BLACK METAMORPHOSIS:

NEW NATIVES IN A NEW WORLD

BY

SYLVIA WYNTER

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INTRODUCTION

In this essay I want to explore a key fact of the black presence in the Americas. This fact, largely overlooked, is the historical process, the socio-economic sea change, the cultural metamorphosis by which the multi-tribal African became the native of that area of experience that we term the New World. The classic example of this transformation is to be found in the plantation islands of the Caribbean. Why plantation? Why the Caribbean? The black was, as a mass force, incorporated into Western civilization through firstly, the latifundia, the large landed estates, of Spain and Portugal, and, secondly and more intensively, the plantations of the New World. These were the institutions which, similar to the encomienda for the New World Indians, functioned as the locus where the tribal African -- Yoruba, Ga, Ashanti, Ibo, etc. -- was converted into a homogenous commodity, into a unit of labor power collectively labelled negro. The negro is then, both as word and as fact, inseparably bound up with the creation of the plantation system. As a Caribbean economist wrote,

"In America, the locus of the plantation system is the Caribbean. Indeed this region is generally regarded as the classic plantation area. So much so that social anthropologists have described the region as a culture sphere, labelled Plantation America." (1)

The Caribbean islands constitute the classic plantation area because it is there, most nakedly, that the plantation system functioned in what we may term its "pure" state. Increasingly in the seventeenth century and from then on, the Caribbean islands, were, " 'planted' with peoples.... not in order to form societies, but in order to carry on plantations whose aim, was to produce monocrops for a market whose dynamic

impulse was that of production for profit." (2)

As a consequence of this,

"the plantation societies of the Caribbean consti-
tuted a radical break with all previous societies. They
came into being at a praticular juxtaposition of history
--- the European discovery of the New World, and the
European experience of this New World as the frontier
reserved for the manifest destiny of Europe. They
were created out of this frontier _experience_, as
adjuncts to the market system of capitalism." (3)

That is to say, if the plantation was the _locus_ of the transformation ♀ the
tribal African into a negro, a commodity (pure labor power), the _agent_
of that transformation was the market mechanism of capitalism. Yet it
was to be at the locus of the plantation, and in resistance to the
dehumanization
reification imposed on him by the market imperative of capitalism, that the
black would rehumanize himself as the _native_ of the Caribbean. As native
he was to endure a new form of dehumanization reification and was to carry on a new
exploitation
variant of the old struggle against disposession.

I shall therefore, within the limits of this essay, largely
restrict myself to the Caribbean with particular reference to Jamaica.
I shall, however, draw certain parallels with other New World areas of
experience in order to suggest a more universal validity for my thesis.
In this context, I propose to ⟨

a) Define the concept of indigenization

b) Trace and explore the stages of this paradoxical process which I
   have termed indigeni-
   zation and

d
c) Discuss some of its contemporary implications.

(A) THE CONCEPT OF INDIGENIZATION

> *The Cuban Indian did not influence the formation of*
> *our character; their footsteps are very faint in our spiritual*
> *patrimony. On the other hand, the position that the original*
> *inhabitants left empty was occupied by a kind of "surrogate*
> *autochtonous man" (Lino Dou), the black African.... (4)*

In his pioneer work --- *Race and Color in the Caribbean* ---
Gabriel Coulthard noted:

> *"The Negro, of course, is not any more indigenous than the*
> *white creole, nevertheless he appeared more distinctive, more*
> *typical, less European, and gave, and continues to give to*
> *Caribbean life a large part of its peculiar tonality. The*
> *preoccupation with creating a Caribbean nativism (indigenismo),*
> *then, lies at the heart of the cult of the Negro, especially*
> *in Afro-cubanism..." (5)*

Also, discussing the U.S. Negro Renaissance movement of the twenties, which
paralleled the Afro-Cuban movement, and influenced the Negritude movement,
the co-founder of this last movement, Leopold Sedar Senghor, the Senegalese,
wrote:

> *"They wanted America to provide something of their own in the*
> *realm of Art. From then on, they were obliged to return to the*
> *roots of the people. Now it turned out that the people were the*
> *blacks." (6)*

That something of their won -- as Senghor pointed out, that the U.S. gave
the world was jazz. Today jazz and its multiple variants constitute the
universal twentieth century expression of alienated and disrupted man: the
beginning of a universal popular/mass culture --the first such.

Philip Curtin, in another equally pioneering work on Jamaican society,

had this to say:

> "*In many ways Negro culture was more truly native to
> Jamaica than European culture, although both were alien.*" (7)

The approximation, Negro/Native, is not found only in works of
scholarship. Richard Wrights's classic novel of the 1940's, <u>Native Son</u>,
powerfully grasped the paradox and amibiguity of the "nativity" of the
Negro in America. On a lower level, this is a widespread cliche. In pulp
and no so pulp literature, in yellow journalism, the Negro/Native is a
typical part of the background, part of the "local color", the picturesque
tourist scene, the complex of <u>exoticism</u> endemic to the Caribbean.

This Negro/Native approximation was seen too, and still is, by
the travel writer's eye, essentially a colonizer's eye. The travel
writer popularized the "native" stereotype of the black -- the lazy nigger,
grinning and singing his minstrel song as he popularized the sterotype of
the lazy "native", i.e. the Mexican complete with guitar, hat over eyes,
half asleep under a tree. This stereotype was part of the mediating myth
that lay at the heart of any relationship whose purpose was the extraction
of surplus value from devalued labor-power: whether by the forced labor of
slaves on the plantation, or by the more complex contemporary mechanisms by
which native labor is made to function. The Sambo Stereotype or 'nigger
minstrel' was an earlier variant of the lazy native myth which is main-
tained to contrast with the self-serving image of, first, the "paternalistic
slaveholder weighted with his duty", and, second, "the careladen white
colonizer, burdened with his mission." (8)

The English colonizer, travel writer, J.A. Froude, writing in the
nineteenth century shows us the essential interconnection of these two
stereotypes, that of the colonized and that of the colonizer, of the victim

and the victimizer. He wrote:

> "The West Indian Negro is conscious of his own defects, and
> responds more willingly than most to a guiding hand. He is
> faithful and affectionate to those who are just and kind to
> him, and with a century or two of wise administration he
> might prove that his inferiority is not inherent... and that
> with the same chances as the white he may rise to the same
> level.... The poor black was a faithful servant as long as
> he was a slave." (9)

The fabrication of a pliant native was indispensable to the white
conceptualization

Here the purpose is plain. ↑ The white colonizer demands the *fabrication*

Colonizer to justify his position just as the just Sambo stereotype was needed

of a pliant native to justify his position as the paternalistic slaveholder

conceptualization by the paternalistic slaveholder

demanded the fabrication of the Sambo stereotype to justify his.

Both the nineteenth century colonizer Froude and the twentieth

century ~~scholar~~ historian Stanley Elkins mistook the fabrication for

Elkins saw

the fact, seeing the stereotype as the reality rather than as the complex

ideological instrument by which the colonial powers and the early Southern

slave-holders helped to establish and perpetuate relations of production

surplus   *more devalued*

in which relatively more value could be extracted from relatively ~~less native~~

labor

power, whether in "slave" form, or in its later "native" variant. To ensure

the perpetuation of the later native variant, the fabrication of the native

stereotype calls for a continuation of the earlier Slave/Sambo stereotype

to ensure a distortion of history: the black was a faithful servant as long

as he was a slave. The long and persistent slave revolts that took place in

the Caribbean by generations of "faithful servants" are eliminated from the

colonizers' consciousness. Slave revolts, i.e., the struggle against the

exploitation of the slave's labor power, are eliminated from the "civilizer's"

frame of reference. Slave revolts are inconvenient truths. But the memory of

past slave and native revolts haunt the fringes of the civilizer's

consciousness. This consciousness of revolt is transformed into a

further variant of the myth--the faithful servant who without the master's

guidance may turn out bad, Fraude wrote:

> *"As a freeman he is conscious of his inferiority at the bottom*
>
> *of his heart, and would attach himself to a rational white*
>
> *employer with at least as much fidelity as a spaniel. Like the*
>
> *spaniel too, if he is denied the chance of developing under*
>
> *guidance the better qualities which are in him, he will*
>
> *drift back into a mangy cur."* ( )

The contradictions are resolved. Whether as a slave, or as a free man (i.e.,

a native) the black man needs the paternal guidance of the white man. The

slaveholders ideology of paternalism demanded the fabrication of the Sambo

stereotype; the colonizers' ideology demand the fabrication of "lesser breed

without the law", i.e. the stereotype of the native. The black in the

Caribbean was stereotyped both as <u>negro</u> and as native.

