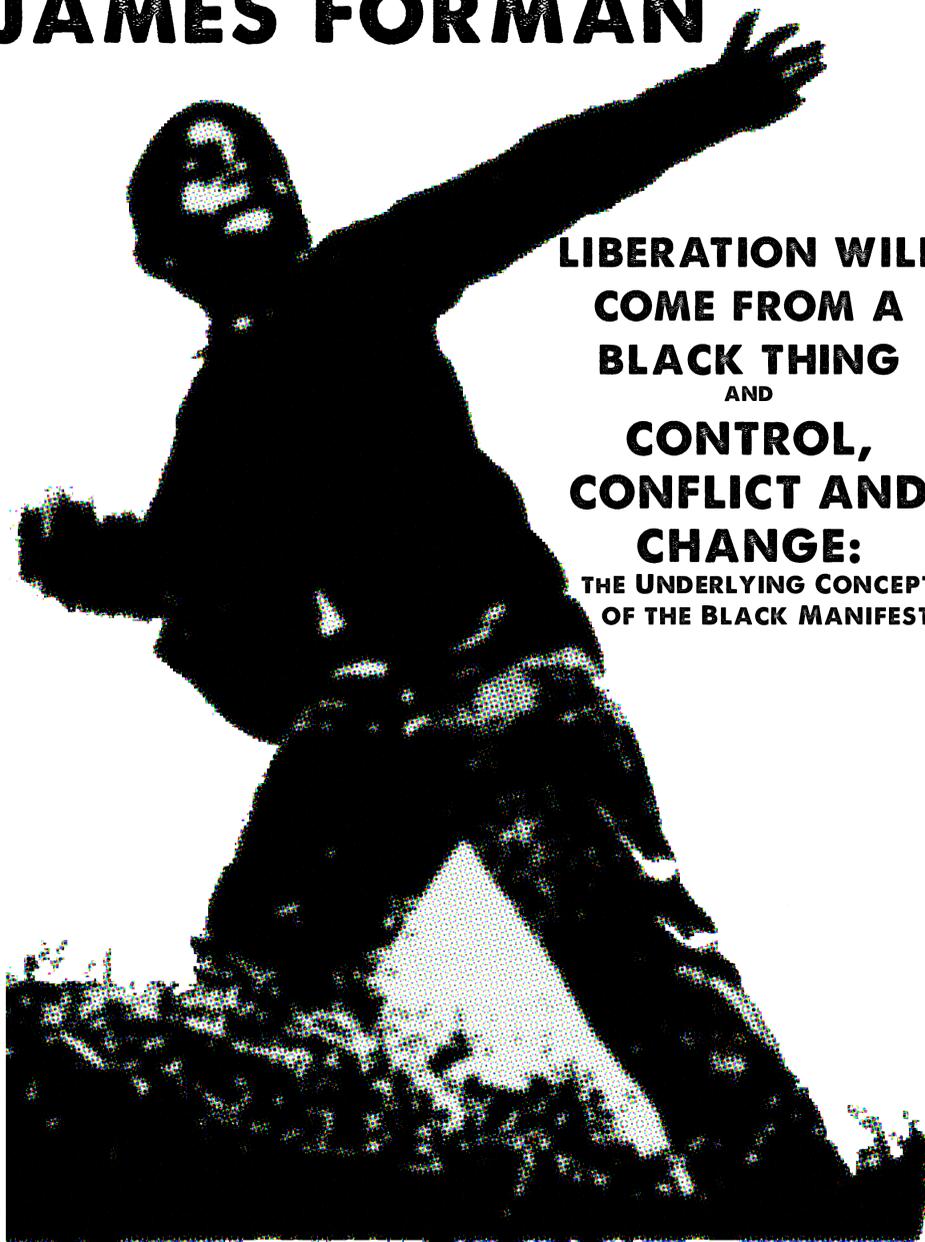


JAMES FORMAN



**LIBERATION WILL
COME FROM A
BLACK THING**

AND

**CONTROL,
CONFLICT AND
CHANGE:**

**THE UNDERLYING CONCEPTS
OF THE BLACK MANIFESTO**

A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS BY JAMES FORMAN

James Forman

1928 – 2005

James Forman was born on October 4, 1928, in Chicago, Illinois, but was raised by his grandmother on her farm in Marshall County, Mississippi. After completing graduate school at Boston University in 1961, he joined the newly formed Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and served as its executive secretary from 1961-to 1966.

Forman has been credited as being central to SNCC's organizing success. As his politics moved leftward in the late-1960s, he promoted a short-lived effort to align SNCC with the Black Panther Party in late 1967 and early 1968. Later, after on-going conflicts over the future of SNCC, in the summer of 1969, the group decided to drop Nonviolent from its name, and instead became the Student National Coordinating Committee. Following the last staff meeting of the old SNCC, Forman resigned.

He moved to Detroit and began working with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW). In spring 1969, Forman was invited to speak at a Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), organized by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO). Forman and the League secured six League members on the BEDC steering committee and determined to present at the conference a black socialist agenda and demand for reparations. On May 4, 1969, speaking for the BEDC, Forman disrupted religious services at Riverside Church in New York to read *The Black Manifesto*. The Manifesto demanded money from white churches to support things like a Black publishing company, a Black workers' strike fund and a land bank.

Forman became a member of the LRBW and was put on its central staff. Through money provided from BEDC, the League was able to establish a print shop (Black Star Press) and a book store (Black Star Book Store) and to make a movie, *Finally Got the News*. Forman's rise within the LRBW led to a number of struggles over the direction of the organization and within a year, it would undergo a split. In 1970, the LRBW had created the Black Workers Congress to take the Detroit organization national. In June 1971 three members of the seven-member LRBW Central Committee – Ken Cockrel, Mike Hamlin, and John Watson – joined Forman in leaving the League to concentrate their efforts on the Black Worker's Congress which went on to become a Marxist-Leninist organization and part of the emerging New Communist Movement.

Differences within the BWC, however, troubled the organization. Each of the three other Central Committee leaders eventually came to criticize Forman. Ultimately, Hamlin, as the BWC's national chairman, expelled Forman from the BWC on April 4, 1973.

Remaining politically active for the rest of his life, Forman also taught at American University in Washington, D.C. Forman died on January 10, 2005, of colon cancer, aged 76.

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This collection of Essays by James Forman was put together by Red Machete in Portland OR. We are a small communist cadre organization working to destroy white

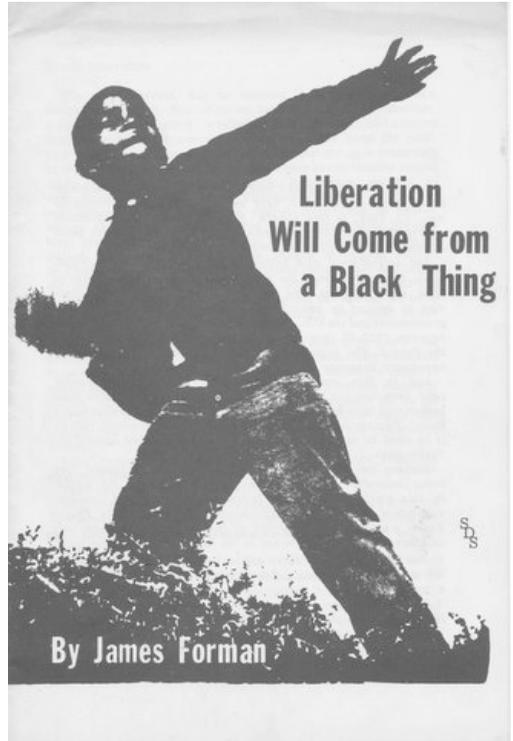
supremacist/settler colonialist capitalism from a militant revolutionary feminist praxis. James Forman

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LIBERATION WILL COME FROM A BLACK THING

Published: by Students for a Democratic Society, n.d. [1968?]

