

which debilitate black people. Black people are effectively barred from access not only to loans for large business properties, but also to many home ownership loans. Banks are threatened almost daily if they lend to Negroes in a way that breaks the unspoken racist code. Negroes are barred from consideration for many higher echelon civil or public service jobs vital to the well-being of the black and white community by screening committees with prevailing cultural perceptions and by non-objective oral examinations. White people concerned with the development of Black Power may help to insure that competent black men direct the human resources administrations of our states and shape the Model Cities plans at the local level. What most often appears to be black apathy is in substantial measure a black time-ingrained cynicism at the systematic way in which cards are stacked against black people.

Black Power, actively developed, and espoused and facilitated by all, may thus break through the present crisis and inaugurate a new day of hope. Peril may be averted when the powerless command a sense of power to find some semblance of fulfillment.

The current crisis in civil rights came about through an honorable, but faulty intent. Black Power now seeks a better way. It should be our purpose—for the sake of all who comprise and will come to comprise America—to encourage power for growth and for fulfillment on the part of all.

LeROI JONES

*The Need For a Cultural Base to Civil Rites &
Bpower Mooments*

The civilrighter is usually an american, otherwise he would know, if he is colored, that that concept is meaningless fantasy. Slaves have no civil rights. On the other hand, even integration is into the mobile butcher shop of the devil's mind. To be an american one must be a murderer. A white murderer of colored people. Anywhere on the planet. The colored people, negroes, who *are* Americans, and there are plenty, are only colored on their skin. They are white murderers of colored people. Themselves were the first to be murdered by them; in order to qualify.

The blackpower seeker, if connected to civilrights mooment can be bourgeois meaning. He wants the same civilrights/power white people have. He wants to be a capitalist, a live-gooder, and a deathfreak. In whatever order. There is the difference Frantz Fanon implies in *BlkSkin-WhiteMask*. Black Bourgeoisie can be white or black. The difference is critical only if Black Black Bourgeoisie can be used for good, possibly. White ones are examples of shadow worship, and are deathfreaks and American.

Black Power cannot mean ONLY a black sheriff in the sovereign state of Alabama. But that is a start, a road, a conceptualizing on heavier bizness. Black Power, the power to control our lives ourselves. All of our lives. Our laws. Our culture. Our children. Their lives. Our total consciousness, black oriented. We do not speak of the need to live in peace or universal humanity, since we are peaceful humanists seeking the spiritual resolution of the world. The unity of all men will come with the evolution of the species that recognizes the need for such. The black man does. The black man is a spirit worshiper as

well. The religious-science and scientific-religion is the black man's special evolutionary province. He will reorder the world, as he finds his own rightful place in it. The world will be re-ordered by the black man's finding such place. Such place is, itself, the reordering. Black Power. Power of the majority is what is meant. The actual majority in the world of colored people.

Census

BLACK PEOPLE BLACK PEOPLE BLACK PEOPLE
 YELLOW PEOPLE YELLOW PEOPLE YELLOW PEOPLE
 BROWN PEOPLE BROWN PEOPLE BROWN
 RED PEOPLE RED PEOPLE RED PEOPLE
 POOR PEOPLE POOR PEOPLE POOR PEOPLE POOR
 PEOPLE POOR PEOPLE POOR PEOPLE POOR PEOPLE

 & others.

Bourgeois black power seeks mostly to get in on what's going down now. The implication or murdermembership is clear. Of course the form of Bourgeois black power can be harnessed for heavier ends. The control by black people for their own benefit CAN BE set up similar to bourgeois black power, but if the ends are actually to be realized, you are talking again about nationalism, nationalization. Finally the only black power that can exist is that established by black nationalism. We want power to control our lives, as separate from what americans, white and white oriented people, want to do with their lives. That simple. We ain't with yuall. Otherwise you are talking tricknology and lieconjuring. Black power cannot exist WITHIN white power. One or the other. There can only be one or the other. They might exist side by side as separate entities, but never in the same space. Never. They are mutually exclusive.

"Might exist," because that is theoretically possible, except the devils never want to tolerate any power but their own. In such cases they want to destroy what is not them. However, the

power of the majority on the planet will exist, this is an evolutionary fact. The adjustment, what the world must go through because of this, is current events.

The socio-political workers for black power must realize this last fact. That the black and white can never come to exist as equals within the same space. Side by side perhaps, if the devils are cool, but the definition of devil is something uncool.

This means that any agitation within the same space for Black Power is for control of the space you *can* control called part of the society, but in reality in black enclaves, cities, land, black people are usually already in control in terms of population. Further control must be nationalization, separation. Black power cannot exist except as itself, power, to order, to control, to legalize, to define. There are wars going on now to stop black power, whether in Sinai, Vietnam, Angola, or Newark, New Jersey. The difference is that in Newark, New Jersey, many colored people do not even *know* they are in this war (tho they might realize, on whatever level of consciousness, that they are losing).