In mythic fact or factual myth the Caribbean Negro is the

Caribbean Native. Yet rarely had the fact been questioned - Why? Why

should the black man, as much an emigrant to the New World as all the

others, come to be considered indigenous to the Caribbean, to the Americas

and to so consider himself, not only at the conscious but more profound

at the unconscious level? ( )

Vidia Naipaul, a gifted Trinidadian Indian writer, in his travel

book, <u>The Middle Passage</u>, which was a long and sustained rejection of the

black component in his own psyche, notes this fact with a jaundiced eye:

> *"Travel writers who didn't know any better spoke of him as*
>
> *'native' and he accepted this: 'this is my island in the sun'*

> *Mr. Harry Belafonte sings 'where my people have toiled since time begun'. Africa was forgotten. ( )*

The accuracy of perception is marred by the distorted focus. Naipaul notes the question, but his simplified answer-- that the black <u>wanted</u> to be native, because in this way he could reject Africa, is only one strand of a complex historical process. This is the process of black cultural resistance and response to the Middle Passage and to what lay on the farther side--the alienated reality of a New World, new not only in its geography, but also in its radically different experience. It is this historical experience and response which I shall explore as a process of <u>indigenization</u>. Why the term "indigenization"? *already explained*
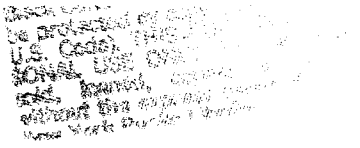
THE SEPULVEDA SYNDROME AND THE MYTH OF THE CULTURAL VOID
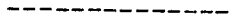
"The myth of the Negro past is one of the principal supports of race prejudice in this country. It rationalizes discrimination in every day contact between Negroes and whites, influencing the shaping of policy where Negroes are concerned.... it provides the sanction for deep seated beliefs which gives coherence to behavior. ....on the intellectual level, a long line of trained specialists ...have...contributed to the perpetuation of the legend concerning the quality of Negro aboriginal endowment and its lack of stamina under contact... (Herskovitz)

"..when one undertakes the study of the Negro he discovers a great poverty of traditions and patterns of behavior that exercise any real influence on the formation of the Negro's personality and conduct. If, as Keyserling remarks, the conspicuous thing about the Chinese is their deep culture, the most conspicuous thing about the Negro is his lack of a culture." (E.B. Frazier)

In a perceptive article, <u>Parallelisms and Divergencies between</u> <u>"Negritude" and "Indigenismo,"</u> - G.R. Coulthard wrote:

"The words "negritude" and "indigenismo" ...are...convenient labels used to summarize complex racial, cultural phenemona which have emerged from non-Englishspeaking societies. (12)

Both, he continues, are twentieth century movements which sprang [emerged]

as a rea[c]tion to "colonialization and the assumption of racial and cultural

superiority of the colonizers." Both have as their main function the

"loosening of the stranglehold of European or 'Western' (and this includes

the United States) culture, weakening the prestige of European civilization

with its claim to exclusive cultural tutelage, and the affirmation of a

new and distinctive cultural perspective based on native and often racial

perspectives." (13)

Coulthard discusses the concept of 'indiĝenismo', and traces the

conquest by Spain of the indigenous civilizations of the American continent.

He quotes an early Spanish theorist who argues that the Spaniards had a

right to enslave the Indians because the latter were culturally inferior:

> *"Now compare", Gines de Sepulveda argues, "those gifts of prudence,*
>
> *sharpness of wit, magnanimity, temperance, humanity and religion*
>
> *(of the Spaniards) with those of those little men (homunculi)*
>
> *in whom you will hardly find a trace of humanity. They have no*
>
> *culture, no system of writing (nor do they) preserve monuments*
>
> *of their history; they have the vaguest obscure memory of facts*
>
> *recorded in certain pictures, they lack written laws and have*
>
> *barbarous institutions and customs." (15)*

The quotation is paradigmatic [exemplary indicative] of the posture of European civilization in

relation to orally perpetuated, pre-capitalist cultures. Above all it

illustrates the <u>use</u> of European culture as a weapon of domination, as an

instrument of power. The psychological subjugation of the conquered peoples

would be ensured by the pen and the printing press as their physical subjuga-

tion had been assured by the gun. ( ) The coercive power of the one

could be made to imply the coercive power of the other: power came out of

the barrel of a gun, humanity resided in writing. The oral culture of

the indigenous civilization was therefore a non-culture, was 'barbarous'.

By a process of repetition, 'humanity' came to be synonymous with European

culture. To be non-European was to be non-human. This myth of the

cultural void was to be central to the ideology which the West would use

in its rise to world domination.

At the core of European culture was the monotheist Christian

religion. In the same way that Christianity had relegated the Greek and

Roman gods to a Manichean role of evil, degrading them to demons and savage

woodland spirits, ( ) so now, Spanish theologians, interpreted the

(Amerindian)
indigenous gods as the source of evil from whose power the indigenous

peoples were to be rescued by the Christianizing mission of European

religion. (12) The European had his mission, his burden, his manifest

destiny: he was chosen. The indigenous, the unchosen, was to be transformed

from the human subject of his own culture into the inhuman object of the

European culture. This relationship--one of alienation for both--lay at

the heart of the colonial experience.

What the Spaniards did to the Amerindians on their continent, many other

European nations did to the Africans on theirs, and to the tribal African   insert
to next
pg
shipped to the new world.

What I shall label as the Sepúlveda syndrome--the mythology of the

inferiority of the non-white, specifically the black, and the devaluation

of his humanity, plus the elaborate construction of a world view in which

Africa became the negation of all humanity, the heart of darkness,--served

a specific material purpose. The full implications of the Sepúlveda statement

become clear when we realize that he had been hired by the Spanish colonists

of Santo Domingo to defend what they claimed to be their rights as Spaniards

to the unfettered utilization of the labor of the Indians, through By means of

the perpetuation and continuance of the <u>encomienda</u> system, a production *This system constituted a particular form of production*

relationship∧in which Indians were disrupted from their tribal communities

and assigned to individual Spanish colonists, who gave them a minimal

amount of food and their own *allegedly* Christianizing influence in exchange for their

labor, these rights were exercised. → *What the Spaniards did ...*

insert from pg 10

Sepúlveda defended the <u>rights</u> of the colonists against Las Casas, who

pointed out the dehumanization of the Indians that the <u>encomienda</u> system

entailed, and the evil of this system in the light of Christian doctrine.

It was in the context of this ideal doctrine--all men had souls and

were sons of God--that Sepúlveda brought forward the thesis that some men

were more equal than others. The sign of the more equal was their possession

of a ''culture''. The less equal had no ''culture''. With no other race on

earth would this ''cultureless thesis'' be more eleborately constructed, more

vulgarized, more commonly accepted *than* with the black. The European's

African slave trade∧ *carried out* in the context of nascent Western humanism, and the

New World plantation system, in the light of nascent bourgeois rationality,

made imperative the construction of such a powerful <u>ideology</u>. The stereotype

of the black as Sambo, the nigger minstrel, was a cornerstone in this

architecture of defamation. ( )

T. W. Adorno has shown the imperative necessity for men to fabricate

ideologies like this:

> "*The system in which the sovereign mind imagined itself trans-*
> *figured, has its primal history in the pre-mental, the animal*
> *life of the species. Predators get hungry but pouncing on their*
> *prey is often difficult and dangerous; additional impulses may be*
> *needed for the beast to dare it. These impulses and the unpleasant-*
> *ness of hunger fuse into rage at the victim, a rage whose expression*
> *in turn serves the end of frightening and paralysing the victim.*
> *In the advance to humanity this is rationalized by projection.*

*The "rational animal" with an appetite for his opponent is
already fortunate enough to have a superego and must find a
reason. The more completely his actions follow the law of
self-preservation, the less can he admit the primacy of that
law to himself and others; if he did his laboriously attained
status of a zoon politikon whould lose all credibility.
The animal to be devoured must be evil. Idealism...gives
unconscious sway to the ideology that the not-I, L'autrui and
finally all that reminds us of nature is inferior, so the unity
of self-preserving thought may devour it without misgivings.
This justifies the principle of the tought as much as it increases
the appetite. The system is the belly turned mind and rage is
the mark of each and every idealism".* (14)

The not-I of Western idealist philosophy, that humanism which later
spawned the concept of the rights of man, was the non-white sub-human human assimilated to
Nature, and the ultimate non-white was black. The systematic devaluation
of the black as human went hand in hand with the systematic exploitation
of his labor power.

The non-white (sub human) labor that was to be exploited had to be perceived
as evil. In the context of idealistic humanism, although his less than human
status had to be rationally justified. In the context of emergent capitalism
and the naked form of slavery under which the labor power of the plantation
slave or the encomienda Indian was exploited, the Sepúlveda syndrome--like
the later more "scientific" Darwinian derived theories--served a specific
purpose, i.e., it rationalized emergent capitalism's need for new sources
of devalued labor power. ( )

Since the idea of devalued labor power is central to my thesis,
and will be formulated later on, I shall content myself with merely making

the point that the cultural racism implicit in the Sepulveda syndrome
cannot be described a̶ȷ̶ an ~~automatic~~ autonomous response of the superstructure, a
purely pyschological response inherent in the European psyche. Rather,
·this cultural racism contributed greatly to the complex ideological
apparatus by which Western capitalism would fulfill its imperative to
extract surplus value from non-white labor ( ). Cultural racism is
therefore organic, not anomalous, to Western capitalism, and, ipso
facto, to Western civilization.