SDS introduction: James Forman's speech was given at the Western Regional Black Youth Conference, held in Los Angeles, California on Nov. 23, 1967. In this speech, Forman pushes for a political understanding of the fight against racism, of the fight for black liberation as self-defense against U.S. imperialism.



The self-defense of a people against attack is not a right, but a necessity. From the time of the Geneva Agreements in 1954 until 1959-60, the policy of Vietnamese nationalists was to engage in peaceful legal struggle against the Diem government and its U.S. advisors. More Vietnamese were killed between 1957-59 than during the nine years of the war against the French. The beginning of armed resistance in 1959 was a necessary response to the violence of repression.

And in this country, approximately 6,500 black people have been lynched since the Civil War. These lynchings have sometimes been by rope, more often by the “legal” policeman’s bullet. Racism has been used to justify these murders, just as it is used to justify the genocidal war being waged against the Vietnamese.

Racism and U.S. imperialism, inextricably entwined, are being assaulted by liberation fighters all over the world. In this worldwide struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, there can be no “innocent bystanders.” As Frantz Fanon wrote in *The Wretched of the Earth*, “Yes; everybody will have to be compromised in the fight for the common good.

No one has clean hands; there are no innocents and no onlookers. We all have dirty hands....Every onlooker is either a coward or a traitor.”

The fight against racism is not the struggle of black people, it is ours. And the battle has been joined.

Black Liberation

The only correct way to discuss those words is from a historical context. Too often we look at an event, a situation, a slogan, a life history, a rebellion, a revolution...and assume that its present characteristics have always been its past. For instance in Vietnam we see a heroic struggle occurring in which the Vietnamese people are using revolutionary armed force to repel their aggressors. Sometimes we fail to understand that the South Vietnamese had a policy of self-defense for at least four years—from 1955 to 1960— before they engaged in offensive armed struggle to liberate their country from the oppression of the

Diem Regime and its United States backers. When the student movement started in February 1960, many of the activists thought they had begun the black revolution. Many of us failed to understand the historical conditions which produced us and the actions we were taking against segregation in this country, especially in the Deep South.

While it is beyond the limits of my time to go into a long discussion of the history of our people, it is absolutely essential to see our history as one of resistance. Our ancestors began to resist the enforced slavery long before they left the shores of Africa. The captured African did not voluntarily go to the shores of Africa and willingly board the slave ships that brought our forefathers to this alien land. They resisted in Africa.

They resisted the moment they were wrenched from the shores of Africa.

They resisted on the high seas.

They resisted in Virginia, Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina—wherever they were forced to work as slaves building the so-called great white civilization of the United States and the Western World.

We resist today!

We must continue at every step of the ladder of our liberation to view those previous rungs as battles for which we fought; as battles for which we paid dearly in our blood, sacrifice, and toil; as battles which we could not win unless those below were willing to resist, dead though they may be, unknown, unsung.

Many of those names no one knew; but they resisted and they died in the liberation struggle.

Those of us who live are obligated to keep the unknown martyrs before our consciousness and to dedicate ourselves to more resistance until there are no more rungs of resistance, no more ladders of resistance, but only the ravines, the fields, the mountains, the Inner Cities and streets of revolution.

The opposite of resistance is accommodation. It is certainly true today that many of our people are accommodating themselves to the system of capitalism in which we live. Personally, I do not view much of the history of our people as accommodation. There may have been a few who accommodated themselves to slavery, a few informers here and there. Even during the period of Reconstruction, throughout the Twentieth Century, in the efforts of the Niagara Movement, the Garvey Movement, and most of the actions of the civil-rights movement must be seen, from my viewpoint, the history of a people who were and are resisting a form of neo-slavery that existed after the so-called Emancipation Proclamation.

It is true that much of the visible leadership in the past has often been characterized as accommodating leadership, but I am not discussing just the visible leadership. Leaving aside judgments on certain visible symbols of leadership, I am talking about the masses of our people. The masses of black people have never accommodated themselves to the United States.

And it is among the masses that our youth may work.

Only from the masses of black people will there come revolutionary leadership, a leadership that will not accommodate itself, that will continue to resist as our ancestors resisted, a leadership that will not mind dying for independence and freedom not only for blacks but for all oppressed.

For those of us who consider ourselves freedom fighters it is imperative that we view our history in this manner— a history of resistance, not of accommodation. It is imperative that we realize that our culture and our people have been able to resist to survive and to make it possible for us to deal more death blows to our oppressors.

Why have I devoted so much time to interpreting our history as one of resistance? There are several reasons. First, I assume all of us have certain factual knowledge of our history – and those of us who do not will soon acquire that. But I am convinced that many of us have not interpreted those facts correctly. Certainly my interpretation is open to debate, a debate in which I am prepared to engage, and defend. Second, I am convinced that a faulty interpretation of our history is often damaging to our cause. For instance, Johnny Wilson, a member of SNCC, recently attended a conference in Czechoslovakia where there were many representatives of the National Liberation Front and the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. The Vietnamese there assembled, people who are fighting and dying daily by the hundreds for their freedom, asked the American representatives to sing the song “We shall overcome”. They stated that they had sung the song often, for it gave them inspiration and much hope. One of the brothers from Newark attending the conference –who may or may not have participated

actively in the rebellion—jumped up and said: “No. We don’t sing that song. The people that sang that song were crazy. They were non-violent, and we ain’t.” The Vietnamese were stunned. They are not crazy for singing it, and I do not think all of us who sang it were crazy. People do not sing it today for many reasons. But the brother from Newark was only in Prague because there was a historical relationship between his presence there and the manner in which he got there. I am well aware that my presence here is due to many factors, but if it had not been for the people who sang “We Shall Overcome”, there is no question in my mind that I would not be here today.

To view our history as one of resistance is to recognize more clearly the colonial relationship that we have with the United States. Traditionally, when one thinks of colonialism images of foreign powers occupying another land and subjecting our people are the kinds of mental pictures we frame. But our own colonial status is unique in that we are the descendants of people enslaved and transplanted in a colonial status. The rhetoric, the false claims, the meaningless phrases—all these try to tell us that we are citizens; we are Americans. I will not dwell on the absurdity of that, for we all know too well that the internal rebellions in this country, led by Watts, would not occur if in fact that was the case.

