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THE BLACK WOMAN, edited by Toni Cade (New American Library) 1970

This Anthology about "Black Women Speak Out" included Grace Lee Eggs whose piece in "No. 6 in the Series 'A Black looks at White America', University Center for Adult Education, Detroit, November 12, 1968, is entitled "The Black Revolution in America."

Grace is here utilizing certain dialectical expressions like "Transformation into Opposite"; "Relationship between Means and End"; "Dialectical to Propound something quite undialectical, something racist, something Maoist without ever using Mao's name unless someone catches what "colored" refers to. Naturally, this cannot be done without rewriting history and history to her now means 1955 to 1968, with 1966 (1966) when Stokely let out the cry of Black Power "on a dusty road in Mississippi in June, 1966". (p. 212) Grace then jumps to DRUM etc., who "are also consciously anti-imperialist" in the sense that they are against the U.S. efforts to dominate the Asians, Africans and Latin-Americans. Following in the footsteps of Malcolm, but also as a result of their own reluctance to die abroad for a self-determination denied them at home, they are against the U.S. war against colored people and identify with the world Black revolution."

She, next, jumps to the contention that, be it "socialist or Communist parties" the Black Youth "reject the ideological paternalism of white radicals who tend to regard Black Militants as unfinished products who will eventually arrive

at the Marxist understanding of racism as a product of capitalism and of the working class as the irreconcilable foe of capitalism, and who must therefore in the final analysis accept the white radical program of Black and white workers uniting to overthrow capitalism. This analysis completely contradicts the historical and daily experience of Blacks, and the refusal of white radicals to repudiate it openly and honestly demonstrates how "invisible" Blacks remain in the white radical's picture of the world. The analysis is also completely unscientific, because it applies the formulas developed by a European a hundred years ago to an American capitalist society which has had its own specific historical development."

Marx  
Having written/out of history - "a European 100 years ago" -- she proceeds to attribute to him, not a vision of a totally new social order, but an inbetween stance of "developing the productive forces". "Socialism in the sense specifically defined by Marx in the middle of the 19th century as the state between Capitalism and Socialism, in which workers take power for the purpose of developing the productive forces, has, therefore, been the natural role of the revolution in these countries." (p. 219, my emphasis). Instead, she calls for resolving "the fundamental contradiction" between its extreme economic development and its extreme political backwardness."

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She "proves" the extreme political backwardness "by the support and tolerance which the great majority have shown for racism over the centuries, for the Vietnam War over the past few years, and most recently by the instinctive response which George Wallace has aroused all over the country." (p. 219).

Her solution? "another method of political decision making. . . it is by penetrating into the essence of the present outmoded political system that we can begin to discern what is essential to a new political system. The essence of the present system is the social irresponsibility of the individual." (p. 220)

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Tony Cade, as editor, shows, not only awareness of all tendencies even if she does say, knowing full well who Grace is that the writers: "all are alive, are Black, are Women." But, also, a certain comprehension of letter-writing in our sense or Grace's. Her last sentence she attributes to "the uptown mamas who nudged me to 'just get it down in print so it gets to be a habit to write letters to each other so maybe this way we don't keep treading the same old ground.'" Tony Cade also has a piece in it which she calls "the pill: genocide or liberation?" And she still has another one on the issue of Roles: "revolution begins with the self, in the self. The individual, the basic revolutionary unit, must be purged of poison and lies that assault the eye and threaten the hearts. . . doctrinaire Marxism is basically incompatible with Black Nationalism; New Left politics is incompatible with Black Nationalism; doctrinaire Socialism is out. . . keep the guns on the real enemy. . . (what is needed is) a commitment to blackhood." (p. 109)

Blackhood!

Also, there are "groups" Adela Jones and Group; Pat Robinson and Group. There is, finally, a great dependence but hardly a full comprehension, Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth.

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The Black Woman  
An Anthology

(edited Toni Cade  
Sigmet, 1970)

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Though this book has some very interesting and new things it has a purpose that is not half as "feminist" as politically

Black Women being a Separate

I'm going directly to one of the last articles First, The Black Revolution in America by Grace Lee Boggs, because it will reveal both "subtlety" or being anti-Marxist while not only claiming Marxism but actually every single point made that is a contribution is from her previous Marxism in the specifically JFT stage. (pp. 211-223) (1) Comes the important stress on revolution as against being only against "racism" or "movement" or "struggle" or "power" and since revolution is italicized besides you would not think--that's where the "subtlety" comes in--that she's talking only Black revolution except in the preface by Toni Cade which made a point about the fact that all contributors are alive, are Black, are women." (p.11) and the Grace's talk is part of a series at UCAE 11-12-68 entitled "A Black Looks at White America".

(2) The Hegelianisms are important for what they will be used for, beginning with "a transformation of human activity" (p.211) "the dialectical conclusion" (p.213) one that Martin Luther King did not draw from the fact that "his goal was integration but his strategy was confrontation, and in the actual struggle the first was TURNED INTO & ITS OPPOSITE, by the second" (p.212).