In other words, the perception of the Indian, black, native as
inherently inferior plays a central role in the concrete determination
of the value of 'inferior' men, and of their 'inferior' labor power.
The devaluation of their cultures, which implies the devaluation of their
humanity, far from being a merely cultural, i.e. or superstructural, phenemonon,
was rooted in a material base, in the economic infrastructure. It was the
hungry 'belly' which saw the black as Sambo/brute beast and the natives as
"homunculi" and lesser breeds.

The twentieth century movements of negritude and indigenismo
saw the vindication of native cultures, and of native peoples, as the first,
necessary step in their assertion of the right of the "native" to the
full fruits of his labor power. ( ) That these movements coincided with
independence struggles is not surprising. The colonial and neo-colonial
apparatus of government was and is primarily concerned with the stabilization
of relations of production in which native labor power can be exploited.
We saw these cultural movements in their pure state in Latin America and in
Africa. On both these ~~countries~~ Continents the consciousness of alienation and the
struggle for independence, were at once linked to the revaluation of the
indigenous cultures. Both peoples, Amerindians and Africans, had been
alienated and disrupted in their own lands from their cultures, their roots,

their autochtonous being. Both movements of 'indigenismo' implied a
return to a lost autochtonous Golden Age, both mythic and real, a
rehabilitation of the ancient gods, sprung from their homeland, a renaissance
of the complex of culture which had defined their being. Above all,
both implied a powerful critique of the present, of the status quo.
Coulthard, however, correctly points to the fact that Caribbean man and
the American Negro differ from the norm of 'indigenismo'. He sees what
he terms as 'Africanizing Africanism' and 'Creole Africanism' (Afrocubanism)
of the Caribbean as movements which are 'original cultural phenomena' and
which form,

"..a strange and exotic province within Latin American culture." (15)
He goes further to make a hard and fast distinction:

> "Negritude" had affected the English speaking world, both in
> Africa, the West Indies, and the United States, where what it
> signifies is fairly well known. "Indigenismo" on the other hand
> is confined, and will remain confined, to certain parts of
> Latin America, and will almost certainly never affect the English-
> speaking world directly." (14)

Yet this distinction loses its validity when we note that Leopold Sedar
Senghor, a Senegalese, and one of the exponents of the negritude movement
which began in the Caribbean, was at the same time part and parcel of the
indigenist movement of Africa. Both terms imply and contain the other.
And this is not only so in the case of Senghor, an intra-African, to borrow
a term of J.J. Thomas. ( ) We see this interconnection with regard to the
New World 'extra-African'. We see it most clearly in Price-Mars of Haiti,
the ethnologist, whom Coulthard himself acknowledges as the source and
fount of the movement which would be known as 'negritude'.

"In 1927, there appeared a book which was to leave a profound and lasting imprint on Haitian culture. I refer to 'Ainsitparla l'Oncle' of Jean Price Mars. Price Mars' purpose in this book was to rehabilitate and revalue the African elements of Haitian life. To this end he first analyses the civilizations of Africa, correcting the idea that the Africans were savages, and afterwards explored popular beliefs, folk dances, folk tales and Haitian superstitions - all of African origin." ( )

Price-Mars' book, and the Negritude movement to which it gave rise, was part of the chain reaction to the United States' neo-colonial occupation of Haiti. The new colonialism sharpened the consciousness of alienation. The Haitian was devalued now not only as black but as "native". Haiti's war of liberation against the French had been successful. But after that successful war, faced with the problem of founding a new state, Haitians had taken the easiest way out by copying the model of the former masters. They succeeded. A handful from the ruling class of Haiti became magnificent colored Frenchmen. But, by an implacable logic, says Price-Mars,

"..to the same degree we unlearnt how to be Haitians, that is to say, how to be men, born in determined historical conditions, having garnered in their souls a complex psychology, which gives to the Haitian community its specific physiognomy." ( )

These Haitians, came to regard themselves, their people, with European eyes. And in these eyes

"the Negroes were the refuse of humanity, without history, morals, without religion...in whom it was necessary to infuse..new moral values, a new human investiture." ( )

Black Haitians were a <u>tabula rasa</u> on which European culture could work its 'civilizing mission'. The elite Haitians saw themselves, before Price-Mars' book, as the sub-agents of this mission. To these sub-agents, to this elite, says Price-Mars,

> *"..all that is authentically indigenous--language, customs, feelings, beliefs, became suspect, stained with bad taste.."* 2|

All that was authentically indigenous was a non-culture to be wiped out or ingnored. The purpose of Price Mars' book was to negate this negation. He wrote:

> *"We have for a long time cherished the desire to bring to the eyes of the Haitian people, the value of their folklore..By a disconcerting paradox these people who had...the most moving history in the world..that of the transplantation of a human race into a stranger soil, in the worst possible biological conditions, now display a badly concealed embarassment even shame to hear speak of their distant past." ( )*

The creation of Haitian folklore, of Haitian culture was the result of a 'transplantation' on a 'stranger soil' of essentially African cultural patterns. It is this process of <u>transplantation</u> that we label 'indigenization'. It is Price-Mars who first singles out, with amazement, a cultural process which has been taken for granted and thus, ignored. That the transplantaion had taken root and grown 'under the worst possible biological conditions' was strong testimony to the viability of the original African culture and to the creativity of the culture-bearers, the slaves. Yet is was this very creativity that the Haitian elite, in fief to Western imperialist values, learned to despise. The revaluation of African cultures was a necessary first step in the revaluation of their offshoot, Haitian culture and folklore. Study of the African heritage does not make a Haitian an African, but rather returns him to his Haitian roots. Haitian folklore was and is the historical

record of an amazing achievement. The Haitians are only a handful of people, says Price-Mars, but, *"our presence on a spot of that American archipelago which we 'humanized', the breach which we made in the process of historical events to snatch our place among men"* was worthy of study, a particular achievement that could be placed *'within the common life of man on the planet."* (13) Their folklore was the record of the [an African] roots that the Haitian people, in barely three centuries, had put down in a 'stranger' soil. By these roots they made the soil their own.

The experience of the Haitian was the experience of the 'extra-African' in the New World. Their indigenismo extended back across the Middle Passage, in space and time, only to return. [Meaning?]

And it is in this sense that the indigenismo of the Caribbean native and the American black represents a more complex phenomenon than that of the African, or of the American Indian. The physical and geographic disruption implied by the Middle Passage, by the change of continent by the total conditioning power of the plantation made him the first to experience a near total alienation. It was the totality of this change which occasioned a cultural response of such magnitude. This response was great enough to transform him into the indigenous inhabitant of his new land. His nativity, his rebirth was the result of his cultural self-recreation. And his culture was an existential culture of exile, of struggle. His 'ethnic' being was redefined by his cultural resistance to the dehumanization of colonial capitalism. For capitalism is by the nature [inherent] of its (being), a-tribal, a-ethnic, a-national, a-cultural, a-human. It sets out to reduce, man [people], all men [people], any men [people], to so many units of labor power. A labor force, disrupted from tribe, traditions and land, mass-mobilized, mass-transhipped across the Middle Passage, might well be imagined to exist in a cultural void, dehumanized. But the very expanse of the Middle Passage,

the totalitarianism of the diaspora created its own response since,

> *"Alienation is an inherently dynamic concept; a concept*
> *that necessarily implies change. Alienated activity not only*
> *produces 'alienated consciousness' but also 'the consciousness*
> *of being alienated.'"* (4)

This consciousness created the need for the solution to this alienation.
And since,

"Needs produce powers just as powers produce needs;" (25)
the extra-African's cultural response to the dehumanizing alienation of
the Capitalist plantation system of the New World, was to reroot himself,
making use of the old cultural patterns which had undergone a true sea-
change, in order to <u>create</u> the new vocabulary of the new existence.

