, a progressive demobilisation of the Portuguese troops. For the first time in the history of our fight we shot down seven airplanes belonging to the colonial army, this between the 21st and 24th of February. The first members of the maquis participated in our struggle.

Arrested by the members of our maquis, the Portuguese Captain Curto was tried and condemned to death for his disgraceful crimes against our people and was executed.

Thanks to the determined action of our leaders, the courage of our militants and of those in responsible position, we are now in a position to use against the enemy many of their own weapons.

On the Cape Verde Islands, the particular difficulties created by their geographical isolation, have not stopped important progress from being made in the development of our battle.

Ours Is the Struggle of All Africa

Our victory will not be complete if we do not prepare right away the political and economical independence necessary to our people.

Thus Africans must show an increased vigilance against opportunists and against schemes to install neo-colonialism in the Portuguese colonies.

This is why in order to realize their common hopes, Africans should consider "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde as a front where our people

are fighting for the whole of Africa. The colonial war started by the Portuguese Government in Guinea, is no less criminal than the war in Angola. In our fight against the Portuguese colonialism all Africans are responsible as our failure will be their failure, our victory their victory.

Because of the development of our fight the prestige of our people and of our Party has increased; we have strengthened the friendship and solidarity which unites us to other African countries and particularly to our neighbouring countries.

The Republic of Guinea, Senegal, Morocco, Algeria and Ghana have Party, has opened new and favourable perspectives for the development of strongly supported by all countries which love peace and freedom.

The independence of Algeria, whose government supports and helps our Party, has opened new and favourable perspective for the development of our fight.

In other respects, the ever increasing tendency for a frank understanding among independent African nations towards a united Africa, has significantly strengthened these favorable conditions.

We appreciate the solidarity of these brother countries; we do not underestimate the difficulties they have to face. But today, in order to successfully fight Portuguese colonialism supported by N.A.T.O., solidarity with the armed struggle of the people of "Portuguese" Guinea and Cape Verde should be ever stronger.

We must not rest on the success we have obtained over the Portuguese Army. We need today, more than ever, stronger means of action with which to feed our relentless fight and make it more efficient every day.

Our struggle needs money.

Our struggle needs weapons.

Our struggle needs food and medical supplies.

Our struggle needs the formation of military units.

Our struggle needs the schooling of technicians and civilian units which are going to be necessary for the independent Guinea and Cape Verde.

This is the sort of help we need.

And this help will not be effective if we are not supported in all international organisations and especially throughout Africa.

Abilio Monteiro DUARTE

A GREAT JAZZ: JOHN COLTRANE

Giant Steps (Atlantic 1311).

Coltrane Jazz (Atlantic 1354). Coltrane, tenor sax; Wynton Kelly, piano; Paul Chambers, bass; Jimmy Cobb, drums. (On village Blues: McCoy Tyner, piano; Steve Davis, bass; Elvin Jones, drums).

Little Old Lady; Village Blues; My Shining Hour; Fifth House; Harmonique; Like Sonny; I'll Wait And Pray; Some Other Blues.

My Favorite Things (Atlantic 1361). Coltrane, soprano and tenor sax; McCoy Tyner, piano; Steve Davis, bass; Elvin Jones, drums.

My Favorite Things; Everytime We Say Goodbye; Summertime; But Not For Me.

When an artist is termed "great" it is usually the result of one of two or maybe three distinct processes. One such process is set in motion when the artist's work so amazes and delights his peers, i.e., his fellow artists, that they are moved to immediately claim his greatness, and make so much noise about it that the professors, critics, and sometimes even the public become alerted and can leap on the bandwagon before it pulls off (e.g., James Joyce, Charlie Parker). Another such process is started when the artist, even though he might be appreciated greatly by his contemporaries, is little known outside that small coterie, but nevertheless, years later, manages to be "rediscovered" either by some future generation of artists or some intrepid scholar who happens to be combing or "re-evaluating" a particular period (e.g., Melville, Bunk Johnson, Ryder, and maybe Lucky Thompson, unfortunately).

Still another of these means to "greatness" is that unlikely coincidence of the artist being acclaimed great by fellow artists, critics, and the public, at the same time... and not only while he is still alive, but when he is also just



beginning to prove that greatness concretely. John Coltrane fits this last category, I think; in fact the general consensus was that Coltrane was great even before he had done very much to prove it. I remember a young vibes player telling me, "John Coltrane is a genius," after hearing one chorus of John's solo on **Round About Midnight**, with Miles Davis 6 years ago. But I think the trilogy bears out my friend's early emotive judgement quite impressively. Coltrane is a great man (as another friend of mine said, recently, listening to John at the Half Note... "a great man.")

The Coltrane Influence

Actually, of course, not **all** the professors or the public are sold on John yet. I have still heard quite reputable (even intelligent) critics put Coltrane down for reasons that are sometimes extra-musical, sometimes extra-rational. But to my mind, the greatest disparagement of what John Coltrane is doing must come from those who **cannot hear** what he is doing. From people, well meaning and/or intelligent as they might be, who simply do not hear the music. But another reason why some otherwise responsible people might not be able to hear Coltrane might be the simple fact that he is such a singularly unclassifiable figure, in fact, almost an **alien** power, in the presence of two distinct and almost antagonistic camps. John's way is somewhere between the so-called mainstream (which, fellow travelers, is **no longer** the swing-based elder statesmen from the 30's who, still, somehow, manage to survive, but the neo-boppers of the 50's: they are the traditionalists of this era) and those young musicians I have called the avant garde. John Coltrane is actually in neither camp, though he is certainly a huge force in each. Most of the avant garde reed men are beholden to John and a great many of the new mainstreamers think they **are** John Coltrane. Trane's influence moves in both directions... sometimes detrimentally (Benny Golson, Cliff Jordan, etc.) sometimes to great effect (Wayne Shorter, Archie Shepp).

Of course, Coltrane's move from just another "hip" tenor saxophonist to the position of chief innovator on that instrument has to be traced from the beginning of his recorded efforts and all those changes, resolutions, and transmutations in Coltrane's approach to his instrument and to jazz in general documented in order to get a more complete picture of just what has happened to him during the time that has intervened between that chorus with Miles and the last Atlantic album, **My Favorite Things**. And even the most confirmed Coltrane debunkers must agree that a whole lot has gone on during that time... like it or not. But I think the trilogy, i. e., starting with the first Atlantic album, **Giant Steps** and proceeding through the next one, **Coltrane Jazz**, and coming finally to the last one, **My Favorite Things** shows Trane's entire development, from sideman to innovator, in microcosm. Before the trilogy, and after, say, the Columbia album with Miles Davis, **Milestones** (the solo on **Straight, No Chaser**), it became increasingly evident to anyone who would listen that Coltrane was definitely moving into fresher areas of expression on his instrument. That solo, even though in some senses it was the most "lopsided," illy thought out solo Coltrane has produced on records, still contained more fresh thinking about how one is supposed to play the tenor saxophone post Hawkins/Young than anyone else around had shown (with the probable exception of Sonny Rollins). The seeming masses of sixteenth notes, the **new**, and finally articulated, concept of using whole groups or clusters of rapidly fired notes as a chordal insistence

rather than a strict melodic progression. That is, the notes that Trane was playing in the solo became more than just one note following another, in whatever placement, to make a melody, they, the notes, came so fast and with so many over tones and undertones, that they had the effect of a piano player striking chords rapidly but somehow articulating separately each note in the chord, and its vibrating sub-tones. It is the prison of the changes or the recurring chords that sent Ornette Coleman and so many others recently over the hump... so they play as if they were paying no attention to the chords at all (which, of course, is not true)... but Coltrane's reaction to the constant pounding chords and flat static, if elegant, rhythm section, was to try to play almost every note of the chord separately, as well as the related or vibrating tones that chord produced. The result, of course, is what someone termed "Sheets of Sound" or, more derogatorily, "just scales".

After, **Straight, No Chaser**, Trane, began to find out exactly what he was doing. But a great many times the chord jungle just caused him to run around and around hoping somehow to get into that thing he'd found and was trying to work out. I heard him several times during that period, just after he'd left Monk. One night he played the head of **Confirmation** over and over again, about 20 times, and that was his solo. It was as if he wanted to take that melody apart and play out each of its chords as a separate improvisational challenge. And while it was a marvelous thing to hear and see, it was also more than a little frightening; like watching a grown man learning to speak... and I think that's just what was happening.

