

THE NEW LEFT PROJECT

As independent left radicals, we the members of the New Left Project are a part of the process of revolutionary social change going on in America and throughout the world.

We are people actively involved in the radical movement, putting to use skills in organizational technique, legal aid, publishing, or whatever.

Our primary loyalty is to the movement for social revolution, not to the particular political organization - the New Left Project - to which we belong. Thus, we do not constitute a "vanguard" political party seeking to seize state power.

Revolution does not mean the seizure of central state power. It is necessary to defeat the state, and it may be necessary to establish forms of federal co-operation and co-ordination, but revolution must be seen primarily as the seizure of local control of institutions by the people directly affected by them.

Activity aimed at solving the problems of today must be based on an analysis of reality today. It should not necessarily be based on the conclusions which Marx drew from his analysis of nineteenth century Europe.

In trying to develop a coherent analysis which goes to the roots of social problems, we feel it is necessary to maintain at all times an attitude which is at once critical and rational. Furthermore, we recognize, in Alasdair MacIntyre's words, that "it is a necessary condition of rationality that a man shall formulate his beliefs in such a way as to make clear what evidence would be evidence against them, and that he shall lay himself open to criticism and refutation in the light of any possible objection." The recognition that it is possible to be in error is basic to remaining reasonable and is rationalism's bulwark against dogmatism.

Those who dominate the present society exercise control over their fellow human beings. The oppressors preside over institutions which deny equal humanity to one's fellow man. We are victims in a society of patriarchy, imperial hegemony, and racial supremacy.

We are radicals because we have the internal perspective which comes from being "trapped in the system." We can recognize and measure the kind of oppression we face by examining the costs and difficulties involved in seceding from unpleasant hierarchical arrangements. The draftee can escape the clutches of the Selective Service System by cutting off his toes or going into occupations deemed to be in the "national interest." But this is not freedom. An employee can quit his job. If your time is for hire, you have surrendered your autonomy, and another man becomes your boss during that time. But the "wage slave" is confronted with few alternatives in this society, almost all of whose institutional forms mimic IBM or the Catholic Church.

During the Progressive Era under Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the elite set up national regulatory commissions designed to cartelize the economy and provide sustained monopoly gains for the large corporations. Efforts to bind organized labor to the system were also undertaken. Businessmen in the National Civic Federation and Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce made alliances with Samuel Gompers and the AFL.

World War I brought conditions which led business, government, and labor leaders to work together. The War Industries Board and the political economy over which it ruled, prefigured much of the present-day military-industrial complex and state-protected monopoly capitalism.

The New Deal and World War II brought further cartelization (the National Recovery Administration), the integration of organized labor into the corporate system, and increased governmental expenditures which subsidized the large corporations and their allies.

Big business leaders have relied on the state to attain the foreign and domestic objectives. Those who hold power in American society favor a world-wide extension of the sort of corporate political economy which exists in the U.S.

This societal pattern continues today and American universities have not escaped the all-embracing grasp of the corporate system. Higher education today serves the needs of the elite by aiding in research and development and in the training and retraining of technical administrative, and non-manual workers. Grants from the government, corporations, and foundations finance basic and applied research, and determine the direction which education takes. Social scientists give organizational advice to those who manage weapons-making, help to 'rationalize' government agencies charged with carrying out the aims of U.S. foreign policy, do studies of the character and handling of domestic and foreign "deviants", and co-operate in riot-control and other similar counter-insurgency projects.

Students, some of whom are only in the universities to avoid the draft, are among the victims of this new nationalized knowledge industry. Because the content of study is decided in large measure by the needs of the corporate elite, higher education is a process of absorbing pre-digested material and acceptable attitudes passively. The university prepares those whom the elite must recruit to replenish its numbers. A student who does not accept discipline and moral compromises of university life will not be fit for the elite.

However, in recent decades the elite has had difficulty in integrating the students, as well as the poor, blacks, and Vietnamese peasants, into the corporate system. A movement for fundamental social change has been building in strength while the elite struggles to cope with every thing from the left-over problems from World War II to the upsurge in rank-and-file insurgency in labor unions and public concern over the social costs of air pollution which the corporations and the government have foisted upon the public at large.

A movement for radical change is gaining strength. But the character of that movement is not yet in a final form. Various theories and strategies are available and have advocates urging their adoption.

