

# THE PAPER

So we stand here  
on the edge of hell  
in Harlem  
and look out  
on the world  
and wonder  
what we're gonna do  
in the face of  
what we remember.

Langston Hughes

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1977

## Students Start Video Club

by Selwyn Carter

There's a new club on campus, and its unlike most of the existing city College student organizations. S.A.M.E., or the Students for Art, Media and Education, came into existence after Jimmie Williams and some of his schoolmates discovered the lack of access to video equipment on the part of communications majors at the college. "... We were aware of the fact that the communications program did not offer video courses for communications majors and so we decided to do something about it ourselves."

Jimmie Williams, who had been working in the Cumbin T.V. studios, as a work-study student, for the last three years, had on several occasions discussed the idea with Bill Summers. Bill Summers is the director of CUMBIN T.V. Studios at CCNY. CUMBIN, the City University Mutual Broadcasting Instructional Network is a city-wide network of educational television artists with stations at Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island, and here at City College and at the Graduate Center. They transmit on Cable T.V., Channel B. Jimmie told me that they received a lot of support for their ideas from the college's Vice President for Communications, Robert Carroll.

"What we're trying to do is to incorporate all media of com-



left to right—Bill Summers, Jimmie Williams, Robert F. Carroll

munications, whether it be photography, movie film, writing or video production under an umbrella organization. ... We're trying to avail ourselves to all of the student organizations on campus who have a need for the video medium," said Jimmie. At present the organization is working with the Students For Cultural Exchange, with the intention of videotaping their upcoming trip to Cuba.

In addition to the video workshop the organization is currently videotaping instructional formats on video production and eventually hope to have a room where members can come in and view videotapes on information that is pertinent to them.

It is S.A.M.E.'s intention that the video workshop would aid them in training a production crew within the organization so that they

can be ready to make themselves available whenever a genuine need for their services arise. "... We're trying to avail ourselves to all of the student organizations on campus who have a need for the video medium," said Jimmie. At present the organization is working with the Students For Cultural Exchange, with the intention of videotaping their upcoming trip to Cuba.

Of the sixty people who have expressed interest in the group, approximately twenty-five of them are dues-paying members. Some of them are English and engineering majors who just want to learn video," said Jimmie. They're many things that the

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## S.E.E.K. Being Dismantled



GEORGE MACDONALD

by Selwyn Carter

On November 1, 1977, the Chancellor of the City University of New York (CUNY) released a document entitled the "Chancellor's Preliminary Draft Of Proposed Board Guidelines On The Seek Program." According to the Chancellor the document, which calls for drastic restructuring of the CUNY SEEK program, is the culmination of a series of documents which date back to 1969.

The first of these documents, the original Board of Higher

Education Guidelines on Seek, was adopted on July 9, 1969, revised, and approved by the BHE on December 28, 1970. Since then there has been a series of resolutions, on establishing a Task Force on July 29, 1974. The Task Force examined the ten SEEK programs in CUNY and submitted a report on October 31, 1975. In February of 1977 the Chancellor submitted two documents, on the problems and undertakings of the SEEK program, to the Expanded Educational Opportunity Committee (EEO) of the BHE. The last

of these documents was the BHE's resolution on SEEK, approved October 24, 1977.

Since its inception there has been no basic legislative change in the SEEK program other than that modifying eligibility requirements for SEEK students. Prior to that change one had to be twenty-nine years old, or younger, in order to be eligible for the SEEK program. Another major aspect of the above mentioned change is that a SEEK student no longer has to live in a designated poverty area. (The latter change allows for people who live in the better off areas of the city to enter CUNY on the SEEK program.)

In 1974 and 1975, newspaper reports claimed that a large number of SEEK students were ineligible due to academic average. Those reports were inaccurate because they claimed that students with high school averages over 80 were ineligible for the SEEK program. Prior to 1970 a student was eligible for admission into the SEEK program if he/she was not eligible for admission into the day session of a senior college. However, beginning with open admission in 1970, the academic ceiling was no longer adhered to. Those academic

criteria for admission did not change until earlier this year when a new set of criteria went into effect.

The SEEK program, which was established by the New York State Legislature in 1966 was geared toward bringing Black and Latin students into the CUNY system. Because such students were coming from an educationally disadvantaged background it was necessary for the program to be equipped with a range of intensive supportive services. These special services are usually defined to be counseling and tutoring along with courses in basic skills. On pages four and five of the Chancellor's document remedial, compensatory and developmental courses are defined. I discussed the chancellor's document with Professor George McDonald, newly appointed acting Director of the CCNY SEEK department. He told me that, according to the chancellor's definitions, Social Science Survey 1.8 and 2.8 and College Skills 1.8 and 2 are Developmental courses. The chancellor's newly recommended guidelines would have the regular academic departments offering developmental courses and the SEEK

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# In Memory of Thelma Hill 1924-1977



Thelma Hill

By Ken Jones

There are those of us who maintain that there is no such thing as an "untimely death"—that DEATH knows all too well how to tell time. Still, there are the less perceptive . . . or less strong, whose only real fault is that they hastily delete those dear to them from Death's precise, last word. Thelma Hill, noted dancer, dear friend, to many who knew her personally, and instructor here at City College, is suddenly gone. And whether untimely or not, is it any wonder why, paradoxically, Death, with its preciseness and flawlessness, frequently tends to make life appear as nothing but a stumbling, bumbling idiot in comparison?

To many Thelma Hill, who died of gas inhalation in her apartment a few days prior to Thanksgiving, was known as "Mother"; for all that word implies, there can be little need for further personification. But her memory demands that she be personified, immensely. Although I did not know her personally, glancing briefly at her on one occasion while peering in through the window of her class located in Park Gymnasium, I discovered then that she had a way of making silent admirers of total strangers. Words like: warm, charming, funny, and vibrant, all managed to squeeze themselves somehow into that one glimpse.

Ms. Hill, whose performing career included appearances with jazz-oriented, ballet and modern dance companies, was born in New York. She initially began studying tap dancing with Mary Bruce. As she latter progressed, she performed with the companies of

Talley Beatty, Geoffrey Holder, Jean-Leon Destine, Alvin Ailey, and with the New York Negro Ballet Company.

Thelma Hill, who was soon to be promoted to assistant professor, was a humanitarian. Her strength not only lay in her ability to teach generations of dancers and choreographers, but an extra added dimension to that was her total involvement and dedication to the individual student. It is said of her, by Melvada Hughes, dance student: "She treated everyone as an individual and concerned herself with trying to help them reach their goal. She would not turn anyone away. Her interest in people gave them hope and inspiration towards realizing their abilities in themselves." And "she not only tried to work out any physical problems you had in dance" Tara Banard, another dance student, injected, "she sought to help the students with personal problems as well." I was informed that a week before Ms. Hill died, she tried to help a student find an apartment.

It was apparent that she died while sleeping. A grieved Florence Warren, chairman of the Dance Program and close friend of Ms. Hill, said that "except for small scratches on her cheek, she looked in total peace, at the morgue." Perhaps the scratch marks are an indication that her pets, 2 cats and a dog, all of which also died, tried to awaken her.

Like so many great ones who die, a little irony siezes it's opportunity. The night she died, Tally Beatty, one whom she often worked with, was being honored.

"I can still see her small, stocky figure as the woman with the umbrella in "Wadin' in the Water" (*Revelations*), presiding proudly and with compassion over the baptism scene. I can still hear the raw, gutsy music of the early Ailey days — "Mean Ol' Frisco," "I Been 'Buked," "Rocka My Soul" — and Thelma was blasting through the middle of it like a cyclone."

—Marla B. Siegel

*THE WORDS I WANT TO SAY  
I SHOULD HAVE SAID BEFORE.  
WHEN THERE WAS TIME TO SHARE  
AND GIVE  
AND MAYBE EVEN MORE.*

*YOUR ENCOURAGEMENT, YOUR  
CARE, YOUR STRENGTH  
INSTILLED IN ME A GOAL  
TO DO THE VERY BEST I COULD  
IT REACHED DOWN IN MY SOUL.*

*AND WHEN I THOUGH I NEVER  
COULD  
YOU KNEW THAT IF I TRIED  
I WOULD.*

*YOU WERE NEEDED MORE THAN  
YOU REALIZED  
LOVED MORE THAN YOU KNOW.  
AND WHAT I CAN'T UNDERSTAND  
RIGHT NOW  
IS WHY YOU HAD TO GO.*

*BUT GOD IS GOOD AND EVER TRUE  
HIS WISDOM PURE AS GOLD  
I ASK THE LORD SOME TIME AGO  
TO TAKE CARE OF YOUR SOUL*

*HE WANTED YOU TO BE WITH HIM  
I TRUST HIS MERCY STILL  
AND SO IN TRIBUTE MY DEAR  
FRIEND  
I LOVE YOU THELMA HILL.*

DARLENE FERRONA

## VIDEO CLUB

*Continued from Page 1*

organization would like to do, and one of them is to involve more communications majors. However, like any other organization, S.A.M.E. HAS TO TAKE ONE STEP AT A TIME. "In the meantime," said Jimmie, "we would seriously like for all interested students to come in and join us and see how they can benefit from the program. We would also like any college disciplines that have a need for the video medium to contact us right away."

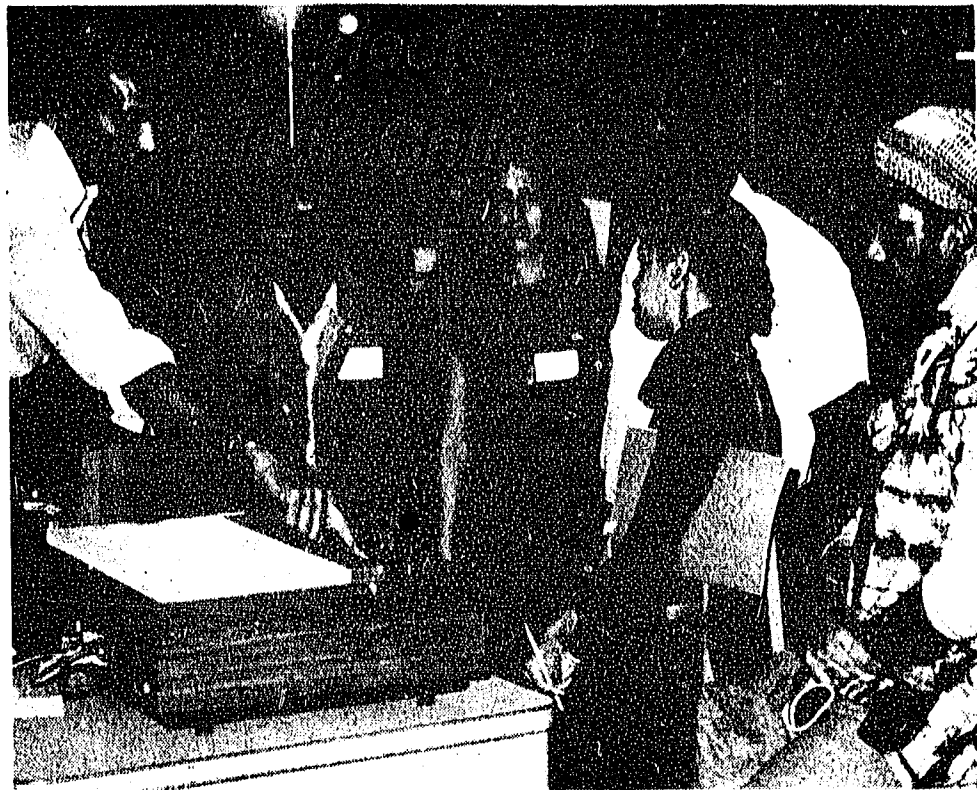
Since all of their work is voluntary, the organization requires that all campus organizations buy their own tapes and pay for the lights used to do the taping. As a student organization, S.A.M.E. requires no fees for its services. As Jimmie put it, "there's no money that comes to us, only the practical experience of doing this." Of course, if S.A.M.E. requires no fees for its services. As Jimmie put it, "there's no money that comes to us, only

Since all of their work is voluntary, the organization requires that all campus organizations buy their own tapes and pay for the lights used to do the taping. As a student organization, S.A.M.E. requires no fees for its services. As Jimmie put it, "there's no money that comes to us, only the practical experience of doing this." Of course, if S.A.M.E. were asked to do some special project which required equipment rental, then the organization requesting the work would have to pay the rental fee. After taping a program the group turns the tapes over to the organization requesting the work.

Because video equipment is expensive, the students have initially been trying to procure such equipment from all persons whom they know to possess it. "We hope to borrow a few pieces from CUMBIN and rent a few more pieces from other people," said Jimmie. The organizations' members are so enthusiastic that they have used some initial money from their own pockets in order to get the program started. In addition, said Jimmie, "... we've used the organizations' membership dues to get most of the equipment."

Finding the organization's name quite interesting, I asked its president, Jimmie Williams, to explain its origins to me. "... First of all we're a student organization so Students would be a part of our name. We're trying to incorporate ourselves into nearly all of the facets available to this liberal arts college, especially Arts and Education. We're doing it through the media, so that's how we derived the name Students for Art, Media and Education."

The students who form the core of the organization have been quite active in the past. They helped in the taping of the Harlem Renaissance program, the Alex Haley lecture, a performance in the Great Hall by the Dance Theatre of Harlem, and the CUNY basketball tournament last spring. In addition they've taped the Oceanography lecture series held here at the college, the Citizens Review Commission On the I.B.I., and are currently taping an electronic engineering series. They recently taped the CCNY vs. Columbia basketball



game and expect to some of this year's other-basketball games.

So, if you or anyone you know, wants to see your face on T.V. contact the Students for Arts, Media and Education. They can temporarily be reached in Shephard Hall, Room 20 or by dialing 690-6758.

## S.E.E.K.

*Continued from Page 1*

departments offering only remedial courses with no credit. At City College those Social Science Survey and College Skills Courses, under the Chancellor's new recommendations, would have to be stripped of credit in order to maintain the courses, or faculty, within the SEEK department. If this is not done the SEEK faculty who now teach these courses would have to be transferred into the regular academic departments. (English, Sociology, etc.). According to Prof. McDonald, "... It would rip the heart out of our program if the statement on developmental courses were put into law. ... It would restrain us greatly and thus ultimately place us back into a position of teaching a smattering of courses in a piecemeal fashion. A student would not have a total integrated, coordinated academic plan as he enters the university in his first year."