"Hard Driving Jazz"

Thelonius Monk's influence on Coltrane, or, at least, the changes that John's playing underwent after his long employment with Monk's group, at the Five Spot, cannot be stressed too much. Monk, it seemed, opened Trane's head to possibilities of rhythmic and harmonic variation that Trane had never considered before. (And it strikes me as one of the worst crimes in recent recording history that Bill Grauer didn't record any of the fantastic music Monk, Trane and Wilbur Ware were making together that summer at The Five Spot. Grauer waited until Johnny Griffin had replaced Coltrane before he sent down the tape. Oh, well...)

The greatest single album Coltrane made before the trilogy, is in my opinion, **Hard Driving Jazz** with Cecil Taylor. Of course, that is not to lessen the achievement or single performances, such as Trane's solos on **Soft Lights And Sweet Music**, **Russian Lullaby**, **Blue Trane**, **Slow Dance** and so many others, but no other solos before the trilogy, with the exception of **Straight, No Chaser**, are as prophetic of what was coming as Trane's solos on **Double Clutchin'** and **Shifting Down** on **Hard Driving Jazz**. In fact, the ideas that are put forth and almost articulated successfully on those two solos are not even duplicated to such a degree on the first two albums of the trilogy. **Summertime**, on MFT, is the real resolution of those ideas. The long "chordal" lines, and extended choruses of **Straight, No Chaser**, were only the incunabula of what happens on **Shifting Down** and **Double Clutching**. Not only are those same attacks used on these solos, but also, the first real emergence of John's concern for harmonics, or at least there is some indication of what he intends to do with that long amazing chordal line.

On the album, **Coltrane Jazz**, Trane faces the harmonics problem squarely. He concentrates on it entirely, even sacrificing his characteristic "horn music" (as someone once told me... "John's making music on a **horn**... not a piano, or a guitar, or a drum, and it's a **tenor** saxophone horn, and you can see he realized it and doesn't even think it's a trumpet. Bird knew he was playing an alto saxophone, and he never tried to play it like anything else but an alto saxophone. You get into some pretty far out things when you realize just exactly what instrument **you** are playing...), for the sake of the tightened reed harmonic effects he wanted. **Harmonique**, for strictly technical application, **Fifth House** for a more musical application. And **Fifth House**, because it is a more musical application also foreshadows John's complete triumph on **Summertime** and **But Not For Me** where the long surging chordal line seems at times to shatter into hundreds of different **related** notes... not merely horizontally, but vertically. The harmonic insistence that was stressed on **Coltrane Jazz** is suddenly integrated into that amazing line, and not only does one seem to hear each note and sub-tone of a chord being played but also each one of those notes shattered into half and quarter tones and flying every which way.

Giant Steps, the first album of the trilogy was concerned mostly with rhythmical ideas. On **Naima**, **Giant Steps** and **Spiral**, John seemed to be finding ways of projecting his line over entire choruses without having to restate the basic beat of the tunes. Again, this problem seems resolved marvelously on **Summertime** and **But Not For Me**... and in the same ways he proposed on **Double Clutchin'**.

A New Mode of Expression

The title tune of the last album of the trilogy, **My Favorite Things**, is at least a tour de force. But it is also, at the same time, a beginning. The use of the soprano saxophone, is, of course, one reason for my terming it a beginning, but also because John seems, on his solo to have become really interested in melody for the first time... i.e., he is turning his attention to that old problem in jazz of improvising on a simple and terribly strict melodic line. The repeated scale of **My Favorite Things** is so simple and final that the only means of getting out of it is to elaborate on that tender little melody. (Listen to McCoy Tyner's fantastically beautiful embroideries on that scale and melody, sometimes breaking down into almost maudlin piano exercises, sometimes hurdling two centuries to sound like rococo cocktail music, but containing as much invention and subtlety as any piano solo I've heard in the last few years... Monk, Cecil Taylor and John Lewis being the exceptions.) And Coltrane's use of the Soprano not only springs that instrument free from the obscurity that had beset it since Sidney Bechet (Steve Lacey's valiant efforts notwithstanding) but it also opens up an entirely **new** mode of expression for John. The soprano, like the man said, is the soprano... just as the tenor is the tenor... and the things that can be said on each instrument are very very different. So, if **My Favorite Things** is just the beginning of Coltrane's story on the tiny horn... just wait until he really learns how to play it. **Summertime** seems to me a reason for calling John Coltrane a great tenor saxophonist, and we might be able soon to call him a great soprano saxophonist. I'm sure there are a lot of people who'd be willing to do it right now, just on the basis of **My Favorite Things**... it's a very strong temptation for me also.

LeRoi JONES

Aug.-Sept. 1963

Africa Latin America Asia
REVOLUTION

Vol. 1 Nos. 4-5

The Afro-American Struggle		1
Negro Nationalism and the Left	Harold Cruse	26
Uncle Tom Goes to Africa	Julian Mayfield	35
You Can't Come Home Any More	William Worthy	38
Aiding the Struggle in "Portuguese" Guinea	Abilio Monteiro Duarte	44
The New Slave Trade	Maurienne	48
Aswan: Monument for the Future	Wilfrid Burchett	56
The Battle of Dien Bien Phu	General Vo Nguyen Giap	63
Towards Victory in South Vietnam		73
The F.N.L. of South Vietnam	Nguyen Kien	76
Notes for a Biography of Fidel Castro	Carlos Franqui	77
"If Fidel Castro Were Elected President of the United States"		111
African Nationalism and the Common Man	Julius Nyerere	112
The War of National Liberation of Iraki Kurdistan	Ismet Cheriff Vanly	117
Documents from Addis Ababa:		
Resolutions of the African Summit Conference		156
Charter of the Organization of African Unity		167
The Powers Behind Apartheid	G. Fasulo	174
Education for African Servitude	Our Johannesburg Corr.	195
Two South African Poets:		
Muzisi Kunene		200
Dennis Brutus		202
Modern Poetry in Africa	Ken Geering	204
Ibn Khaldun Today	Mouloud Mammeri	208
The Magic Art of the Congo		219
Sini-Mory	Keita Fodeba	223
A Jazz Great: John Coltrane	LeRoi Jones	228

Monthly

Vol. 1. No.

7

Africa Latin America Asia

REVOLUTION



Africa : 2 shillings

Europe : 3 F 50, 5 shillings

America : 75 cents

THIRD WORLD ? WHICH THIRD WORLD ?

by

Pierre Jalée

Although it first appeared only in 1956, the expression "Third World" has already had a brilliant career. Quickly entering the vocabulary of the economist and the journalist, it is known today even to the man on the street. Blossoming generously under the pens of capitalist technocrats and politicians, it nevertheless is not rare to find it also being used by Marxist theo-

rists. The neo-colonialist and the neo-colonial use it. Even Frantz Fanon¹ used it.

There is only a step to believing that this universality of use is explained by a clear, precise and indisputable meaning. However, let us not take that step until we have attempted to make an inventory of the term.

For the French association which calls itself "Tiers Monde" (Third World), the problem is simple: there is an identity between the so-called countries of the "Third World" and the underdeveloped countries. But others have felt the need to try to be more precise. Jean Lacouture and Jean Baumier, in the preface to their book, *Le Poids du Tiers Monde* (Arthaud, Paris, 1962), try to explore the reality masked by these two familiar words. After referring to a kind of Third Estate or international Third Force, they suggest that the Third World might represent ex-colonial, underdeveloped countries, or, further yet, stand for the countries which refuse, if not socialism and capitalism, at least the socialist camp as well as the imperialist camp. The idea is put forward that the Third World might be made up of the nations which have benefited neither from the liberal capitalist and industrial revolution of the 19th century nor the socialist revolution of the 20th century and which seek their own form of revolution. Our two authors, after having been seduced by the definition "countries carrying out an inventory," finally decide on no single definition and leave the reader still unsatisfied.

The November 1962 issue of the French publication, *Documents (La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris)*, devoted to "Aid to the Third World," seems to go a bit further with less words, in so far as it denounces the confusion reigning about this "ready-made formula," a confusion which arises from the fact that the meaning of the term is essentially political, although it is usual to use it in an economic sense to designate all the underdeveloped countries.

To unmask a confused and even confusion-making term is already good but one should go further. For us — and although we have used this expression elsewhere —, we shall not wait to throw our pebble into the stream: there is no Third World. This expression is more than confused, it is a mystification.