Left communist Anton Pannekoek once described the aims of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties in this way: "to bring to power, by means of the fighting force of the workers, a layer of leaders who then establish planned production by means of state power." Historically, there has been an alternative revolutionary tendency calling itself libertarian socialism, council-communism, anarchism, left radicalism, and many other names, and this is the tendency of the members of the New Left Project.

What are the aims of the New Left Project and others who share our ideology? We seek human liberation. The impediments to realizing the possibility of a free society are what make us radicals. There was a New Left slogan in the 1960's: "A liberal wants to free others; a radical wants to free himself." This slogan pinpoints a major difference which divides New Left radicals from corporate liberal, social democratic, and Marxist-Leninist students. With the increased dogmatism of some elements of the student Left, one sees more and more of "a kind of abstract devotion to alleviating the plight of arbitrarily defined others. When you are for 'the working class' or 'the third world' you have annihilated the concrete existence of persons and destroyed genuine contact with the reality of your own situation." (Arnold Sachar)

The sort of post-revolutionary society for which members of the New Left Project are working is a greater departure from the existing society than the sort of society toward which members of Marxist-Leninist communist parties are working. The alternative future which we envisage will be a society in which the conditions of liberty include workers' self-management at the point of production, decentralization of social institutions, and what Rosa Luxemburg called "freedom for the one who thinks differently." With this as our goal, the means we choose to achieve it will be those necessary and sufficient to the task. Because we believe that the organization of the revolutionary movement will structure the consciousness of the post-revolutionary society, the New Left Project operates on a basis of self-discipline, not on a basis of discipline from above by a central committee.

Members of the New Left Project are expected to carry out tasks they promise to do and to participate in actions they vote for. We are not bound by discipline to affirm in public the decisions of any "leadership" or the decisions of the majority of the group, but are free to speak our own minds.

WHAT IS IT THAT WE ARE TO DO?

The New Left Project is currently developing a program for action this fall at Stanford. The following is a description of what we consider important at this time, and we hope to do whatever we can in the areas suggested below. NLP expects to work with other groups, and we welcome the views of people who are interested in our activities.

Four major "events" provide the background for our activities. These "events" do not describe all the important issues -- there are too many -- rather, they indicate the particular conditions under which the left must operate at this time.

1) We can expect, at minimum, the continuation of genocidal air war in Southeast Asia. Nixon may escalate--by invading or saturation bombing of North Vietnam. Furthermore, U.S. intervention in the Middle East is a real possibility.

2) Economic and social problems are increasing. Unemployment and militant strikes--such as against GM and the lettuce growers--are on the rise.

3) Many students, returning from inactive summers, expect a continuation of last Spring's intense political atmosphere. Corporate liberals (local flunkies and the national media) are trying to convert student activism into electoral bullshit, but none of the candidates locally seem to offer much.

4) A fairly decent struggle is developing over land use in Palo Alto. Students can easily relate to the issues: ecology, housing, and the Bank of America.

The Left must respond to these conditions with the aims of building a movement and accomplishing immediate change.

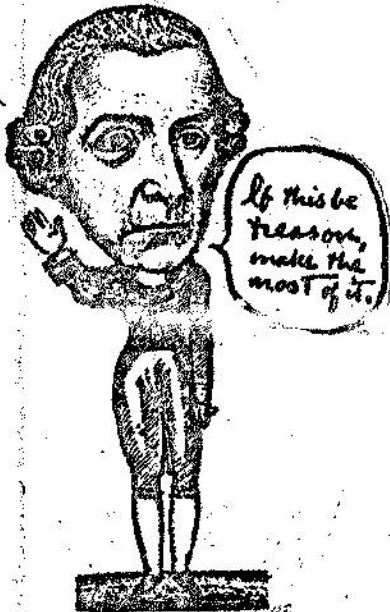
I. Educational work about the war must continue. People must understand that the Southeast Asian war is indeed getting worse and that the elections bring no prospect of change. As an alternative to electoral politics, we suggest direct attacks on the institutional base of the war and U.S. imperialism as a whole. The business school, the engineering school, international studies, SRI, and local corporations must be attacked from the outside, and we must reach people within these institutions to get them either to organize for the redirection of their work or to quit.

II. Students--all young people--must be asked what roles they expect to play in life. We must build a community which can support our creative development while we are working to change society as a whole.

III. To be able to live in this area we must wrest control from the profit-hungry developers and banks. Our program should not be residential. It should be able to explain local problems in terms of the war and America's economic and social organization. Tenants' Unions, campaigns against new office complexes, and criticism of Stanford land use are all important.