The alternative to transferring the courses is to remove the credit and offer them as remedial courses. However, the chancellor's new guidelines would not even allow this to be done. An entering SEEK freshman must take at least three credits in his/her first semester and six in the second semester. Thus students would be penalized because they would not be able to take the maximum number of courses to get those credits and would not be eligible for full time status. SEEK is a full-time students' program and can no longer retain students who're not full-time. According to Mr. McDonald, "It is a Catch 22."

The directors of SEEK programs throughout the university have gone on record saying that developmental and remedial courses, and the faculty that teach

them, have to be housed within the Department of Special Programs (SEEK program).

On page 6 of the document the chancellor states that "primary responsibility for the administration and awarding of financial aid to SEEK students shall be vested in the college financial aid office." Prof. McDonald's response to this recommendation is "... The primary responsibility for awarding financial aid to SEEK students probably should rest with financial aid office, but what we object to very strongly is that we would lose responsibility for the day to day supervision and the hiring of SEEK counselors. Since SEEK students require considerably more documentation than other students, SEEK financial aid counselors have to work on a different schedule. "The responsibility for changing and reshuffling the workloads of SEEK financial aid counselors now rests with the SEEK department. The SEEK directors have also gone on record opposing the chancellor's financial aid recommendations. "Financial aid officers appointed for the purpose of servicing SEEK students shall be hired by the SEEK department in consultation with the financial aid office of the college. SEEK financial aid counselors shall be responsible to the SEEK director with regards to the interpretation of SEEK policy and the administration of state funds provided under the state enabling legislation."

On page 9 of the document the chancellor calls for the respective college presidents to submit to him an annual "academic plan" which would (1) "detail the specific academic goals of the particular SEEK program at the college, and the means to be used to achieve these goals; (2) outline the overall curricular approach or approaches to be utilized; (3) describe the educational content of the program." The chancellor also calls for a five-year limit to the academic plan which, in Prof. McDonald's words "... would severely hamper the continued success of SEEK students who go beyond five years." For example, since SEEK is a five-year plan and engineering is a five-year plan then

SEEK students who have to go through one year of remediation would require longer than five years to complete such a program. Therefore, to stop counseling and available tutoring at the end of five years would be an injustice to such students. The various SEEK directors should be allowed to continue tutoring and counseling beyond five years, at their discretion, if a student is entitled to remain in the program as a SEEK student.

The inconsistencies in the chancellor's document become clearer when we examine his recommendations for a "fiscal accountability" plan. This plan would hold the SEEK department responsible for all monies allocated for academic support of SEEK students. However, if, as was earlier recommended, developmental courses and instructional staff were housed within the regular academic departments it would be very difficult to ensure that SEEK monies were being spent on SEEK students. The plan would thus hold the SEEK department accountable for something over which it has no control.

In a meeting with the chancellor, on November 9, the SEEK directors argued their disagreements with the proposed new guidelines, but to no avail. At the beginning of the meeting the chancellor made it clear that he would listen to them but that no basic change would be made in the document. The following day the SEEK directors held a meeting at the Harlem State Office Building with N.Y. State Senator Carl McCall and officers of the Black Education Council. At that meeting it was decided that the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus of the State Legislature would consider making the following recommendations to the chancellor: The chancellor should reassess and look at (1) true departmental status for SEEK. (2) The Department of Special Programs, or SEEK program, should have control over their remedial, developmental and compensatory courses. (3) That guidelines on admission and retention of students be reworked. (4) That admission criteria need to be examined because the proposed ones are unreal and that in place of those the chancellor would be asked to establish a university-wide SEEK committee to view and study available data before making recommendations on a new procedure for admitting students into SEEK. (5) That the SEEK chairman be elected, like any other department chairman, by the members of the department (instead of being appointed by the president of the college).

According to Prof. McDonald, if the chancellor's document were approved by the BHE it would "... in many ways bring about the destruction of the SEEK program as we know it today. ... It would put great restraint on the ideas that we're now considering and would not allow us to move into the new breakthrough in educational planning and restructuring of our academic offerings that we have begun to. ... It would limit the role and authority of the SEEK department and would place much of the authority of the SEEK program into the regular college and under the auspices of the regular college faculty." He proceeded to state, "one can see no educational wisdom or reason for

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# T H E P A P E R

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## Lemme Pull Your Coat

by B. R. Brown

Here is the month of December filled with more information of Afrikans in America, their achievements: Arthur Springarn, who founded the NAACP in 1909 was born on the 1st in 1878. John Brown, the white freedom fighter was hang at Harper's Ferry in 1859 on the 2nd. Frederick Douglass published the first edition of the North Star on the 3rd in 1847. In 1909, on the 4th, the Amsterdam News was founded. Pres. Harry S. Truman set up a Civil Rights Commission in 1946, on the 5th.

In 1865, Congress passed the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery on the 6th. Myrtilla Minor, the founder of Miner Colorado—Washington, D.C. died on the 7th, in 1864. National Equal Rights Convention includes Blacks in 1873, on the 8th. Roman Catholic Saint Martin de Porres—1579-1639—on the 9th. Dr. Ralph Bunche won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, on the 10th.

Thirteen Blacks were lynched in a race riot in Houston, Tex. on the 11th in 1917. Boxing Champion Henry Armstrong was born on the 12th, in 1912. On the 13th, the 1st Black servicewomen were sworn into the Waves, in 1944. On the 14th, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the 1964 Civil Rights Act concerning public housing—in 1964. Black troops fought in the Battle of Nashville in 1864, the 15th.

On the 16th the Black Episcopal Church was founded in Tenn., 1871. Henry Adams, a noted Baptist minister was born in 1802, on the 17th. The Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery in the U.S., effective on the 18th, 1865. Carter G. Woodson, the father of Black History was born on the 19th, in 1875. In 1860, on the 20th South Carolina seceded from the Union.

On the 21st, Salem Poor was cited for valor in the battle of

Bunker Hill in 1775. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was appointed to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, on the 22nd in 1943. Madam C. J. Walker, the inventor of the 'Hot Comb' was born on the 23rd, in 1868. The first U.S. hospital for Blacks, Georgia Infirmary was chartered in 1832, on the 24th. Bandleader, singer, Cab Calloway, was born on the 25th in 1907.

On the 26th in Sydney, Australia, Jack Johnson, heavyweight, KO'd Tommy burns in 1908. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was established on the 27th in 1862. S. H. Archer, the President of Morehouse College was born on the 28th, in 1870. Robert C. Weaver, the 1st Black cabinet official was born in 1907, on the 29th. Josiah T. Walls, Congressman from Florida was born on the 30th, in 1842. On the 31st in 1775, Washington's Army accepts free Blacks. On the 1st of Jan. in 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was declared law. The first Annual NAACP Report was compiled on the 2nd in 1911.

I have added two days from January to complete our celebration of the Christmas holidays, I refer to our KWANZA celebration, which begins on the 27th and goes to the second of January. Each day of the celebration is a part of the AFRICAN/BLACK value system called the NGUZO SABA (the seven principles); the first being UMOJA (unity), the second KUJICHAGULIA (self determination), UJIMA (collective work and responsibility), UJAMAA (cooperative economics), NIA (purpose), KUUMBA (creativity) and IMANI (faith). In the December issue I will explain further the NGUZO SABA, until that time, PEACE.

RACIAL OPPRESSION  
IN AMERICA? WHY,  
I'M 'SHOCKED'!!



## RACIAL INJUSTICE

Last year, Randolph Evans, a 15-year-old, Black East New York resident, was murdered by the service revolver of an on-duty New York City policeman. This year the state employed murderer avoided prison, on a plea of temporary insanity. This obscenity is no aberration, but consistent with the "justice" Black people receive in Amerikkka. It is no accident that the acts of murder and violence perpetrated by police on Black people are never addressed. It is always this way with colonized people. Uniformed thugs are a very effective tool of repression.

The state found Robert Torsney temporarily insane for responding to a Black youth's question with gunfire. They choose to call the national oppression of Black people insanity. It is U.S. insanity that we must struggle against. We must struggle against the insanity of armed terrorists paid by the state to brutalize and terrorize us in our homes. Fight to free incarcerated brothers and sisters from the racist insanity of the state's "correctional facilities." Combat the insane deprivations we suffer every day in housing, education and, other services. We can't bear up with acts of insanity if we are to survive. We must liberate ourselves from this insanity or be systematically liquidated.

There is no safety living with the homicidally insane. If locked in with them you struggle to extricate yourself and at the same time remain vigilant; ready to repel the next insane attack. Randy Evans got too close to an armed maniac, and was killed—sometimes killers do't appear to be dangerous. Let us not make the same mistake collectively; the cost is too great. We operate at a disadvantage on the defensive. Liberation struggle is a constant effort.

# Self Determination and African

## National Liberation in the U.S.A.

By Willie Green

reprinted from *Soul Book*

At an international meeting of the Pan-African Secretariat held in Georgetown, Guyana, 1971, delegates passed a resolution recognizing the colonial status of Black people in the u.s.a. That resolution called for the liberation of the Black and Indian nations held captives. A similar resolution was passed the following year. That same year in 1972, CRAC (Committee for the Removal of All Colonialism) was formed. CRAC stated part of its objectives as "to keep before governments and the public the issue of colonialism in the still remaining colonies of the world."

Particular attention was given to Caribbean nations as Cayenne (Guyane = "French" Guina), Suriname, Belize and the Amerindian people. Small nations are often ignored unless there is an explosion to bring them to the attention of the world. Territories held by the u.s.a. as Guam, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, and Virgin Islands were not ignored. In an official public statement CRAC called for the "liberation of the largest remaining colony," **Black America.**

That is how serious revolutionaries treat the question of Africans in the u.s.a.; they treat it as a colonial question, the continued domination by the slaveowners over the slaves after emancipation. That is how the question is posed to the public, to governments to international bodies and to liberation organizations. The old call by the Nation of Islam of "separation from the white devils" and the call by the Republic of New Africa for "independence now" is correct. Daily, Blacks face the contempt of white america. Because white american society is both racist and capitalist, it is fascist. We can expect no other solution to the racial problems in america than the standard ones, lynch law and genocide. National Independence is the only decent solution to the problems of Blacks in the u.s.a.

### The Independent Black Struggle

What is clear to us is that the 350 years of Black history in North America has been a history of the struggle for self determination and freedom. This independent struggle waged by Blacks occurred at every period. Even before the boarding of the slave ships we can see it. It occurred on the slave ships, throughout the entire slave era, during reconstruction and post-reconstruction, and on through both world wars until the present. This independent Black struggle was fought before white labor was transformed into a modern proletariat or before there was a modern bourgeois capitalist class in the u.s.a. Historically, it

antedates the modern proletarian struggles in the u.s.a. that are a part of today's reality. No greater "proletarian" consciousness was exhibited than that of the slaves on those southern plantations. American capitalism was tied to those tobacco and cotton plantations.

The slaves ran the plantations. They worked the most modern machines of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Black slaves were the primary source of skilled and unskilled labor in the most advanced industry of the day. The content of those struggles was generally expressed as **Black (African) revolutionary nationalism.** Writing in his biography of Henry Garnet, Brother Ofari is correct in stating that, "Black nationalism was as integral a thought in the middle of the 19th century as it is now." Then, Ofari saw this Black nationalist consciousness in the life of Black people: "In the south, slave rebellions and the maintenance of Africanism were prominent factors of Black national consciousness. In the North it was expressed in the early 19th century state and national conventions, the formation of Black churches, schools, and benevolent societies to protect the Black communities from attacks by racist whites."

Blacks recognized their national oppression. David Walker in his *Appeal* (1931) saw us as a "nation within a nation" and that the slaves must be free. Garnet's experiences abroad taught him the value of self-determination. As repression of Blacks increased he found that others were also considering a Black nationalist solution to the problems of the Black man and woman. Here is how Garnet responded in 1854 to questions put to him about the course of this independent Black struggle and where a Black nation could be established: "I hope in the United States; especially if they reopen the slave trade. Then, if we do not establish a nationality in the south, I am mistaken in the spirit of my people."

Garnet, as the masses of Black folk, could see the economic and class basis of their exploitation. Listen to his biographer again: "Garnet and others saw that economic exploitation was a major factor facing Blacks. Although he did not analyze the system of capitalism from a "scientific socialist position" (Marxism had not made an appreciable impact on the American society in the antebellum period) he perceived that Black oppression was closely connected with the dominance of a wealthy landowning class."

It was the daily fight of Blacks that drove men like Garnet to have a clearer view of their oppressions.

This Black nationalism so endemic to Black people was profoundly against the domination of the class of slaveowners, capitalist and all exploiters. That is why we are still astounded by the impossible confusion of the new/and old Black adherents to Marxism. Brother Ofari, for example, has outdone himself with his 'catholic' conversion. He concludes elsewhere: "Nowhere in the world has 'revolutionary nationalism' solidified working class power, overthrown imperialism, or begun the process of building socialism. Without a struggle to transform national consciousness 'revolutionary nationalism' is just one more illusion to blind Blacks to the necessity of socialist internationalism."

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

But what would 'Black revolutionary nationalist' in Haiti have thought of this? Haiti is an example of how Black solidarity was able to overthrow slavery, defeat three imperialist states, and embark upon building a collectivist economy. Upon the 'revolutionary nationalism' of Haiti rested the hopes of other freedom fighters in South America, the Caribbean, and the u.s.a. Men like Simon Bolivar rushed to Haiti for aid against their class and national oppressors. Nor was there any lack of class consciousness within the new nation. The social nature of the Haitian revolution and the class struggle which intensified afterwards was the cause of Dessaline's death. He saw the danger of the new landed Black and mulatto oligarchy and sided with the poor peasants. Speeches like the following were typical of Dessaline's class loyalties:

"We have waged this way for the others. Before taking arms against Leclerc, colored people born of white fathers, had absolutely no right of inheritance. How is it then possible that the sons of the settler we have thrown out of the country now claim their riches? **Shall the Blacks whose fathers are in Africa then be entitled to nothing?** Be careful you Blacks and mulattos! We have fought against the whites. What we have won with our blood belongs to us all. And I shall see to it that it is divided with equity."

Such arguments as Ofari's have always been used to throttle the Black liberation movement, not to advance it. Under the misused banner of 'socialist internationalism' lie among the treachery and betrayal of Blacks.

This usage of the slogan, we strongly oppose. Aime Cesaire, when he was still a revolutionary marxist, made it clear that: "Marxism and communism must be harnessed into the service of Black people, and not Black people harnessed into the service of marxism and communism."<sup>10</sup> But what is more important is to know that the independent struggle of Black people in the u.s.a. has not been halted. At the basis of that struggle is the right to self-determination and freedom.