Indeed, to call a group of countries without further definition the Third World is to say expressly that this group of countries belongs neither to

¹ Frantz Fanon, psychiatrist of French West Indian origin, who became a militant of the Algerian National Liberation Front (F.L.N.), then member of the G.P.R.A. (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic)—he was its ambassador in Accra in 1960. He died in 1961. Author of *Peau Noire, Masques blancs* (1956), *L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959), *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961).

the group of socialist countries nor to the group of capitalist countries. Objectively, such a group of countries does not exist, even if one wanted to make a faulty distinction between politics and economics.

The expression "Third World" can only have meaning by reference to the two other "worlds": the group of capitalist countries and the group of socialist countries or countries committed to socialism. It implies that the countries to which one applies the term belong to neither one nor the other, which is obviously false. But it is necessary to examine the question more closely.

A Third Force ?

The expression "Third World," as has been said, dates from 1956. It could hardly be born or have much success before, because the Bandung Conference was held in 1955, and the equivocal nature of the expression depends upon the policy developed by the Afro-Asian countries after Bandung.

Indeed, the majority of these countries defined and claim to carry out an international policy which they qualify as "neutralist" or "non-aligned" or "non-committed," aimed at maintaining a certain independence in regard to the international policy of both of the two big blocs. Some persons even believed or let themselves be convinced that a third world force was coming into being.

But imperialism was sufficiently supple to tolerate youthful sins on the part of the newly independent countries, pardonable sins which consisted of affirming principles which in any case it would be difficult to oppose openly. The situation called for generous understanding of the countries obtaining their political emancipation. It was to let time and American aid do their work and to take action individually in concrete cases. The Congo was one of these, and it must be admitted that the non-committed countries did not cause many major worries for the imperialist camp on that occasion, the principal difficulty having arisen within the imperialist camp itself. In 1963, some twenty African States finally showed how docile they were by renouncing their demand that South Africa be expelled from the United Nations. They were left Portugal as a target, which embarrassed few persons, even in the West.

Hence, there is no third force either on a global scale or on that of various States. And this for the sole and sufficient reason that economics commands politics, and at present only two economic systems divide and dispute the world: capitalism and socialism. The so-called third ways are never more than a camouflage for the first, as Theodore Stibbe, in numbers

4 and 5 of the French review *Partisans*, and the *Peking Review* (in its issue of April 15, 1963—"Socialism and Nehru") effectively demonstrated in the case of India. The same is true for all the countries lumped together under the term "Third World," as well as for others. North Vietnam and Senegal are both underdeveloped countries; but, the former belongs from every angle to the group of socialist countries, the second to the group of capitalist countries. There is no other problem, no other basic choice, and Jean Lacouture and Jean Baumier put forward an already exposed untruth, knowingly a mystification, when they claim that "the debate between capitalism and socialism appears, from many aspects, to be outdated, at least in the Third World." Have they cited a single country that has escaped the dilemma?

The Storm Centres

But, no doubt we shall be asked, you are not going to place on the same footing, although classifying them in the same world, the United States, which has an annual per capita revenue of \$2,400 and directs (not without difficulty) the politics of half the planet, and Morocco, whose national per capita revenue does not exceed \$130? — Certainly, there can be no question of mixing together the great powers and the small, technically backward countries, the dominating and dominated economies. But the fact that imperialism has an essential internal contradiction between exploiting and exploited countries does not remove any of its unity. This unity is indeed the fruit of this contradiction, without which imperialism would not be imperialism. And the fact that the United States, Britain, France and several other countries exploit for the profit of their monopolist capital the economy of twenty countries of Africa and, in order to do this, guide or control the policy of those countries, not only does not remove the fact that both are basically part of imperialism, but creates that fact. On the other hand, although Morocco and Cuba have in common numerous characteristics that greatly distinguish them from the United States and France, it is nevertheless true that there is a primordial difference between them. One has maintained its ties with imperialism, the other has broken them. The former is politically and economically part of one group of countries, the second part of another group. There is no third group. And, indeed, the most certain consequence of the expression "Third World" is to conceal that fact and confuse people.

Every coin has two faces; let us recognize, nevertheless, that the fact of grouping together the underdeveloped countries dominated by imperialism under a special term, implies that they constitute a special zone within

the imperialist camp. This is almost a preliminary homage to an emancipation that is felt to be inevitable and relatively near. The "Third World," in its current use, means the underlings of imperialism. But these underlings are more or less aware of that and aspire with greater or lesser confusion to be that no longer. "Black Africa has had a bad start," some say, while others say it has not started off at all. In any case, it is the question of its departure, or new departure, that is in the air.

The countries given the misleading name of "Third World" are those at present where plots are multiplying against leaders committed to imperialism. Whether these plots are real or not, exaggerated or minimized, whether they do not often appear to have an immediate positive aspect, it is none the less true that plots in general do not flourish in the countries where the population is satisfied with its fate and the regime. They imply, if not popular support for the plots, at least a certain receptivity among the masses. Objectively, the gap does not cease to widen, despite all the "aid," between the economic level of the dominated underdeveloped countries and that of the countries that exploit them. And the weak national bourgeoisies in power in the former submit more and more to imperialism, sinking into nepotism and an insulting luxury amidst poverty. These countries in a state of ferment represent without a doubt the point of weakest resistance of the imperialist front. Some of them have already reached the stage of open struggle. And the Chinese Communists are right in seeing in them "the storm centres." "The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centres of world revolution dealing direct blows to imperialism." (*A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, June 14, 1963.)

The Basic Choice

Hence there is no Third World, but there are storm centres. The revolutionary can ask himself under which conditions will these areas be that of the good storm.

The basic conditions were defined impeccably in a speech of April 13, 1963 by Le-Duan, secretary-general of the Lao-Dong Party of North Vietnam: "The immediate task of the peoples of these nations must be that of foiling and breaking imperialism's attempts at domination. For independent nations, this task is reduced to a choice between two roads: the non-capitalist road of development or the capitalist road of development." This

is an absolute condemnation of any so-called third road. One does not compromise with imperialism, one does not limit it or temper it: one breaks with it or one submits.

If this is the golden rule for the countries directly concerned, it is also the rule that guides the action of the socialist countries and the proletarians of the developed capitalist countries in regard to the emancipation of the underdeveloped countries. And it is difficult to explain why certain leaders of Western Communist parties are maintaining that States with different social structures (capitalist and socialist) can, through mutual cooperation, intervene jointly for the progress of the underdeveloped regions. This is to misunderstand the very essence of imperialism, and one can understand why the Peking *People's Daily*, in December 1962, spoke out against the principle of "joint intervention," recalling that "the policy of imperialism in regard to the underdeveloped countries... can only be a policy of colonialist pillage: it can never be a policy concerned with the progress of the underdeveloped countries." The organ of the Chinese Communist Party stressed that it was obvious that the socialist countries must aid the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, first to conquer independence, then to develop their national economy. "But," it added, "the socialist countries must not second the colonialist policy of the imperialists, still less intervene jointly at their side in the underdeveloped areas. Whoever acted in that fashion would betray proletarian internationalism and serve the interests of imperialism and colonialism."

Hence, the fundamental choice between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and non-collaboration with imperialism.

But a primordial question of strategy is raised for the socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement: that of the importance of the aid to be given to the peoples of the storm centres. The Leninist theory that the front of imperialism is not uniformly strong is well known, and the clashes occur at the weakest points, with the best chances of success for the anti-imperialist forces. If, therefore, the "underlings of imperialism" are also its point of least resistance, if in these countries the storm threatens here and already rages there, it is obvious that the principal effort of the world revolutionary movement must be made in these areas in order to open a wide breach in the enemy front, which may determine the outcome of the struggle.

Thus, the letter of June 14 of the Chinese Communist Party, after recalling that the national revolutionary movement of the areas of the storm centre and the socialist revolutionary movement in the world are the two great historical tendencies of our epoch, adds: "In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the

outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population."

The terminology should be noted: "revolutionary struggle," "national revolutionary movement" of the peoples of the areas concerned. Lenin himself already warned against the emancipation movements of a non-revolutionary character which sought to disarm the workers before the bourgeoisie. He stressed the necessity of fighting against "reactionary and feudal elements," of "giving the peasant movement the most revolutionary character," of fighting "*against the tendency to dress with the colours of communism the currents of bourgeois democratic liberation of the backward countries*" and of supporting these currents only on condition that the elements of the future proletarian parties were "grouped and educated in the spirit of their particular tasks, tasks of struggle against the bourgeois democratic movements of their own nation"... etc. (*On the National and Colonial Questions*, June 1920). The Chinese Communist Party says the same thing in its letter of June 14, when it declares that the proletarian party of the oppressed peoples "supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive."