IV. We must seek and support other groups in society who face similar problems or are working toward the same general goals. When the GI movement, farmworkers, autoworkers, the Chicano Moratorium, or the Panthers wish to form alliances, we should be prepared to work with them.

THE NEW LEFT PROJECT



PATRICK HENRY.

It is a commonplace these days that to have a revolution, we need to build our community, we need to develop our own culture, institutions and so forth. This is a natural instinct for an emerging political force. Take, for instance, the Camera del lavoro (Chambers of Labor) in Italy at the turn of the century; they had their own libraries, schools, recreation centers and child care centers, and sponsored lectures and operas for their own members. For the Italian working class, it was a way of building up their self-dignity, their community and their political and economic power. (It also incidentally provided a means for the transmission of bourgeois values.) But we tend to put all this under the rubric of social change rather than of revolution, for there was never a "proletarian revolution" in Italy. A similar story could be told for the rest of Western Europe and North America.

What Went Wrong

So what went wrong? Or did anything really go wrong or otherwise than one might have expected? The working class revolutions of Western Europe and the U.S. failed to materialize following World War I and in the Great Depression. Should we then go scurrying to the library to ferret out the crucial theoretical errors from the musty minutes of Party Congresses? Or should we grease up our dialectical analysis machines to discover unfavorable objective conditions?

I would like to suggest to those prone to such exercises in futility that the World Spirit was not in

The following articles indicate the ideological tendencies of the New Left Project. The NLP has no general line which must be adhered to by members; so that while these articles show the inclinations of the group, some members may disagree with the specific content.

Against the Behemoth: A Strategy for the Undigestible

the least bit ruffled by the fizzling of the Great Proletarian Revolutions of Western Europe or the United States in the 20's and 30's. "After all," the World Spirit would reason, "the working classes had already built their sense of community and had duly constituted themselves as integral parts of their respective societies. And whoever heard of the part engulfing the whole? That would be utterly nonsensical."

National Revolution

Nor did the World Spirit, in all likelihood, bat an eyelash when the Chinese Communists sent Chiang and the KMT gang packing off to Taiwan. For though this was indeed a social revolution, it was much more a national revolution than a strictly "class" revolution. The Chinese Communists stood squarely in the middle of the mainstream of Chinese culture and society, with precedents going back 2500 years to the Duke of Chou and the well-field system. As the World Spirit might reason: "What should be more natural than that the whole should reject the foreign part? - in this case the KMT with its Westernized Shanghai merchants spouting vulgarized Confucianism. And what should be more natural than that the son of a middle peasant from a province in the middle of the old Middle Kingdom should emerge as China's leader?"

Building Another Community

Enough historical ephemera. What of our new American revolution? Are we simply building another community ("interest group") which after its due share of ritual blood-letting will be admitted as a member in good standing of America's fabled pluralistic melting pot? The "youth culture" - or whatever you want to call it - surely does not in itself constitute a revolutionary menace. Nor do black or brown revolutionaries, considering that we live in something closely akin

to a garrison state. The other night, I contacted the World Spirit to see what it thought of this matter. And the World Spirit offered an uncharacteristically confused reply: "My mind is blown. Not only do I not see how there could be a revolution in the United States. I don't see how there could be a counter-revolution. You have absolutely nothing of substance to hold your nation together. Perhaps the only real alternative is a devolution. I've never seen one of those before. It should be quite interesting."

Wholes and Parts

As I pondered this reply, it occurred to me that the World Spirit had spent most of its time up to now dealing in wholes and parts, but not in collections of parts, which is what America is. And thus it had some trouble in fathoming the absurd fashion in which there had been concocted a bailing wire-and-bubble gum solution to the problem of social cohesion - namely anti-communism (a.k.a.: Americanism). In the face of this veritable coup of Yankee ingenuity. Some of America's modern day revolutionaries are out to do their forebearers one better: they fancy that if anti-communism hasn't worked so well as socio-political glue, maybe then communism (a.k.a.: anti-Americanism) will do the job. And the day is certainly not beyond the bounds of imagination when some of the hipper capitalists will turn on to this solution for keeping the top clamped onto the melting pot. (They will of course maintain that the Chinese and Russians are the blackest of revisionist dogs in order to keep the gears of defense industry whirling.)

In short, it is about time for honest revolutionaries to figure out that America does not really exist. At some point (I suspect about 1917) the Washington Wall Street clique had their P.R. men on Madison Ave. concoct it as a

temporary expedient. Once they had manufactured it, they stuck with it, since many of them probably had lucrative investments in the flags-and-fireworks business.