The serious conditions in which we find ourselves as a people demand that we begin talking more of the colonized and the colonizer. If we begin to use those terms more and to describe their inner workings, especially the economic base on which colonialism is founded and the industrial military complex of Western countries which sustain it, we shall definitely advance

the cause of our liberation. Any colonized people are exploited people. But all exploited people are not colonized. That is to say, we can have in certain situations, as we do in many countries around the world, people exploited because of their class positions in society. Within the United States there are many exploited whites, but they are not colonized. In most instances they form a part of the colonizing class. When Fanon says we must stretch a Marxist analysis when we look at colonial situations he is referring to this condition, even though he didn't explain it.

Unless my historical understanding is incorrect, the colonial relationships since the Fifteenth Century—with the exception of Ireland—have all involved white Europeans and their American white descendants colonizing the darker people of the world. Therefore race is intimately involved in the colonizing experience. My own experience in various situations with my brothers and sisters has led me to conclude that it is necessary to view ourselves in these terms—the colonized and the colonizer—if we are not to fall into the trap of seeing the causes of our problems as merely skin causes, black skin versus white skin. A purely skin analysis of the cause of and continuing responsibility for our condition not only is ⁷ theoretically incorrect, but, because it is theoretically incorrect, will lead to some serious mistakes in programming.

When we view our colonial situation in the United States, it is easy, it is emotionally satisfying at times, and it may be the first step toward nationalism, which we must promote to view the cause as one solely of skin. But if our analysis remains there and

we do not work to broaden our understanding we are headed for a trick, a frustrating pit of despair.

A purely skin analysis makes it very difficult to guard against reactionary nationalism, for instance. Dr. Hasting Banda of Malawi would undoubtedly and without question tell you that he is an African nationalist. A man with black skin—yet he visits Taiwan, tells us the United States is right for fighting in Vietnam, and is willing to open diplomatic relations with South Africa.

There is an aspect of our colonial experience, however, which we often fail to examine, to look at—to determine its meaning for today and for tomorrow—and which may help I to shed light on the skin analysis. Hence, too often we overlook that our enslavement involved a duality—an alliance by some of our African ancestors with white slavers. The ruling classes of many African territories and nations, the African visitors in many skirmishes and wars with other Africans, co-operated with the white ruling classes and their merchants to get us to this country. This examination should in no way imply that I do not place the greatest burden upon Western Civilization for our enslavement, but I do not think it does much good to overlook that many Africans were willing to make a profit off our bodies.

Today in many instances we see similar situations—exploitation of blacks by blacks, especially in Africa (and I could call a list of countries) and here in the United States. This exploitation has its own historical roots, and any effective programming which we will do in the future must be aware of this current fact from its historical and class basis. A more profound analysis of this problem—the co-operation of the ruling-class Africans with the

slaving white merchants—has been made by a young historian, Walter Rodney, whom we met in Tanzania.

Brothers and Sisters, bold analysis of the last six or seven paragraphs of this paper brings into sharp focus three ways of looking at the fundamental causes of our problems: (1) We can take the position that says we are exploited solely because of our skin color. This I call the skin analysis. (2) We can take a second position that says our exploitation is due solely to our class position in this society. This I call the exclusive class analysis. (3) We can take a third position that says our exploitation results from both class positions and race. Given all that I said, it is obvious that I hold to the third position.

The absolute necessity for me to raise this as a discussion item arises from my own experience within the Movement. Once during a discussion with one of my brothers, I used the word Marxian. He jumped up and pounded on the table and yelled: “But, Motherfucker, Marx was not a black. He was not black, do you hear! He was a white writer.”

Just recently we have come through some painful discussions in the New York area and have seen some very deep tensions in the black community resulting from conflicts on this issue. And this is very important, because one brother was kidnapped because of this issue, and three other brothers had to go get him and almost got killed in the process—so the situation is very pressing on my consciousness. For instance, the march on the Pentagon was advertised in *Inner City Voice*, a revolutionary journal that started in Detroit after the rebellion. This journal called upon blacks to join the confrontation at the Pentagon. In the meantime there had been all sorts of discussion among some black

militants on the East Coast about what should be the relationship of black people to the March. The brothers and sisters from Detroit did not know about these conflicts and therefore came to Washington to participate in the demonstration. They wanted the National Liberation Front, so they said, to know that there were blacks opposed to the War and ready to confront the warmakers. However at the March they were torn asunder because there were brothers and sisters who began to say: Black people are not relating to that thing. That's a white thing. And one so-called spokesman for a Black Power committee said: Black people are interested in their communities....And I'm still quoting him....The whites started this war, so let them end it. We're tired of marching. We're headed for a black thing, and that thing don't include marching on the Pentagon. We're concerned, this Black Power spokesman concluded, about the cutbacks in the Poverty program. We want jobs and better communities.

Within SNCC today, we are discussing revolutionary Black Power as opposed to reactionary Black Power, for we have seen instance after instance in which conservative forces have tried to explain away or excuse the revolutionary aspect of Black Power. But an understanding of what is meant by revolutionary Black Power hinges on how one sees the fundamental causes of our condition today. From this analysis will flow many things and many decisions and many ways of solving our problems.

Within the concept of the colonized we must begin to speak more of the dispossessed—those who do not have. This is important, for it determines where alliances are made. The dispossessed unite with the dispossessed. It must be clearly understood that the nature of the colonial experience is that

racism is inherent in all its manifestations. Even if the dispossessed unite with the dispossessed or the exploiters who are responsible for the colonizing are kicked out, the legacy of racism and remnants of the colonial experience remain and must be uprooted. The Chinese are saying in part through their cultural revolution that even though one eliminates the structural forms of capitalism, there are capitalistic ideas and thoughts that still remain and must be combatted.

As Chairman H. Rap Brown stated to the Black Caucus at the National Conference on New Politics, the dispossessed in the United States are the people of African descent, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican Americans, and many poor whites. We are the vanguard of that group because of our historical oppression and the racism inherent in it. Whether we will live up to our historical role and lead forward that revolution remains to be seen.

It is our job to go forth from this conference using whatever means necessary to liberate ourselves and other oppressed people, not only in the United States but throughout the world. In order to do this we must wage an unrelenting struggle against racism and exploitation of man. We must work, not for ourselves, but for the unborn generations that will carry humanity and our people to new heights, to a world without racism, to a world of no more resistance, but only a community of concern. For this world we must be prepared to fight and to die. And we must believe that we will win. We must believe that our fight and our deaths are not in vain.

How do we organize and what do we organize? One year ago, within SNCC, we called for the formation of all-inclusive

political units, independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. We called for the formation of the Freedom Organizations. You can choose any name, so long as it is an independent political organization that will service the needs—the total needs—of the people. These organizations must build within themselves committees to deal with the economic, political, social, cultural, educational, and welfare needs of the people. They must have youth organizations, and it is up to us—those of us with the commitment to total change, with energy and time to go to the masses and organize them—to do this work. One may well speak of revolution, but unless there is day-to-day, block-to-block, city-to-city, and nationwide organizing there can be no fundamental changes in our lives. Those of us who consider ourselves politically hep, those of us who feel we have a consciousness, those of us who are prepared to take care of business—must recognize that unless there is mass participation by black people in efforts to bring about revolution, then that revolution will not occur. No matter how long we talk about it, rhetoric is not a substitute for work.