Thus this struggle for self-determination of Black America is crucial because it is a struggle to determine the fate of all Black people in the u.s.a. It is a struggle of the entire Afro-american populace in the Northern Black 'ghettos' AND in our national territory, the southern **Black belt.** It is a struggle to extricate our nation and reclaim this source of super profits from the hands of the white imperialist. That is clear. Let us see briefly the main trend.

### A Little History

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

In Brazil the first Black republic in the Americas was founded in 1630 at Palmares, in the province of Pernambuco. It lasted until 1697 when the combined onslaught of several European powers finally overran Palmares. Even then every 'quilombo (village) fought back to a man and to a woman. In Mexico the Spanish were forced to concede territory to their Black slaves for self-government. San Lorenzo de los Negros became a mini state in 1627. Cuffy, a Black slave in the Dutch territory of Berbice in Guiana (now Guyana), led a successful revolution in 1763. The slave masters were defeated and routed in battle. Slave society was completely overturned. Relying upon the memory of their African traditions and customs the slaves destroyed the plantation economy. They proceeded to build a collectivist economy and began to manage government and civil affairs themselves. Though that Black republic lasted only a year its revolutionary deeds is a landmark in the struggle for self-determination.

Throughout the Caribbean we  
*Continued on Page 11*

# For Your Information

On Saturday December 10, the St. Thomas Community School and the Black New York Action Committee present: Black Music Comin' Home. This event will feature: 1. ENSEMBLE AL SALAAM with Khaliq Abdul Al Rouf, Alvin Queen, Musujaa Salamu, Rasik and Mattathias; 2. EL AJJ MALIK EL SHABAZZ, a film on the late Malcolm X, shown by Gil Noble; 3. Poetry Readings by Louis Reyes Rivera and Sekou Sundiata.

The program will be held at the St. Thomas Community School, 147 St. Nicholas Ave. between 117th and 118th Streets. Performances begin at 7:30 p.m. Admission is \$5. For ticket information call 662-4977, 286-0315 and 681-3743. Food and drink available.

Two one-year staff positions will be available at the Action Center as of January 1978. They will be funded by VISTA, the federal community service program. VISTA provides a small stipend, comprehensive benefits, and training.

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Three one-year staff positions will be available to work on redlining with NYPIRG as of January 1978. They will be funded by VISTA, the federal community service program. VISTA provides a living stipend, comprehensive benefits and training.

As part of the programmed activities for the fall the department of Romance Languages is offering a symposium on Vincente Alexiandre's poetry in Harris Auditorium on December 14.

Alexiandre, born in Spain 1898, was a prominent member of the "generation of 1927" of which Garcia Lorca was a representative. He won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1977.

## Forum on Oppression of Black Liberation

On Saturday December 17th, at 7:30 p.m., a forum will be held at the Union Theological Seminary, 120th St. and Broadway, rm. 207. The subject of the forum is "Oppression Of The Black Liberation Struggle; Self-Determination and Independence For The Black Nation." The Forum is being sponsored by the African People's Party, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee and The Anti-Klan Committee. Speakers are, Muntu Matsimela (African People's Party) Ahmed Obafemi and Afeni Shakur (Republic of New Africa) and Susan Rosenberg (Prairie Fire Organizing Committee). Donation \$1.50.

*(For years the F.B.I., C.I.A. and other U.S. Gov't agencies have systematically sought to crush the human rights of those participating in the Black Liberation Struggle at large, and the Black People in general. The U.S. gov't is guilty of murder, arson and genocide. The counter-intelligence program (Cointelpro) is a threat to every Black man, woman and child. Support Black People by supporting Black Liberation.)*

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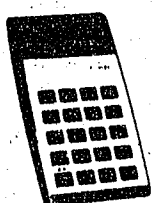
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# Towards An Afrikan National Literature in Amerika

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by Baron James Ashanti

The thrust of this brief paper will be an attempt to show the need for a cultural revolution among Afrikan People in Amerika and the potential role that literature can play in that movement towards Afrikan State Power on the North Amerika continent. Also to be discussed are trends and schools in the literature and the possible affects of these schools and tendencies on the Afrikan masses. Taking an objective look at the manner of oppression which Afrikan People face in amerika, we must clearly see that no tool such as culture, which may be transformed into a weapon of liberation can be allowed to exist in an apolitical vacuum.

We, as an Afrikan People confined in amerika are in a **life and death** struggle with the world's colonizer-amerika. This fact is made more apparent and explicit by current disclosures of the amerikan C.I.A. interference with the sovereign governments of Allende's Chile, MPLA's Angola, the People's Republic of Viet Nam, Castro's Cuba, Lumumba's Congo, etc., etc., etc. As an Afrikan People, we have in amerika a first hand experience of the **world's jailer**. It was the enslavement of Afrikan People, colonized as a nation within a nation, which built the platform for the euro-amerikan industrial revolution which in turn created the material basis for the rise of industrial capitalism as a system of world exploitation of workers. Yes, we have a specific first hand knowledge of the world's jailer for amerika, being the **mother country of imperialism**, is the world's jailer.

Afrikan People in america exist in a modern age which holds historic significance for mankind. It is the time for celebrating the victories of the liberation struggles. It is a time for celebrating the victories of the people's of Viet Nam, of Angola, and Mozambique.

It is the time for the destruction of the racist regimes of southern Afrika. It is inhumane to submit to the oppressor, because relenting to oppression denies the oppressed their humanity. The fact that the Afrikan Masses are under seige from the dominate european proletariat of amerika is made more palpitabile in view of attacks by the euro-amerikan prolitariat in Atlanta, Ga. (the october league—a white left formation), in Boston—during the desegregation of Boston schools—again the euro-amerikan prolitariat attacking everything Black in sight; culminating in an Afrika lawyer being clubbed and battered with an amerikan flag, and in new york as Afrikan Worker's homes were bombed when they moved into a

predominately european neighborhood.

A look at Afrikan existence will yield the conclusion that racism is exhibited by all strata of the amerikan class system. As Revolutionary Black Nationalists, our analysis must be scientific for we can no longer allow political analysis to be directed from a vague emotionalism which was the hallmark of cultural nationalism in the 60's and early 70's. These are hard times.

Try as we might, Afrikan People cannot prove to themselves, nor to the world's socialist camp that they are a free people. We can't do it and tell the truth at the same time. If we are not free, then what are we? **We are a colonized people**, and being colonized, we can only free ourselves through political struggle. As this relates to culture, only a national liberation struggle can produce a national culture, of which literature is an extension. This cultural liberation front in turn should create the basis for a dialectical materialism which, when it interacts with historic due process, changes a people's definition of themselves and their relationship to self determination.

**To fight for a national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material keystone which makes the building of a national culture possible.**<sup>1</sup>

Culture is the survival vehicle of a people. It is through a literate form of communications that scientific investigation and the process of scholarship can be pursued. For it can be truly said that there is no progression of civilization without the advancement of scientific investigation and progressive techniques of scholarship.

The role of literature, given it being a vehicle of literal communications and given the stage of the Afrikan Liberation Movement in amerika (which is the exhaustion of the bourgeois democratic form of reform within the capitalist system) can carry both a vanguard and support impact. In the sphere of a forward thrust, Afrikan literature can be used to explain to the masses the ideologies which seemingly are irretrievably confusing. Political Manifestoes and position papers are both valid literary forms.

Afrikan literature can support a National Liberation Front on a day to day basis through popularization of revolutionary principles through poetry, plays, novels, songs, etc. When the disciplines mentioned are produced with the intent of political struggle and Afrikan Self

Determination those themes become understood by the Afrikan Masses on a daily pragmatic level. The art of revolutionary literature linked with concrete social practice and scientific development can raise the consciousness of an oppressed people such as we. The function and phenomenon of conscious raising is particularly relevant to an oppressed people. It is through this aspect of **self-determination** that a people can analyze their alternatives to colonization.

Towards the advancement of a progressive consciousness of Afrikan People with regards to literature, we must clearly see the role of literary critics becoming more acute. Afrikan critics must be prepared to facilitate the grasping of progressive literary techniques by the Afrikan masses. Critics must develop the courage to lay waste to literary opportunism and a patronage system which is rotten to the core, for there can be no middle of the road application of principles in the Afrikan push for **self determination**. Our critics must become cultural maroons. They must bind up their loins and go up into the hills of Afrikan People's material reality. No longer can politico-cultural theoreticians put forth manifestoes that are not based on the objective reality of the national character of Afrikan oppression in amerika. Opportunistic criticisms which are not based on social investigation must be denounced as being **reactionary**. **No investigation—no right to speak**. Nor should critics dwell in the never-never land of the "glorious golden age" of black literature, i.e., the Harlem Renaissance, **there is work to be done now**. Too long has our literature been directed at the behest of personal interests, which too often, even though it is in house, has been governed by class interests of the Afrikan petty bourgeoisie. As an artist, the Afrikan writer must not be sucked into the stagnant sewer of art for art's sake. Breaking this down further, writing as a cultural opportunist. As an opportunist there is no allegiance to his or her people, but merely fealty to the highest bidder, which in the final analysis is the oppressor.

Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it or betray it.<sup>2</sup>

Because of our cultural nationalist tendencies (culture projected over and divorced from political activity) the concept of criticism/self criticism was not used and the tactical error of the cultist messianic figure was projected in Colonial New Afrikan Literature and Culture. Because of

the lack of clarity in the Black Nationalist camp our national liberation struggle was set back 6-8 years. We cannot afford to relive another negative historic period. In our struggle for **self determination** we must be disciplined and dedicated to Afrikan People, so the cry of cultural facism can no longer be seen as being an excuse for selling out to the oppressor:

**Our policy in art, during a transitional period, can and must be to help the various schools of art which have come over to the revolution to grasp correctly the historic meaning of the revolution, and allow complete freedom and self determination in the field of art, after putting before them the categorical standard of being for or against the revolution.**<sup>3</sup>

A practitioner of an Afrikan Art Form in amerika must be responsive to the Afrikan masses or face the criticism of being out of touch with their material reality. Along with that we must be aware that romanticizing the weaknesses of our people is not being responsive. Afrikan Writers must be responsive and responsible to the Afrikan masses, who fostered their growth and who support them; nothing that an Afrikan writer does comes from without his or her people. **Who among the ranks of the Afrikan writer can say that he or she is not a product of their people?** Writers must point out weaknesses as well as extol Afrikan strengths. Being responsible means that Afrikan writers must deal with the objective reality of his or her people, and that objective reality is that we are a **colonized** people. In dealing with that objective reality, the Afrikan writer cannot afford to be ddepoliticized. There can be no doubt that the Afrikan Nation confined in amerika exist today in an era of global confrontation with the dread scavenger, capitalism.

**The native intellectual nevertheless sooner or later will realize that you do not show proof of your nation from its culture but that you substantiate its existence in the fight which the people wage against the forces of occupation.**<sup>4</sup>

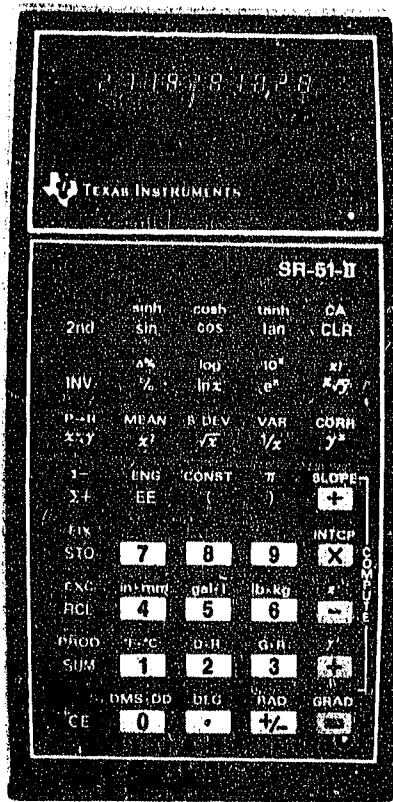
As Afrikan writers if we say we are for political struggle then our task is clear cut, we must write a struggle oriented literature, which regardless of ideological line, must be an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist literature which addressed itself to the liberation of the Afrikan masses; being mindful, on the other hand, of social and ideological, cultura, imperialism which might use the objective reality of the Afrikan masses as cannon fodder for elitist opportunism.

Where does Afrikan literature in amerika stand at this juncture in history? In alarmingly few exceptions it stands assimilative and sucking after the amerikan dream. This is the age of the Afrikan Comprador Class in amerika.

Continued on Page 9

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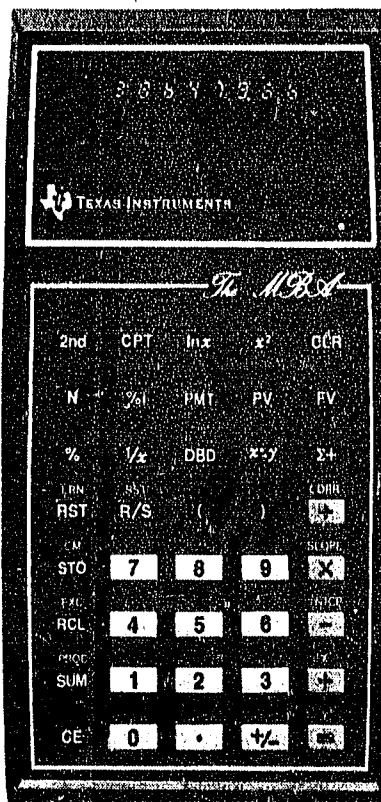
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African Literature

Continued from Page 7

Those of us who are willing to make a compromise with the capitalist system for the price of upward mobility. This upward mobility is predicated on what the Afrikan Compardor artist is willing to produce for acceptance by the amerikan mainstream. What is sanctioned by the Afrikan petty bourgeois artist defends his or her right to collaborate with capitalism with the cry of "we are individuals with the right to free expression." But what does this freedom mean when it is granted by and condoned by the colonial oppressor? What can the Afrikan petty bourgeois artist gain through this artistic freedom? The answer is the privilege of status through the act of willful collaboration with the enemy of the Afrikan masses—capitalism.

The second edge to this sword of opportunism welded by the Afrikan petty bourgeois artist is acceptance of the negative aspects of colonialism. Such as the denigration of the Black Women in the poetry of the "Douglass" Last poets, in Melvin Van Peebles' "Sweet Sweetback's Bad Assed Song," and if play "Ain't Supposed to Die A Natural Death." The promotion of the stagger lee tradition of week and violence in the Afrikan Urban Bantu Stands does not assuage the complicated situation of the colonial psychology which is the porveyor of that stagger lee tradition. As Dr. Mao Tse Tung says:

Therefore, we oppose both works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency towards the "poster and slogan style" which correct in political viewpoint, but lacking in artistic power.