Promoting Human Welfare

Now let's get down to some givens such as the fact that the business of the honest revolutionary is the promotion of human welfare and happiness; and that he realizes that building a strong community is essential to the achievement of these goals; and that you can't build a strong community out of whole-cloth. Now America is clearly whole-cloth, for it is simply a geographical rather than a social entity. Community in the United States rests primarily on race, religion and locality. The social rationalizers in government are no doubt troubled by this. And their policies have had some effects, though not necessarily the intended ones. First, they have reinforced the solidarity of minority groups, rather than integrating them into the myth of America. And as for the young white middle class, having been effectively stripped of any distinguishing features of nationality or religion, and having been turned loose on the world cultural supermarket, it has promptly created a new identity for itself, by mixing black music, American Indian apparel, Latin footwear, Indian religion, and Chinese politics. The result has been as one might expect, at least up to this point, incoherence. It is less than a decade since this eclectic ball started rolling with the emergence of the New Left, a group of idealistic nascent intellectuals on the campuses of the "elite" universities. As that ball gathered momentum, it expanded and repeatedly fragmented into one or another "trip": art, drugs, politics and so forth. Once in a while it seems to come together in a moment of nostalgic unity, as in Washington last November. But beneath the thin veil of nostalgia, the fragments were still plainly visible: the pacifists parading the names of the dead at the White House; PL with its mechanic cheering squad at the Labor Department; a few blocks down the street, the Weathermen euphorically wading through the tear gas at the Justice Department; and the Yippies featuring at night-time performances in Dupont Circle.

Unless we want to see these fragments immobilized and eventually pulverized into

impotent dust, we must struggle—and with great haste—to develop and articulate our political and social vision. Alienated from the here-and-now, we have tended to seek our solutions in far away times and places. Having no heroes of our own, we borrow those of people about whom we know virtually nothing. Nourished since childhood on a strict diet of other-directedness, we fear to reveal our own inner aspirations.

All of these things we desperately need to reverse. We need to come back home, to know that we can have no real heroes but ourselves, to search out what we want to be, rather than guess at what we think someone else thinks we ought to be.

We have to start by figuring out some things about America. It offers one primary lesson: that the best defense against tyranny is in-group solidarity. This is as true for blacks fighting the white police as it is for Southern whites fighting Washington bureaucrats. Those who would seek social homogenization can only be serving one of two forces: the government or the corporations. (More likely both.)

In this situation we are called upon to make a desperate gamble: we must bet that there is a way in which different minority communities can flourish while living in close contact, while intermingling with each other. We must also bet that this can happen without one group seeking to dominate and oppress another due to mistrust arising out of what appear to be cultural differences. Such oppression exists now when the government and/or the corporations seek to further entrench themselves by making temporary concessions to one or another minority group. For instance, in the bygone liberal years of the sixties, government sought to create a loyal clientele among the blacks. Now that that tactic has failed to a large extent in and of itself, and has led to a loosening and even dissolution of patron-client ties between Washington and Southern whites and the "lower middle class whites" of the Northern megalopolis, government has returned to its reactionary guise under the Nixon-Mitchell administration. The upshot of this shift seems to be that "pluralist politics" has been consigned to the wastebasket of historical failures. What we now have is the politics of cultural emasculation (soon to be a.k.a.: Americanization) with highly technologized terror for those

who by choice or necessity don't fit in.

Excluding the Fringe

Those presumably excluded are all people of color, plus white radicals and assorted other freaks. The pivotal element lies in the residual forces of common sense and human dignity in those whom Nixon and Mitchell are attempting to herd on to that most absurd of totalitarian machinations, the Middle America-Agnew Wagon. Perhaps the most hopeful are the young workers and GI's and the old people, for it is they who feel most severely the clamps of recession and war. For all these groups we must find ways of co-ordinating efforts at building and protecting their communities. This will require elaborate plans for decentralization. In some cases, this will lead to de-complexification: in economic life each community can work towards fulfilling its own basic needs—in this area many of the useless knick-knacks churned out by a moribund capitalism can be eliminated; in communications, it may well lead to complexification as communities obtain control of the media and institutions necessary for their self-expression; and in the legal system, there is bound to be complexification in carrying out a commitment to protect individuals from the arbitrary and prejudicial judgment of men of other social groups. Since developing an equitable legal system in a society of semi-autonomous communities will be quite cumbersome, we should have an added impetus to eliminate those conditions which create a need for crime; e.g., poverty, alienation, status anxiety, etc.

