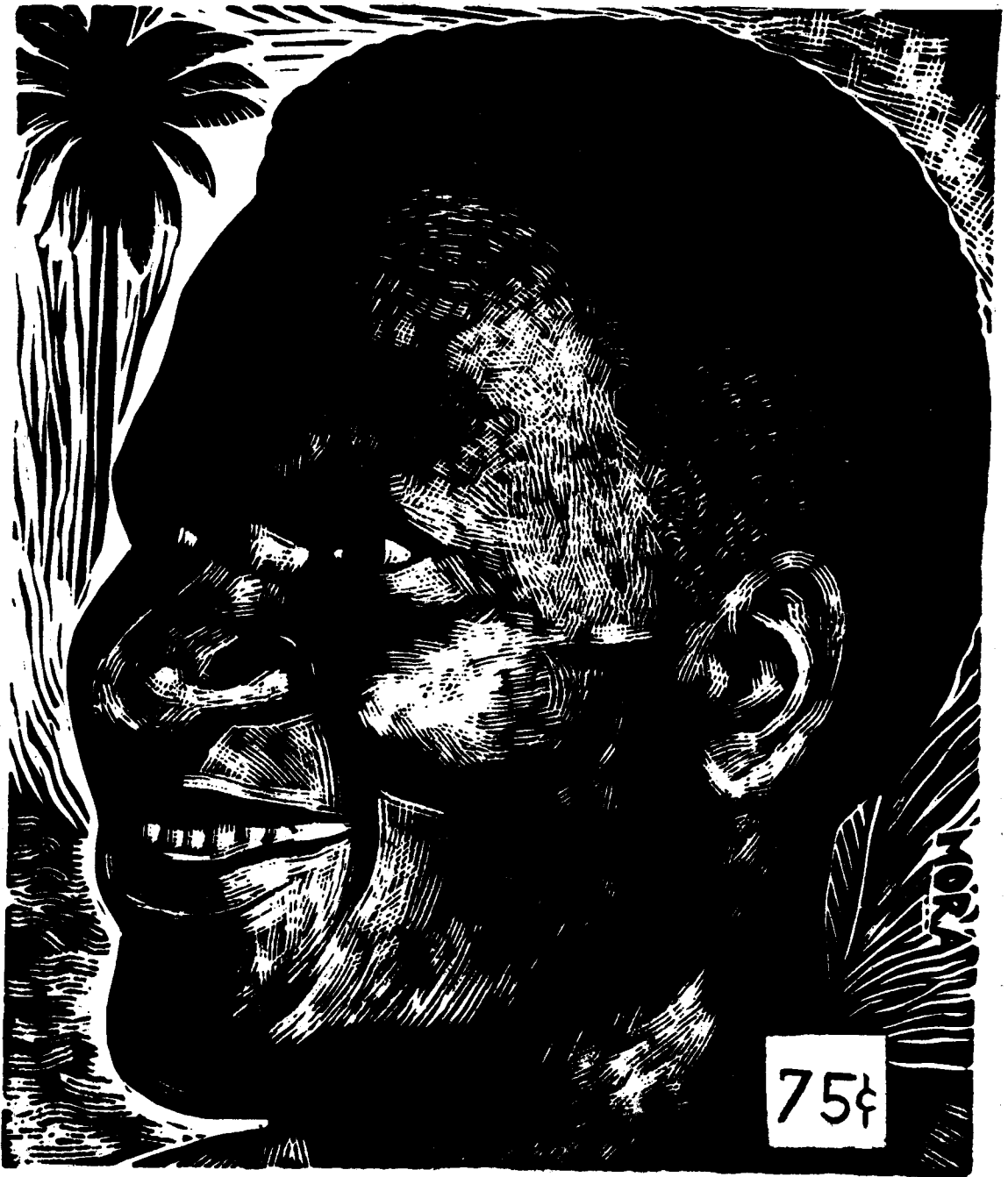


SOULBOOK

no.