If there is no progressive criterion for Afrikan literature there can be no advance in techniques. I submit that the most substantial criterior to be applied to criticism be that of political struggle. That the cry comes "but I'm telling it like it is," and "I'm just writing about human nature, it happens," does not deal with whither or not it should happen. Again:

The human nature boosted by certain petty bourgeois intellectuals is also divorced from or opposed to the masses; what they call human nature is in essence nothing but bourgeois individualism.

And also: when a people undertakes an armed struggle or even political struggle against a relentless colonialism, the significance of tradition changes. Wretched of The Earth p. 224

It can be submitted on those basis that correctly portrays the traditional blue life style does not fulfill the role of supplying a positive vision of the future.

Formalism-conservatism or traditional attitudes with regards to Afrikan literature in amerika lacks vision as a whole and does not look beyond the present state of Afrikan reality in amerika.

We force upon ourselves a realism which later proves to be more burdensome than the bricks of the building, without having erected the building which we regarded as an indispensable part of our task.

It is this formalism which allowed the Harlem Renaissance to be created (culturally) in european parlors downtown and lost to the Afrikan masses. The first Harlem Renaissance gave the Afrikan Bohemian the aura of being part of a cultural elite. Which in turn made the cultural works which they produced shrouded in a veil of mystery which could not be penetrated either by the artist or the Afrikan public who never felt the potential of the movement (culturally or politically). Historical reality changes strategies and tactics. Another Harlem Renaissance cannot serve the objective reality of a national liberation struggle ensuing in amerika advanced because of a political struggle that Afrikans fighting for bourgeois democratic reform within the capitalist system during the 60's (NAACP and early SNCC) and the struggle for self determination and Afrikan State Power (RAM, Black Panther Party and the Afrikan Peoples' Party). Because of these two trends in political activity there developed two childrens in Afrikan literature. There was on the one hand the embryonic renegade cadre of revolutionary nationalist, and cultural nationalist (towards the mid 60's) and fellow travellers versed in the rhetoric of the times but mostly politically inactive and on the other hand, the established "negro" petty bourgeois press.

The class contradiction between the two schools has remained to this day. This fact is blaring in the fact of some of those presses having taken on the trappings of bourgeois Afrikan nationalism and still following a line of revisionism and on capitalism by their prac-

tice. These presses whither nationalist or petty bourgeois capitalist can trace their beginnings to the political struggles of the Afrikan masses. Of this fraternity of Afrikan Presses and Writers:

Some of them have not come to the Revolution through literature, but have come into literature through the Revolution. JUST because they trace brief pedigree from the Revolution, they, some of them at least have an inner need to move away from the Revolution, and to protect the freedom of their work with its social demands.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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But, however grandiose the film's artistic achievements (and they are indeed), The Turning Point looms as a powerfully penetrating illustration of "making that choice one makes at the turning point in life and living with that choice"; replete with the milieu of the dance world and the intricate network of emotion within it.

At the story's opening Deedee and Emma, MacLaine and Bancroft respectively, are reunited after 20 years; the marked epoch of their fork roads. At that point in time, both women aspired to be ballet stars of the Theatre. But Deedee, after becoming pregnant, abandoned her ambitions and chose marriage and raising a family instead (still, however, possessing dance fame hunger pangs). While Emma remained fastened to her aims and eventually received large acclaim as a ballerina.

Now, these lifelong friends are together again in Oklahoma City where Deedee resides and operates a rather successful ballet school. This is where the company has taken its show for two nights. Old envious, old recriminations, and old rivalries crawl out from their respective holes (No Gasp here).

The Turning Point is somewhat more than a special blend of the two elements—family life and dance-theatre—depicted in the film. It is, rather, a thought provoking study of established ideas of women concerning marriage and career; given a romantic, exciting, and often illusory attractiveness with the mystique of dance. The complications associated with these motivations and/or fixed notions, however, take on many forms; one being the solicitude of having perhaps made the wrong decision.

Deedee still dreams of ballet stardom. The relish of having a promising young daughter (Emilia, enchantingly played by Leslie Browne) has more or less always been an imaginary trophy poised atop the mantel piece or in the family showcase . . . perhaps the only truly significant trophy, even, if only of sentimental substance. Paradoxically, at one stage in the film, a deep breath is very much needed when Deedee's daughter becomes involved with a Russian dancer (Yuri, played by Mikhail Baryshnikov), xerox copying the circumstances which led to the choice her mother made 20 years ago. But the affair is shortlived.

Those credited with stirring the large spoons in the making of this most absorbingly entertaining soap are director Herbert Ross, former dancer and choreographer; screen writer Auther Laurents, and Mr. Ross' wife Nora Kaye, executive producer and former ballerina. This is a most affluent package of ingredients, to say the least.

The Turning Point, an authentic narrative written with a cognizance of people's needs and emotions, allows the viewing audience to analyze for themselves the choices that these two women made—thus discovering (along with the two of them) that intrinsically each made the right one. For even Emma, who chose success and bit in it with all her teeth, nonetheless envied Deedee for all she stood for: A wife and mother. But it isn't until the latter portion of our story that these two women come to terms with themselves.

There is a very funny, warm, and moving scene near the end of the film in which Deedee and Emma are touching noses in a "final showdown" confrontation on an elegant patio just outside the American Ballet Theatre.

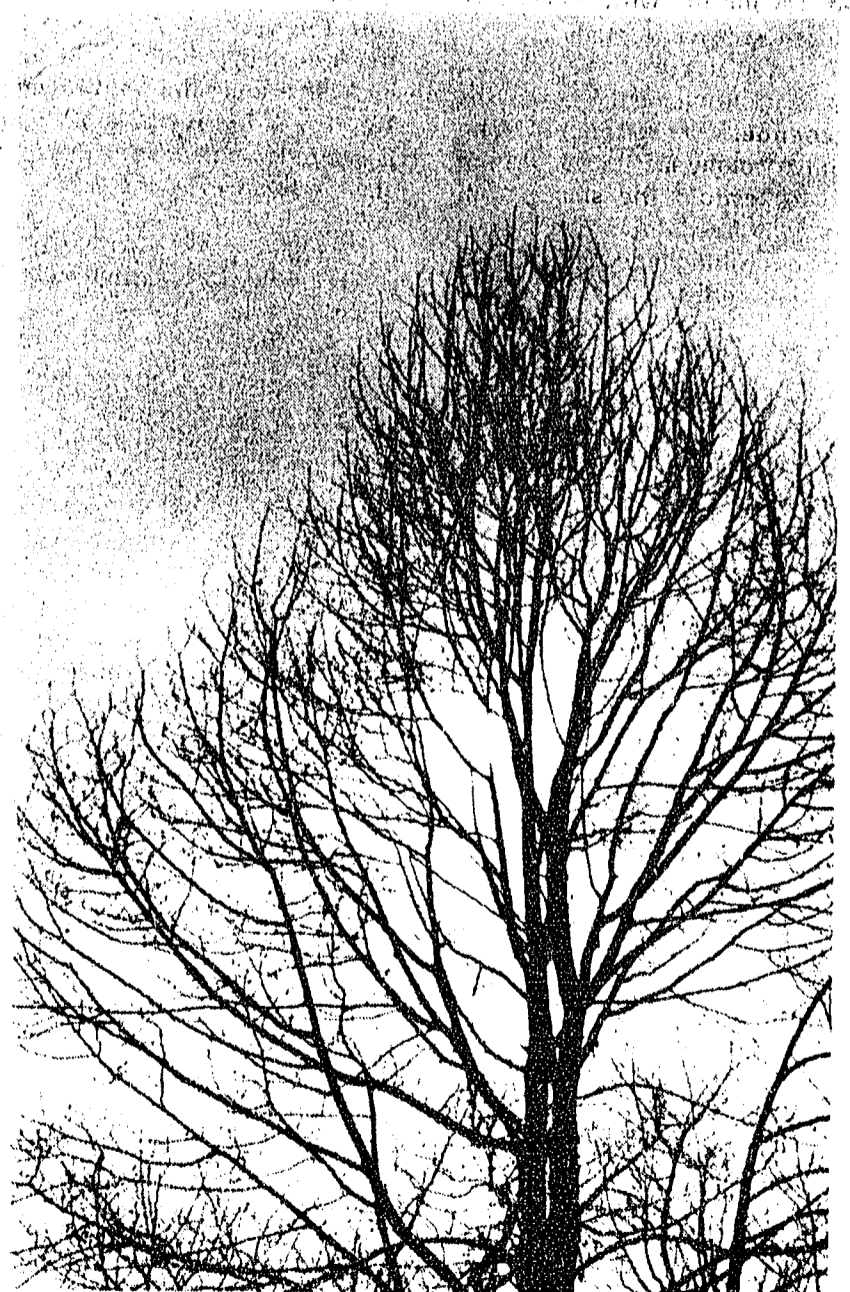
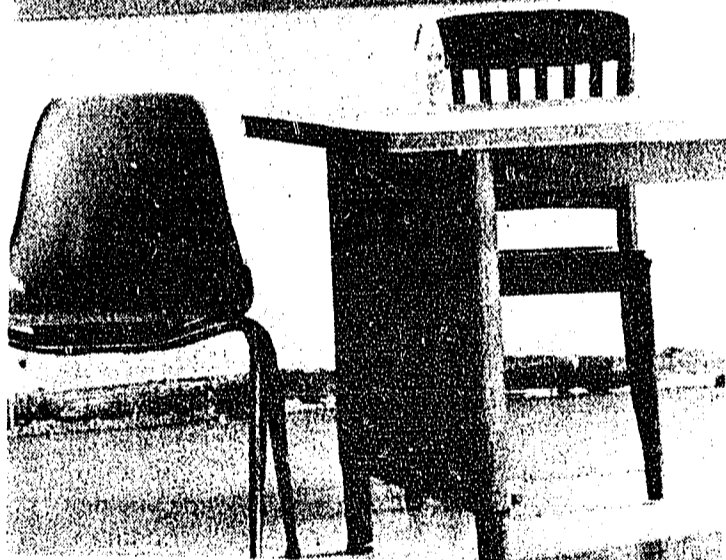
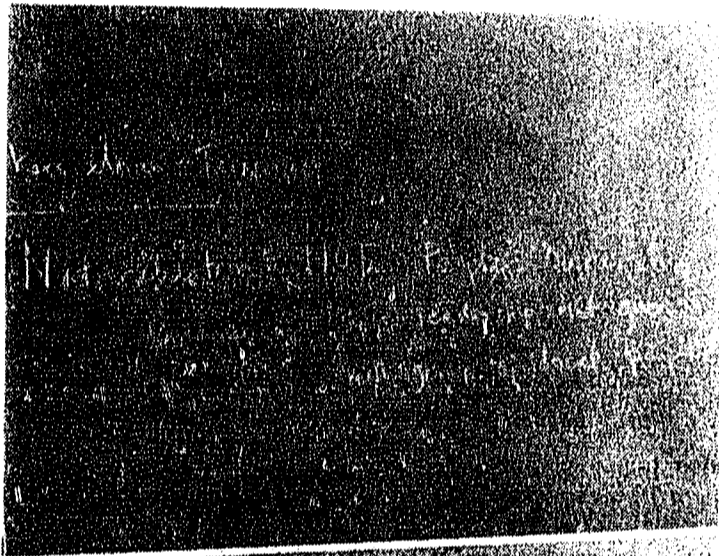
Continued on Page 12

Save on Calculators Hewlett-Packard Texas Instruments Specials. Advertisement listing various calculator models and prices.

The Turning Point by Ken Jones

Little wonder why thoughts of 'karat glitter' were on my mind during and after the film, The Turning Point. What with (if you'll pardon my pun) two gems of a performance by actresses Ann Bancroft and Shirley MacLaine, juxtaposed with an elegantly choreographed foreground featuring guest artists from the American Ballet Theatre, performing such renowned excerpts as Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Giselle, and others.

# Photographic Insights



Photography by Pedro Delpin



## Self-Determination

Continued from Page 5

see the same course of events in every territory. Whenever the slaves were able they flee the plantations or take them over to manage themselves. They set up their own organs of self-rule. There is no West Indian or African nation that cannot be proud of this legacy. Then in 1804 the greatest revolutionary event in the 19th century erupted. Following a long period of revolutionary struggle, the Black slaves tore down the French flag and proclaimed the new nation of Haiti. For twelve years the slaves fought unaided, not just the French, but defeated the military and diplomatic armies of Britain and Spain.

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

We feel it is no accident that Haiti has been nearly bypassed in the history of revolutionary struggles and national liberation movements. Among English writers, only the Black Marxist-Leninist C. L. R. James has treated that revolution with necessary seriousness in a long study.

In the u.s.a. the Black Liberation movement showed its independent existence. The Spanish colony in Florida was not able to restrain the slaves from fleeing to freedom in the forests and establishing independent, self-governing settlements. The French could not stop them in the vast Louisiana territory. The American colonist themselves revolted against England. Slaves in large numbers went over to the British side seeing an opportunity to seize their independence and destroy their slavemasters. The British offered independence as a necessary condition to employing these courageous Black men in their armies. Other slaves proposed to George Washington that they would fight with the American colonist against British colonialism if their freedom would be guaranteed. At first Washington refused. Later they had no choice but to accept. Washington himself wrote that "success will depend upon which side can arm the negro faster." It was this decisive act of massive numbers of slaves fighting on the side of the colonist that helped to save the "American Revolution."

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

feature of the "American Revolutionary War." The later betrayal of this drive for Black self-determination by the 'bourgeoisie' and later by white labor was to recur over and over. Following the war and the betrayals, the slaves still continued to organize themselves. In Virginia under the leadership of Gabriel Prosser in 1800, they organized for the capture of Black state power. Gabriel's plan was to seize the capital, destroy the power of the slaveowners and establish a new Black state. Only a natural calamity and later an act of betrayal prevented his plan from being put into action. This was one of the largest organized plans for freedom uncovered. It compares with the organization that Denmark Vesey headed in 1822.

Vesey was greatly influenced by the Haitian revolution and the continuous revolts that were taken place on the plantations in America. Like Gabriel, he fully intended to establish a new Black state after smashing the power of the slave masters. Again an act of betrayal prevented success. Yet the remarkable fact is that the ten to fifty thousand men and women estimated to be a part of the organization gives only an inkling of what mass support existed for bold actions to gain freedom. The revolt carried out by Nat Turner in 1831 electrified the African population in the u.s.a. and shocked the slaveowners. What was his intention? Again, it was to end the domination of the slave owners over the slaves and construct a Black Republic.