Black power is nationalization. Absolute control of resources beneficial to a national group. It cannot come to exist in areas of white control. Neither Harlem nor Hough nor Watts &c. are really America. They are controlled by America . . . this is the sickness. Black power is the cure for this sickness. But it must be the alternative to what already exists, i.e., white power. And to be an actual alternative it must be complete.

Black power cannot be complete unless it is the total reflection of black people. Black power must be spiritually, emotionally, and historically in tune with black people, as well as serving their economic and political ends. To be absolutely in tune, the seekers of black power must know what it is they seek. They must know what is this power-culture alternative through which they bring to focus the world's energies. They must have an understanding and grounding in the cultural consciousness of the nation they seek to bring to power. And this is what is being done, bringing to power a nation that has been weak and despised for 400 years.

That is, to provide the alternative, the new, the needed strength for this nation, they must proceed by utilizing the complete cultural consciousness of this black nation's people. We should not cry black power unless we know what that signifies. We must know full well what it is we are replacing white power with,

in all its implications. We are replacing not only a white sheriff, for the values that sheriff carries with him are, in fact, an extension of the white culture. *That black sheriff had better be an extension of black culture, or there is NoChange!* (In the sense that Edward Brooke, so-called Negro Senator from Massachusetts, as a representative of white culture, could never signify in any sense, Black Power. He is, for all intents and purposes, a white man.)

There are people who might cry BlackPower, who are representatives, extensions of white culture. So-called BlackPower advocates who are mozartfreaks or Rolling Stones, or hypnotized by Joyce or Hemingway or Frank Sinatra, are representatives, extensions, of white culture, and can never therefore signify black power. Black power, as black, must be, is in reality, the total realization of that nation's existence on this planet from the year one until this moment. All those experiences which have been this lost nation's must be brought to bear upon all its righteous workings; especially for Power. (And with Power will come Freedom.) Black Power is the Power first to be Black. It is better, in America, to be white. So we leave America, or we never even go there. (It could be twelve miles from New York City (or two miles) and it would be the black nation you found yourself in. That's where yourself was, all the time.)

The very failure of the civil rights and blackpower organizations (collecting memberships on strictly socio-political grounds) to draw more membership is due to the fact that these organizations make very little reference to the totality of black culture. The reason Mr. Muhammad's Nation of Islam has had such success gathering black people from the grass roots is that Mr. Muhammad offers a program that reflects a totality of black consciousness. Islam is a form of spirit worship (a moral guide) as well as a socio-economic and political program. Religion as the total definer of the world. (This is as old as the world, and finally will be the only Renewal possible for any of us to submit to the Scientific-Religious reordering of the world, through black eyes and black minds.) It must be a culture, a way of feeling, a way of living, that is replaced with a culture, feeling, way of living and being, that is black, and, yes, finally, more admirable.

Hence, the socio-political must be wedded to the cultural. The socio-political must be a righteous extension of the cultural, as it

is, legitimately, with National groups. The american negro's culture, as it is, is a diphthong with the distortions of the master's hand always in back or front ground, not real but absolutely concrete and there; . . . the culture, the deepest black and the theoretical . . . socio-politico (and art &c.) must be wedded. A culturally aware black politics would use all the symbols of the culture, all the keys and images out of the black past, out of the black present, to gather the people to it, and energize itself with their strivings at conscious blackness. The Wedding . . . the conscious-unconscious. The politics and the art and the religion all must be black. The social system. The entirety of the projection. Black Power must mean a black people with a past clear back to the beginning of the planet, channeling the roaring energies of black to revive black power. If you can dig it???. Not to discover it now . . . but to revive. Our actual renaissance (Like the devils pulled themselves out of their "dark ages" by re-embracing the "classics," or Classicism: what they could see as the strengths and beauties of a certain kind of "pure" Europeanism (whiteness). And with that went to the source! Eastern Thought . . . black african-middle eastern, also the re-embracing of the Far East via Marco Polo, &c., like *Trade*.)

So that no man can be "cultured" without being *consciously* Black. Which is what we're talking about all the time, in any Rising (Evolutional) Pitch. *Consciousness*.

The Civil Righters are not talking about exchanging a culture. They are, no matter what moves they make, layin' in the same place, making out. Black Power, as an actuality, will only exist in a Black-oriented, Black-controlled space. It is White Culture that rules us with White Guns. Our only freedom will be in bringing a Black Culture to Power. We Cannot Do This Unless We Are Cultured. That is, Consciously Black. (The Consciousness of Black Consciousness must know & Show itself as well.)

The erection of large schools teaching Black Consciousness. Wherever there are Black People in America. This should be one definite earnest commitment of any Black Power group. Even the rundown schools full of black children deep in the ghettos are white schools. The children are taught to value white things more than themselves. All of them are white-controlled, and the quality of education suffers because white people want the quality of our education to suffer, otherwise something else would be the

case. We will have no quality education for our children until we administer it ourselves. You *must* know this!