In fact, brothers and sisters, I do not mean to sound pretentious or presumptuous, or to degrade anyone's effort—but the reality is that there are so few people willing to do work among the masses of the people. That is why this conference is very important and we should all thank the organizers, for they have been willing to work, to mimeograph, to arrange meetings, to stay up late in order to organize. Blueprints for revolution have been around for a long time. And everyone that I have read has stressed the importance of active political organization. And in fact, man, you got to work in order to do any of that...

And as we work in the Inner Cities and in the rural areas we must be prepared to guard against the sabotaging of our work, the infiltration of our cadres by the FBI and the CIA and local police agents. We must not allow the McClellan Committee, the Eastland Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee to isolate SNCC, to destroy the Panthers, to arrest and imprison other militants because the Man is afraid of RAM. We have to build visible defense committees and link all the militants in some confederation so that it will be more difficult to isolate and destroy any of us. Inner City newspapers must be established to provide alternative methods of communication, for all of us know that the Man is not going to print anything but negative news of our movement.

Finally, we must protect our brothers and sisters; and even as I say this there are some brothers in jail about whom there is not much active concern because we have allowed our own internal contradictions to divide us. This brother may not have done that the way some brothers would have done it. Therefore he is left isolated. And to the degree that this occurs all of us stand to be destroyed. Granted that the forward thrust of the Movement cannot be stopped, it can be halted and set back. Time and energy, the two most important assets we have, can be uselessly spent if we are not immediately responsive to crises or ready to take legal action in behalf of brothers that are arrested. This last point cannot be over-stressed, for the Man is picking up brothers all over the country and sometimes there is no response to their arrest. This is not the case with respect to visible symbols of leadership. Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown, and so forth and so on, and maybe even myself. It must also be true for the man

behind the mimeograph sheet or the one who is taking care of business.

In other words we have to work to eliminate the class bias that is often apparent in many of our organizations and efforts.

And now, brothers and sisters, I must depart from the written script. I had some other notes, but they are not here.

As I said I am very tired and I have had to read this paper because I do not trust myself, my ability to be very coherent without leaning on the paper. I agree that it is very important that we begin to write down our thoughts. We must get away from the oral tradition. It is extremely hard to pass on to future generations ideas and information if they are all in the oral tradition. For six years, as I served as the Executive Secretary, I would make speeches and none of them would be written. That means that if something had happened to me, if I had been annihilated in battle, then whatever ideas I may have had would not have been transmitted, for they would have been lost. That is the problem with the period of Reconstruction in our history. There were many strong black cats who were sheriffs and who were other lawmakers, but there is not much, if anything, written by them; nothing that we can read—and many of them could write. As a people we have the oral tradition, and they employed that; but for the future generation we must write. We must write from our own experience, for only we have all the insights into what we mean.

However, now I want to talk about five points, or several things that we must do to counteract possible reactions and attempts to destroy us by the Man. The first thing we must do is stop all this

loose talk and keep our mouths shut. Because cats are sitting around doing loose talk and the Man is gathering information and intelligence. The Man is piecing together all this loose talk and making up conspiracy charges and what-have-you. This very well may have been what happened in New York, because there were police informers involved in the charges. I don't know—but certainly they were framed.

I know this is what happened with the Statue of Liberty case, because Policeman Woods was the man who conceived of the idea, pushed the brothers into it by making them feel guilty because they weren't militant enough, arranged for the dynamite, took a brother to pick it up, and then testified against them in court. The result was: They served three and a half years, and Woods is still free. That is a fact, and you'd better read about the Statue of Liberty case before you go out every night talking about the revolution with anyone and everyone.

The second thing deals with these research programs. I have been gathering some intelligence on them, and I have discovered in one city, Detroit, that three researchers with some money talked to over two hundred and fifty brothers who discussed details of the rebellion, plans and stages for future activity. The researchers have taken the material back to the foundation. What do you think they have done with it?

Obviously the Man has it. This has happened all over this country. Immediately during and after the rebellion you see brothers talking to television cameras saying what they're going to do soon as the National Guard pulls out. They are just selling wolf tickets and giving out information on themselves. The Man has an intelligence file on everybody. And he has gotten that

information in part because we have been running off at the mouth co-operating with some research project about a rebellion. You don't make a rebellion and describe it until after it's all over.

The third question deals with rumor-mongering. For the last two or three weeks I've gotten telephone calls from people saying that this person or that person is "the Man", and when I check it out there doesn't seem to be much basis in fact for the kinds of rumors that are spreading. Such evidence as "This chick looks funny!" or "She talks funny!". I am not saying that there are no informers. There are enough FBI and CIA agents, even in this room, that we don't know about. We do not need to make the situation worse by spreading rumors that have no foundation based on facts and reality. One must check out these things before fingering a person.

What is the danger of rumor-spreading ? The danger is that the Man uses this as a divisive technique. He puts the finger on cats. He wants to create suspicion, he wants to divide and conquer, he wants to put the finger on cats by spreading ill-founded rumors. This has happened all over Africa. Liberation fighters have had to combat suspicions placed on them by the fingers of the Man. And if we give in to this type of rumor-mongering we are contributing to that type of activity.

The fourth thing is the negative press which we've talked about. We cannot expect favorable coverage of our activities. We must have our own papers.

The fifth thing which is extremely important deals with splitting activities. As Brother Snelling said, "Everybody's black." Blackness is granted. It may not be sufficient, but certainly it is

granted. But the reality is that the Man is wearing Afros today; he's wearing dashikis. You dig it? He's wearing them. I've seen them in the crowds. When we were in Philadelphia on the so-called dynamite frame-up case, a cop, whom we were suspicious of and had not seen for three weeks, came around in a dashiki and a turban identifying with the masses. The brothers easily identify with me because I'm wearing a buba, the other brother is over there clean and taking care of business. See, we're in a trick. We have to watch out for this kind of activity because it's happening all over. That is why the Man has so much intelligence in Harlem, because he has gone in there on that kind of basis and he's doing it everywhere else and we have to watch out.

The kidnapping in Washington was supposed to have happened because the brother wasn't black enough, and some of the same people involved in the kidnapping put out a newsletter charging that there was an internal Communist conspiracy to kill black people at the demonstration at the Pentagon. It was admitted in the newsletter that there had been conversations with the Police Department, admitted there had been discussions about how this organization could keep down a rebellion in DC. Also in the newsletter there were words to the effect that Robert Williams, Stokely Carmichael, and H. Rap Brown were associating with governments that bring greater repression on black people in the United States. And yet this organization called itself the Black Man's Volunteer Liberation Army. I am not even saying that those who put out that newsletter were the Man. Maybe they didn't put it out, but they didn't disown it. It is obvious, however, that the effect was the same. The Black Community in Washington was terrorized. They did not know what was going

to happen that day. Certainly they did not want to be involved in gunfights between blacks. When we fight like this among ourselves, only the Man stands to gain. He got his peace and quiet in Washington at our expense. Black people were split, and we must realize that blackness is going to be used more and more as a splitting tactic.

Remember, this Government will use any means to control the upsurge of insurrectional activity coming from the Inner City, and we must not help him. This happened here at this conference. Those cats out there were trying to terrorize this conference. They had said they were going to do that. But they were stopped. When we have to fight among ourselves we don't have time to deal with the Man. We just do not have the time to fight among ourselves. The masses get bewildered and they are not willing to go out on the streets if they feel they have to fight with brothers. It is difficult enough to get any of us out on the streets.