6



75¢

THE ORIGINAL
SOULBOOK

editorial	85	blackness, that's where it's at!!
mohamed cherif	89	science in the service of revolution
frantz fanon	94	racism in france
j ponder	111	a 'ghetto' masculinity
ernie allen	98	love me
reject notes	120	poetry of carol freeman, leroi jones, sonia sanchez, major carter wright, h winfield tavasti, william r lamma, k william kgositsile, bobb hamilton
harry haywood	137	the nation of islam
cedric little	146	problems facing black america
willie green	153	the world is the black man's land

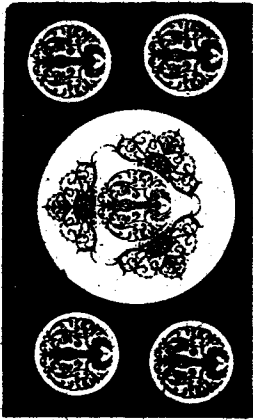
volume **2**

number 2

winter - spring issue

year of organization 1967 mwaka wa kuratibisha

Copyright, 1967, by SOULBOOK inc., p.o. box 1097 berkeley, calif.
94701, all rights reserved. all correspondence concerning manuscripts
and business matters should be addressed to SOULBOOK, p.o. box 1097
berkeley, calif. 94701.



the nation of ISLAM

an estimate

The drive of the ghetto petty-bourgeoisie for a Black controlled economy is a main dynamic of the most vocal, aggressive current within Black nationalism today - the Black Muslim movement, led by Elijah Muhammad. Profit and business, enterprise is one of the most important aspects of Muhammad's teaching. ¹

The Muslims, in the most vociferous and trenchant way, challenges the myth of integration. They articulate the bitterness and resentment of the vast majority of Black Americans, placing the onus of moral depravity where it belongs ; on the white man's culture.

The Black Muslims identify with the most radical sections of the international struggle against colonialism. Their publication, *Muhammed Speaks*, has given favourable and extensive coverage to the Cuban Revolution, the successes in eliminating racism from the island. The newspaper featured the message of support from Mao TseTung to the Afroamerican struggle under the heading, "First Big Power to Assail Racist Doctrine in America." ² It reports the activism of the most militant sections of the liberation movement, such as SNCC, and exposes the hypocrisy of the Federal Government.

The main base of the organization is among Black workers and youth, who make up the over whelming majority of its membership.

"Up to 80% of a typical congregation is between the ages of 17 and 35. 3

The rigorously high moral standard of its personnel and membership; its emphasis upon dignity, self-reliance, and race pride; its defense and respect for the Black woman; its rehabilitation of thousands of demoralized victims of racist oppression, have won wide respect.

The movement's eloquent disaffection and rebellion against prescribed patterns of "Negro protest;" its violent rejection of the "American Creed," along with its social myths which have been used to keep the Black Liberation movement under wraps, has sent cold chills down the spines of the ruling elite of the United States. Their reaction is reflected in the capitalist press, and in the writings of liberal "friends" of the "Negro," whose comments often verge on hysteria. A typical reaction to the Muslim's advocacy of self-defense is that of the Southern liberal, Harry S. Ashmore.

"So long as violence is directed against Negro demonstrators, elemental standards of justice and Federal guns are automatically on their side (sic!). Let Negroes initiate the attack, or even reply in kind, and the balance will shift -- and without this essential support, Negroes against will be a helpless minority in an aroused white community." 4

The ruling circles fear that even the formulation of the concept that Afroamericans constitute a nation in the United States, if attached to a realistic, strategic program, would basically upset the power balance within the country. The charamistic and messianic character of the Black Muslim leadership is typical of many national revolutionary movements among oppressed peoples. Examples abound in history of such movements, utilizing a religious vehicle, have played an objectively revolutionary role. One can cite the Mad Mehdi Revolt in the Sudan in the 1860's, the recent Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya, etc.

Despite the positive aspects of the Black Muslim movement, their ultimate political program calling for a segregated, exclusively controlled Black state within the U. S. A. is at best utopian, and escapist,

diversionary, and at worse, extremely dangerous. The Muslim leaders expect not only the acquiescence of the white rulers for this project, but their material support as well. As Elijah Muhammed said :

"If they don't want us to mix with them in their equality, give us a place in America. Set it aside...Give us three, four or more states. We have well earned whatever they give us; if they give us 25 states, we will have earned them. Give us the same instruments that they had to start a civilization in that territory. Take care of us. Give us what we ask them for, for the next 20 or 25 years, until we are able to go for ourselves. Demand something. Don't demand a job. Demand some earth. We have come to the point we must have a home on this earth that we can call our own. You pray for help to be sent to Africa. Money to help them be free from England and America. It is like a blind man praying for eyes for the other blind man, that can't see and yet does not realize that he doesn't have any eyes. It is a shame..." 5