That was why for Price-Mars the study of Haitian folklore was
imperatively a study of a transplantation, a study of that historical
and cultural process by which the Haitians became a people indégenous
to the site of their struggles. Haitian folklore was at once agent
and product of that cultural metamorphosis by the which the multi-tribal
African slave was transformed into the indigenous native of Haiti. Let
me briefly examine this metamorphosis, this transplantation which I have *delete*
labelled *"indigenization."*

Culture, according to Senghor, is the expression of the relationship
between man and his natural environment. It is, in effect, *"the*
result of a double effort of the integration of Man with Nature and Nature
with Man." ( ) Man adapts himself to Nature, at the same time as he adapts
Nature to his own exigencies. *from* For this bi-polar, ocillatory process
spring his social and economic structures, his art, and his philosophy.
this golden mean, this balance lies at the heart of the creation of all

cultures until the discovery of the New World and the concomitant

expansion and mutation of Western civilization. From hereon, Senghor

implies, "an economic and instrumental civilization could make us believe that

one part of the process, the transformation of Nature by Man is the

very essence of Culture." ( ) Descartes, in his <u>Discourse on Method</u>,

gives the manifesto of this new and revolutionary *[counter] radical* break in thought, attitude,

and relation when he writes:

> "I perceived it to be possible to arrive at a knowledge,
>
> highly useful in life; and in room of the speculative
>
> philosophy usually taught in the schools, to discover
>
> a practical one, by means of which, knowing the force and action
>
> of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all the other
>
> bodies that surround us, as distinctly as we know the various
>
> crafts of our artisans, we might also apply them in the same
>
> way to see the uses to which they are adapted and <u>thus render</u>
>
> <u>ourselves</u> the lords and possessors of Nature."(   )

I propose that this revolutionary new relation to Nature initiated

by Western Man began to realize itself with the discovery of the New World.

front As I wrote elsewhere,

> "..it is with the discovery of the New World and its vast
>
> exploitable lands that the process which has been termed 'the
>
> reduction of Man to Labour and of Nature to Land under the
>
> impulsion of the market economy' really had its large-scale
>
> beginning." ( )

A quantitative change brought a qualitative change. Nature became land,

conceivable only in terms of property, laid bare of myth, custom, tradition.

Land if it were to function as land, needed not men, nor communities, but so

many units of labor-power. A disrupted labor force, mass mobilized, was the most rational answer to the need for labor power. The Middle Passage, it must have been assumed, was wide and deep enough to exile the tribal African from all the social customs and traditions that defined him as man rather than as labor unit. The plantation system was the new idea, the new institution in which the first mass labor force totally at the disposal of capitalism was to be "seasoned" and transformed into a purely productive unit, producer of surplus value. The Middle Passage was indeed wide and deep enough to fulfill what Marx laid down as the primary condition of primary accumulation:

"a historical process whereby the producer is divorced from the means of production." ( )

The Middle Passage, then, would seem to have ensured that the divorce ought to have been absolute. The African slave was disrupted from his familiar earth, his labor was expropriated, his society abandoned, and his future placed in exile from his traditions. The horrors of the Middle Passage are part of the history of the total expropriation of his labor, the history, "written in the annals of Mankind in letters of blood and fire." ( )

Yet, was this disruption so absolute as to justify what we shall term the tabula rasa theory --the theory by which the black man came to the New World naked of customs, traditions, religion, and world view? No myth has been as persistent as this one. Darcy Ribeiro, a Brazilian, in discussing the black man as part of the new peoples of the New World bears out Eric Williams' thesis as to the correlation of black slavery with the rise and expansion of capitalism. Ribeiro writes:

"The contribution of African slave labor was however, by far the

significant ingredient. It led to two kinds of effects
of vital importance for an understanding of the modern
world. The primary one was accumulation of capital sub-
sequently invested in Europe for the construction of cities,
the equipping of armies and later the establishment of indus-
trial parks. The Negro contributed in two ways to the for-
mation of this capital: (1) as a commodity, since the slave
trade was for centuries one of the biggest businesses in the
world, and (2) as labor which produced the harvests of the American
plantations and mines, whose commercialization made possible
a fantastic accumulation of capital for dissipation and productive
application. The rapid maturation of mercatile capitalism, as
well as the high rate of evolutionary acceleration undergone by
the pioneer countries of the Industrial Revolution, were possible
only because of the contribution of the vast external proletariat
whose consumption was reduced to the biological minimum in order
to produce the maximum surplus." ( )

Ribeiro sees clearly the existence of an external proletariat.
Yet, as a corollary to his thesis of the total economic despoilment of
the black man, Ribeiro perpetuates the myth of his total cultural
expropriation. He sees what he calls the "Indo-European cultural proto-
cell" as the "first cultural crystalizations" of the "New Peoples" of the
Americas. Later arrivals, Negro and white, he argues, "were later
absorbed into the neo-American way of life." Whereas in the French
and British West Indies and the United States South, the Indians had
been eliminated and there was no Indo-European mestizo matrix or proto-
cell, he sees a total deculturation, a void. He writes:

"The second pattern...either lacked this Indo-European

mestizo origin or eradicated it during subsequent specialization in sugar and cotton. As a consequence these areas were even more blatant by-products of capitalist enterprises, which imported human fuel in the form of Negro slaves to expend on the plantations, ~Their plantations~ *directed by more strongly capitalistic overseers than existed on the rest of the continent, made more efficient use of slaves by mating them to produce more slaves and by dehumaninzing them. Dumped into these human corrals, a tribal Negro was unable to preserve either his language or his culture, or to integrate himself into an already crystallized proto-culture which would have facilitated his adaptation to the new land. His acculturation consequently consisted of trying to imitate the speech and habits of his overseers and do as he was told. Some of the creoles did succeed in mastering the rudiments of the dominant culture, and they became agents of acculturation for others. Only in this way was their mental horizon widened and their pidgin language enriched, freeing them of the childish simplicity that was not the reflection of a primitive mentality but rather the consequence of an intentional effort to make them into nothing more than effecient tools to serve their masters." ( )*

This liberal apologia embodies an assumption of black inferiority which continues as perhaps the black's most insurmountable obstacle in his quest to affirm his identity as black and human and to have this identity acknowledged. What is worse is the fact that in spite of Herskovitz' demolition of the myth, it has become a part of the intellectual furniture even of blacks intellectuals. In one of his essays about black protest in the Jamaica, one

such black intellectual still repeats, in 1970, the <u>tabula rasa</u>
theory:

> "*In the absence of a strongly preserved cultural memory
> and in the wake of the deliberate uprooting of ancestral institu-
> tions by the slave system among the African immigrants, the
> African slave was to become the nearest thing to a <u>tabula
> rasa</u> on which the new vocabulary of creole existence could be
> written.*" (   )

Both Darcy Ribeiro, a Brazilian, and Rex Nettleford, a Jamiacan,
belong to the progressive, advance section of New World opinion yet their
repetition of the myth is not accidental. The European myth of cultural
superiority to all the "native" races has been subtly replaced among
progressive elements of the New World by what we can term the "mestizo"
or "creole" myth. Just as the European myth justified the continuing
domination of a handful of Europeans, so the mestizo-creole myth is, in
the context of neo-colonialism, the justification by the elite class--
to which Ribeiro and Nettleford belong-- of their claim to eliteness,
their right to rule, however democratic the rhetoric in which this right
is enshrined. In fact, the mestizo-creole myth is itself "neo-European."

In this 'neo-European,' neo-colonial mystification, blacks were a
<u>tabula rasa</u> on which the new vocabulary of creole existence could be
written, i.e., they were passive. culturally <u>In fact they were no such thing.</u> Of
all the emigrants who came to the New World, (the) blacks were, as a group,
the most creative culturally. They were the only ones involved in a
unique cultural process by which old roots were transplanted into new
soil, in the context of a totally alienated experience. They were creative
because they <u>had</u> to be. They were the only emigrants who came <u>not</u> as
free men towards the American dream of freedom based on the rights of

property, but as slaves, as a commodity, as <u>property</u>. From the beginning, then, they constituted the dark underside of the American dream, their existence criticizing its consciousness, their reality, the ~~opposing metaphor for~~ *negation of* its ideals. ( )

As 'negros' they were doubly alienated Cesaire points out. Alienated as the proletariat, they were also alienated as the only <u>race</u> whose <u>humanity</u> has ever been negated. Black Africans made their journey to the New World, not as Africans but as a commodity labelled 'negros'.

"...they do not wish to be called 'negros'

but 'prietos'. Only slaves are called 'negros'

And thus amongst them its is the same thing to

be called 'negro' as to be called a slave." ( )

(Father Antonio de Teruel, A Capuchin missionary, writing of the

Congolese in the 17th century.)

"They say that I am a thing, bought and sold,

That it is not right that such a slave, a negro

Be permitted to perform a noble deed   .

To say that I am excluded as a negro is malicious

Negroes are noble; to be a slave is what

Prevents me from obtaining justice."

(Diego Ximenez de Encisco in the seventeenth century Spanish play,

JUAN LATINO.)

The early Congolese warned against the process of fetish-making by
which the biological being of the African, his (prieto) black skin, would
be confused with the social being of a slave, a negro. Spanish playwright
of the Golden Age, Diego Ximenez de Encisco, writing a drama based on the
real life figure, Juan Latino, (famous Latin Scholar, born in Africa but
brought up in Spain, and admitted to the University system through the
influence of his ducal masters and his own scholastic mastery), gives to
his dramatic figure a speech in which a distinction is made between the
biological and the social being, between being black and being a slave.