A Single Struggle in a Single World

If we have directed our attacks against the expression "Third World," it should be understood that it was not to begin a quarrel of linguists. To accept too easily the term, to introduce it in ordinary language, means to introduce insidiously the idea that the group of countries about which we have spoken constitute a particular entity, a world in themselves, in regards to which the theories and reasoning applied to the group of capitalist countries and to the group of socialist countries as well as their relationship, should be revised, adapted, and more or less adulterated. Unconsciously, this is attacking the universality of Marxist doctrine and the unity of the revolutionary struggle on a world scale. The revolutionary struggles throughout the world only form a whole because the strategy of the international communist movement must start from the overall phenomenon, must study each country and its internal class forces, not as isolated entities, but rather by the specific weight that they have at various moments in the class struggle, within a national and international proletariat.

A single theory, a single struggle, in a single world, whose present division must not be made permanent, but overcome.

Pierre JALÉE.



Free Mae Mallory!

by Clarence H. SENIORS

In August 1961, Mae Mallory and Robert F. Williams, the Afro-American leader, were forced to flee for their lives from Williams' hometown of Monroe, North Carolina, where a Southern lynch mob were pursuing them on blatantly trumped-up kidnapping charges. Williams was able to reach safety in Cuba, but Mae Mallory sought protection in the Northern "liberal" state of Ohio. She was instead jailed, humiliated and made to suffer two years of bitter struggle which has not yet come to an end, to prevent her being extradited and thrown back to so-called Southern "justice."

Monroe, North Carolina, is a town where black men, women and children have been beaten, shot and raped by racist mobs; a town where its black residents have not been able to walk the streets without fear of being attacked by Ku Klux Klansmen and their Jim Crow law-enforcement allies; a town of virtual hell for black men.

When Robert Williams returned to Monroe, having fought in World War II with the U.S. Marines, he sought out fellow black veterans and convinced them of the necessity of working towards the elimination of racism—which they thought they had entered the war to destroy. He formed a working-class chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (N.A.A.C.P.) in the face of Klan-organized terror and embarked on a series of

protests against the inhuman treatment of their people. With Williams at the helm, the group won nationwide recognition; they were instrumental in securing the hard-won freedom of the two Afro-American children involved in the "Kissing Case"—not even ten years old, they had been imprisoned for allegedly kissing a little white girl.

But the authorities stopped at nothing legally or illegally to crush Williams' efforts—members were imprisoned on false charges, harassed and abused; armed racist terrorist activities were encouraged by the local police. Getting no help from the law, Williams found that they had to "meet violence with violence" to protect themselves; armed self-defence guards were organized and through his newsletter, **The Crusader**, Williams urged other black communities to do the same. **The Crusader** became the most outspoken black voice in the U.S.A.—and did not flinch when it came to admiring the militant struggles of the masses in Africa, in Cuba and elsewhere in their fight for freedom.

The Frame-Up

The climax of the struggle in Monroe began in the hot summer of 1961; Mrs. Mae Mallory, Afro-American mother of two children and "a militant freedom fighter from way back," was visiting the Williams family at the time, together with Julian Mayfield, the author. Tension had been rising as a result of the group's attempts to desegregate the local city swimming pool when seventeen Freedom Riders came to Monroe to give their support. Robert Williams disagreed with their policy of non-violent passive resistance, warning that it would only lead to violence against the picketers, but he agreed to the experiment, and when the Freedom Riders set up their non-violent picket line they were joined by many of the militant black youth of Monroe.

"On the third day the townspeople started insulting the pickets... A policeman knocked one picket to the ground... another was arrested. And all the time the white crowd heckled. On the fourth day, a white Freedom Rider was attacked and beaten by three whites. On Friday, a white Freedom Rider was shot in the stomach... right in front of the police... That afternoon, a Negro boy, ten years old, was attacked in town by three white men... none of the attackers were arrested." (From Robert Williams' book, **Negroes With Guns**, Marzani & Munsell, New York, 1962.)

The attacks increased, incited and abetted by the police and State troopers. Negroes were arrested and beaten up in jail, whilst their racist adversaries were encouraged on the streets.

By Sunday afternoon, thousands of armed white racists had gathered in town and a full-scale riot broke out, urged on by the local police and State troopers. When it became apparent that the vastly outnumbered Afro-Americans and their supporters were in danger of their lives, Williams' self-defence guards, who had previously stayed out of the incidents, jumped into their cars and rode into town to rescue the picketers.

During the peak of the battle, with the black community enraged over the ruthless, lawless violence of the racist mobs and governing authorities, a white couple, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, drove down the street on which Williams lived—and where Mae Mallory was at the time getting ready for dinner. To protect them from the justifiable anger of the black masses, and to prevent further bloodshed, Williams gave them refuge in his house.

State troopers were called to surround Williams' home and word came

Afro-Americans, coloured people the world over and sympathetic whites, among them the late Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Shirley Graham, Earl Bertrand Russell, Fenner Brockway, have written Governor Rhodes, asking him to cancel the extradition warrant issued by his predecessor.

Mae Mallory's case is now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court of Appeal, the last avenue in the legal fight against extradition: the Monroe Defense Committee has emphasized that it is U.S.A.'s shame to allow local law enforcement bodies to willfully and brutally trample over the rights of black men and then permit their agents to maim and murder men, women and even Sunday school children that peacefully seek dignity, equality and freedom.

We have warned that the recent waves of violence in the South could well be the "dress rehearsal" to an even more tragic situation which might develop in the South if Freedom Fighter Mae Mallory should be sent back to Monroe, North Carolina.

Mae Mallory has always been ready to sacrifice herself in the cause of her people's liberation, but we demand that she should be freed. Let us prevent another Southern massacre. The State of Ohio must not become the friendly accomplice to racist mob violence and murder by sending an innocent mother into enemy territory.

Clarence H. SENIORS,
Chairman, Monroe Defense Committee
10517 Superior Avenue, Cleveland 6, Ohio, U.S.A.

U. S. AID TO FRANCO

WASHINGTON - Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, has disclosed that in payment for bases in Spain, the Kennedy Administration, in the 1962 fiscal year, extended 1,173 million dollars in economic aid to the Franco government and 524 million dollars in military aid. Calling for a reduction of U. S. aid to "totalitarian governments of the Right," Morse said that secret agreements between the Kennedy Administration and Franco will bring the Spanish dictatorship tens of millions more dollars during the next fiscal year.

Robert Williams Speaks from Peking

At the time this issue of REVOLUTION went to press, Robert F. Williams, the prominent Afro-American leader in exile and still hunted by the F.B.I., was on a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China. Recently addressing a mass rally of more than 10,000 persons in Peking, Williams spoke of the Afro-American struggle against racism in the United States. He was followed to the rostrum by speakers from Asia, Latin America and Africa who expressed their firm support for the struggle of the Afro-American masses. Later, REVOLUTION's Peking correspondent, A. M. Kheir, obtained this exclusive interview with Williams.

Q. Mr. Williams, do you think that the Negro population in the U.S.A. would play a major role in the North American people's revolution ?

A. Yes, I think they do play a main role in the North American revolution because they are the most oppressed and most exploited population in America. The only other alternative for them is revolutionary activity. We must also consider that even though white workers are exploited, they are still a privileged class under the U.S. system. The American Negro lives under a caste system; but even the white workers are favoured to the extent that they get the best jobs, higher wages, etc. In many jobs where white and black workers work side by side, the white worker is paid more for the same work than the black. White workers also enjoy the privileges of promotion and advancement. The black man does not. Apprenticeship is closed to the black worker. This is true even when the appointments for apprenticeship are controlled by labour unions; the whites have a greater opportunity to advance to the petit bourgeois and capitalist class. The white workers are more content with things as they are; any militant struggle in the U.S.A. would come from the most oppressed class; the black worker will automatically be in the vanguard.

Q. Mr. Williams, what do you expect the African people to do in support of the Negro people's struggle in the U.S.A. ?

A. We would expect them to make large protests against racial discrimination; we would expect them to be as energetic to denounce the U.S.A., as well as South Africa and Portugal. Also we would expect them to struggle for com-



plete independence. While struggling to win them over in the psychological war, the U.S.A. will be forced to grant certain concessions to black Americans. We would also expect them to wage a very determined fight against colonialism. This would also weaken the racist governments and strengthen the position of all the peoples of the world.