Seeking Preservation

Such can stand as a suggested vague outline for our alternative in the face of the demise of liberalism and the imminence of technologized insanity. We must be able to say that we do not seek to create a millenarian transformation, that rather we seek the preservation of all that we have which is worthwhile and the acceptance of worthwhile innovations. We must also be able to say that we stand not as a threat but as a potential ally to any community which seeks the preservation of its own integrity. But as for those who would, wittingly or not, confuse the distinction between self-integrity and domination of others, we must defy them, regardless of the political guise which they might assume.

ALAN CRISTELOW

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

Though it's fashionable these days to put down the college student movement, we must recognize that it is no accident that Universities are the locus of the most consistent, organized opposition to the Forces of Evil. Black students are still more active than the black communities—though many are relating to or returning to their communities—and white students still pose more of an immediate threat to the stability of the system than workers.

The reasons for this activity are obvious. Students can afford the avocation of political and social action. They have the time, they usually have enough money; and they live in communities where involvement is socially reinforced. Secondly, the hypocrisy of the American educational system is explosive. The ideals dangled before students for years become internalized just about the time when the reality of the system becomes apparent. The creativity that the system requires from upper-track (University) students conflicts with the social channeling function of the University. University and college students, still the most militant group of students, may not face direct material oppression, but their alienation is a result of the system and must be treated as such. Students' failure to understand this often means that they will not feel compelled to carry out a struggle to its end. On the other hand, the abstract nature of the oppression makes students difficult to satisfy or mollify for long period of time.

Students are realizing more and more that they have no future within the system. Many drop out. Others give up and unhappily assimilate. To counter this, the radical movement must offer a viable means of fighting the system and must develop counter-institutions and a counter-community to involve students who do not want to become full-time revolutionary organizers. In crises, a radical cultural base is important. Individuals not closely aligned with a particular struggle choose sides on the basis of their radical cultural identity—as they should.

College students, like all groups, must be organized around their needs and interests. They cannot become active or radical around ideologically "pure" issues—such as support for militant workers. Through students should be mobilized around such issues, primary campus organizing should center around issues with which students can easily identify. Since the rejection of hypocrisy is often the basis of student involvement, issues like the war in Vietnam are more relevant than immediate issues like dorm hours, etc. To build a student movement we must continue to attack the social function of the university, which is to transform us into the technicians and apologists of imperialism. To develop cooperation between students and workers, we must organize around issues which demonstrate that they face common problems with a common source.

Campus organizing must carefully deal with "student power." The Good Strategy calls for organizing around structural reforms—demands for power—but power for elite students is essentially reactionary. Students must demand power, within their institutions, for all oppressed people—not just for alienated fugitives from the elite. This strategy has worked in the past, for once students begin to move they can easily understand themselves as one arm of a wider struggle.

Probably the most important step in a student's development of radical or revolutionary consciousness is the understanding of the need for collective action. We have always been taught to believe that our problems are individual—our own fault. Once students band together with the knowledge that their problems result from the action of a ruling class—locally the university administration and trustees—whose interests are contrary to students' interests, they cannot easily be misdirected.

Since genocidal warfare is one of the most pressing threats to mankind many student radicals begin their radicalism with a firm, naive commitment to "non-violence." Many organizers

attack this head on, by trying to make the non-violent kids feel guilty. A more effective way to counter this so-called non-violence, however, is to build the understanding that their interests are antagonistic to those of the ruling class. Progress can be achieved only through the use of coercive force. Non-violence may, at times, be a useful tactic, but the question of violence is relatively unimportant. Class power is the issue; and "non-violence" loses its adherents once they understand this point.

Organizers everywhere must be patient. The college campus is no exception. Every year new people—and some old—must go through the same alienation process: trying channels, testing the viability of the system. Good organizers should not attack these people, but merely offer a radical analysis—predicting the futility of working through the system but not sabotaging their efforts. College radicals, on the whole, are still students—though many organizers are not. The "Revolution," accordingly, still proceeds on the quarter or semester system. We cannot expect people newly involved to immediately junk their past for what is essentially a "pie-in-the-sky" revolution.