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

It was these ceaseless acts that prevented unity between the northern capitalists and the southern slavers during various periods as the abolitionist movement and the underground railroad. Most of the abolitionists as well as the conductors of the underground railroad were Blacks.

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

This still did not halt the drive towards Black freedom. Prior to the civil war Blacks had organized throughout the south and north in widespread, secret, underground organizations. One of them, the Knights of Tabor (Knights of Liberty) was poised to

strike down the slavocracy, abolish slavery and proclaim a sovereign nation.

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

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

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

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

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

Thus the domination of the slaveowners was reestablished. Even so, efforts as the Port Royal experience<sup>13</sup> and the example of soldiers in Mississippi obtaining land collectively demonstrated that Blacks were still determined to fight against the plantation economy and the bourgeoisie. The betrayal of the bourgeoisie, the rise of the white fascist terrorism, and counter-revolutionary acts of white labor all combined to deal a blow to post-reconstruction liberation efforts by the Black freedmen.

Similar events occurred throughout the populist movement, the period of Booker T. Washington, Garvey, the Southern Tenants Farmers Union movement, formation of the IWW, CIO, Civil Rights movement and on to the present.<sup>14</sup> During all this time the self activity of the Black masses remained constant.

With 350 years of history on this continent the independent nature of Black people's struggle is clear. At every opportunity, whether it was fleeing to freedom in the swamps and forests, disrupting the

plantation economy, revolting or striking, the movement has been towards self-determination.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1 The Pan African Secretariat was formed after a Seminar of Panafricanists and Black Revolutionary Nationalists in Georgetown, Guyana 1970. The seminar was called by three Caribbean organizations, ASCRIA in Guyana, the Forum in St. Vincent, and the Afro-Caribbean Movement in Antigua. The PAS was the organization that initiated African Liberation Day in 1971 from its headquarters in Guyana. That call reached Africans from Peru to Belize to Australia.

2 CRAC was formed in 1972 following a serious meeting of revolutionaries from Cayenne, Guyana, Africa, and the u.s.a., and members of the Pan African Secretariat. Its duties were eventually taken over by the Caribbean Steering Committee of the Sixth Pan African Congress.

3 Earl Ofari, *Let Your Motto Be Resistance*. Henry Highland Garnet, Beacon Press, 1972, p. x.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

7 Ofari, Earl, "Marxism-Leninism: the key to Black liberation" in *Black Scholar*, vol. 4, #1, Sept. 1972, pp. 35-40.

8 Again, what would the "revolutionary nationalists" of Vietnam have thought of this! Was not the anti-French colonialist, anti-u.s. imperialist content of Vietnamese nationalism an essential ingredient to defeat the French and begin building socialism in the North and force the u.s.a. to depart in the South? Finally, no one has made any more master use of marxism than the Vietnamese, despite their nationalism.

9 Rene Depestre, "A New Identity for Haiti," *Tricontinental* #13. It is fashionable in chic ostensibly Marxist Black circles to denigrate the Haitian revolution. These dillettantes in revolutionary thought have not seriously studied dialectically this grand revolution. To understand why the revolution's objectives have been significantly distorted it must be kept in mind the following quote by a Haitian revolutionary:

"But in the conditions of that epoch (1804) in which growing international capitalism leaned upon the colonial slavery in Africa and the Americas (and thus determined the future of humanity) it was extremely

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S.E.E.K. Continued from Page 3

making such a shift. The document is extremely detailed and often inconsistent and contradictory. It tends to be too detailed and too prescriptive. It should establish clear, workable guidelines for departmental status, appointment procedures and retention of faculty."

Furthermore, this document appears at a time when new procedures from the Board of Regents are being implemented this semester. These procedures would merge all monies allocated for SEEK administrative staff into the college's regular budget for administration. Whereas before the SEEK department hired and evaluated its own administrative staff, with funding earmarked for SEEK administration, this responsibility is now being taken from under their control.

It is no accident that these changes are coming at a time when many officials and media are questioning the success of the SEEK program. However, in Prof. McDonald's words, "SEEK has been a success . . . , especially here at City College where we have roughly 20% of the SEEK students in the university and have graduated approximately 40% of the SEEK students who have graduated from CUNY. . . ." Referring to SEEK he said, "it is the largest and most successful of the compensatory programs in the United States and should be strengthened, not withered away." All across the country programs like SEEK have demonstrated that ". . . colleges can develop programs to retain students and compensate for the shortcomings of their earlier school education."

In the era of the Bakke decision, and the imposition of tuition, when programs (like open admission) designed to "compensate" for the centuries of exploitation and discrimination suffered by Blacks and other non-whites are being axed, it should not surprise us that the SEEK program is being dismantled. With the availability of meaningful jobs rapidly declining it is clear why programs like SEEK do not have the support of the teachers and other established unions, not to mention the establishment press. What is becoming obvious is that the City University, like many other institutions across this country, has never made a real commitment to equal opportunity for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. These institutions represent the backbone of American society, and as such, they are fundamentally racist.

### Self Determination

Continued from Page 11

difficult—if not impossible—for a small country controlled by a revolutionary regime of Black anti-slavery revolutionaries surrounded by slave economies of the West Indies and the United States to develop an independent economy. The capitalist countries imposed upon us a sort of economic blockade, and refused us credit and technical equipment so vital to us after a dozen years of devastating war. Leaning upon the military chiefs and the enormous import-export commerce in foreign hands,

they succeeded in making our country into a semi-colony, thus condemning the Haitian masses to misery." (HAITI: A Black Revolution Will Repeat Itself, SOULBOOK 5, p. 78, Summer, 1966, by Paul Lantimo, translated from the Spanish text of a speech given in Havana, Cuba, 1965 at an anti-Imperialist conference.

10- Aime Cesaire, lettre a Maurice Thorez, Secetaire Generale du Parti Communiste Francais, 24 Oct., 1956.

11- Karl Marx's friend Joseph Weydemeyer and other trade unionists were not exceptions. Weydemer formed the Arbeiterbund in 1853 which advocated Marxian socialism, but the organization never got a clear attitude on slavery. In April 1858 the new organ of the Arbeiterbund wrote, ". . . the question of the present moment is not abolition of slavery, but the prevention of its further extension and that Negro slavery was firmly rooted in America." pg. 24, DuBois *Black Reconstruction*.

12- The most popular lines of the song were: "the right to be killed I'll divide with the nigger/and give him the largest half." The gist of the ballad was that every bullet stopped by a Black man saved the life of some white man. The song was so successful in getting white labor to accept Blacks in Union Army uniforms that Lincoln was prompted to say "That song is good and will do well." See J.A. Rogers, *Africa's Gift to America*, pg. 167.

13- The Port Royal experience is one of the most infamous betrayals of the Black masses during Reconstruction. Port Royal is a town located on a South Carolina Sea Island. The town was occupied by Union troops during the early years of the Civil War. Many Union officers saw that they could win the allegiance of the slaves by temporarily satisfying the African's demands for land. With the support of the Treasury Department, slaves were given food, shelter, and land to cultivate. The Africans, after being able to manage the land by themselves, had to use armed resistance to keep their land after the Andrew Johnson presidential proclamation of 1865. The proclamation ordered that the land be sold for taxes (to the young rising finance capitalists of the North) and left the ex-slaves to work for new masters in some cases for their old masters. (DuBois, *Black Reconstruction*, particularly the chapters on "The General Strike" and "South Carolina").

14- An example of the vacillation of white labor and the recurrent problem of Black and White unity is evident in the statements of the white populist

leader, Tom Watson. In 1892, he said of Blacks and Whites: "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings, you are made to hate each other because on that hatred is rested the keystone of the arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both." In 1910, he said of Blacks: "In the South we have to lynch him occasionally and flog him now and then to keep him from blaspheming the Almighty by his conduct on account of his smell and color."

Africans And Continued from Page 16

No colonized or semi-colonized people will be free until all colonized and semi-colonized peoples are free. The Underclass will never be able to totally liberate itself until Imperialism, Neo-Colonialism and all its supporters are destroyed. The Black underclass has nothing to secure and to fortify in the present decadent world, while the European proletariat does (the U.S.—European way of life, economic standard of living). The Underclass mission is to destroy all previous and present securities and insurances of European bourgeoisie society.

History shows us that the European proletarian movement was a European nationalist movement; its interest being of the European working class basically in the different European countries, thereby being a movement of the "minority" in relation to the vast majority of the world. The Third World Internationalist Movement is the movement of the Underclass (the vast majority of the world) organized independent of the European proletarian movement and in the interest of the overwhelming majority of the world's population—the Asian, African, Afro-American, South and Central American peoples.

In world society, the Underclass being the lowest stratum, cannot achieve national liberation, self-determination or Power without the whole of U.S.-European society being completely destroyed. the first stage of the struggle for liberation of the Underclass against the white overclass is a national struggle. The Underclass must struggle against the particular imperialist power that is directly oppressing it nationally, but it must be remembered that the backer of all imperialism today is U.S. Imperialism. Therefore, while waging a war of liberation against its immediate oppressor, it must also wage war against U.W. Imperialism internationally.

Since the end of the second imperialist war, U.S. Imperialism has become the leader of world imperialism. "Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples, plundering their wealth; encroaching upon their countries' sovereignty and interfering in their internal affairs. It is the most rabid aggressor in known history and the most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world. Every people or country in the world that wants revolution, independence

and peace cannot direct the spearhead of its struggle against U.S. Imperialism...The U.S. Imperialist's policy of seeking world domination makes it possible for the people throughout the world to unite all the forces that can be united and form the broadest possible united front for a conveying attack on U.S. Imperialism..."

Successful movements of the Black underclass against the white overclass, since the end of the second imperialist war, have taken the form of "peoples war." The nature of these peoples wars are protracted wars that mobilize the mass of the "Black Underclass to form national democratic revolutions." The revolution embraces in its ranks not only workers, peasants, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, but also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats...but is led by the working class peasant element of the Black Underclass.

"What the bloodsucking imperialists have wanted all along is a free hand in exploiting the riches of the oppressed peoples' lands. Finding it impossible and too costly, both politically and militarily, to continue maintaining direct control of Africa, the imperialists came to rely more and more upon their puppets and they found that these dedicated lackies are able to get the job done for them. They are still able to drain off the fabulous riches of Africa and thereby continue to enjoy a life of luxury and splendor in the mother country at the expense of Africa.

There is no country in Africa that has an independent economy. Those that are not in the clutches of the Western imperialists are dependent either upon the Soviet Union or China. The monopoly which these developed countries have on technology is the key means through which they are able to control the economics of African countries. Also, by blocking their products on the world market, the imperialists are able to force Third World countries to their knees, thus forcing them to capitulate to their economic demands.

Continued Next Issue

### Turning Point

Continued from Page 9

Initially, interchanging at various instances with ballet excerpts being performed inside the building, the camera concentrates on the two women—hands on hips (or flinging arms), bending slightly into each other as they stand face to face. The argument turns into a wrestling match, with both women trying in vain to throw the other to the ground. Then both women break down into laughter . . . we join in.

REALIZE

YOUR

STRENGTH

JOIN THE PAPER

Reprinted from "Who Pays The Cost"  
**A PLACE I NEVER BEEN**  
 (especially for Malcolm X)

by Louis Reyes Rivera

Was you there?  
 Was you  
 ever there?

in a place you never been  
 but you knew you was there before  
 and you was never there]  
 I was  
 in a place I knew me to be  
 when I was never really there.

I was there.  
 On a sunny Harlem Sunday  
 I was there.  
 Was you]  
 In a ball/room  
 on a beaming/gleaming Harlem corner  
 in a sunny/sunset ballroom  
 did you hear]  
 In a shiny/shining  
 Wild/life ballroom  
 did you hear the bullet cry?  
 Did you see the man fall?  
 On a bright and bosom Sunday  
 on a bosom bright  
 street jammed,  
 "spare me a dime,"  
 stale bread bosom brother  
 Sunny Sunday Harlem  
 was you there?  
 Did you see the bullet who cried?  
 Did you hear the man's fall?  
 I was there.  
 In a crowd of pride and treason;  
 In a chill filled room of  
 mobs and patriots in a crowded  
 crowded of pride and treason  
 where scared scars was ducking  
 on scared screams ducking on  
 scared scowls ducking  
 cause they heard the bullet cry,

**DUCK!**

cause they heard the reason the  
 bullet cried,

**DUCK!**

as the man showed the marks  
 old shackles left behind  
 as his back arched tall  
 breaking shackles left behind  
 I heard the bullet cry,

Noooooohhh.  
**NOT MEEEE!**

I saw the man fall  
 in a place I never was  
 where I must have been before  
 I saw the man fall.

Did you?  
 Did you ever?  
 Did you ever try to be  
 where you never could have been  
 yet some/how you had to be there?  
 On the 21st of the 2nd month  
 in a double/aisle room/tight  
 dancing/jumping/balling floor  
 did you hear?  
 Did you hear the gush of puddles  
 gushing from a podium bench?  
 Did you see the barrel stock  
 kicking back a shotgun swing?

Did you hear the pellets fly?  
 Did you see the knowledge flow?  
 Did you hear his woman's feet  
 did you hear his woman?  
 Did you see his woman's feet  
 did you see his woman

climbing over and up over up  
 over up and over faced/down  
 rows of turned down faces?  
 Did you hear his woman's plea,

"That's my husband!  
 That's my husband!"

Was you there?

Did you go?  
 Did you go?  
 Did you go to hear a poem in his every word  
 did you hear a poem in his every word  
 did you hear a poem?  
 Was you there?  
 Did you go?  
 Did you feel the hollow caves  
 of starving ear/drums  
 did you feed the hollow crave  
 of ear/drums starving?  
 Did you go to hear his song  
 did you hear him sing?

I was there.  
 In a place I could never be  
 I saw the bullet's tears  
 tearing/ I was there  
 In a place I could never be  
 I heard the bullet's tears  
 tearing/ I was there.  
 I saw the bullet shiver  
 The lonely bullet shiver and push  
 shiver and crush through the  
 horn/rimmed frames of a strong  
 man's peace/ I heard the bullet cry

**WHY ME?**

Why me!  
**DON'T MAKE ME DO IT!**  
 Don't make me!

taking aim at courage  
 I heard the bullet cry  
 taking aim at courage  
 I saw the bullet cry.