But it was to be an essential feature of the first large scale
capitalist slave trade across the Middle Passage, that the African, the
multi-tribal, multi-cultural 'prieto' (black) had first to be transformed
into a new entity. That entity was labelled 'negro'. In Africa itself

slavery was widespread. But it was a type of slavery quite different from the Middle Passage slavery that was just beginning. In Africa, slavery formed part of the social system. Indeed, there were grades of slaves depending on their different roles and functions. Also, there were relative degrees of servitude, the right to ownership of property, possibility for social mobility, etc. Above all, a slave was not defined by biological characteristics. He was not 'naturally' a slave; he was socially, not biologically defined.

Even more vital was the fact that the African slave operated in the context of a mode of production which was the basis of what has been defined as an 'Archaic economy', an economy in which 'no markets for labor and land existed'. As a modern economist explains it in the case of Dahomey:

> "Dahomey's economy was based on the balance of a redistributive administration and local freedom mediated through a tissue of reciprocating and householding institutions supplemented by local markets. A planned agriculture was combined with village freedom; a governmental foreign trade coexisted with local markets while avoiding a market system. This archaic society possessed a solid structure built upon the rule of law; and status was further reinforced by money functions foreign to the market system." ( )

To be a slave in the context of an archaic system was to occupy a certain role, a status defined by law. In this role the slave fulfilled the economic function of helping to provide 'use-values'. In the absence of a market system which would transform the products of his labor power into a commodity, he himself, as part of the society, constituted a 'use value', i.e., his labor power was valued in relation to the needs of the society which it helped to satisfy. These needs were traditional, fixed, relatively constant.

The European slave traffic across the Middle Passage was from the beginning a <u>capitalist</u> enterprise, as Marx noted:

> "..*In the second class of colonies--the plantations, which are from the moment of their inceptions, commercial centres of production for the .. <u>the world market</u>--a regime of capitalist production exists, if only in a purely formal way, since slavery among the negros excludes <u>free wage labor, which is the base on which capitalist production rests. However, those who deal in slave trading are capitalists. The system of production introduced by them, does not originate in slavery, but was introduced into it.</u>* ( )*

The system of production of the plantations--"commercial centres of production for the <u>world</u> market"--at once caused a mutation in the concept of the word 'slave'. THE 'SLAVE MODE OF PRODUCTION' ON THE PLANTATION WAS TO BE A MODE OF PRODUCTION QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE SLAVE MODE OF PRODUCTION IN THE NON-MARKET ECONOMIES OF AFRICA. THE WORD 'NEGRO' WHICH THE SLAVE TRAFFICKERS --PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, ENGLISH, AND OTHER CHRISTIAN, CIVILIZED, EUROPEAN NATIONS-- APPLIED TO THE MULTITRIBAL AFRICAN TOOK ON A SPECIFIC MEANING. THE 'NEGRO" WAS NO LONGER A SLAVE AS IN THE AFRICAN TRIBAL CONTEXT. HE WAS NOW ESSENTIALLY A <u>FORM</u> OF LABOR POWER CALCULATED IN TERMS OF HIS EXCHANGE VALUE, BOUGHT AND SOLD NOT AS A SLAVE, BUT AS A COMMODITY. HE WAS 'LABOR POWER' IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM, WHICH PRODUCED GOODS FOR THE WORLD MARKET, NOT ON THE BASIS OF FULFILLING RELATIVELY CONSTANT NEEDS, BUT ON THE BASIS OF MAXIMIZING PROFIT, WHICH WAS LIMITLESS.

As I hope to show later on, the "negro" was a commodity whose exchange value could only be determined, in the last instance, by the value of free wage labor in the metropolis which produced the goods for which he was exchanged. He on the plantation would produce the raw materials which were finished and refined by free wage labor. So that while the value of free labor power was determined in the market place where the worker sold his labor, the value of slave labor

power was calculated in the marketplace where his labor power and its products were exchanged for the products of free wage labor. I hope to show later that the regime of production on the plantation based on slave labor was a <u>variant</u> of the regime of capitalist production which existed in the metropolis, and that while the metropolitan regime based on direct, "free," wage labor was <u>dominant</u>, it was inherently <u>interdependent</u> with the regime of plantation production based on slave labor. I shall trace this interdependence through exchange from the initial process in which the multi-tribal African was converted into a "negro" and a social, cultural human being was metamorphosed into a commodity.

start here

As a 'negro', a commodity, the multi-tribal African was 'valued' by his European purchasers when being sold to the New World plantaion according to the 'labor power' which he was estimated to be able to provide, i.e., his labor power was quantified:

> "The slave was reckoned and sold in units of labour power...As has
> been pointed out, even the method of sale was one of the techniques
> employed to reduce a man to a commodity. The slave was sold in the
> New World as a _pieza_--a piece. A _pieza_ was the equivalent, for
> example, of a 'count' bunch of bananas--a count bunch of bananas
> is a stem of nine hands or more and this is the norm. A stem cf
> six hands, for example, "would count as a quarter bunch. The amount of
> stems of banana is therefore more than the amount of bunches."
> So with the African, the _pieza_ was the norm. The norm was a man
> who represented the largest possible amount of labor power. He
> had to be above average height, without physical defect, with good
> teeth, and between thirty to thirty-five years, the years in which
> he had most labor to give. Others who did not attain these
> qualifications had to be added together to make up a _pieza_. Three
> boys or girls between eight and fifteen would make up two pieces.
> Between four and eight years old, two boys or girls made up one.
> Between thirty-five to forty, when physical powers were waning, two
> made up one. Over forty they were sold as 'refuse' at cut rate
> prices..." ( )

The slave merchants who bought--after the first wave of simple capture--the slaves from African States, used the _pieza_ calculation in their system of exchange of manufactured goods for slaves, i.e. negros. That is to say, the commodity, _negro-pieza_, realized its exchange-value in the exchange which took

place. In the eighteenth century, for example, as has been pointed out,

> *"it was possible to buy a 'Prime Man Slave' for:*
>
> *4 Dane Gunes, 2 Half Barrels Powder, 2 Fine Chints, 2 Patna Do,*
>
> *4 Bajudpants, 2 Necanees, 6 Romauls, 3 Half Cittons, 3 Two*
>
> *Blues, 1 Half Taffaty, 4 Lead Bars, 2 Small Brasspanns." ( )*

In this exchange, two different <u>concepts</u> of exchange were involved: that of African economies, whose people still inhabited a structure of use-values, central to the Archaic economy and that of the capitalist system, based on exchange-value.

Karl Polanyi explores, and elaborates on the gap between *'West African and European ways'*, pointing out certain *'essential differences'*.

> *"..institutional and organizational rather than valuational.*
> *Native trade was an import-directed activity of acquiring staples*
> *from a distance, bartered at the rate of 1.1. In emergencies*
>
> *simple variants of it occurred such as 2.1 or 2½.1. European*
> *trade overseas exports of varied manufactures, oriented on*
> *monetary gain." ( )*

In the structure of the native economic exchange meant, primarily, the exchange of <u>equivalents</u> the values of which was related to their <u>use</u>. In the European capitalist economic structure, exchange had to be, by the logic of a system based on the maximizing of profit, <u>not</u> the exchange of <u>equivalents</u>, but the operation by which a profit margin was obtained. In a structure of the first type, prices would gravitate around use value; in a structure of the second type, prices would have to gravitate around prices of production. The amount of goods, (a collection of varied items that the Africans <u>needed</u>), which the European slave trader paid for 'a prime man slave,' i.e., the <u>cost</u> of the free wage labor of the European worker who had manufactured the goods, would help

to determine the market value of the 'slave' labor power. Both forms of labor power - <u>that of wage labor, and that of slave labor</u> could then be expressed in terms of each other.

In that Unequal Exchange which as Arghiri Emmanuel has recently shown, constitutes the central mechanism by which the 'rich' countries 'underdevelop' and impoverish the 'poor' ones, the multi-tribal African, was made into the 'primary product' as opposed to the secondary manufactured product. ( ) His labor power became the 'primary' labor power as distinguished from the factory labor power of the European worker. Kenneth Stampp has pointed out that the 'slave price' paid by the planter for each 'negro' was the equivalent of the wage ( ) bill of the free worker. But it was never, not even at the beginning, a true equivalent

Karl Polanyi shows, in the case of Dahomey, how at first the native economic notion of equivalence imposed certain patterns of trading on the Europeans. He points out that,

> *"The native staples were standardized goods exchanged in kind against other staples, at traditional rates, by status traders, whose income did not derive from the business in hand'...If this is described as 'administered trade'. its European counterpart should be designated as 'market selling'. In contrast to the former, it was bent on making a profit on prices, hence the need for a monetized accountancy to encompass a manifold of wages in a single currency, namely gold."* ( )

Karl Polanyi then points out that the purpose of the African's trading was 'the need for distant staples to be acquired for domestic ones.' The European companies at first had to adjust their market trading *"with its inherent accountancy in gold"* to the 'native system of gainless barter at traditional rates.' Polanyi shows that in the early era, and in the era of the gold trade, Europeans did manage to find a mode of trade which met 'the native requirements of bartering in kind' at

a one to one rate (or a multiple of it) by a series of practical adjustments.