It's bad enough to have to deal with a hunky. Nobody wants to shoot a brother. In Washington the people who went to see about the newsletter and other matters did not want to shoot those cats. As a matter of fact it is my contention that the Man was waiting for them to start something.

There is no better help we can give to the Man than to fight among ourselves. In Washington it was a perfect set-up. If the brothers had mounted the stairs to take care of business, they could easily have been blown away...

Brothers and sisters, I am going to close. But I want to emphasize that we have brought a lot of information in papers to

this conference and we urge you to go back to your campuses and get this material distributed.

The point is that we want the material read. Now you are hip enough to get all of these Afro-American organizations started on your campuses. And I know not many of you on the West Coast go to all-black schools. There aren't any. So you ought to be hip enough to get those mimeograph machines rolling and copy this material. If you do this we can have a distribution of a hundred thousand copies of the material printed and distributed in a month...

It is imperative that we do this, but to do it we have got to work. I am old and I know that, but I also know that most cats are shucking and jiving. They simply do not want to do any work. They do not want to do any work. They want to sit down and talk about how black I am and how bad the Man is, but they won't even get up and raise a quarter for a black organization.

Now I ain't going into no cultural-historical analysis of that. It ain't nothing but out-and-out laziness.

Finally we must be concerned about the future. It is a trap to think in terms of our lives. Do you think that if those North Vietnamese soldiers were worried about their lives they would put up the fight they do at Dak To hill? If you are worried about your life it means that you are trying to protect your life. And if you are too worried, you are expressing again individualism. You are not concerned with the future. When you are not worried about your life and you are concerned about the future, about all the unborn Huey Newtons, all the unborn Emmett Tills and Charles Mack Parkers and Sammy Younges and Ruby Doris

Robinsons, and when you are concerned about your own children—then you are ready to take care of business. And you ain't got no business having any children if you ain't gonna fight for their freedom.

Thank you.

James Forman, Chairman, United Black Appeal

CONTROL, CONFLICT AND CHANGE:

THE UNDERLYING CONCEPTS OF THE BLACK MANIFESTO

Published: By the Black Workers Congress, n.d. [1970]

ON SATURDAY, April 26, 1969, in Detroit, Michigan at a Black Economic Development Conference sponsored by the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), we issued the Black Manifesto which is basically divided into three parts: (1) the preamble, a prophetic version of how we see change and revolution inside the United States; (2) concrete programs and demands for reparations upon the racist white, Christian churches and Jewish synagogues; (3) programmatic ways or tactics to achieve our objectives.

Since the issuing of the Black Manifesto many of us have spoken throughout the United States trying to organize support for its implementation. The following article is written primarily for Black Dialogue, but it is fundamentally the speech I delivered at the National Black Theatre on Sunday, July 6, 1969. The spoken word has been adapted to a written style in some instances. It is the intention of the author that this article and "speech" will form a supplement to the Black Manifesto and that a minimum of seven million copies will be distributed in black communities throughout the United States. The international implication of

the Manifesto is evidenced by the fact that the Political Bureau of the Republic of Guinea has issued an editorial of support.

Inside the United States we suffer from the most vicious, racist, capitalistic, imperialistic system known to mankind. Whereas all of us in this room today, at this particular gathering of the National Black Theater, may be struggling for our liberation, there are millions of black people who are not struggling for their liberation, who are not totally conscious of all their oppression. Why is this the case?

Why is it that some of us are dedicated to giving our total lives for the liberation of black people and others are not? The answer lies fundamentally in the mass line of the BEDC and its Black Manifesto; namely the three “c’s”: control, conflict and change.

Operating upon all of us are a whole set of control factors, many of which we are not aware. These control factors, however, have been drummed in our heads for centuries, and we accept them as realities, hence the major reason we are not all totally dedicated to liberation.

It is not enough just to say that the system is tyrannical; that it’s racist; that it’s capitalistic; that it’s imperialistic. Although that is a correct analysis, what are some of the manifestations of racism, capitalism and imperialism that make us submit to tyranny inside this country? This can be determined by a thorough discussion of the control factors operating on our lives.

Any kind of liberation struggle – anywhere in the world – seeking revolution, intending to overthrow oppression, trying to deal with the tyranny that oppresses that particular group of

people must, in fact, make this concrete analysis of all of the control factors operating upon that oppressed group of individuals.

Inside the United States there are approximately thirty major control factors operating upon us. In every city, in every town, in every county and in every state there will be additional variations; but what we are talking about are the major control factors which make us submit to the tyranny of this country. These kinds of control factors are responsible for our brothers fighting in Vietnam; they are not mercenaries. We have been so indoctrinated, so controlled by certain factors as we grow up that we begin to fight in Vietnam for the United States government, even though there are those of us who are opposed to fighting in Vietnam.

What are some of these control factors?

One: The concept of citizenship. This is a major control factor. The entire fabric of this particular system of government is designed to instill in us the concept that we are citizens of this country. Every particular act of the various institutions inside the United States tries to drum this into our minds every day.

We know this concept of citizenship is a lot of bull.

We know that.

We're hipped to that.

We were not citizens in 1789 when they said we were three-fifths of men as written in the Constitution of the United States.

We're hooked to the fact that we are not citizens today. Nevertheless, it is imperative that this government try to consciously promote the feeling that we are citizens of this country. It is only by promoting the concept that we are citizens of this country that it is able to control us and make us submit to its tyranny. Therefore, one of the first jobs that we have to do is to work to consciously destroy the myth that we are citizens of the United States.

Two: The educational process. The educational process of the United States is geared not only to make us feel that we are citizens, but also to make us conform. It is geared to make us super patriots, geared to make us obey the police, obey the courts and all other institutions of this false democracy. Therefore any liberation struggle has to deal with the educational process inside a colonized territory, inside any situation where people are oppressed. We know this. All we have to do is to open our eyes and look at the educational system inside the United States. That educational system does not teach us to rebel against the United States, but in fact teaches us how to conform. A classic example is how we all learn to place our hands on our hearts and recite: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." For eight years in elementary school we say it. This is a conscious inculcation, a conscious brainwashing by the educational system.

Check the textbooks; check the history books.

When we get into high school, we notice brothers in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) saluting and reciting once again: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America.. .

.” By the time a brother is eighteen, the educational system has consistently programmed him where he wants to become a Second Lieutenant in the United States Air Force or in the United States Army. That is why ROTC exists in colleges – to reinforce the primary and secondary educational system which makes us submit to this kind of government.

Three: The mass media and the communication system. This is fundamentally a technique of the United States and all Western powers with their highly industrialized communication systems. It’s no accident that many of the so-called “Negro” newspapers in this country are in fact owned by white capitalists. What goes into those newspapers affects our images – not to mention the New York Daily News and all the garbage which is spread throughout the United States.

The psychological control effect of the television network in this country has never really been estimated. We know it’s there, notwithstanding “Julia.” It’s no accident that the “Black Heritage” program was shown at 9:00 o’clock in the morning. This was a deliberate programming, in order not to get the ideas contained in “Black Heritage” over to the masses of black people. At 9:00 o’clock in the morning we are out hustling jobs, and we don’t have time to turn on the television.