The role of the student movement can easily be summarized as the "Off the Campus strategy." On the one hand, students must destroy the social function of the University—its support of the Society of monopoly capitalism—while building an institution which serves the interests of the oppressed. And secondly, we must build our movement beyond the campuses. To succeed (or deserve success), a revolutionary movement must involve the broader masses of oppressed people. We can offer the example that it is possible to fight the system; we can support off-campus organizers with money, research, and often direct action; and we can produce full-time, off-campus, organizers.

Leonard Siegel

BLACK LIBERATION

Dynamic black leadership has lead the recent resurgence of the radical movement at every step. From Montgomery to Columbia to San Francisco State the white radical movement has received its impetus from the civil rights-black liberation struggle. Though over the past decade some of the best work done by white radicals has been support for the black movement, the relationship between radical blacks and whites has been tenuous or confused at almost every stage.

Radicals understand that the liberation of white people is, in the long run, tied to the liberation of all people. Nevertheless, white radicals often push for short-run progress with little concern for black people—or other peoples of color. Even while supporting black leadership, whites (with more skills, expertise, and money) continually attempt to manipulate black movements. Consequently neither radical black leadership nor progressive blacks in the community trust white people of any political persuasion.

Since the mid-sixties, when blacks began to tell whites to fuck-off, white "revolutionaries" have made an intense effort to rebuild the bridge between black and white revolutionaries. This takes the form of exhortations to follow "black leadership." Not far below the surface of this position is the understanding that "black leadership" means those blacks who share the white group's political line. A number of so-called Marxist-Leninist groups have attached themselves to the Black Panther Party, and push the Panthers as the sole representative of the black community because the Panthers share their politics. And all white revolutionaries are attracted by the image of being "white counterparts" of clearly revolutionary groups like the Black Panther Party. They support the Panthers forcefully in the hope that the charisma will rub off. Most of these white groups do fairly good work in their own right, but one should carefully examine their pleas to

"follow black leadership and do what we say."

Ever since Stokely first urged whites to "organize their own," whites have argued whether they should involve themselves in "black issues" when black leadership has not emerged on the local scene. This is no simple question. Often black leaders cannot afford to take leadership. And other times black leadership is essentially conservative and works with the Man. No rules can provide the solution to this question, but we can make several observations.

First, a "right" granted to black people without struggle can easily be co-opted. Only change won through struggle by those desiring it can be controlled by those people.

Second, community struggles by blacks do not always involve blacks on the campus, or in other communities. Each group has its own immediate goals which do not necessarily coincide. Whites on campus or in a second community need not wait for participation by blacks in their constituency. Very often those blacks are waiting for the involvement of whites whose power can help protect them.

Third, there is a tendency in the white movement to put down "bourgeois blacks" or attack the strategies of black moderate organizations. Indeed, with the advent of "black capitalism," many white revolutionaries have understandably gone whole hog. One should note, however, that most radical blacks are hesitant to attack such right-wing policies in the White media. The conditions imposed by society have forced many blacks to opt for immediate "progress," so black revolutionaries are usually compassionate when dealing with conservative blacks. Indeed, blacks who are "bought off" often stick with their race when things get tough. Whites would be more effective exposing the whites who work with the right-wing blacks (the whites who do the buying) and supplying radical blacks with information about the goals of such whites.

Blacks who have no reason to trust whites in the first place don't like affluent whites decrying "bourgeois blacks."

Even the Nation of Islam (the Black Muslims) hires whites (to work on their farms, etc.). Given the nature of the educational system, there are many skilled services whites can offer blacks. And in a time when the Man is heavily repressing the black movement, whites must stand up and offer support. Whites should always be prepared to offer support—knowledge, skills, money, bodies, or even advice—when asked. But they should do so with the expectation of playing a secondary role. They should attempt to transfer their skills and experience to black organizers. If this is done, blacks are then free to break politically with the white groups at any time.

Of course, the primary work for whites in combatting racism is organizing "our own people." White radicals must reach poor whites and young whites whose fundamental interests lie with those of black people (and other people of color). We must form a bridge between "racist" white workers and black workers. In some situations race will be the primary issue around which we should organize. At other times it will be in the background. At no time, however, should racism be ignored or swept under the rug. Historically, racial or ethnic prejudice has been the key factor in destroying progressive struggles.

Someday the white and black movements will be able to merge. We cannot predict the circumstances. The development of separate but allied movements should not preclude alliances, or integrated organizing projects in integrated areas. We must recognize, however, that non-white people face special oppression and that most whites who assert they are working for black liberation tend to underplay black liberation or, at least, manipulate blacks into their—the whites'—strategies for black liberation.

Leonard Siegel