He goes on to show how the early trade was governed by 'the native ways and

needs'. Native trade goods--gold, slaves, pepper, ivory, native cloths, hides,

cattle and millet--were used as standards. Some European staples such as iron

bars, coppers and cloth were also used, but at first when European and native

standards came into conflict 'it was the native standard that was brought into

play'. This standard was based on need. Hard bargaining on the part of African

traders did not center on the question of price (market imperative), but on the

questions of the <u>kind of goods</u> (social imperative) which made up each sorting.

The African traders could work both to the advantage and the disadvantage of

the exchange value of the European trader. Working within 'the native monetary

framework' the European trader could not depend on a fixed margin of profits.

As the trade in 'negroes' developed, a system was developed with the

use of a new monetary unit, the 'ounce trade'. This device,

> *"simple consisted in paying 'in kind' for the gold ounces that the*
>
> *Europeans owed for <u>slaves</u>, but counting the goods in 'ounce trade',*
>
> *i.e. with an average one hundred per cent markup." ( )*

That is, the 'prime man slave' would be sold for a certain amount of gold ounces.

But the goods in kind paid in lieu of the gold ounces would be calculated according

to the exchange value of the goods in the western market plus an average one

hundred per cent markup. The native standard of use value was replaced by this

inflated value.

As a witness before the English Parliamentary Committee pointed out in

1789, in the slave trade at Cape Appollonia, *"slaves were rated in 'ounces' at four*

'ounces' each." Now four ounces of gold amounted to sixteen pounds sterling.

But the witness said that the four ounces <u>trade</u> (i.e. the goods which were paid) were

equivalent to only eight pounds sterling.

"To put it differently the Europeans paid in goods marked up one hundred percent for the 'ounces' which they owed." ( )

The main goods were 'negroes', slave labor power. The slave price, the value of a man's labor power, was now determined by the capitalist market, the same market which had fixed wage rates for 'free European labor.' The arbitrary 100% markup changed <u>equivalence</u> into <u>unequal exchange</u>. "Negro" labor power was <u>devalued</u> yet the value of <u>free labor</u> now formed part of the calculations that fixed his 'devalued' worth. The 'negro', collected at the different ports and factories for embarkation to the plantations of the New World, began his metmorphosis from a human entity to a market one. In this market he was a 'primary commodity' supplied by an archaic economy, which through its trading relations was now partly incorporated into the capitalist global market. In this relationship, unequal exchange--with its fiction of equivalence--was already the motor, the dynamic of the process which would over-develop Europe and under-develop Africa. ( ) AND IT WAS THIS DEVALUATION OF THE LABOR POWER OF THE BLACK, A DEVALUATION CARRIED OUT THROUGH EXCHANGE, RATHER THAN SLAVERY PER SE--SINCE SLAVERY WAS ONLY THE FIRST FORM, THE FIRST MECHANISM BY WHICH HIS LABOR POWER WOULD BE DEVALUED--THAT LED TO THE DEVALUATION OF HIS HUMANITY. IN OTHER WORDS, IN THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST SYSTEM IT IS NOT THE PERCEPTION OF THE BLACK (THE INDIAN, THE NATIVE) AS INFERIOR. THEREFORE IT IS NOT THE IDEOLOGY (SUPERSTRUCTURE) BUT THE MATERIAL BASE, THE ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE WHICH IS FINALLY DETERMINANT OF THE RACISM INTRINISIC TO THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. The "oversight" of this fact has led to *delete* theoretical misinterpretations which I shall discuss later. For now, let us look at the beginning of a relationship in which the use of superior physical force, i.e., the gun, enabled the global capitalist system to *impel* force the sudden abrupt incorporation into the world market of non-capitalist modes of production whose peoples were compelled to exchange their labor power and their products, for the labor power

and

and products of a specifically capitalist mode of production based on wage labor.

In the initial stages of the process, the <u>negro</u>, i.e., a pure and naked form of labor power ( ) was the large scale staple whose exchange made the relation of unequal exchange possible. He was the expression of the coexistence and interpenetration of two modes of production, that of the archaic, formerly closed economic system, and the burgeoning capitalist system which produced for the global market.

Rosa Luxemburg pointed out that in order to realize its surplus value, the capitalist system needs purchasers outside the market economy, purchasers who inhabit the noncapitalist sectors of the world. Capitalism, she pointed out, needed to cannibalize other non-capitalist economies, needed Third Persons. ( )

Africa and her staple product, 'negroes', provided the necessary relationship, the necessary site for the full scale realization of surplus value. Africa and her exported labor power also provided that minimum priced labor power needed, in these early stages, for the production of cheap raw materials which, finished in factories by relatively higher priced European labor power, would form the dominant standard and the basis of that exploitative exchange which Emmanuel have rightly described as the Imperialism of Trade.( )

Arghiri Emmanuel's theory, first put forward in his book <u>Unequal Exchange: The Imperialism of Trade</u>, prublished in France in 1969, and in its English translation by the Monthly Review Press, 1972--is of central importance to my argument. Because of this I shall briefly summarize those points which are germane to my thesis. They are these:

a) Today our planet is being divided into rich and poor nations--whose richness and poverty are believed to be structurally interconnected so that the one maintains the other.

b) The reason for this was generally interpreted as a necessary worsening of the

terms of trade between manufactured goods whose prices tend to go up and

primary products whose prices tend to fall.

c) But, Emmanuel argues, this interpretation springs from a mistaken identifica-

tion of the exports of rich countries with manufactured goods and those of

poor countries with the export of primary products. It is rather the products

of poor counries whether manufactured or primary - that go down. Why is this

so?

d) Emmanuel argues that the poor countries always exchange a larger amount

of their national labor for a smaller amount of the rich countries' labor.

And that this exchange depends primarily on the fact of the relatively lower

level of wages in the poor countries and the relatively higher level of wages in

the rich countries. THAT IS, THE EXCHANGE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, THE EXCHANGE

BETWEEN UNEVEN LEVELS OF WAGES IS BETWEEN RELATIVELY LESS AND MORE DEVALUED

LABOR.

e) Emmanuel goes on to point out that the pre-Marxist, classical economists had

assumed that wages were "always and everywhere the same, because irreducible."

To quote, "in the framework of the classical assumptions." thepostualte was made

of "a real basic wage, predetermined and unchangeble. It was a certain basket of

goods that corresponded to the physiological subsistence minimum of the worker

and his family....the basket could not be made any smaller. Any increase above

the minimum vital, (i.e. the minimum that would sustain life and allow the worker

to function as labor power, and to procreate and reproduce more labor power) would

cause the workers to become more prolific, and this by increasing the supply of

labor would bring wages back to their starting level:" ( )

   That is to say, as Emmanuel points out, in the assumptions of the

classical economists,

"..a biological law independent of the market and of men's economic relations deter-

mined the level of real wages. Since this wage level was predetermined so

like wise was the level of profit..." ( )

f) But Marx showed that wages are not exclusively determined "by biological factors, but also by sociological and historical ones". From this, Emmanuel argues, comes the "theorectical possibility that wages, and thereby profits, may be determined by market forces".

g) He goes on to argue that while the physiological minimum wage nevertheless does exist, and that there is therefore, "an absolute lower limit that the market is powerless to shift (i.e. the minimum needed to sustain life)," the notion of physiological minimum is itself elastic and relative, since needs are themselves relative, and socio-historically determined. He writes:

> "A need that has been created by technical progress and the
> power of demonstration becomes a biological need if it has
> been satisfied over a very long period of time..a stage is
> reached at which certain needs created by civilization become
> so habitual and urgent that a worker will rather cut down
> on his food or his clothing than do without the corresponding
> article or service. When that stage is reached, a wage
> that is too low to enable both groups of needs to be satisfied
> becomes a wage that is lower than the physiological minimum, and
> so becomes impossible." ( )

h) Emmanuel then comes to a conclusion that is central to our thesis: "Thenceforth the 'cost of living' ceased to be an invariable datum, and in the absence of the mobility of the labour factor wages can vary both in time and space."