Four: The dogma and practice of the white Christian churches. As far as I’m concerned, this has been one of the most consistent and effective control mechanisms operating upon us. I happen to be old enough to remember my mother telling me: “Well, don’t worry about the white man, son; he’ll get his in hell. We will have everlasting life, so don’t worry about him; these 60 or 70 years of hard times which we face will be nothing compared to

our eternity of peace and his eternity of damnation.” As long as this kind of psychology and ideology is spread by the Christian churches, people will not go on to struggle for their liberation.

During the period of slavery and even today in most instances the practices and dogma of the Christian churches are in fact made to order for an enslaved group of people. Let us examine it: Here we are slaves inside the United States, and so the man comes with the Bible and says “Blessed are the poor, for they shall inherit the earth, or they shall see God. Blessed are the meek for they shall see the kingdom of God.” Here we are poor – toiling in the fields, chopping the cotton and the man says to us, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than it is for a rich man to go to heaven.”

So all of these things were comforting in many ways to our ancestors and even to some of us. Now I don’t take the position – and this is something that we have to argue about – that the Christian church was in fact a survival element for black people. That’s just a hypothetical argument. We have no way of proving it; but I do know that the ideology, practices, and involvement with the Christian church helped to control us and made us submit more and more to the tyranny of this country.

Now the same thing is true today because many people believe the racist Christian ideology, believe that there is an eternity, believe there is life after death, that God is all powerful and that even the sufferings on this particular earth will be rewarded by eternity.

Five: The profit motive system and upward mobility. The system strives to make us competitive. If we are not competitive, we

cannot become good capitalists. We cannot become good people inside this system of government, and we are programmed consciously to try to make money, to make profits, to be upward mobile, to try to get more and more cars, a better home; and all that's on an individualistic basis too.

Six: The love of life and the fear of death. This is very real, you see, because this society with its materialistic base makes us want to love life, makes us want to love life consciously. We are supposed to love life and fear death and that becomes a very significant control mechanism. It is better to die at 19, struggling to be a human being, struggling to be a man, struggling to be a woman than to die of old age enduring all sorts of oppression throughout our lives.

The love of life becomes real because many people are not willing to take chances, are not willing to risk, are not willing to make sacrifices, are not willing to do day-to-day work because they love life, and they fear death. They don't want to be killed; they want to live. And, therefore, they will submit to all forms of tyranny and oppression because they want to live; and there is only one absolute certainty in life, and that's death. Once you're dead, you're dead; there's no reprieve, no redress, no heaven, no hell. You are dead, and if you lie out on the streets, you'll rot away. And you will see what there is afterwards. It doesn't matter how much embalming fluid, or what type of caskets we get, death is death! If we, in fact, fear death and we are not willing to take certain risks, then we will stay oppressed.

This is a problem that the Vietnamese also face. To love life is a part of Western mythology. One is supposed to love life despite all of the bad things inherent in Western civilization which go

on. And I maintain that the love of life and fear of death is a key control factor. We should not allow the fear of death to operate as a control mechanism even though we do.

Seven: The fear of ideologies which call for revolution in the United States. This is another mechanism which the man uses to control us. There is no mystery why the Panthers are being attacked. There is no mystery why brothers who espouse liberation or revolution are in jail all over this country. The man, the government, wants to make us fear these kinds of ideologies. There is no mystery, even as far as the BEDC is concerned, why there is a federal grand jury subpoenaing people in Detroit, Michigan like today, and the BEDC is only two months old. But the federal government has seen fit to call the grand jury hearing to subpoena people. Now ask yourself, why? Obviously, if it were no threat, there would be no federal grand jury. Check it-out. Look around, there are a whole lot of people who are walking around doing one thing and saying another. But they are not being persecuted by the government. In many ways, they don't pose as great a threat as do other forces and other individuals. You can judge the effectiveness of some things by the amount of persecution which the government puts down. If you are not a threat, they will not bother you; they'll just let you run around. That's a fact.

Eight: The police and other military forces. Ordinarily, when we think of control, (this is what we think of as a major force; but it's not. All of these other factors we have talked about are important because the police can't be everywhere. The police cannot be all over Africa. The military alone: did not control Africa. It took the missionary, money, indirect rule and other aspects of

colonialism. The police and the military are one of the last control mechanisms any government uses. Sometimes we make the mistake and just think the police are the only control mechanism operating on us, and if we did away with the police that would end our problems. This is just not true.

Nine: The administration of justice, the courts, bail, the judicial system. It's no wonder that the brothers who were arrested in the so-called Panther plot have a \$100,000 bail on them, or that there were various legal entanglements in the so-called July 21, 1967, "frame-up." All of the administration of justice becomes a control mechanism because, if you impose high bail, then the brothers can't get out on the streets. If the juries are stacked, there is no chance for justice.

Ten: The use of police informers, spies, rumors and slander campaigns. In certain black communities it is said the spy network is greater than the CIA overseas. That's possible, and real. Look at the history of frame-ups here in Harlem. Look at the so-called Statue of Liberty case, where Woods, a police informer, began to set up the whole plot, went and got the dynamite and planted the microphone in the brother's car; and Woods is still running around. He might be informing on this meeting, I don't know.

Many of the brothers who are fighting for liberation in Rhodesia say that there are so many police informers spying for the Ian Smith government that any time they try to mount an attack in any particular city or countryside that the brothers go and fail. Police informers have framed most of the militants who have been unjustly accused of certain so-called crimes. The case of Brother Ferguson is only one recent example. Ironically, the

government is using black people to inform on one another, and some of us fall for this treachery for a few pieces of silver.

I assure you there is only one way to deal with police informers and you know what I mean. I want to make this very, very clear; we've said this all over the country and I'm saying it right here. Now you can call that hot air if you want to, or you can call it just a lot of wolfing, but you take your chances, because there is only one way in the world we are going to stop these informers from standing up.

Eleven: The assassination of black leaders. The killing of people who take frontal positions against the injustices of this society, who fight racism, capitalism and imperialism and who refuse to submit to the tyranny of this country is a mechanism that the government uses to control the rebelling black population. In Cleveland today Brother Ahmed Evans is facing electrocution. The government is finding a scapegoat for the July 23, 1968, self-defense in Cleveland. Brother Ahmed Evans is absolutely innocent, and I am told by Sister Mae Mallory that the record indicates he was in the house of a police officer for six hours during the whole time of rebellion. However, since there was a strong military apparatus developing among the brothers, the state of Ohio and the United States government are deliberately assassinating this brother to help control the population. All of us who are black must join in the fight to save his life and unite with the July 23rd Defense Committee which is fighting for his survival.

But the most effective method of curbing some of the assassinations of black leaders is to organize for retribution. That retribution has to be deliberately planned, well organized and

quite selective. No man can protect his life ultimate! There is a picture to our left of Brother Malcolm who paid the supreme price, but is no accident that he was killed in public. His killing was designed by the CIA to frighten the population as it did in many instances. Ah those lynchings from the period of Reconstruction through today were inflicted upon black men and women to frighten the population, to make all of us afraid to challenge the system of government that oppresses us. The will of a people is weakened to the degree that it is frightened by the assassination .of its leaders.