The upshot of it all is to conclude that the Blacks naturally reject "the ideological paternalism of white radicals who tend to regard Black militants as unfinished products who will eventually arrive at the Marxist understanding of racism...and...accept the white radical program of Black and white workers uniting to overthrow capitalism."

" THIS ANALYSIS COMPLETELY CONTRADICTS THE HISTORICAL AND DAILY EXPERIENCE OF BLACKS, AND THE REFUSAL OF WHITE RADICALS TO REPUDIATE IT OPENLY AND HONESTLY DEMONSTRATES HOW INVISIBLE BLACKS REMAIN IN THE WHITE RADICAL'S PICTURE OF THE WORLD. THE ANALYSIS IS ALSO COMPLETELY UNSCIENTIFIC BECAUSE IT APPLIES THE FORMULAS DEVELOPED BY A EUROPEAN 100 YEARS AGO UNREMITTINGLY TO AMERICAN CAPITALIST SOCIETY WHICH HAS HAD ITS OWN SPECIFIC HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT."

That is exactly what black is on the ground of the white man's world is that?

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(3) She starts exactly where we do (1955) ~~why she ~~has~~ break with us?~~, insists that the Black movement began "with a reform stage." Great revolutions usually do." (p. 210-2), makes the Black movement under King as a sort of unconscious preliminary stage to the real which began with Stokely Carmichael cry in 1966 for Black Power, which Malcolm had been developing before Black audiences in the north since his break with the Muslims. Clearly Malcolm is the hero for calling it Black Revolution and for issuing "his famous phrases 'by all means necessary' and 'by ballot or bullets'".

(4) The crucial period therefore is that between 1964-68 with 1967 Detroit being the climax because it established "Black power as a national phenomenon and laid the basis for the movement to enter a new stage in which Blacks were not just shouting Black power as a slogan but exploiting the fears and panic of the white structure to gain certain facets of power for themselves." (213)

(5) She does ~~not~~ reject the reduction of Black power as if it were only a definition of Black consciousness, Black pride, Black identity, i.e., Black culture. Clearly she wants to continue to revolution and Black youth even when its PB student youth or lumpen much superior to anything proletarian. After which however she does play up Black proletarians (IF) they have reached the stage of DRUM & FRUM.

*KOP / "push from"*

(6) It's at this point that she had proceeded to present Marx as "the European" concluding that it is difficult to work out the kind of social ~~organization~~ organization because "there are no historical models for revolution in a country as economically advanced as the United States". (p. 218) She also reduces Marxism as if it were only for a stage "between" and therefore merely "for the purpose of developing the productive forces" (p. 219).

*London / 1/10*

(7) ~~She~~ She openly states "the fundamental contradiction" as: "I prefer to phrase it 'how can it resolve the contradiction between its extreme economic development and its extreme political backwardness'" So anxious is she to expound on political backwardness of the Americans that she even dares ~~to~~ the anti-Vietnam war movement and play up Wallicism instead as if that is America: "That it is politically backward and underdeveloped is proved by the SUPPORT AND TOLERANCE which the great majority had shown for racism over the centuries, FOR THE VIETNAM WAR OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, and most recently by instinctive response which Geo. Wallace has aroused all over the country." (p. 219) It seems that everything is due to "social irresponsibility on the part of the individual citizens".

*Pls. Subject* "Social irresponsibility" in the "History" *see Public Vision*

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The Black Woman

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④ She develops this point of "social irresponsibility of the individual" to the point of "new" political system needed as if that means that it is because the Black movement is strategically located in the urban crisis "that we can call the Black revolution & the heart and core of the American revolution". The end of it all is "revolutionary strategy" even though supposedly was not just strategy for revolution but "a new vision" and since this will be worked out by revolutionists themselves, she just comes to an abrupt end: "My aim tonight has been to help you to see beyond the color of the Black Revolution to the revolution which Blacks are leading inside America."

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Book  
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As editor Toni Cade not only brings out some new and good elementalism but makes sure of rejecting "doctrinaire Marxism is basically incompatible with Black nationalism; new left politics is incompatible with Black nationalism; doctrinaire socialism is incompatible with Black revolution; capitalism lord knows is out...keep the guns on the real enemy. Men have got to develop some heart...until realistic definitions emerge through a commitment to "Blackhood." (p.109) But in fact it ends up with having women, Black women, not "mimeographing a fuck-whitey leaflet" (p.110) and instead stick to the Black man and consider abortions, etc., as Black genocide. (See especially her article "The Pill: Genocide or Liberation?" pp.162-9) Also, another group, Pat Robinson and Group, plays up James Boggs the Male in an unpublished manuscript. Obviously he remains the theoretician for all. Which is why I have inserted in this book James Boggs' piece in the NY Times 9-23-72, "Beyond Rebellion", which seems to move away from merely being anti-white but in fact ends with "so it is only under the revolutionary political leadership of Black people that this country will be able to get out of its contradictions". If this sounds as if he were only saying Blacks as vanguard in a manner in which we say it, that shows only one more time how truly "subtle" the Boggs's can be, for we say it as a fact of American history without either excluding the white revolutionaries or insisting they must ~~accept~~ accept "Blackhood" but rather that they must unite philosophy and revolution

JBoggs