Did you?  
 Did you!  
 Was you there  
 was you?  
 Was you turning over chair holes  
 finding no room for cover space  
 was you turning over chair holes  
 finding no room  
 was you turning over chairs  
 while the man was falling  
 and the bullet begging  
 as the man was falling  
 and the bullet limping  
 as the man was falling  
 and the bullet breaking  
 And the bullet breaking  
 and the bullet breaking through  
 the throb/throb throbbing corner  
 of a people's heart/stream  
 turning chairs over chairs  
 finding no room/ was you there!?

Was you  
 In a place you never been  
 but somehow  
 you was there some/how  
 and you was never there?

I was there.  
 In a place I had to be  
 to hear the bullet cry

**MURDER!**

to see our manhood fall

**MURDER!**

to watch a part of me  
 fall.

I was there

on a sunny harlem sunday  
 in a place I never been  
 on the 21st of the 2nd  
 in a room I can't forget  
 on a stage I never seen  
 with a man I barely knew

I saw the bullet  
 cry.  
 I heard the man fall.

We Are Living In A Time

We are living in a time,  
 When the face value of the dollar bill  
 is greater than that of the next door neighbors;  
 When the wildest of fantasies,  
 Have become the most Real Issues,  
 And when the human being is at the lowest rung  
 On the ladder of development.  
 Ours is a society  
 Born of a lost faith,  
 That manifest corruption, degradation, and  
 A conscious hatred for nearly all persons.  
 The monetary note reigns supreme  
 In the land of the free, and the home of the brave,  
 And those who have no banners to wave  
 Can not sing the songs  
 They can only hum to the tunes  
 Of Treachery and Deceit,  
 That bring every man to attention  
 With his hand over his heart,  
 And his mind at his feet.  
 We are the rats that the cats want to eat:  
 But everything is cool.  
 Because we, being hip rats  
 Realize that while the cats  
 Are busy classifying us citizens,  
 We must classify ourselves from within;  
 Knowing that what lies without is but a game,  
 And what grows within remains the same,  
 Unchanged, except by intellect and understanding  
 And that my friends is true beauty  
 Not Purchasable at  
 Lord and Taylors or Saks Fifth Avenue.  
 You see,  
 Inner Peace is a precious plane  
 Maintained by those who are sane in heart and mind.  
 But sometimes our vanity overshadows our sanity,  
 So what we've got to remember is  
 That this is his game we are playing,  
 And no matter how hard we try,  
 We can never be a master at his game  
 Until we have mastered our own.

Marcy Antoinette Joseph

**DISCREET**

People who nonchalantly carry  
 conversations aloud  
 on crowded subway trains or elevator cars  
 or buses when all else are crouched,  
 must no doubt be immune to fear and/or  
 death, or live quite adventurous lives:  
 Strutting through deathly darkness without squinting,  
 or wearing white pajamas in a black bedroom.

—Ken Jones

Its Just Around The Corner

As you do the do  
 And you hang the hang,  
 You wonder what is this thing your life.  
 Is it a five existence, in an unrealistic world;  
 Or is it an unrealistic world, filled with five existences]  
 Hey! What can you say  
 Besides what you know and feel;  
 And though you know it's not totally right  
 You fight yourself  
 To become someone else's anybody  
 Instead of the somebody you already are.  
 What are you doing to yourself and your health]  
 Are you trying to understand  
 The Creation of Man,  
 The origin of Life,  
 The origin of Land]  
 If You're trying to understand  
 You might become a better man  
 But you've got to give a hand  
 To help the masters plan.  
 You must open up your mind  
 To the Peace and Love you'll find  
 Hidden in your soul:  
 You must evaporate the hate  
 For it is never too late  
 To open up your eyes and speculate:  
 No time for lies; No time for hate  
 Truth awaits you at its gate.  
 Open the door  
 And you will see  
 Your soul shining bright  
 Eternally.

Marcy Antoinette Joseph

**EDITOR'S COMMENT**

This is the second part of "Africans and World Revolution." The first part appeared under the main title "Africans and World Revolution." This part will be subtitled, "The Principle Contradiction In The World and The Line Of Revolutionary Internationalists." The conclusion, including the footnotes, will be called "The Underclass and Revolutionary Internationalists."

**THE PRINCIPLE CONTRADICTION IN THE WORLD AND THE LINE OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISTS:**

by Muhammad Ahmad

"The problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line."<sup>10</sup>

The contradiction between the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the imperialists headed by the United States is the principle contradiction in the contemporary world. The development of this contradiction is prompting the struggle of the people of the whole world against United States imperialism and its lackeys."<sup>11</sup>

**COMMON GRIEVANCES AMONG AFRICAN, ASIAN, SOUTH, CENTRAL AMERICAN AND CARRIBEAN PEOPLES AGAINST THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN:**

For over 400 years the European has attempted to impose his will on non-European peoples, the majority of the world. As his society developed from the international trade of African men, women, and children as slaves, stealing families, tribes from their homes, the European uprooted society in Africa and brought slavery to the "New World," North, South, Central America and the Caribbean.

The European (ruling class) Bourgeoisie in order to pacify its own contradiction, developed the concept of racism, exploitation and enslavement on the basis of race. This was done in order to justify their international system of exploitation of man by mankind. The system of capitalism developed to a large extent from the slave trader, later developed into imperialism, capitalism's highest stage of development; imperialism developed to neo-colonialism, the last stage of imperialism. The imperialists have spread the system of racism into Asia and have developed an international racial system of which the European is on top: "White is right" and has developed an international curtain based on color, limiting the areas of peaceful communication between the haves and the have nots. The non-European majority of the world have come to find that their common enemy is/has been the European and his younger wild brother, the white American, unjust and unfit for world leadership and have found them to be barbarians to man and an

outlaw to universal harmony and peace. The European and European-American by their own crimes and injustices to man have set the stage for their own destruction.

The principle contradiction in the world is between imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, and the colonies, between the haves and have nots. This contradiction manifests on both a class and race basis. In the present situation race predominates the question of class because the exploitation of the have nots though initially perpetrated on class lines as of the present, maintains itself on racial lines. Class becomes interlocked with race in the primary manifestation of the principle contradiction. It becomes pertinent to analyze the present state and to draw a clear line for the future. In order for this contradiction be resolved, imperialism, capitalism and all that maintains the systems of exploitation must be destroyed by the have nots. The destruction of these systems will mean the end of class exploitation and will also mean the end of (racial) exploitation. The European forces have consolidated along racial lines and maintain their exploitation on the basis of racial lines. The world revolution will be a racial war between the have, imperialists, and the have nots—majority of the world: at the same time being a class war between the Underclass and the White exploiting class to eliminate the class system—capitalism. The line of revolutionary internationalists is that the Underclass is the vanguard of the world revolution.

**THE EUROPEAN RULING CLASS, WORKING CLASS AND THE UNDERCLASS:**

The European ruling class (bourgeoisie) duped the European middle class (petty bourgeoisie) and the European working class (proletariat) into believing that it was to their interests to oppress peoples in the colonies (Africa, Asia, South and Central America) and enslave Africans in America in the form of chattel slavery. They did this so that the European middle class and European working class would not see the class contradictions and antagonisms in Europe and to keep them from uniting with the have nots and seize power. The European working class in not dealing with the cultural (racial) contradictions of the world, became a tool of imperialism, revisionism and other counter-revolutionary forces.

Dr. DuBois foresaw and correctly analyzed the principle contradiction of the Twentieth Century in 1902 in the *Souls of Black Folk*. These cultural (race) contradictions existed even at the time Marx and Engels were writing the "Communist Manifesto." Marxism being primarily a European movement did not have to deal "intellectually" with the cultural (racial) contradictions until after the October revolution.

Lenin, the architect of the October Bolshevik Russian

Revolution, analyzed that the European working class being racist had allowed the bourgeoisie to consolidate capitalism internationally to develop "Imperialism." Lenin developed the thesis that the principle contradiction was between oppressing nations and oppressed nations. Lenin pleaded for the European working class to rally to the support of the oppressed nations before the avenues of communications and working class unity broke down. This he described vividly in the *Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. Lenin's hope was for the European working class to rally to support the October Russian Revolution.

Even Lenin could not deal thoroughly with the racial contradictions for at the Second Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1920, M.N. Roy of India challenged and debated Lenin on the future world revolution. Roy's position was the world revolutionary initiative was going to come from Asia and the European proletariat would be led by colonial revolutions while Lenin, a European, did not foresee the hopelessness of the European proletariat. As far as he was concerned, Roy had taken the matter a little too far. Lenin stated that he saw and recognized the emergence of national bourgeois revolutions in the colonies (Asia, Africa, etc.), but did not see where they would become the vanguard of the world revolution. ¶§

Roy and Lenin debated for hours to a draw. Although the second Congress of the Communist (third) International approved and adopted both Roy's and Lenin's thesis, Roy's was seldom referred to and little heard of. History has proven Lenin wrong. The initiative came from Asia. Stalin likewise followed in Lenin's shoes of remaining indifferent to racial contradictions. While Stalin wrote *On the National Question* he manipulated the American Communist Party to use the Afro-American Liberation struggle to benefit Russian European Nationalism. The American Communist Party fought, subverted and helped crush Marcus Garvey, who refused to be controlled by them (the American racist communists). By helping to crush Garvey, they helped no one but the European Bourgeoisie because Garvey threatened their control over Africa and other colonies. The American Communist Party later dropped the "Negro struggle" to form a united front against fascism. They urged everyone to support Roosevelt (orders coming from Stalin who had a pact with Roosevelt after Hitler attacked Russia). The Communist Party even opposed A. Phillip Randolph's proposed March on Washington in 1941 against job discrimination against Blacks in federal government contracted work. Time and again the American Communist Party sold the African-American out for the "Mother Country."<sup>12</sup>

George Padmore's disillusionment with Stalin came while he was head of "Negro Affairs" in Moscow. He saw Stalin make opportunistic maneuvers with the African Liberation Movement in order to "save the Mother Country." In China, Stalin made disastrous blunders which almost cost the lives of the entire Chinese Communist movement. M.N. Roy, who had been sent to China, by Stalin, to assess the situation was soon to disagree with Stalin over his China policy and had to flee the Communist movement for fear of his life. All Black (Africa, Asia, South, Central and Afro-America) movements were set back and suffered many losses at the expense of Russian nationalism. Padmore attempted to deal with the racial contradictions by organizing the Fifth Pan African Congress held in 1945 in Manchester, England. Padmore's experiences were similar to the experiences other brothers suffered with the European Communists, particularly between the French Communists and African and Asian revolutionaries.<sup>14</sup>

The racial contradictions began to manifest more when the Chinese Communists came to power in China. Long struggling against the social chauvinism (racism) of the Soviet Union, the emergence of Revolutionary China began to polarize racial and class contradictions within the world, in both the bourgeoisie imperialist camp and also in the European bourgeois Communist-Socialist camp.

The modern European Communist-Socialist society, that has sprouted from the weak spots in European capitalist society, though eliminating major class antagonisms, have not done away with racial antagonisms. It has but established new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of old ones.

The failure of European Communist-Socialist camp and its intelligentsia—Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky—to deal comprehensively with the international racial curtain formed by capitalism in its highest stage, imperialism, has led to the consolidation of the chauvinistic cultural aspects of capitalism in all parts of the western world and has led to revisionism among the European Communist countries.

**THE HISTORICAL QUESTION—UNITE OR PERISH:**

The present era presents a historical question for the European proletariat; the European must either unite with the (third world) have nots, the vast majority of the world, or perish with the European bourgeoisie and revisionist Marxist leaders in the world revolution.

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Photography by Seitu Oronde

Africans And *Continued from Page 14*

Lin Piao stated in *Long Live People's War*: "Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called the cities of the world, then Africa, Asia, and Latin America constitute the rural areas of the world... In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas. In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the African, Asian, and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population."<sup>13</sup>

**THE INTERNATIONAL RACIAL CURTAIN:**

"Each historical situation develops in its own dynamics. The close links between class and race developed in Africa alongside capitalist exploitation. Slavery, the master-servant relationship, and cheap labour were basic to it. The classic example is South Africa, where Africans experience a double exploitation, both on the ground of color and of class. Similar conditions exist in the U.S.A., the Carribean, in Latin America, and in other parts of the world where the nature of the development of productive forces has resulted in a racist class structure.

In these areas, even shades of color count—the degree of blackness being a yardstick by which social status is measured.

While a racist social structure is not inherent in the colonial situation, it is inseparable from capitalist economic development. For race is inextricably linked with class exploitation; in a racist-capitalist power structure, capitalist exploitation and race oppression are complementary; the removal of one ensures the removal of the other.

In the modern world, *the race struggle has become part of the class struggle*. In other words, **wherever there is a race problem it has become linked with the class struggle.**<sup>14</sup>

All of European society becomes the Overclass or colonial overseer, oppressor classes. All of the non-white peoples have been victims of this system that has been formed by the European, built on the concept of his racial superiority, in order to justify his "minority" rule of the world. The racial system has been established for a period of *five hundred years and is embedded as a way of life in European society and transplanted throughout the rest of the world*. The essence of world revolution being a total "Social Revolution" is not just the elimination of the reactionary political and economic institutions of the old order, but also the social and cultural institutions, of the old order. The international racial system predetermines all relations between third world peoples and European, regardless of class (economic and political), status or position. Class becomes interlocked with race. *In order for third world peoples to revolutionize the world, they must destroy the racial system, European racial*

*"cultural" superiority, at the same time destroying the class system.*

This means the destruction of the existing reactionary European way of life and the submission of the European to the revolutionary peoples—the Black Underclass of the world.

Cultural (racial antagonisms in contemporary world society as a whole are more and more splitting up into great hostile camps; into two classes directly facing each other—the white overclass (haves) and the third world Underclass (have nots). Since... "In the final analysis, the whole cause of world revolution hinges on the revolutionary struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples who make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population"<sup>15</sup> the world revolution takes on a different character. It takes on a racial character or nature of being largely a world "Black" revolution. The third world revolution is a new democratic revolution of the world's majority **rising up, seizing power and destroying** the international racial system created by the oppressor. At the same time it **destroys** the foundations of **capitalism**, the class system. This stage is the first step for the transformation to a world communalist society. The World Revolution is different from all others. It must be a revolution against the international racial (European-American racial social-chauvinism) system, Imperialism, capitalism and neo-colonialism, **led by the non-white masses** of the world under the leadership of the Revolutionary peasantry (working class element of the Underclass). The World Revolution embraces in its ranks all classes within the Underclass for a final showdown with imperialism.