Q. Mr. Williams, some people say that the Negro people's struggle is based on racialism; what do say to that?

A. The Negro people did not invent racialism. Racialism was invented by the white oppressor. We did not select the race of our oppressor. So if our oppressor happens to be white, that is just too bad. We intend to get rid of oppression. We intend to rally our people in the struggle against oppression. We must tell our people who the oppressor is. Our oppressor is white and we are not reluctant to say he is white; and we do not care what they call us. We are in a struggle to be free. We think that those who are more concerned with the possibility of our racism than our freedom are most certainly racist. How can it be that for hundreds of years, we as a race, have been oppressed and those people who call us racist have been quite tolerant to our oppressors? We would also like to know how does it happen that most of the oppressors throughout the world are also white although they constitute a minority in the world's population and the most brutally oppressed victims of these oppressors are coloured? It seems that all these people are more concerned with maintaining white supremacy than they are with racism and Negro struggle.

Q. Mr. Williams, do you think that the U.S.A. is really helping African, Asian and Latin American nations to build their countries and achieve prosperity?

A. Yes, I think that the U.S.A. is helping the Africans, Asians and Latin Americans; but it is helping them **back** into the dark ages. The U.S.A. is a very modern nation technologically, but it is a very primitive nation in the field of human relations and sociologically it is still in the stone age. It depends on whether or not the so-called backward countries want to develop into the machine-age jungle or develop slowly by their own initiative into socially civilized societies. How can the people of Africa, Asia and America think that such a savage nation as the U.S.A. can be interested in their welfare when it is not interested in the welfare of its own people? The U.S.A., is a white supremacy nation like South Africa. Do they think the South African government is interested in helping the coloured people? There is no "Alliance for Progress" or "Peace Corps" for the backward communities of the United States. The U.S. Government started helping the American Indians many years ago; they signed many treaties of assistance and peace. They have practically solved the Indian problem because they have practically exterminated them. The U.S.A. is a land of ghettos. They have ghettos for the black human being; ghettos for the Oriental human being; and ghettos for Latin American human beings like Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. The Indian is a prisoner on his own soil in a U.S.-sponsored reservation. Some of the Africans who were kidnapped and made slaves thought that they were going to be the recipients of the white man's generosity. Can it be that the coloured people of the world have learnt nothing from history? The U.S.A. is not going to help anyone to prosperity; it is not the nature of a wolf to help others. What the U.S.A. appears to be contributing today is no more than bait in a trap. Those who clamour for the so-called "aid" are subjecting themselves to future slavery and Yankee imperialism as brutal as the imperialism of France and Britain was. Indeed, underprivileged peoples will find Yankee imperialism to be even more brutal and unmerciful.



Robert Williams was among the many guests at this year's National Day Celebrations in Peking.

November 1963

Africa Latin America Asia

REVOLUTION

Vol. 1 No. 7

Third World? Which Third World? Pierre Jalée 3

The White Dictators of Southern Rhodesia	Rockway, M.P.	11
"Malaysia"—the Neo-Colonialist Federation	aim Karim	26
The Agony of the Spanish Bourgeoisie	ernandez	37
A Day with Francisco Juliao	Ice Rodriguez	46
Venezuela: Empire of Oil and Iron	arleton Beals	52
Cuba at the United Nations	Interview with Dr. Carlos Lechuga	136
The Preparation for November	Rabah Bitat	64
Verwoerd's Bantustan Bluff	Brian Bunting	68
Illusion, Emulation and Integration	Wilmot Alfred Frazer	75
Free Mae Mallory!	Clarence Seniors	80
Robert Williams Speaks from Peking	84
Our Struggle in British Guiana	Dr. Cheddi Jagan	88
Which Way for British Guiana?	Jeannette Scott	92
Crude Weapons that Helped Destroy an Army	Chou Chih-ching	106
New British Poets of the Left	Ken Geering	110
Mr. Rockefeller's Museum of Primitive Art	Marion Brown, Jr.	128
A Handful of Wheat	Prem Chand	133

Printed in Switzerland

Monthly

Vol. 1. No.

11

Africa Latin America Asia

REVOLUTION

The End of Empire



Africa : 2 shillings

Europe : 3 s. 6 d., 3 F 50

America : 75 cents

U.S.A. : REVOLUTION WITHOUT VIOLENCE ?

by Robert F. Williams

We are an oppressed and dehumanized people, who have been long suffering and much too patient and tolerant of our status in America. We have begged and prayed for justice to no avail. Are we to forever remain aloof to the logic of history? History is a mirror of the human facts of life. History bears out the fact that oppressors never voluntarily relinquish their tyrannical grip on the oppressed. The oppressed, themselves, must break the stranglehold of their oppressors.

No Easy Road to Freedom

There are no "give-away programmes" and "get-free-quick tricks" for true freedom. Brutal oppression and race hatred are forms of social maladies. These

syndromes are reflections of a sick society. The collective personality of a society, riddled with ingrained and perennial prejudices and hatreds, signifies psychiatric ills as well as economic ones. A malignant cancerous sore on a society, like the chronic race hatred that infects the United States of America, cannot be cured by mild medications. For psychiatric ills, in cases where the patient has completely divorced himself from the logic of reality; when he is beyond the realm of response to normal stimuli, the shock treatment is the best treatment. In most cases it is considered a highly successful remedy.

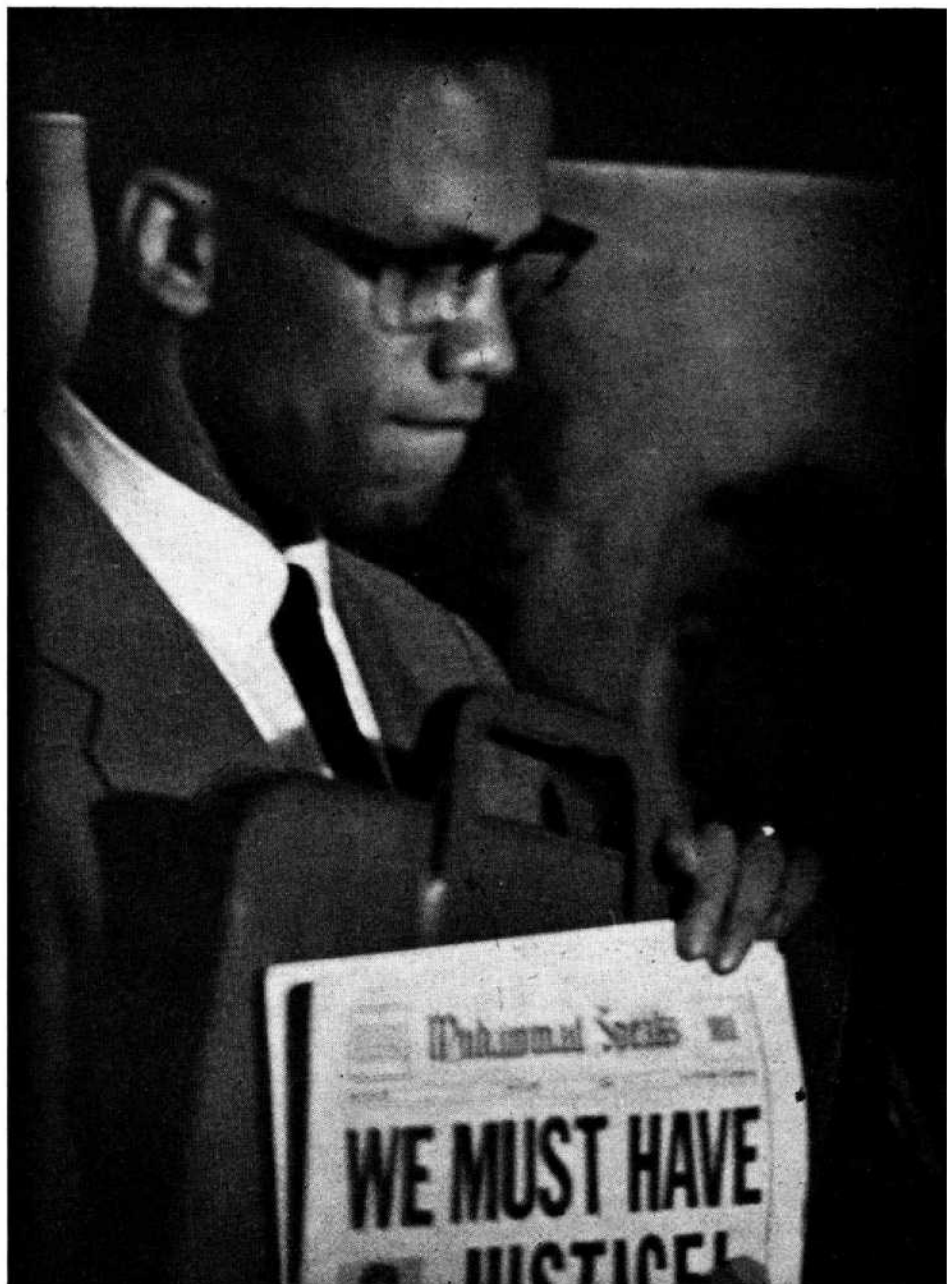
A cancerous sore requires a serious physical operation. In the U.S. race problem, anything less is simply to play the element of time, and time alone is tantamount to a sort of spiritual faith healing that presages a rendez-vous with disaster.