It is clear that the Muslim leader conceives the projected Nation of Islam as a neo-colonial dependent of the dominant white power elite, and that with all their professed hatred of the white devils they are unable to transcend the idea of natural white overlordship. The Muslim plan is a dangerous caricature of nationhood, and a crass distortion of the important idea of Black political power. Their false doctrine of inherent racial conflict logically leads to this distortion of the concept of nation. They pessimistically write off the possibility of any white support for a Black nationalist revolutionary movement, ignoring the many examples in United States history of whites who have identified with and fought uncompromisingly for Black Liberation. They regard all whites as an undifferentiated mass: Robert E. Lee and John Brown; Gov. Wallace and the murdered freedom riders, the KKK and the white freedom riders sitiners - all are "white devils". Their emphasis upon strict separation of the races, their rejection of support of all whites, is in itself a capitulation to the white racist doctrine of inherent racial antagonism. Objectively, this dogma lays the basis for practical agreement with the most rabid Negrophobes, the troglodities of the fascist right, the Birchites, the American Nazi Party, the White Citizens Councils and the KKK. The racist, ultra-right has already acknowledged their unholy



Whitney Young
coppin' pleas



Boy Wilkins getting
his bone from L.
Beast Johnson

kinship with the Black Muslims. (The American Nazi Party's endorsement of Muslim separatism. Also, approval by Birchites. Please document) ⁶

This tendency towards practical agreement with the most implacable enemies of the oppressed people is an inevitable danger and a characteristic feature of zionist type nationalist movements, which have projected a solution through exodus of the oppressed from the land of bondage. The Garvey predecessor of the Muslim movements sharply illustrates this point. In 1924, we find Garvey seeking support for his back to Africa program from Col. Simmons of the KKK, whom he visited and invited to speak at the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) Convention. Garvey also publicly praised the KKK. ⁷ We also negotiated with various Southern senators and congressmen for cooperation. According

to W. E. B. DuBois, the clan issued circulars defending Garvey and declaring that opposition to him was from the Catholic Church. ⁸ Characteristically, in 1938, Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi introduced a bill to deport 13 million Black People to Africa, and received the support of remnants of the Garvey movement. ⁹

The pattern of enlisting the support of the enemy was set by Theodore Hertzl, father of Jewish Zionism in Tzarist Russia, who evolved a plan for the Jews to give up the struggle for equal citizenship rights in return for the support by the Tzarist Black Hundreds and reactionary Ukrainian nationalists for his scheme for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Another negative aspect of the Muslim program which also flows from their principle of racial separation is the tendency to abandon the struggle for Black Power in the communities where they reside, which in effect mean pessimistic abandonment of positions already won.

REVOLUTIONARIE POTENTIALITIES OF THE GHETTO BOURGEOISIE

While it is true that the ghetto bourgeoisie, including the Muslims, are incapable of leading a revolutionary struggle for Black Power, it would be a mistake to equate them with the top assimilationist stratum. The latter, as a stratum, has no revolutionary potential; whereas the ghetto bourgeoisie, when it sees a strong national revolutionary movement with a realistic program, is perfectly capable of throwing its weight as a stratum behind such a movement. This is confirmed by the experiences of the 1930's.

The Muslim's long-range program for deportation or transportation of Black People from where they reside is necessarily utopian and unrealistic. But even if it could be put into effect it would involve serious economic losses to their own stratum. We can cite the example of South Africa, where small business and professional people were forcibly removed from their homes, businesses, and long built up clientele when the areas in which they reside were declared for white occupancy only, and they were forcibly removed to overcrowded barren, poverty-stricken areas. They are only allowed to leave these reservation when they are needed for labor by the whites, and when they are no longer needed, are forced back onto the reservation. ⁹

This is euphemistically called "Bantu Self-Government," and this is precisely the type of Black state which we can anticipate in the U. S. A. organized with the ardent support of the Southern Oligarchy and their ultra-right allies if the Muslim program were put into effect.