When we were working to save the life of Brother Huey, we raised the cry that the sky is the limit if he were sent to the electric chair. Some of us were prepared to go down if he had been killed by the state, for only organized, deliberate and selective retribution will minimize the killing of black people by the corrupt military machinery of this government. Political leadership must establish its price well in advance of its assassination. It must call for the destruction of power stations, gas outlets, police stations, water pumps and buildings, and the selective killing of imperialists who are choking the life of mankind around the world. As the struggle escalates, the price must go higher and higher; and organization for retribution and revolution must become more deliberate, more scientific, carefully planned and intensely selective.

Efforts must be made to organize all segments of the population. Forms of organization and stages of struggle cannot be skipped, for the final clash is years away and probably will not come in our lifetime, but we must work as if every day is the final day –

taking the long-range viewpoint so as not to become frustrated and demoralized when quick victories are not around the corner.

Twelve: The lack of job security, inadequate payment of wages, and consumer credit. The ability to deny one security for his family and for himself through the withholding of wages and the dismissal from his or her job becomes one of the most effective control mechanisms that this society imposes upon us. Wage payments and consumer credit are designed to effectively control the population and make us all toe the line of the capitalist road to destruction. Many people do not struggle for fear of losing their jobs and the meager security they have for their family. Consumer credit and the installment plan of buying has been the graveyard of many militants and potential revolutionaries, for we are programmed to want goods and services more than justice and liberation.

Thirteen: The practices of the white-dominated trade unions. Trade unions in this country are not only racists in their treatment of black workers, union practices and officer structure, but also in terms of their practices and attitudes toward the third world, the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and all the other automotive industries are locating in South Africa, for instance; but at the same time the racist United Automobile Workers' Union does not call a strike against these plants for their treatment of black workers in South Africa, or the miserable wages or policies of apartheid.

Black workers in many parts of this country form sixty-five to eighty percent of the work force at the point of production, but they do not control their unions; and the racist white-dominated

leadership has no interest in ending their exploitation or that of black people around the world.

Fourteen: The denial of adequate health and medical facilities. The infant mortality rate is so high for black infants that genocide is committed at birth. If black children cannot grow up to be men and women, their potential for revolutionary work is killed by the state. There is no medical school in Harlem or many other black communities by deliberate calculations of the racist government of the United States.

While it is true that thirty to fifty million of us survived the atrocities of the slave trade, how many of us died and do die through the lack of adequate medical facilities? Clearly inadequate medical facilities are a form of genocide.

Fifteen: The welfare system and its administration. This is self-explanatory.

Sixteen: Dope in our communities. When young black men and women thirteen and fourteen years old are addicted to heroin and never live to see sixteen, how can they fight to liberation? It is impossible. In fact, they become agents against liberation when they become twenty-two or twenty-three because they are forced to rob the population in order to get dope. The Mafia is a third government inside the United States. While the black dope pusher is part of this control mechanism, he is still not the major source. He is a minor agent, for the real responsibility lies with the system of government that allows it to come across the borders, profits in it and allows it to flourish in black communities.

Seventeen: The downgrading of our African heritage and culture. This is a factor we are all aware of. But to the extent we accept and uplift Western history, Western values, Western culture, Western mythology, Western religion, the process of control becomes more effective.

Eighteen: The lack of concrete ties with the African continent. The importance of this as a control mechanism can be more readily understood by comparing the situation of the Jews in this country to Israel as a state. The United Jewish Appeal and other forms of Jewish philanthropy inside the United States had much to do with the financing of militant Jewish groups and the formation of Israel.

Our own consciousness about helping African liberation movements is not very developed, and there are few ways in which we lend our technical skill to develop the African continent. This in turn forces African countries to turn to their former colonial masters and even to Israel for help. I am not suggesting the fault is entirely ours, but we must accept our share of the responsibility. The fault is fundamentally with imperialism, but we must try through our own efforts to break it.

In Tanzania, for instance, Israel built a hotel which will be completely owned by the Tanzanian government in a few years. Yet, once the hotel was built, it was necessary for the Tanzanian government to send some of its citizens to Israel to study bed making, the art of waiting tables, cashiering and other trades associated with the running of a hotel. Tanzania exercised its options, but these are skills which we employ and teach every day.

SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) once tried to have a program called the Afro-American Skills Bank through which we would try to send people from the United States to Africa for a period of two or three years, and we got very high confirmation from African governments. Obviously, the Central Intelligence Agency and the entire fabric of the United States government moved to stop this program through various means. It would have been too much of a threat to this government for black people to go abroad, not under the sponsorship of the United States government, but actively carrying a line that is opposed to this form of government.

The lack of concrete ties with the African continent makes it possible for our continent to be exploited by others; and it strengthens the possibilities for lies by the United States government and dissension between Africans on the continent and those of us overseas, including our brothers and sisters in the West Indies.

For instance, the United States Information Agency prints a magazine called Topic which is distributed only in Africa. In the first issue it showed Bob Moses and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer winning two seats at the Democratic convention of August, 1964. This is a flagrant lie, but it was told by a government that is engaged in coups and killings to get its will, and the telling of a lie in Africa is not beyond its capacity. The United States government had to explain what happened at the Democratic convention of 1964, and it chose to lie about the results, for the truth would have been damaging to its propaganda. Other issues of this magazine have showed the Bronx High School of Science with a high percentage of blacks. They are trying to promote the

concept that integration is an American dream which becomes a reality in that high school. One issue stated that the average income of all blacks in the United States is \$7,000 a year.

Through the lack of concrete ties, the U.S. government is able to program us and Africans into believing there is no solidarity between the two of us to intensify the propaganda that upward mobility is a virtue which all blacks in the U.S. seek as well as the material possessions of this country. Inside Africa, the Cultural Affairs officers of the U.S. embassies have the greatest contact with the African masses; and most, if not all, of these are “Negroes” who help to spread rumors and false information about our condition in the U.S.

Nineteen: The domination of the African continent by the Western powers. As long as the African continent is dominated by Western economic interests, then we can expect little help from it in our fight for liberation. Nobody will stand up in the United Nations and champion the cause of black people inside the U.S. if there is great fear of economic retaliation by the U.S. and other Western interests. It is no accident that it is difficult to find countries in Africa that will assist a brother who is seeking political asylum. There are some, but their numbers are limited; and this relates to the precarious economic position in which the African countries find themselves, although we must learn to live underground inside the U.S.

We ourselves must realize that we are much to blame for these conditions for we have not heightened our own sense of consciousness and concrete work to help eliminate these conditions. At the same time black CIA agents, cultural affairs officers, other representatives of the U.S. government do much –

deliberately – to antagonize the African population with respect to us living in the U.S.

Twenty: The Jack of capital for the cooperative development of black communities in this country and Africa. This is an extremely vicious obstacle and control mechanism. For while Africa is the richest continent on the earth, yet it is very poor. In order to develop industrially, capital is needed. Colonial powers granted political independence but maintained control of most economies. There is no mystery why Brother Nkrumah didn't survive, for he was on the verge of breaking the stranglehold on the Ghanaian economy imposed by the Western powers. The lack of funds for the cooperative development of the black community results from the intense profit motive system under which we live and the desire to maintain that system.