The present hope of Afro-Americans to cure the malignant ills of savage racial oppression by so-called peaceful methods, approximates mild medication where surgery is needed. Turn-the-other-cheekism is tantamount to treating psychotics with homicidal tendencies by playing a childish game of "tag" or touch football when a dose of electrical shock is needed.

I do not mean to convey the impression that I am against non-violent tactics when feasible. I advocate "peaceful demonstration" 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. "Nonviolence" is fast becoming a sophisticated term for self-imposed paralysis of the natural human nerve system and its automatic reflexes of self preservation.

Many "nonviolent" 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 murdered William Moore, Medgar Evers, and the innocent children of Birmingham. The word "nonviolence" is being used too loosely and mechanically in a deceptive way.

Negro leaders are too prone to commit the masses of our people to battle in untenable positions by swearing to forego self preservation, simply for the sake of praise and donations from white liberals. In many of these situations it is more than obvious that these liberals' humanitarianism extends to the white race only. These liberals can tolerate the heads blown off little black girls. They can look with impassion at the black being maimed and slaughtered. They are willing to hold a rally of protest and hypocritically denounce heinous crimes against our people, but this is the limit to which they are prepared to go. The more they protest the more vicious the violence seems to become. Is it not strange that they become more emotional about the possibility of black Americans defending themselves than when savage whites practice mayhem against them? These so-called liberals are quick to exclaim that they are equally opposed to violence, no matter what side or reason it may stem from. Let us be more concerned with their action than words. Many of these so-called liberals either own or hold stock in sweatshops. Some hold supervisory or positions of influence in their communities. Some carry insurance with racist companies. Many rate high in the field of education, medicine and commerce. The list of their exploits is endless. In short, many are in position to take punitive action or cause punitive action to be brought against brutal racists. These so-called liberals can find a thousand excuses to



justify their not taking action against barbaric racists. But oh let a poor down-trodden, brutalized black speak of self-defense! They speak of punitive action. They are more than willing of withdraw their support. They are more than willing to make a public statement denouncing so-called "violent Negroes." Oh, their conscience and principles will just not allow them to cooperate with anything so immoral as a black, bringing into play the natural reflex action of self defense.

These charlatans, who claim to be friends and counselors in our struggle for liberation, are in actuality the fifth column allies of the most brutal and savage advocates of white supremacy. Their real loyalty, either consciously or subconsciously, is to the racist premise that no black man should ever be able to find justification for defending himself against the violence of the white man. These self-righteous moralists deceive obsequious Negroes into believing that they have been divinely commissioned to introduce the superior conduct of latent masochism to a violently wicked jungle. While the whites, in their homes, schools and churches, teach their children to honor violent warriors and uncompromising rebels, they brainwash the blacks to accept the tenets of pacifism. All life is geared to the acceptance of white domination of all universally significant affairs. The excruciating oppression of Afro-Americans is considered secondary and of little consequence. What a dual standard!

A Society of Violence

Total integration means assimilation. Is the American society based upon the premise of nonviolence? No! It is an insensate and violent society. It is a society whose symbol is the marauding eagle. There is no place in the eagle's nest for a peace dove. The timid peace dove is the symbol that the liberals would have us adopt. Pacifism is alien to the American mode of life. Pacifism, adopted by a people already set aside from the mainstream of American life because of a blood and colour differential, adds another distinct feature to broaden the discriminatory schism. If not in colour, at least in social conduct, we must reflect similarities in order to become assimilated into North American society and its culture. The cult of nonviolence is a religion that brings glory and gratification to latent masochists.

Self-defence 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 nonviolent forces so overwrought with the sensual pleasure they derive from the violence of so-called nonviolence that their emotions obscure the clear cut difference between self-defense (self preservation) and oppressive aggression? Their actions suggest they are. When an Afro-American proclaims the right of self-defense, nonviolent elements, without qualification, uncategorically squeal like probed pigs that the "self-defense" advocate is a "violent black racist." He is publicly denounced and dishonorably drummed out of the white folk's dominated "good nigra society." 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.

This is a normal reaction to a logical reflex action. This is an emotional reaction governed by vested interest in a policy of meek submission of the oppressed and brutally exploited masses. The liberal white architects of black nonviolence cannot possibly be so asinine as to believe all of this propaganda



and tripe about the power of nonviolence and love. Surely they must know that nonviolence and love can only bring about fringe benefits that the oppressors do not consider worth fighting for, or that they consider to be expendable items, designed to allay the angry emotions engendered in the hearts of the suffering masses.

Present engagements on the civil rights battle front show stiffening resistance on the part of the oppressor. This is because the demands of our people are now shifting to essential things like the right to be equally employed, educated and legally protected. These are the benefits that will raise the level of our people.

These things are basic to our right to enjoy desegregated restaurants, hotels and places of amusement. These are the things that will give our people an equal chance to overcome an inferior status and inferiority complexes developed under centuries of slavery, brutal exploitation and dehumanization. We are entering a stage of real crisis—a stage of flight or fight.

Yes, we should all advocate peaceful and nonviolent 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 conduct a revolution without violence. Let us not be so asinine 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 all 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 cower timidly and submit to the evils of dehumanization and slavery.

The Coming of Massive Violence

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.

There are those mercenary Uncle Toms and masochists among us, whose missions are to demoralize our people and encourage them to reject the first law of nature. They are quick to inform us that we cannot win any conflict that may degenerate into a state of massive violence. Why do they not tell the racist oppressors that they cannot win? Why do they not tell them that they constitute a minority in the world? The fact is that the racists are the ones who will lose such a conflict. America is too sensitive to withstand such a shock. The oppressors have more to lose than the dehumanized and oppressed in such a conflict. Our people have nothing to lose but their chains.

We prefer peaceful negotiations, but our oppressors have proved to us that they are not susceptible to such mild pressures for reform and that they will utilize massive violence to attempt to contain our struggle. When massive violence comes, the U.S.A. will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos. The factory workers will be afraid to venture out on the streets to report to their jobs. The telephone workers and radio workers will be afraid to report. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. Stores will be destroyed and looted. Property will be damaged and expensive buildings will be reduced to ashes. Essential pipelines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. Violence and terror will spread like a firestorm. A clash will occur inside the armed forces. At U.S. military bases around the world local revolutionaries will side with Afro G.I.'s. Because of the vast area covered by the holocaust, U.S. forces will be spread too thin for effective action. U.S. workers, who are caught on their jobs, will try to return home to protect their families. Trucks and trains will not move the necessary supplies to the big urban centers. The economy will fall into a state of chaos.

This racist imperialist oppressor will not be brought to his knees, simply because of the fighting ability and military power of Black Freedom Fighters and their allies inside the U.S., but because of the creation of economic, chaotic conditions, total disorganization, frustration of his essential and ultra-vital organs of production, and adverse conditions created by the world-wide liberation struggle. Such a formidable enemy will fall prey to the new concept of revolution because of his ultra-modern and automated society and the lack of psychological conditioning of his forces. Our people have already been conditioned by almost 400 years of violence, terror and hunger.

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S.A. Any such force would be wiped out in an hour. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept creates conditions that involve the total community, whether they want to be involved or not. It sustains a state of confusion and destruction of property. It dislocates the organs of harmony and order and reduces central power to the level of a helpless, sprawling, octopus. During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. Such a campaign will bring about an end to oppression and social injustice in the U.S.A. in less than 90 days and create the basis for the implementation of the U.S. Constitution with justice and equality for all people.