**ECONOMIC WHITEMAIL AND THE SOVIET-U.S. AXIS:**

Sometime ago the U.S. and some 'other powers' decided that to have a nuclear World War III would kill 700 to 800 million people, most of whom would be Europeans and Americans (white people)\* but that there would be plenty of yellow, Black, brown and red people left to "inherit the earth." These powers stated that the majority of the world was colored and that a world revolution would mean the dark majority would come to power.

\*Note: There are approximately 500 million white people living in Europe and the U.S.

**WORLD REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVE AND LEADERSHIP IN THE HANDS OF THE UNDERCLASS:**

M.N. Roy of India in the Second Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1920 stated that the proletariat and revolutionary movement in Europe was dependent upon the course of the revolution in Asia; if the Western European working class was going to cause a revolution, they would in essence do it in order to save their own skins. In stating this, Roy actually **repudiated**

Marx's theory that "the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class."<sup>16</sup>

Roy saw that from the colonies and semi-colonies the proletariat reaped the benefits of super profits (standard of European living) and were not about to give it up. Lenin also saw this but failed to see that the revolution would be led by the third world because he, like Trotsky, thought the "permanent revolution" was coming from Europe. "Lenin saw clearly what Marx, having died before Imperialism attained its zenith, was unable to foresee; namely, the gradual corruption of the European Socialist movements through "**Bourgeoisification**."

The capitalist system, which Marx had so brilliantly analyzed had, in Lenin's lifetime, reached out into the remotest corners of the earth—into Asia and Africa—drawing the great continents into its tentacles and squeezing super profits from the toil of hundreds of millions... Lenin's thesis was that Western world scale and whole continents and countries, Africa, China, India, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, etc. had been reduced to colonies and economic dependencies of European nations.

The financial and military strength of the Great Powers rested upon the continued exploitation of the colored peoples and the super profits derived from colonial spoliation enabled the ruling classes of the West to corrupt the white workers of the metropolis and blunt their revolutionary ardor... Hence, argued Lenin, the Western domination of the world can only be broken by stirring the colored colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia and Africa to achieve their national independence.

According to Karl Marx, the proletarian revolution which was to usher in Communism would occur first in the highly developed countries where there existed the economic and social prerequisites as well as an educated and cultured industrial working class to form the first foundations of socialism. After the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin, seeing that the western European workers were in no hurry to perform the historic role which Marx had assigned to them in his Communist Manifesto, decided to forget about them and reach out to those who were still uncorrupted by capitalist reform and yearned to break the fetters of imperialist domination.<sup>17</sup>

Lenin stated in the *Socialist Revolution* and also in the *Right of Nations to Self-Determination* that "the proletariat must demand freedom of political secession for the colonies and nations that are oppressed by its nation. Unless it does this, proletarian internationalism will remain a meaningless phrase; neither mutual confidence nor class solidarity between the workers of the oppressing and oppressed nations will be possible."<sup>18</sup>

Though Lenin even admitted that Marx was thinking mainly of the interests of the proletarian class struggle in the advanced

countries, he could not see the incorrectness in Marx's thesis on revolutionary initiative and who was the vanguard of the world revolution. He, therefore, could not understand that M.N. Roy was correct on both the National and International questions.

Roy correctly analyzed tactics to be used in the colonial revolution when he developed the theory for revolutionaries to only cooperate with bourgeois nationalists when necessary, primarily in the initial stages **and with caution**; develop working class parties which would organize workers and peasants and inspire them to revolution "**from below**." Lenin's thesis was of using tactics primarily from above but the debating over the issue was so great between him and Roy at the Second Congress of the Communist International that Lenin compromised and met Roy half way, and the Congress adopted a dual thesis for the colonial situation, that of organizing from above and below.<sup>19</sup>

Marx foresaw that socialist revolutions would occur in Western Europe in countries where capitalism had developed to a high level and where the proletariat was organized and strong. *Instead, revolutions occurred in essentially underdeveloped countries where capitalism was just developing and where the proletariat was basically unorganized and weak.*

*According to the present world situation, the European proletariat is no longer a revolutionary class. The proletariat through the opportunism of a European labor aristocracy have refused to unite with their nation's colonies to demand their right of self-determination, and still do oppose the liberation of them from the oppressor country. They are acting as the counter-revolutionaries for the Western bourgeoisie by supporting their regime's domestic and foreign policies. So as Lenin foresaw but did not thoroughly deal with, "Proletarian Internationalism" has remained a meaningless phrase and there is no mutual confidence nor class solidarity between the workers of the oppressing and oppressed nations. Proletarian internationalism has been superseded by Revolutionary Internationalism (the unification of Asia, Africa, Afro, South and Central America). The Underclass becomes the revolutionary class within the world with the working class—peasant element—being its most revolutionary sector. The underclass cannot achieve "National liberation" or self-determination of their respective colonized countries, except by abolishing the oppressor's economic system of capitalism in its advanced stages known as colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and by waging people's wars against the universal slavemaster (U.S. Imperialism).*



**Fotos**  
**by**  
**Christopher**  
**Quinlaw**





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## Black Students

wasn't anything happening or what was around did not meet up to their aspirations. It was no longer hip to be involved. For the majority of Black students education once again began to be viewed as the panacea for economic upliftment; although this was not realized in practice for most for some very fundamental reasons.

Open admissions, SEEK, and other affirmative action programs fought for by students were decreasing in functional quality each year. Cut-backs in finances, staff, and programs began to be the rule, not the exception. Schools with Black studies departments saw their staff and most politically relevant classes being cut. Oftentimes where Black Studies departments were able to hold on, they were attacked by having their most progressive faculty fired or simply not re-hired. Many times these were the very people who fought for the Black Studies, even in those very schools!

These faculty slots were then filled by administration flunkies or opportunists and even outright reactionaries. Black Studies began to lose its progressive dynamic, its revolutionary kernel. Black Studies began to be projected not as an educational essential for a people who are nationally oppressed and exploited, but began to be relegated to the level of easy grade courses that had no genuine application in the "real world" of competition for jobs.

We think these are some of the basic transformations that have and are in the process of taking place at City College and on campuses in New York and all across the country. We believe however in order for us to be clear we must see the relationship between these transformations and the dynamic of the contradictions between the U.S. imperialist state and the Black nation.

We have already seen how the Black student movement is a reflection of the overall Black Liberation struggle. It is in fact a political wing of our struggle for national liberation. The holding action we spoke of by the state, in the form of a strategic social reform program, was a direct response to the level, intensity, and direction of Black people's struggle. It was part of the counteroffensive of imperialism, faced with the serious crisis of a war on two fronts, the domestic front and another front outside of their current borders, in Vietnam. Thus they saw the necessity to stabilize their domestic base (through the dual strategy of pacification programs and vicious campaigns to destroy the organized leadership). Externally, they escalated their imperialist war in Vietnam, trying to bomb the heroic Vietnamese out of existence! They obviously did not succeed!

On the domestic front, they met with qualitatively more success for a number of reasons. One was the newness and inexperience of our struggle. We made many errors and mistakes because of our inexperience and organizational weaknesses. Another reason has to do with the relative strength of our mass movement and what a movement is capable of accomplishing in a given stage of a National Liberation Struggle. What is meant by this is the relative consciousness of the masses of people and the specific character of their organizational leadership (grass-

root progressive organization, non-violent petty bourgeois organization, revolutionary nationalist-working class party, etc.) This is interacted with the relative strengths and weaknesses of imperialism and the degree of organized systematic repression. We must see also that the economic crisis in U.S. imperialism on a worldwide scale, its worsening condition, has created domestic economic crisis. This crisis is manifested in massive unemployment, layoffs, production speed-ups, runaway shops, social cut-backs, attacks on affirmative action programs, and heightening police, FBI and right-wing repression (KKK, NAZI, WHITE VIGILANTE).

The reason for this heightening repression must be clearly understood. It is a direct response to Black people and other national liberation struggles, spontaneous mass movements, and struggle against their worsening economic and social conditions. The Blackout activities of Black and Third World people in New York City was just one of many examples of this spontaneous movement.

We state all these things to identify the present period of our struggle. We see Black's existence for the majority of us, worse off now than we were 17 years ago. We see that our struggle, like all genuine struggles of an oppressed people, is protracted; i.e., it is long and drawn out. Not only is it protracted but it is a wave with periods of high activity and low activity. It is only our political inexperience that makes us mistake a low period of political activity for no activity, or even as some of us think, the end to activity of our Black Liberation struggle.

It is with this understanding that we must see that our political hull has bottomed out and is presently on the rise; slow, but nevertheless on the upswing. As students we are beginning to consolidate the wealth of experience that our people's struggle has taken over the last 20 years. The present period is being used for ideological study and clarity and organizational development. Local student organizations on campuses, although still in the embryo stages, are being built in many parts of the country. Students in the Northeast, South and West Coast have reorganized a National Black Student Organization. These organizations are identifying the primary contradictions of Black people in the U.S. as domestic colonialism and national/class oppression. They see the destruction of free tuition, open admissions and the systematic liquidation of SEEK as a viable program at CUNY, as a clear expression of the historical denial of the democratic and human rights of Black and Third World people. What else has become obvious is that these short-lived programs were never meant to be permanent. They were never meant to be genuine attempts to undo the crimes of institutionalized racism and national oppression of Black and Third World people but instead mere holding actions, temporary tactics that were done to stem the tide of mass actions in the 60's. This realization is what shapes the perspective of students on their role in the Black Liberation Struggle.

As Black students we see our role in the Black liberation struggle as direct participation in organizations and activities that fight the worsening conditions of our lives as students and as Black people. We must see our role as fighting against further attacks on SEEK, financial aid and other af-

firmative action programs. We must expose the TAP rip-off, forcing 1200 students to pay back \$325.00 on an alleged reevaluation of their TAP form, and the institution of the two-year test as another means of eliminating Third World students from the CUNY system.

The above mentioned action must be seen within the scope of our whole struggle as a people. It must be seen as a protracted struggle, and directly connected to the struggle in the Black community against massive unemployment, slum housing, drug pushers, inadequate medical care, police brutality and a backward and racist public school system that systematically maintains our colonial status. Black students have the task of supporting Black studies programs and fighting to make them reach their full potential. We must see Black studies as a genuine base to develop a bridge from the university to the community, becoming in fact accountable to the community, to the struggle of Black people. The dynamic of our struggle calls for continuous analysis and assessments on changing conditions. It calls for the refinement of our political perspective for deeper clarity. Black students must begin to search out and observe the concrete practice and examples of organizations and individuals, looking for political clarity, also their consistency and commitment. These are principles that all genuine activist for liberation must exemplify. Opportunist and ego-tripping individualism has no place and must be exposed. We must be wary of those who pretend to be progressive and constantly give lip-service to some sort of unprincipled artificial unity while their practice is clearly opposed to this. We know our struggle will not be easy but as an oppressed people who have continuously resisted oppression and fought for liberation, we have been tempered and will surely win.

## Black Week!

by Tim Schermerhorn

As expressed by Dr. Leonard Jeffries, chairman of the Black Studies department, Black week was in the African tradition; a break in the usual routine, to do something special for our people. It was intended to be a week to observe our accomplishments, look at our past and plan our future. The Black Studies department attempted to negotiate these goals utilizing a week long program, which consisted of cancelling all Black Studies classes, and having students attend a constant series of lectures, films and discussions. The events addressed various aspects of the unremitting and ever worsening crisis conditions facing Black people.

The necessity to plan is an incontrovertible fact. The oppression of Black people is constant, hence, strategies must continually be devised to combat our systematic destruction. The Black Studies department attempts to do this in their annual Black Week

programs. The concept of Black Week is a good one, and this translates into some very positive sessions in the program—of special note was Gil Noble (producer of Like It Is), who showed a film on Malcolm X called El Hajj Malik el Shabazz, and answered questions afterward.

It is unfortunate that most of the fine concepts iterated by Professor Jeffries did not translate into positive planning and education in the program itself. Several manifestations of the program's failures were the near emptiness of the room for parts of the program, (for Gil Noble's presentation only about 30 people were present) the confusion students expressed about certain parts of the program and long information gaps between speakers, in which some Black Studies professors plugged rhetoric.

The basic problems which had students critically buzzing inside the program, and openly discussing the faults of Black Studies outside are an absence of organization, inadequate community links and a scarcity of student input. These ingredients are absolutely necessary for a Black Studies department to be an effective instrument in the liberation of Black people.

The relevance of a Black Studies department is inextricably linked to its ideology, as this will dictate the nature of the work it will do. Ideology is not an abstract political perspective, removed from the actions of an individual or collective but rather, the thinking—the system of thought and values—behind an action. Ideology expresses itself in all actions. Hence, a Black Studies department, not unified around a particular perspective, paints a very confusing picture of itself, when its programs articulate its collective ideological unclarity. This injures students educationally, because we are too often presented with incorrect perspectives on Black liberation struggle and, may be channeled into counterproductive activities. Our situation is too urgent, we can't afford such wastes of precious energy, time and talent! Throughout the program this did indeed happen. Even though much was exposed and elucidated through the questions and comments of students, the program still had a tendency to confuse. This was exemplified on the last day, when a discussion involving two Black Studies professors and some students developed on the issue of imperialism and the selection of trading partners by Third World nations. One professor expressed pure individualism, saying that anything any Black individual or group did in its own interest was good. What this does is dispute the political nature of Black peoples struggle. It denounces the national struggle of Blacks in North America, and the collective nature of the world struggle against imperialism. In

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# The Nature of the Puerto Rican Historical Process.

by Franklin Velazquez

It is of an essential nature that Puerto Ricans in the United States, historically assess themselves and create a chart for an agenda. This agenda should have in mind those tasks necessary at this particular juncture of our history, that will permit us to take a crucial step in the direction of self improvement. This historical and political assessment must not be divorced from the social reality of the majority of Puerto Ricans.

In elaborating an agenda for the future of Puerto Ricans in the United States, it is essential and crucial that the analysis made trace the various phases and historical stages that the Puerto Rican population has had to travel. This task is extremely important since it is a scientific requirement that imposes upon the researcher the need to search for the interconnections, particulars, and generalities which effect a given period of time. The dynamics of the social milieu in which we live makes the task of the historian quite arduous, therefore, a rigorous analysis will be hard to come by. The person who wants to seek knowledge of a given reality, must be highly selective of what he reads, i.e., he must look through much literature in order to find the facts. In turn, these facts must be interpreted in light of their treatment of historical data. Many times, the treatment given to the Puerto Rican question is tainted with the authors particular prejudice against the Puerto Ricans.