To give an example relevant to my thesis, slaves on the plantations of the U.S. South were a labor factor that was not mobile. As slaves, they were not allowed to be. The socio-historical physiological basket of goods needed to maintain them was therefore fixed. The minimal level of this basket of goods remained

low because <u>as slaves</u> their needs remained relatively low in a country where
wages well above the level of the norm of the rest of the world were common.
As slaves within the internal unit of the United States they functioned as
more-devalued labor. After emancipation and the brief period of Reconstruction,
the Jim Crow laws designed to keep the "nigger in his place" were essentially
designed to keep the <u>nigger</u> as <u>native labor</u>, i.e., as <u>relatively devalued labor.</u>
Paradoxical as it may seem, in the habitual and increased lynchings of the
Post-slavery era, the sexual connotations were essentially subsidiary to a concealed
economic motive. To use Adorno's terms, the belly was disguised as idealist rage,
i.e. the protection of the flower of white Southern womanhood which also
functioned as a form of devalued domestic labor.(   )

It is in the context of this argument that an episode in Richard
Wright's autobiography, <u>Black Boy</u>, takes on its full implications. Hired by a Yankee
employer while still in the South, he is supposed to be instructed by two
Southern (white) employees in the "mechanics of grinding and polishing lenses".
He does the odd jobs about the place, but as the weeks pass, the two white men
make no attempt to teach him. He asks one of the men, Reynolds, to tell him
about the work. The following dialogue ensues:

*"What are you trying to do, get smart, nigger?" he asked me. "No
sir" I said.*

Wright was baffled, he decided to try the other worker, Pease, instead,
reminding him "that the boss had said that I was to be given a chance to lear the
trade". The following dialogue ensued:

"Nigger, you think you're white, don't you?"

"No sir,"

"You're acting mighty like it" he said.

"I was only doing what the boss told me to do," I said.

Pease shook his fist in my face.

"This is white man's work around here," he said. (   )

This was the crux of the matter. The tormenting incidents with Pease and Reynolds which Wright suffered after that were not "inherent racism" in the two men, even though they saw this racism in themselves as instinctive. The racism was, in the last instance, determined by the economic motive. Devalued black labor meant a relative over-valuation of theirs. The black was their 'native labor'. Jim Crow laws served the same primarily economic function as apartheidt laws. In the capitalist system even the psyche of man, in its ultimate recesses, is mediated by economic factors. The "belly" is finally determinant.

g) Emmanuel goes on to argue that Marx showed that the historical and social factors render possible a variation in the rate of wages between one country and another. Here we would like to add between one 'race' and another within the same country (black/white), between one group and another in the same country (the urban and rural proletariat of Third World countries). As Emmanuel points out, Marx saw that social and historical factors can bring about considerable differences of wage levels and make impossible the equalization of wages on a world scale.

h) He then goes on to point out certain facts that are important to my thesis: He shows that Marx was the first to see that the

COMMODITY THAT WAGES PURCHASE IS NOT THE WORKER'S LABOR BUT HIS LABOR POWER. LABOR, THE COMMON DENOMINATOR AND MEASURE OF THE VALUE OF ALL COMMODITIES, IS NOT ITSELF A COMMODITY AND THEREFORE HAS NO VALUE. WHAT UNDER CAPITALIST PRODUCTION RELATIONS BECOMES A COMMODITY, WHAT IS BOUGHT AND SOLD, IS, IN A SENSE, THE MAN HIMSELF. HIS STRENGTH, THE ACCUMULATED ENRGY THAT "ENABLES HIM TO WORK FOR A CERTAIN NUMBER OF HOURS, HIS LABOR POWER."

From our point of view what is important here is that the transformation

of the multi-tribal African into a commodity was the transformation of his
labor into labor power. The multi-tribal African, i.e., a specific human being,
during the process of exchange in the slave 'factory' in Africa, and later on
the auction block in the New World, was transformed into a _pieza_, pure labor
power, a commodity labeled a _negro_.

This _commodity_, labor power in slave form, had to be fed and kept
alive and active. As Emmanuel puts it:

> "In order to be kept up, this strength needs a certain supply
> of substances, some of which are freely given by nature while
> others are produced by human labour. It (i.e. the strength,
> the labour power) is therefore worth the amount of labour
> necessary to produce these substances... Labour does not
> measure its own value but that of _labour power_.....the two
> quanities involved are _not_ equal. The labour time a man
> can put in is usually longer than the time needed to produce
> the substance he has to absord in order to contribute this
> labour time. THE DIFFERENCE CONSTITUES THE SOURCE OF PROFIT." ( )

The perception of the black as inferior, the elaborate rationale
built up to justify this inferiotity was, in the last instance, determined by
the mechanism which forcibly keeps his needs and his historical basket of goods
at the lowest level. This was to be the same with 'native' labor. The Sepúlveda
syndrome of the _cultureless_ Indian and the resultant perpetuation of the
encomienda system and its variants provided the mechanism by which the Indian
was made to expend enormous quantities of labor pwoer, and was sustained in an
overall sense by a minimal supply os substances. ( ) This difference constituted
the superprofits made from _forcibly_ (by the mechanism of the _encomienda_, the
plantation, the Jim Crow laws, Apartheidt, the colonial system, internal colonialism,
neo-colonial, imperialism) devalued labor power. Cultural racism therefore plays

an _economic_ role. It is part of the mechanism by which the value of non-white labor power is conditioned and determined at a lower level than that of white or _skilled_ labor power. ( ) _Cultural racism_ is the ideolgical apparatus which interacts with the appratus of force to determine the unequal exchange which takes place in the apparently "free" and equal exchange of the market.

The unequal exchange which Polyani shows in the original exchange between a use-value economy and an exchange value economy (unequal exchange quaranteed in the final instance by the superior force of the capitalist economy) has remained central to the relation between free labor and slave labor, metropolitan labor and 'native' labor, the urban proletariat and the rural agro-proletariat. As Emmanuel puts it:

> _"I think it is possible to state that unequal exchange is
> the elementary transfer mechanism which enables the
> advanced countries_ (and we would like to add, the urban
> capitalist sectors in the underdeveloped countries) _to
> begin and to regularly give new impetus to that unevenness
> of development that sets in motion all the other mechanisms
> of exploitation..."_ ( )

He goes on to point out that this transfer mechanism can only be seen in the full context of _world production relations_. In these relations the excess surplus value that is extracted from the 'native' worker in his own country is transferred to the richer countries through the higher prices that are paid for goods, i.e. through their exchange _with higher paid labor_. This payment is made _not only in the wage packet but in the whole range of amenities that go to make up the historical basket of goods which higher-paid labor requires reproduces itself_. To give an example, white schools in the U.S. are well-equipped. Segregated, inferiorly equipped black schools lessen the baskets of goods of the blacks, lowering their acquisition of highly paid skills. Hence the struggle of

blacks to attend 'white' schools. Hence the reaction of the poor whites of South Boston. The latter preserve their slight, relative overvaluation in the system, by excluding the blacks whose relatively greater devaluation - as a group - might further increase their devaluation. ( ) Their racism is, in the last instance, economic. ( ) The Irish Protestants in Belfast wage, finally, the same struggle against the Catholics as the Boston Catholics wage against the blacks. ( )

The historical and social factors which have projected the blacks, the native, the Boston Irish, the Belfast Catholics, as inferior, provide the rationale for the relatively smaller historical basket of goods; and the super-exploitation of their labor power. As technological progress is made, their lack of skills, resultant from their inferior opportunities for training and education, is then used as the justification for their high levels of unemployment. Increasingly the unskilled, marginally unemployed, are discriminated against on the ground of lack of skills. The earlier grounds for discrimination had been their 'lack of culture inherent in their race.'

The alleged inferioty of black and Indian labor created a relative norm in which "white" labor was increasingly seen as standard, and non-white labor as substandard. ( ) The trade Union struggles of 'white' labor in the developed countries, coupled with the more widespread utilization of non-white labor during 19th century colonial expansion, gradually led to a perception in which 'white' skilled labor was seen as normative labor, and as such, given an increasing claim--which their trade union struggles validated--to a share of the product, and to a relatively increased appropriation of the world's good. This is not to say that white labor was and is not explited, but that native, non-white labor has been increasingly more devalued, more exploited. That is to say, they were and are exploited both as workers, and as 'native' workers.

Theories of the racial inferiority of non-white peoples were intricate components of the material infrastructure on which the superstructure of Western superiority was maintained. The West was superior because it increasingly appropriated an increasingly superior amount of the world's good to make it superior. The negation of the black slave as man, his reduction to a commodity, the later reduction of native labor to lesser men ( ) were central to the ongoing exploitation which led to the results that Emmanuel shows:

> "*Within this poor and underdeveloped world...there <u>are some islets</u> <u>of advanced development, in which approximately</u> <u>ninetenths of the</u> <u>equipment and in general, of the human and productive forces of</u> <u>the entire world are concentrated</u>..." ( )*

These islets are inhabited by those who see themselves, to borrow Sartre's terms, as men. (   ) The rest of the world, which must do with one tenth of the worlds productive forces, is seen as "natives", as devalued labor power.