Of course, there would be great losses on the part of our people. How can we expect liberation without losses? Our people are already being admonished by the nonviolent forces to die for Freedom. We are being told to sacrifice our lives in situations of diminishing returns. If we must die, let us die in the only way that the oppressor will feel the weight of our death. Let us die in the tried and proven way of liberation. If we are going to talk about revolution, let us know what revolution means.

The dilemma facing our oppressed people in the U.S.A. today is the fact that the forces of white supremacy are already preparing a campaign of massive extermination against us. The cold fact of the matter is that we are going to experience violence whether we defend ourselves or not. The greatest security of defense is to be able to annihilate and demoralize the aggressive and oppressive forces of the racist enemy. All over the U.S.A. the John Birchers, the Minutemen, the States Righters, the Nazis and Ku Klux Klanners are arming and training for total warfare against our people. There is no doubt as to what side the racist police, F.B.I., National Guard and the Federal Government will be on. They are arresting U.S. Freedom Fighters and indicting them for seeking the enforcement of the U.S. Constitution. The Afro-American hasn't got a chance in the U.S.A. unless he organizes to defend himself.

It is no longer a truism that our people cannot win such a struggle. The world has changed and the favour of the situation has shifted to the side of the Afro-American. Those who cry that we cannot win are either agents of the oppressor, latent masochists or ignorant of the new facts of life. We do not need paternal white "big daddies" for our friends now. What we need are some fighting John Browns.

Our friends are growing throughout the world, while those of our oppressors are diminishing. It is important that we immediately create stronger ties with our brothers of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It is important that our people stop cooperating with our oppressor and exert more effort to expose his beastly ways to the peoples of the world. Yes, we can win because our struggle is just and our friends are many. The handwriting is already on the wall. Victory is now within our reach. **LET US PREPARE TO SEIZE IT!**

Robert F. WILLIAMS

The Black Artist in Exile

by C. Lindsay Barrett

A young Jamaican writer, C. Lindsay Barrett now lives in Europe. This is his second appearance in REVOLUTION—for his first, see “Unchain My Soul” in our January 1964 issue.

I want to talk about someone we know, born black in a predominantly white world, and therefore immediately set outside of the mainstream of that community that demands his loyalty. And I want to talk about when, after his initial birth, the upheavals of his personality as he grows, and the twisting of his spirit make him desire a singular birth. I mean by a “singular birth” the flowering of an individual attitude of the imagination. In short I want to talk about the black artist. And then I am thinking of him when local pressures (not necessarily racial, but in the case of the Negro always also racial in the West) leads to his exodus from home to some foreign place in which he hopes his creative ability (even if not appreciated fully because of a thickness of differences in ways and ideas between countries) will at least be left in peace. This is the state of exile that artists across all racial fences are continually employing. The Negro artist in the West (e.g. in the United States) is, when he chooses exile from his birthland for the more elastic exercise of his spirit in the peculiar position of being double-exiled. In the first place he has never seen himself accepted in the mainstream of his birthland’s communal image. He has always been an exile at home. In the second place because of the vast spread of Westernism in the world, it is hard for him to find a resting place where he will not be reminded of his superficial past (superficial because it is not his true history which has melted down to myth ever since the oral tradition of African education was broken down by the Europeans) in the country of his birth.

A Double Alienation

But the Negro Artist in exile can use his double disownment to easy and vital advantage in the development of his own artistic goal and image. Precisely because his right to a traditional figure of his own in art has been lessened by the pressure of the West he has earned the right to play more with media of the arts. At the same time since it is not absolutely necessary for him to belong to the mainstream of the culture surrounding him, first because he is black, and secondly because he is outside of his birthplace, he can afford to merge both estrangements, making them one grand right to absolute freedom of attempt. To understand this thought, the artist first disciplines himself not as an exile, but as a disowned figure who has no special wish to be owned by those who have disowned him, for after all at the basic level why should the Negro exchange his natural rhythmic sensibility for the natural analytic sensibility of Western culture? Both sensibilities evaluate the same set of objects ideas and necessities of life because the physical needs of all men are the same and the psychological desires that they hide or proclaim are much the same in spite of racial differences. For me the basic difference between the white man and the black man can be summed up if I say I dance where a white man would stand. I do not break things down into small particles in order to understand their make-up... instead I test their texture in the whole and through exercise of the imagination I produce a speculative formula of their material type... It is remarkable how analytic the results of this casualness is. And in the case of the Negro artist this special thing when applied to arts initiated in his mind by the Western community results in almost completely new art forms. Jazz, the discursive music, is the most blatant example of this and if one should think of the Duke Ellington orchestra as an example of orchestral music in the hands of a Negro, it would then be easy to understand my point about a completely new form arising out of the original initiated in the mind by the Western experience.

The Uses of Black Imagination

What I have just briefly described as the Negro sensibility is really an attitude to life that like all broad attitudes often changes its role in the life of a large section of a community. At one time it may be seen as our best defence. At another time it may be said to represent our window to another world. In the case of the black artist in general it is a defence, a window, and then a door. It opens onto corridors of imaginative experiment or play that, if followed with any honesty, must lead away from the common world



STREIKOFF

around him since this world automatically disowns him at birth. Bear in mind of course that I am talking specifically about the Western Negro such as the Latin Americans, West Indians and North Americans whose clearest recollection of history is the aforementioned superficial serial filled with whips, and blood, sweat in the sun for nothing but death, slavery to be exact. Since no honestly imaginative man would want to use his imagination to elaborate an image in which he does not believe, there is no reason why the Negro artist, should tie himself to this superficial history as tradition as the liberal white world would have him do or that he should adopt all the Western attitudes in a Western manner as the "we-want-to-help-you-grow" would have us do. But the measure of his greatness lies in his ability to use the more immediately personal experience of his life in the white womb as an artistic springboard to a dream that will be understandable in the Western manner since our mannerisms have been shaped in the West, but which at the same time will not be comparable to anything in the hostile Western artistic tradition on more than the first level as an object within a specific frame. The more primitive or more sensitive levels of judgment should prove them immensely different to each other in feeling and effect although the methods of creation and the materials used may be the same. For example again, jazz has never been accepted as the American music although it is undoubtedly the most vital and original art form born within the precincts of the United States.

In fact, jazz is probably the only complete art form wholly conceived and produced in the United States and this in spite of the fact that the instruments employed in its execution are of European origin and the methods of playing them that the Negro originators of the music used were first and foremost European methods. In spite of this jazz has remained the music of the American Negro rather than the music of America and in actual fact it will remain so even if American whites suddenly had a change of heart and took the whole twenty million black people in their midst to their bosoms. But it has only been in music so far that the Negro in the West has been allowed to employ the full scope of his artistic freedom. This is not surprising since even here he was under the scrutiny of the white eye and since in the white man's culture rhythm is associated most strongly with music and not given any direct importance as a contributory attitude to the broad life, the hammer never did fall too heavily when a Negro poet (like Bird) felt the urge to release his overflow of his people's soul and found it easiest to say his lines into a saxophone. Yes, you see because there is no telling how many of our great musicians like Bird, Pres, Bud, Duke, and other, if they had not grown up knowing their words would not be heard with any respect and would probably not be heard at all, would not have been poets rather than musicians, and there is no telling how many of them if the pressure on them had not been

there from before their birth so that they grew up knowing that any images they made would first have to pass the test of the white eye before acceptance, would not have been painters, and how many of them may not have been novelists, because the reason for the Negro's numerical flooding of the musical world is more soul-rending than it is soul-heartening. The white myth about Black Sambo's parrot-like ability to sing and play music is a white defence against the truth that the white world kept the Negro artist locked as best it could within the one field where it was easiest for white listeners to understand the exertions of the black soul... and this was done by announcing to the very child in school that the only poetic tradition worth following was Western, the only tales worth telling... Western, the only artistic tradition worth following was Western, and as for the field of painting... why, how could a Negro paint but in the Western manner? Of course when at one point the natural expansion of the Western artistic tradition brought it in line with the Negro concept and African sculpture, for example became fashionable, the white world was at pains to teach Negroes how to appreciate their own art as if it was the white man's evaluation of it that made African sculpture what it is.