The news media, whether it be newspapers, or television, demonstrated a most interesting tendency in their respective coverage of the Black Out. Wherever looting occurred, Puerto Ricans and Blacks were singled out in the newspapers and television news, as the culprits. The media neglected to point out the impoverished conditions of Blacks and Puerto Ricans; instead, they emphasized the harm done to small businesses. Basing oneself on the news coverage, the only fair conclusion that can be arrived at is that Blacks and Puerto Ricans are inherently mischievous and criminal. Con Edison was pardoned of any crime, and the poor were criticized for being poor. It doesn't take a blatant racist like Shockley or Jensen to point out that minorities are genetically inferior, since the news does the job for them. It isn't hard to see how the media can distort, therefore, if we have to analyze data, we must be aware of its implications. When Patrick Moynihan analyzes the problems of the Blacks he lays the blame on the supposed instability and disintegration of the Black family. Many of these same analyses have been made of Puerto Ricans and unfortunately, many people have been duped into accepting theories that solely blame the victims. What Moynihan is doing is simply removing the real reasons for poverty and supplanting the cause with the effect of poverty.

Oppressed people in this country have an enormous task which involves re-writing history and organizing, to make a different type of society. This task is applicable to the Puerto Rican people. Many of our people are not cognizant of the fact that in the past Puerto Ricans have attempted to

liberate their country. Other Puerto Ricans are aware that a struggle does exist to uplift the conditions of our people, but are incredulous as to the realizations of the goals we have set before ourselves.

When the father of our country, Ramon Emeterio Betances, was in his death bed, at the turn of the 19th century, he was greatly upset by the fact that the United States invaded Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans had not rebelled. He died in agony, but with the wish that his fatherland would someday liberate itself. Recently, another Puerto Rican patriot, Andres Figueroa Cordero, was released from jail, after more than 20 years of incarceration. This great man, following the steps of Betances and Albizu Campos, from a wheel chair stated his disposition to struggle for his country's liberation. For our generation, this man serves to inspire us with a noble gesture. This gesture is his disposition to struggle for the freedom of his people. As Puerto Ricans in the United States we must attempt to assimilate some of these ideas and apply them to a different reality.

The struggle of the Puerto Ricans in the Island have some similarities with the struggle we have in Continental U.S.A. In the first place, the enemy is the same. This adversary is the same one which gives us welfare instead of decent jobs. This adversary is the same one that calls some people niggers, and others spik. Indeed, there exists no need to call the foe by it's name. Whomsoever does not know who the enemy is can be called a wretched misguided soul. In the 1930's, workers under the slogan to "organize the unorganized" began a huge and massive unionization effort. This effort was met by corporate resistance which led to imprisonment and the murders of workers and union organizers. This vast movement was influenced by an early pioneer of industrial unionism, William Foster. These workers also knew the face of the enemy, not only were they exploited at the factories and large industries, but they also faced repression at the hands of the government. The Puerto Ricans in this country must not only learn about his history, but about this country's history as well.

In order to appreciate this country's real history, we must look back into the labor movement and gain a real understanding of history's motor force, the class struggle. Most Western historians, shun at the thought of having to consider the class struggle as the main ingredient of society's forward march. Some will argue that society rests on the development of technology, and others will state that the development of the productive forces is crucial to an appropriate understanding of history. Scientifically, it is more appropriate to utilize the productive forces as an indication of what society is, than that of technology which is only one ingredient in the configuration of society. We must learn to capture the essence of historical phenomena in order to understand it's intrinsic laws. Therefore, when one seeks to analyze the nature of the Puerto Rican historical process, it is of utmost importance that this be done by demonstrating the relation that most

Puerto Ricans in this country have to the means of production, i.e., a class analysis of the Puerto Ricans.

It is not sufficient to gain an understanding of the class structure of Puerto Rico in order to struggle in the United States, therefore, we must know this country inside out in order to affect change. Some theorist pose the struggle of Puerto Rico as the most important point on the political and social agenda of Puerto Ricans in the United States. While we cannot discount the importance of Puerto Rican independence as far as the effect it will have on continental Puerto Ricans, it is never the less worth while to analyze the particular problems we face here in the United States. It seems to me that Puerto Ricans will gain a better understanding of the exploitative nature of this society by addressing themselves to the problems they are confronting in this society. By waging an important battle to change this society, we will be helping to weaken the same system that presently dominates the island.

On the social agenda, there exists important items such as the struggle for jobs and decent wages. In the educational sphere, affirmative action programs must be expanded and implemented. In the area of unionization, racism must be combatted and this will strengthen the union by permitting minorities to get into some industries and into positions of union leadership. In the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the majority of the workers are minorities, yet the leadership is not reflective of the composition of its base. At this present historical juncture, the struggle for democratic rights is the priority of Puerto Ricans in this country. Any political movement in the United States, which claims to represent the interests of the Puerto Ricans on the mainland, cannot remain inactive around the struggle for the expansion of Puerto Rican's rights in this country, unless they would like to isolate themselves from the majority of our people.

By expanding our rights in this country, let us not forget our historical commitment to the struggles for freedom that other countries have, especially the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. But equally, we must not forget that in essence, what we are really talking about is the universal struggle for freedom and an equitable and just society. The struggles of Puerto Ricans should be that of Puerto Rican liberation. Liberation from the shackles of capital in this country; i.e., through a social change; and the liberation of Puerto Rico from colonial domination. In order to accomplish the various tasks ahead of us, organizations will be required that can advance the struggle of the Puerto Ricans in this country. The movement must move away from all forms of dogmatism, ultra-leftism, sectarianism, and many other manifestations of a lack of knowledge in organizing workers. Only serious, sober and realistic people can set such a movement in motion. And if such a movement is not composed of the broadest sector of oppressed Puerto Ricans strata, then such a movement will die as many have done in the past. Above all, this new and innovative movement must learn one basic lesson from the past. Any movement which is not supported by the workers will die. Therefore, the centrality of the class struggle will come to the surface.

## Black Week

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other words, he was saying that no action betrays the struggle of Black people. This obviously confused many students. They made this clear afterwards when speaking to other students and professors. Even though this view was refuted by a Black Studies professor and several students, this professor spent the better part of an hour obfuscating the real anti-imperialist nature of Black peoples struggle.

The lack of political direction, community links and organized work are all reflective of conspicuous nonparticipation of students in the everyday operations of the department. Black Studies is the product of the struggles of Black students in the 1960s. Unfortunately, one of the effects of the reversal of many 1960's programs is the conversion of Black Studies from peoples programs, to elitist academia. For Black Studies this means protracted elimination. (Look at the elimination of Black Studies throughout the United States.)

The Black Week program was not publicized before hand—not a single leaflet, not a solitary announcement. Instead Black Studies classes were assembled into what one student termed, "a captive audience." If students were really involved in the department, there would have been a potential army for publicity work. Even without student involvement the department had the resources for a leaflet. For most of the program few students, and no community people at all, were in attendance. With no publicity, no more could be expected.

In the often unexplained long gaps between invited speakers, the Black Studies professors filled the time with what amounted to too little political education and analysis, around the exigent situation of Black people—in and outside the realm of education—and too much empty self praise.

The problems of the Black Studies department were reflected in the Black Week program. Without students there will be no work or relevant direction in Black Studies. We who criticize are obligated to alter the course of Black Studies at CCNY with our input.

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# Black Students And Black Liberation.

by Muntu Matsimela

Black student struggles in the U.S., like most student wings of any oppressed people, is a direct manifestation of Black people's total struggle against oppression and for liberation. The history of the black student movement clearly shows this relationship, from the late 50's and early 60's, such student organizations as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Afro-American Student Movement (the student wing of Revolutionary Action Movement). These student organizations, and others, organized in the Southern and Northern cities during the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power era of the Black Liberation struggle.

"The emergence of the slogan **Black Power** was the turning point for the Black student community. The concept of Black power challenged the whole value structure of the Black community. In essence it forced Black people to think about Black people in the U.S. as **powerless**. Black power challenged the pseudo-class structure of the middle class Negro community and Black became the new and fashionable thing; it was now **hip to be Black**.

Faced with growing contradictions of fighting for a system that enslaves us, fighting in a racist war in Vietnam and for democratic rights in America, Black students began to develop an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial attitude. The turning point in this attitude and the Black student movement came on March 21, 1967 when a group of Black students chased Selective Service Director Hershey off Howard's Crampton Auditorium stage chanting "America's the Black man's battleground." As the year continued, these students engaged in what they called a cultural revolution at Howard, a rechanneling of the student body's values toward changing Howard from a "Negro" college with white standards to a Black university relevant to the Black community and its struggle. Black students at other colleges slowly began to pick up on what was going on at Howard, and by 1968, the Black Studies rebellion had swept across the country. The rebellions hit Black as well as white campuses. High schools by the hundreds in '68 and '69 began to explode. In Detroit the Black Student Union was the student wing of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers."

From the student struggle that mushroomed across the country it became clear that they received their momentum, substance and direction from Black peoples' struggles within the Black communities. The Black struggle for National Democratic Rights had its student translations on campuses, and the student movement's advanced sector took the more revolutionary form of the advanced wing of Black's struggle for national democratic rights (The National Democratic Revolutionary stage of the Black National Liberation Struggle). This advanced wing was Revolutionary Nationalist in character, i.e., it was the most progressive and politically clear articulation and practical expression of the historical struggle of Black people against exploitation and repression within the current borders of the U.S. Government. Revolutionary

Nationalism identified the national/class **enemy** of Black people and saw the dynamic of the Black liberation movement being in the direction of complete self-determination and a total **transformation** in the existing power relations between Blacks and the capitalist, **white**, supremacist, ruling, **elite**.

It was this movement, the **Black liberation struggle**, that forced the U.S. government to make concessions, social and political reforms, poverty programs, equal opportunity and affirmative action programs in employment and education. These **token** programs were a temporary scheme to slow down and **redirect** the struggle of Black people. They were a holding action that had as their objective the **cooptation** and **disintegration** of the genuine stage of our mass movement.

The other part of the dual strategy by the state, which was stated through the Cointelpro (counter intelligence program) and other programs of the CIA, FBI, army-intelligence and local counter-intelligence, had as its clear objective the smashing of Black progressive organizations by **any means necessary** (usually **intimidation, harassment, infiltration, frame-ups, arrests, and murders**). It was this dual strategy of the U.S. government, the carrot and the stick, which effectively threw the Black Liberation movement into a **political lull**. A lull in our movement which was produced by massive **repression** on the organized leadership, **forcing them underground, in exile, and incarcerated** in maximum security penitentiaries. This **leadership in disarray also affected the student movement**.

Black Studies programs had been struggled for by Black students; they were educational programs that were to teach the true nature of our history of rebellion and resistance against oppression. Black Studies was supposed to lay the theoretical and practical foundation for furthering Black peoples' struggle for **total liberation**. Black studies departments were to be the **link** to the community, becoming **communities**, tying up realities of Black existence to the institutions on campus. Students saw the unemployment in the Black community, slum-housing, drug epidemic, inadequate medical care and other negative conditions **not** separate from the struggle against a racist and colonial educational system.

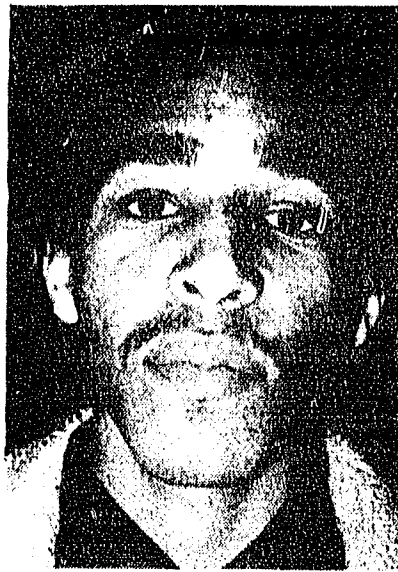
As we have said earlier, The Black liberation movement, due to a number of key factors, was thrown into a period of relative inactivity. On campus, students who were in the forefront of student struggle became increasingly less numerous. Many of them had graduated (or were forced out) and joined revolutionary Black/progressive organizations in the community. Others, who were just coming into school and were not part of that **direct** history of struggle, **found themselves with little or no continuous examples of Black struggle to emulate** and help their development. For many students who had a political conscious and looked for some organized direction, it **began to appear as though there**

Continued on Page 18

## Student Voices

by Christopher Quinlan

**QUESTION: A president could change administrative tactics; where would you like to see an improvement in CCNY's procedures?**



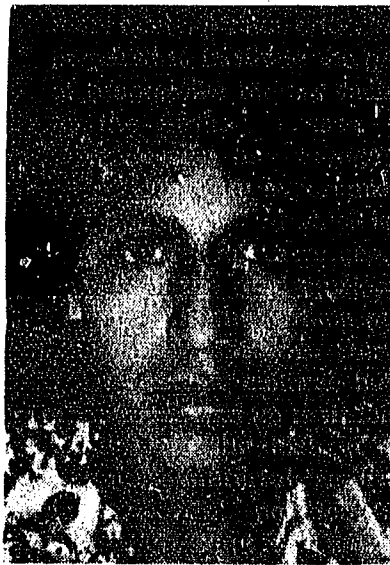
**JAMES HARRIS, Electrical Engineering major:**

I believe that more work study programs relating to students majors should be created by the administration, so that students will be prepared through experience to have easier access to the working world.



**GEORGE PETRUZZELLO, English major:**

I would like to see a push for less student apathy, especially in regard to the imposition of tuition and the way it is regulated.



**ESTUARDO GIL, Electrical Engineering major:**

I would like to see freshmen receive more help during registration in deciding what courses to take. One counselor told me to take certain courses and another counselor told me after I took those courses, that I didn't need them. What we need is more "real" counselors.



**PRESTON COONS, English major:**

The **indifferent** attitudes of some administrative personnel are exasperating. Even a polite approach with a legitimate query is met with an obvious lack of concern from most clerical staff members, and certain employees blatantly exhibit hostility when students' problems cannot be readily solved.



**DELORIS CUYLEAR, Elementary Education major:**

I hate the conflict that students have to go through during registration and picking up BEOG. We should register by mail.



**PAT GARY BLACKWELL, Senior:**

I think that it is safe to say that the president along with staff members are surely able to change administrative tactics. Communications between the student and the staff are shallow, and should be readily available and consistent here at CCNY. Once communications are established, all of the other problems can be eliminated.