There is no black power without blackness conscious of itself. "Negro History" is not what we must mean, but the absolute reordering of our Education Systems. In other words the philosophy of blackness, the true consciousness of our world, is what is to be taught. The understanding of the world as felt and analyzed by men and women of soul.

The Black Student Union of San Francisco State College has started moving toward a "Black Studies Program" at that school. A Black Studies Program on departmental status at the school, where students could spend all of their time recreating our black past, and understanding, and creating the new strong black nation we all must swear to bring into existence.

The black power groups must help to create the consciousness of who we black people are, and then we will be driven to take power, and be faithful to our energies as black people with black minds and hearts, quite a *different* people from the species that now rules us.

Afro-American History, African History, Realistic World History, Eastern Philosophies-Religion, Islam-Arabic-African Religion and Languages, Black Art-past and contemporary, The Evolving Patterns of the Colored World, Black Psychology, Revolutionary Consciousness, Socio-Political Evolution of Afro-Americans, Africans, Colored Peoples, War, The Placement of the New Culture, Eastern Science, Black Science, Community Workshops (How To) in Black Power, Business and Economics: Keys to a new black world, given the strengths our studies into times of the black man's power will build for us. Black Studies is to make us cultured, i.e., consciously black.

The so-called Negro Colleges ought to be the first to be forced into Blackness. The consciousness of the self, without which no righteous progress is possible. Instead the Negro Colleges are "freak factories," places where black children are turned into white-oriented schizophrenic freaks of a dying society. But many of the students have already shown that they are not willing to be misused by the whiteminds of their puppet professors.

A cultural base, a black base, is the completeness the black power movement must have. We must understand that we are *Replacing* a dying culture, and we must be prepared to do this,

and be absolutely conscious of what we are replacing it with.

We are sons and daughters of the most ancient societies on this planet. The reordering of the world that we are moving toward cannot come unless we are completely aware of this fact, and are prepared to make use of it in our day-to-day struggle with the devil.

E.G.: Black Art—The recreation of our lives, as black . . . to inspire, educate, delight and move black people.

It is easier to get people into a consciousness of black power, what it is, by emotional example than through dialectical lecture. Black people seeing the recreation of their lives are struck by what is wrong or missing in them.

Programmatic application of what is learned through black art is centrally the black power movement's commitment.

The teaching of colored people's languages, including the ones we speak automatically, moves the student's mind to other psychological horizons. European language carries the bias of its inventors & users. *You must be anti-black*, speaking in their language, except by violent effort. The masses of black people, for instance, have never spoken the European's languages. Or let me say, they have never spoken them to such degree that the complete bias of that "competence" would dull their natural tuning.

The teaching of Black History (African and African-American) would put our people absolutely in touch with themselves as a nation, and with the reality of their situation. You want them to move to take power, they must know how they can deserve this power.

Black Power must be a program of Consciousness. The consciousness to Act. (Maulana Ron Karenga and the US group in Los Angeles work very successfully at making black consciousness cultural and of course socio-political.) It should all be one thing. Blackness.

Voting nor picketing nor for that matter fighting in the streets means anything unless it is proposed by a black consciousness for the aggrandizement and security of the Black culture and Black people. Each of our "acts of liberation" must involve the liberation of the Black man in every way imaginable.

Black Power movements not grounded in Black culture cannot move beyond the boundaries of Western thought. The paramount

value of Western thought is the security and expansion of Western culture. Black Power is inimical to Western culture as it has manifested itself within black and colored majority areas anywhere on this planet. Western culture is and has been destructive to Colored People all over the world. No movement shaped or contained by Western culture will ever benefit Black people. Black power must be the actual force and beauty and wisdom of Blackness . . . reordering the world.

ADELAIDE CROMWELL HILL

What is Africa to Us?

Any discussion of Black Power ultimately requires an assessment of the identity of the Negro American. The elements of this identity, among other things, reflect some expression of it as a state of being and some awareness of its relation to the color of the Negro, which in turn is reminiscent of his African ancestry. This ancestry, in spite of the attempts at degradation, depreciation, or denial, is woven into the Negro's sense of self.

In 1927, before most Negro Americans knew how to express this fact freely, Countee Cullen, with the sensitivity a poet must have, was able to do so in his poem, "Heritage." Cullen wrote:

What is Africa to me
Copper Sun or scarlet sea
Jungle star or jungle track
Strongblack men or regal black
Women from whose loins I sprang
When the birds of Eden sang?
One three centuries removed
From the scenes his father told
Spring grove, cinnamon tree,
What is Africa to me?

The answers to this question come from an understanding of what the Negro American thinks of himself and what he wants for himself. As the Negro's presence on the American scene has rarely been fully acknowledged and never fully welcomed, little serious attention has been given to either question until quite recently.