Instead of achieving Black Power, it would reduce Afroamericans to a condition worse than slavery. These dangers in the Muslim political program must be emphasized by the revolutionary forces, both for the sake of clarification within their own ranks, and in order for them to exert influence on the Muslims to alter their program in the direction of fighting



for Black political power in the areas in which they actually reside, while fighting for the maintenance and advancement of all rights for Black Americans. At the same time, the revolutionary forces should seek unity of action with the Muslims on immediate issues confronting Black people.

From the above, it is evident that neither the assimilationist nor the ghetto nationalist section of the bourgeoisie can lead the type of movement necessary for Black liberation. As we have seen, the dominant characteristic of the bourgeois-assimilationist leadership is that even in the process of opposition, they not only vacillate, but constantly seeks compromise with the oppressors, to arrive at new agreements based not on the interests of the masses, but to favor special interests of their own stratum and enhance their own prestige among the masses. The Muslims only offer disengagement, a retreat from positions already won, withdrawal into fantasies of Black Power, substituting nationalistic symbols in place of struggle for real power. Clearly, the leadership must fall to more radical social forces.

One cannot gloss over the difference between the position of Afroamericans in the United States and the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial world without doing violence to U. S. realities. In the colonial world, the choice of political separation or independence is clear, viable, and the sine qua non for freedom. But the Black minority in the U. S. cannot choose racial separation without abandoning the struggle for defense and extension of Black rights within the country. This hurdle

is a rock on which all Black movements which have adopted strict racial separation as a principle, have and inevitably must founder.

The two trends in the Black Liberation movement, the integrationist and the separatist trend, are developing side by side. Neither offers a viable solution to the "Negro Question". But both contain elements of truth. The integrationist trend arises from the need of the masses to win full citizenship rights and to combat racial discrimination. The separatist trend arises from the need of the Black masses to consolidate their strength as a people with autonomous culture, values, and economic and political strength. The problem is to arrive at a revolutionary synthesis of the best elements in both trends.

The present situation urgently raises the question of the revival of a THIRD TREND, a revolutionary trend, based upon the most disadvantaged sections of the Black population, the vast majority; the workers and the depressed and land-hungry agricultural population in the South, the small bourgeoisie and semi-proletarian elements of the urban ghettos: a trend reflecting the basic interests of those masses, their life needs, aspirations, their fighting determination to achieve freedom and human dignity. Already the nucleus of its potential leading cadre is forming among Black industrial workers in the trade unions, the radical section of the petty-bourgeoisie intelligentsia, the youth on the campuses and in the urban ghettos, and among the left forces in the existing bourgeois-led organizations and the socialist-oriented left. They are already discussing programs for the next stage, the national revolutionary stage in the movement which will mark its passage from the narrow and limited goals set by the incumbent bourgeois leadership of the civil rights and ghetto nationalist movements.

True, the third trend is only in its nascent stage. Its voice is still weak, its elements are still scattered and lack the cohesion of a unified force. Nevertheless, the fact remains that all the objective prerequisites for its resurgence are at hand. Assistance in the organization and building of this revolutionary third trend should become a major prospect of the socialist-oriented left.

FOOTNOTES

1. Essien-Udom, op.cit.,261
2. Muhammad Speaks, 8/30/63
3. C. Eric Lincoln, 8/30/63
4. Look Magazine,summer,1963.
5. Essien-Udom, op.cit.,260.
6. Please document
7. The Liberator, New York,Oct.1924.
8. The Century, New York, Feb.1923
9. Congressional Record, May 24, 1938
10. Outlook, VI, 6 Sydney,Australia(Dec.1962)



AS WE GO TO PRESS

CONAKRY, GUINEA -- Between Sept.1 and Nov.28, 345 Portuguese soldiers were liquidated in encounters with combatants of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands), according to figures released to Soulbook by PAIGC offices here. The dispatch made the point that principal operations taken occurred in regions situated to the north of the Jebba River, with the combined participation of both guerilla military detachments and the Liberation Army. As a result of these operations, 9 military trucks of the colonialists were destroyed, a radio station was put out of commission, as well as were two electrical plants. Soulbook has also learned that a Portuguese warplane was shot down and an arms supply seized by our Guinean brothers in the Empada region during this same period. DO IT, DO IT!