A Western Education for Black Men

And so back to the black artist in exile. Most often it is to escape pressures of the raw and yet subtle type described above that he leaves his country for another although the unfortunate effect of a thoroughly Western education is to make the majority of the black artists I have met in exile unaware of their basic desires or disgusts in such a way that their articulate reasons for leaving home spill from them as various false arty reasons which almost any young white beatnik would also understand and applaud. But for me the reason must always be tied in with the racial bigotry that even the best of the countries in the West perpetuate by their very existence... as Western nations that is. The whole hemisphere of which I speak was "taken over" by the Europeans. They have no real human right in South America, the Caribbean, or in North America, as the rulers of their respective countries. But their appropriation and virtual ownership of these countries is now fact in history and we black people who, like them, have no right there, are at the same time spared of guilt because we are only there because of them. Already then this is one sensibility to pain that an honest Negro artist should exclude from his mental bag as he moves into exile. But in place of it he has also earned in the West a more conducive type of pain with which to work, the pain of anger. Often the artist in the West is no artist but mere propagandist because the Western tradition of the separation of the mind from the

body does not allow for art to be exclusive enough as a section of life. In short, art in the West is feeling overpowered by thought. It would seem to me that thought has another place altogether in the Negro's sensitive life and that in his art it is care and love that is coupled with feeling to make the imaginative idea move or sing. Now if exile from his birthplace frees him from social pressures peculiar to the locality it at the same time places him under the obligation to satisfy himself and then relate his experience to a world.

The Dilemma of the White Man

It is probably only the Negro artist in exile who finds himself at pains to create not just one world of personal images but two since the world in which his audience rests is at the outset suspicious of him. In other words what the white world will accept from him a great number of his own people will either approach with suspicion or with blind ignorance while what his people will clamour for from him, the white man will ignore or misunderstand. Now while for the white artist who for personal reasons has placed himself in exile, the main problem may be to find a kind of detachment from his ready-made audience in order to mirror their existence with more of his personality involved than would be possible while living among them, the black artist in exile will most likely find that the creation of an imaginary audience, an ideal audience in his mind, is a secondary but absolutely necessary step to take if he seeks mental comfort. It is no use pointing out that so many Negroes buy novels each year, and so many Negroes read poetry and so many Negroes listen to music because what I am talking about is the spare level, the bone of the will to live that runs through people as against the impositions under which they bury this thing. Too many of my people have been caught. Too many of them are directed by their imitation of the white man and the fact is that the white-black middle-class Negro reacts violently to Negro art often not even because he is ashamed but because he is afraid of himself. His standards of success and his hope of success is threatened by his own soul since there is always the memory of the confrontation of the white man's power close by... And so it is necessary for a complete understanding of the philosophical dilemma that must face the black artists from the West in exile not only to examine his choice of place but also to evaluate the wealth of experience worth gleaning from his youth and adolescence.

In those early years, when he looked up to the adult neighbour or to his father, little movements registered with him in peculiar ways, but it was only later in life that he could relate these movements to the actual day-to-day experience of living and in so doing create for himself a picture or a dream equivalent to a statement on life. When he grew old enough to strike

attitudes of worth, his main attitude was that of the artist. Regardless of race, this simple fact of "attitude striking" covers in simple language a broad sweep of thoughts confused with desires and dreams and when connected with the natural human desire to create certain images or dreams equivalent, as I said before, to a statement on life it is that slight twist from the mind to the soul that makes one child a stockbroker in his adulthood and his brother a painter. In spite of their differences of opinion, ideas and profession then, they are both employed in the same aim, to comment to themselves on life. But in the Western world and as a matter of fact in any community today the moneybags (stockbroker) is certainly more quickly accepted than the dreamer (painter) and the upshot is that while moneybags may only go to Paris once a year to eat in Maxim's, his brother the painter haunted by a certain non-acceptance or may be feeling himself too close to his subjects to do them justice, ends up in Paris because it is not New York (assuming of course moneybags and dreamer are New Yorkers). To follow the same line with a Negro pair of brothers. From early youth there has been something extra in the faces around them. A kind of hurt. Black moneybags cannot ever be as white moneybags and furthermore he is not sure they'll accept him if he goes to Maxims. After all they say Paris is freer. But that is hard to believe. The people there are white, aren't they? The black dreamer is in much the same position. He knows from the beginning that he will be called upon at every step of his career to compromise his own soul, fit it to the sensitive areas of the white world, and he will probably be successful someday. And then again he cannot be sure when in exile just who may be looking at him with hate... His experience in youth was peculiarly unbalanced. He learnt almost by osmosis that the white man regards most of his people as criminal and yet if he read crime novels and detective magazines he could not help but notice that only once in a long while would a Negro criminal turn up. These little shifts and changes between the real and the unreal worlds with which he dealt were always coloured with prejudice rather than with misunderstanding so that where his white counterpart may feel misunderstood he would more often than not feel hated. Now if we accept that this is the common experience of the Negro person in the West we will understand the peculiar difference in motivation that makes the black artist in exile different from the white... one has left a positive hate behind for an uncertain existence in an uncertain place (I must point out here that I am not looking on black artists from the West who went to Africa to live, as exiles... they deserve another essay) the other has left a vague misunderstanding by his own people for an almost complete submergence and concealment among more often than not white people of another country whose mannerisms do not really affect him.

No Final Resting Place

So I have tried to outline the difference in life concept that suggests the certain existence of peculiar turns of touch and attitude in the Negro which must give rise to complete Negroid ideas in art. But by talking about the black artist in exile I am not attempting to suggest that enforced exile is absolutely indispensable to artistic movement. It is not the act as much as the idea that matters and for some people exile is an escape whereas for others it can be a safeguard and a solution. For most black artists the urge to leave one type of hate behind is always succeeded by the decision to accept another somewhat modified, or less harsh type of the same treatment. The skip from the United States to France, for example, may represent for the white American a return to the more elemental regions of the white experience in the arts, but the black artist in the final reckoning cannot pretend to have found his own image in this land of other peoples. The skip most often means that he has decided to accept the less direct and omnious nature of the white presence in France in relation to himself as a kind of middle road resting place in which to observe and remake his own ideas in the Western manner for a personal end.

If there is any vitality or truth in all that I have said then the subject is so continuous that no one point along the line could be considered the final one. But it is necessary to stop a train of thought somewhere in order to rest and re-evaluate the various aspects of the truth. In this case the eventual acceptance of the artist or of his work into the mainstream of the cultural audience is about as good a point as any on which to end. Having left his birthplace in the United States, for example, and having settled in Paris for some years to work on his own plains of thought and experience the black artist must face the fact that the Western controllers of sensibility will not and in fact cannot allow him to impose the full shape of his peculiar truth on their pre-set image. It might be necessary for a truly personal black novelist for example to make suitable extensions and changes in language to accommodate the full scope of his feeling. But these changes are sure to upset the pre-set literary laws of the land. Again only in jazz has there been allowed (at the cost of much pain) any such change and breaks with tradition in art on the part of the Negro. And so after all this time away from his birthland, after the trials and evils of natural nostalgia for the family or merely the customs of his growing days the black artist confronted by the white power may yet be forced to place his own dreams in a secondary position to those he has been taught he should have, and if, under these circumstances he does meet with some success in the way of the virtuous West, the most he can expect is benevolent purchase rather than honest acceptance.

C. Lindsay BARRETT

March 1964

Africa Latin America Asia
REVOLUTION

Vol. 1 No. 11

The End of Empire : France's Last Overseas Territories . Alain Plenel 5

The Return of the Gunboats	Editorial	3
The Struggle for Cyprus	Jeannette Scott	20
The Developing Revolution in Aden and South Arabia	Bob Edwards, M.P.	30
Spain in Movement	Martin Valdes	38
The Andes Shake Peru	Leonor Llobat	51
The Struggle for Full Freedom in the Philippines	William J. Pomeroy	59
Cambodian Royal Socialism	Keith Buchanan	70
India: The Rural Background	Shashikant R. Patel	87
The Chinese Economy Today	Teh Kao	95
The Chinese People's Liberation Army	Hsu Hsueh-tseng	103
U.S.A.: Revolution without Violence?	Robert F. Williams	109
The Peace Movement in the United States	Selma Sparks	116
The Bondage of the American Indian	Irving H. Reynolds	121
A North American Artist in Havana	Juan Gelman	125
Two Poems	Rewi Alley	128
The Black Artist in Exile	C. Lindsay Barrett	131
Subscriptions (information and coupon)	144

Printed in Switzerland