Twenty-one: The lack of organizations which seek to develop political, economic and military forms for the survival and revolution. Many organizations relate to only one side of the triangle – the political, military, economic triangle – but all organizations should seek to develop the three simultaneously. During the period of Reconstruction, there were many forms of political activity by black people, but the inability to defend the black political institutions caused their loss as well as the loss of the lives of many people. The political ideology must seek revolution with a cooperative economic content.

Twenty-two: The absence of a centralized intelligence agency for the use of black people against their white oppressors, house niggers included. This is vitally necessary to minimize informers, to post and spread information about good, bad and indifferent programs in the community. This requires a high

degree of skill in running a security apparatus, but these skills can be acquired.

Twenty-three: The lack of trained cadres capable of organizing people to struggle for their liberation. Explaining and promoting struggle against the control factors operating upon us can only come through disciplined cadres agitating for their change. In Vietnam this is called armed propaganda units, but the form remains the same. There must be conscious, dedicated groups of people willing to make every sacrifice to promote conflict in order to produce change.

Twenty-four: The promotion among black people that nonviolence is the method to change our conditions inside the U.S. At this stage of our struggle we can see how the government is intensely trying to cling to this concept while it plunders and kills in Vietnam.

Twenty-five: The inability to understand that the total population, men, women, and children must be seen as revolutionary. This is quite often difficult for some brothers who are not in the habit of realizing the revolutionary nature of women; but, if the Algerians had adopted this attitude, then their revolution would not have succeeded to the point it did; for the liberation front mobilized the total energies of the population, women included. Algerian women were very effective in concealing weapons and transporting messages.

Twenty-six: The Poverty Program. It was designed to control the rising militancy of the black population. There are some brothers and sisters within it trying to use it against the government, but

for the most part revolutionary militancy has been curbed by the introduction of the poverty program in certain areas.

The poverty program and other federally funded projects are not designed to instill the habit of cooperative ownership, but to pay off and buy more stooges. One must wonder with all the money that the poverty program spends why there is not one major industrial printing plant where black -people are learning the skills of industrial printing.

Twenty-seven: Psychological warfare perpetrated by the U.S. government inside black communities. The extent of this is not known, but we would be most unwise not to realize that a government that has trained personnel in psychological warfare operating around the world would not apply some of those same techniques inside an area it considered dangerous.

We mentioned rumors. There are those which get passed by the population in general, and there are those which get deliberately fostered and promoted by agencies of the government, especially the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Unfortunately, many people feel they can talk to the FBI without realizing that the FBI and the CIA play on percentage points. They will spread rumors in order to frighten the population.

Then there is the type of psychological warfare which tries to make us believe all the problems reside within us and that there are no external forces causing our oppression. Quite often this line is internalized by many of us. Therefore, we sometimes hear that there must be absolute unity before we can do anything, or that there are no class factors within the black community. The

government achieves desired results if any segment of the population ignores the objective realities of the control forces operating upon it and rather believes that the fault is solely within it.

Twenty-eight: Compacted living conditions and inadequate housing. Genocide.

Twenty-nine: The lack of land and the thievery of land. Historically we have been cheated of land in this country. We worked the land; we made others rich. Not only was there no land redistribution after the Civil War, but there has been a systematic attempt to deprive black people of the little land they have owned through the years. But there is no reason for us to assume that any land anywhere in the U.S. does not belong to us. We have as much right to the land and resources of this country as anyone. There are some of us in the Black Economic Development Conference who assert the total land mass and resources of this country must be administered under revolutionary black leadership in order to prevent the recurrence of racism and exploitation.

Self-Determination and the Transfer of Power

Essentially, the fight for reparations is one of self-determination and the transfer of power. We have made demands upon one of the major sources of capital in this country. There are fundamentally only seven major sources of capital in the United States: The United States government, banks, business enterprises and corporations, foundations, churches and people. We have no argument with anyone demanding reparations from the U.S. government. We support their efforts, and we realize

that the call for reparations is not a new one. However, the churches must be viewed as an extension of the government. Not to understand the two-thousand-year-old historical relation of the Christian church with the rise and fall of governments and their complicity in our enslavement is to miss a very important political point and the crux of our demand for reparations.

The Christian church and Jewish synagogues must not be seen merely as religious institutions. They are more than that. They are more than just a control mechanism with their ideology of servitude. The Christian churches and Jewish synagogues must be seen as financial giants operating in a new trinity – the church, business and government.

It is the unveiling and unmasking of the financial role of the church which is causing the greatest consternation, the greatest opposition. For the church has operated as a huge financial giant for many years in this country, and its power grows greater every day. The Catholic church is more than a powerful second government in many countries. It is a worldwide government with tremendous influence. The world missionaries of all the denominations work hand in hand with government and business.

The National Black Skills Bank. In order to more effectively deal with the program demands contained in the Manifesto, we are in the process of organizing throughout the United States the talents and skills of many black people into the National Black Skills Bank. We are encouraging the formation of these units so that the Manifesto may be adapted and expanded upon to fit the conditions of any given area. We do not claim that the projected sites listed in the Manifesto are fixed and immutable. We are

asking people around the country to adapt them to their particular area and to help in their implementation. We are most concerned with the use of leisure time. Many people have free time after their job, and the use of this leisure time becomes very important. If many people would donate six to eight hours a week fighting one or more of the control mechanisms operating upon us, then we would be further ahead on the road to liberation.

Resistance to the Black Economic Development Conference. In the initial stages many people thought we were not serious. Our determination and our capacity for work began to force more recognition of our demands. Then there was an effort to completely circumvent us. In Harlem this took the form of the Union Theological Seminary agreeing to give \$1,000,000 for cooperative development of the community but not to the Black Economic Development Conference. Who gets this money is yet to be decided. In addition, the Union Theological Seminary voted to give \$500,000 to Harlem businessmen. This was basically unacceptable to us for we are not out to make any more black people capitalists, but to foster the cooperative economic development of communities.

Along with the efforts to circumvent us came the picking and choosing of certain “Negroes” with which to negotiate and deal. We fought and will fight the bypassing of our leadership. After the churches began to recognize we had more and more popular support, then they began to trot out certain “Negro” spokesmen and to have them to try to discredit our efforts. This has been coupled with a massive witch hunt by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a federal grand jury hearing.

Conclusion

Our demand for \$500 million in reparations from the churches was an effort to break some of the control mechanisms operating upon us in some small way. We know that this effort is not a total solution to our problems, but the struggle we are making and will make around our demands will heighten our revolutionary consciousness; and the implementation of any one of our demands is an asset. However, more important than that is what we believe has been the new perception by many black people of power, its use, and how we may achieve more “on this earth.” We have escalated our demands to three billion dollars because of the control the churches have on the southern “Negro” colleges. We have sought increased funds for them from all the denominations in order to try to make them truly black universities. While we do not envision a quick victory but years of sustained struggle, we are quite confident that conflict must be created around control mechanisms. This is not passive action. There must be a deliberate call to action, definite acts of defiance, concrete organizational forms, a positive assertion of the human will to struggle for revolution, “a will to decolonize,” by whatever means available.

We urge your support and ask you to join in the struggle. Thank you!



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