This devaluation began with the forced labor of the Indian in the <u>encomienda</u>, with the transformation of the multi-tribal African into a commodity. The counter-process by which the black refused to accept his <u>dehumanization</u>, his commodity status, was a process of physical revolt and cultural re-invention. This constituted the ongoing struggle by which the plantation proletariat-- substandard labor, whether in "slave" or later "native" form--have struggled, in the ways available to them, to resist their <u>dehumanization/exploitation</u>. To affirm and demonstrate the process by which the blacks reinvented themselves as natives of the New World through a process of cultural creation, is to show not only that a black New World culture exists, but that it is an ongoing and permanent culture of struggle. ( ) Intrinsic to this culture is a refusal to accept those assumptions of Western civilizations which <u>dehumanized/inferiorized</u> them by exploiting their devalued labor power. The struggle against their alienation

from humanity is therefore an intrinsic and necessary part of their struggle against exploitation. ( ) It is this that gives to cultural nationalism/negritude/ indigenismo- its revolutionary intention. As I shall show later it is only when the _effect_-- the cultural devaluation of the black/the native-- is fought as an _end_ in itself in order to obscure the real cause of this cultural devaluation-- the exploitation of devalued labor--that the _revolutionary_ intention of cultural nationalism can be transformed into its reactionary opposite.

In the context of Emmanuel's theory of the imperialism of trade and of Polyani's analysis of the trading relations between a use value economy and an exchange value economy, it is clear that the intra-African indigenous to his own territory-the continent of Africa--entered a market relation of exchange, a relation that would define him as "native labor". Here the dialectic begins. For if he was the native in the context of a new economic relation, he also remained a native in the sense of being indigenous. And it was this indigenous culture, or elements of it, that would protect his psyche from the worst onslaughts of dehumaniza- relation would increasingly impose. And yet, to a certain extent, it was the tion that the new/stagnation imposed on this traditional culture by superior Western force which also helps to make him exploitable by the new relationship, by partly perpetuating his use-value structure, a structure which by its very nature would make him vulnerable to being exploited during the process of exchange with the products of an exchange value structure. ( )

Yet, in a complex movement, the super-exploitation of his labor power was intricately bound up with the devaluation of his native culture, a devaluation which he was made to accept. The movement of _indigenismo_ was therefore central to the struggle against Western exploitation as Coulthard has shown. Negritude, along with its more concrete manifestations such as Garveyism, the Black Muslim Movement and Black Power, was more complex. In Africa it was in essence _indigenismo_, the revindication of the autocthonous culture sprung out of an indigenous relation

to one's own land, as I pointed out before. In Africa and Latin America, the struggle was less mediated. Their native cultures had been devalued, inferiorized but only had to be revindicated. Only with the New World black would the claim be made that he lived in a cultural void. Africa, the land of his origin was first said to have no culture; when it was admitted that Africa had a culture, the New World black was said to have lost all elements of a former African culture that he had had. The negritude movement, spearheaded in the Caribbean by Cesaire and Price-Mars had to fight on two fronts--to revindicate the devalued culture of origin, and then to demonstrate that it was this original culture, metamorphosized, that had been transplanted by the blacks during a process in which they became indigenous to a new landscape and reinvented themselves as natives in a new world. The process was dialectical. Negated as human, made into a commodity, the black rein-

vented himself as human, and as native. The process began with his sale in Africa. Exchanged as a negro he was deprived of his tribal characteristics, except in those instances where the kind of tribe from which he came--and which the traders used to judge him as docile/hardworking, or intractable/dangerous--was essential to his market value. ( ) Instead, gathered at the ports of embarkation where the factories were located he was given the "brand name" of the factory. Formerly an Ashanti, a Yoruba, an We, he could now find himself labeled a Mina negro, i.e. someone shipped from the Portuguese factory at Elmina, like a Sears product. From this moment he was no longer a slave in the African sense.

No social fabric now determined his essence. He was not only alienated from Africa, from his means of production, from the use of his own labor for the communal purpose defined by his culture, He was also alienated from his former being, from his humanity. He was a pieza, so many units of exchange value. The African who sailed across the Middle Passage suffered a seachange. Transformed into a negro, a commodity, his human response was to negate this transformation. That culture that he was to create would spring out of the imperative of this negation.

It was this imperative, this dynamic that set in motion the process by which
the Negro became at one and the same time, the neo-native of the New World.

> *"The people of the Black Diaspora, uprooted and thrown into the
> New World couldron and melting pot, have had to grapple for
> centuries with the problem of how to preserve their dignity and
> self-esteem in situations where white men held them in slavery....
> great myths, the source of every people's deepest strenths--were
> needed to bolster their self-esteem." (St. Clair Drake, 1970)*

Two scholars in a recent study on slavery point out that it is by
now indisputable that *"human beings were a form of capital in slave society"; and
that "slaves who were traded commanded prices as specific and well-defined as
those in land, buildings or machines." ( )* Eric Williams in Capitalism and
Slavery traced the intricate relationships between black slavery and the growth
and expansion of Western capitalism. Yet as I shall discuss later, there is
a contined scholastic dispute about the way in which capitalism developed from
feudalism in the West. A major ideological oversight of three central factors--
New World land, new world "forced" labor, and the trade in and utilization of black
labor--had led to much mystification. C.L.R. James in Black Jacobins pointed
out long ago the way in which the immense wealth from the slave trade tnat the
Haitian sugar plantation enriched the bourgeoisie of Nantes and Bordeaux to the
extent where they were powerful enough to help set in motion the French
Revolution. ( ) And Eric Williams made explicit the fact that the hegemony of the
bourgeoisie in Europe, and of the global capitalist system itself, cannot be
understood apart from large scale black slavery out of Africa, dominated and controlled
by the nations of Europe. In other words both the hegemony of the Western
bourgeoisie and of capitalism were in their origin based mainly on New World
land, the forced labor of the Indian, and the total conversion of man--the black
man--into a commodity. The later large-scale dehumanization of the European

proletariat, _followed_ on and _did not precede_ the total negation of the black

as human. Capitalism as a system therefore required the negation of the black

as human. Far from being an anomaly in the "rational" system of capitalism,

black slavery was rationally central to capitalism as a system. ( )

As I pointed out before, early capitalism required the devalued labor

power of Indian and black. Since man's labor is the instrument with which he

creates himself as man, as human, ( ) the systematic alienation and exploitation

of his labor necessarily entailed the devaluation of his humanity.

We see this clearly in the fact that when at the height of the

Industrial Revolution the English bourgeoisie needed to super-exploit its own

working class--women and children were the relatively more devalued labor--they

perceived their own people, their own race with such class contempt, brutalized

them so nakedly that contemporary spokesmen could speak of the two "nations" of

England, i.e. the "superior" nation of the English middle classes, and the "inferior"

nation of the English working classes. ( ) Nor is it surprising that in England

where the bourgeoisie has had longest hegemony, class attitudes are still so

deep and rooted.

The "freedom" which the bourgeoisie claimed from the feudal aristocracy

of Europe was based _primarily_ on their right ot property. The blacks were not

simply excluded from these rights. They themselves _were_ "property". Their struggle

against dehumanization, against being reduced to commodity status could not be

waged within the structure of values, the ideology of the bourgeoisie as it struggled

for its own rights, its own brand of freedom. The struggle of the blacks would

call for another structure of values, an alternative and opposed consciousness.

This structure of values, could only be created out of their struggle to resist

dehumanization, and to rehumanize themselves by the creation of a counter-culture

through the transplantation their old cultures onto a strange soil, its reinvention

in new and alien conditions. It was in this transplantation, this metamorphosis of

an old culture into a new, that the blacks made themselves indigenous to

their new land.

"In Haiti and Jamaica there was a clear tendency for

elements from a variety of African cultures to fuse and

form a sub-culture with a system of religion and

magic that drew heavily from Dahomey in the case of

Haiti, and from the Akan-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast

in the case of Jamaica....African 'cultural survivals'

everywhere provided fixed points of reference for social relations

and for philosophical and theological orientation... (and)

provided a scheme of living that put order and meaning into life,

allowed people to maintain a sense of worth despite their

subordination..."

                                                    (St Clair Drake)

     One of the earliest descriptions of thelife of the slaves in Jamaica,

a description written in the Seventeenth Century by an English clergyman, The

Rev. John Taylor, ( ) stresses the "great veneration" which the slaves had for

"the Earth". ( ) Contemporary studies of African religions show that in the world-

view of these religions ( ) the earth was not regarded as property or land, but

as the base of the community, the foundation of the common good, rather than a

grab bag for private interest. It is clear that religious beliefs like these

realted to an ideology in which the land as a means of production was accessible

to all, where the land could not be alienated as private property.

          Such an ideology was of course direclty opposed to the official

plantation ideology which saw both land and labor as forms of property. While

the ideology of the masters streesed the rights of property, the world-view of

the African slaves remained based on a man's relation to the earth and, concomitantly,

to the community. This duality of world views, was at once complementary and antago-

nistic: two world views--based on two different material bases--yet two poles

originating "in the course of a single historical process." ( )

          The European presence in Jamaica represented the one-sided conquest

of nature, the techniques of civilization by which Nature is only utilized.

From this plantation system came part of that primary accumulation of capital

which made possible the technological triumphs of the twentieth century.

The Brazilian scholar, Darcy Ribeiro, ~~as we noted earlier~~, has

pointed out to what extent the Industrial Revolution in places like England was

due to the "contribution of the vast external proletariat" whose consumption

was reduced to the biological minimum in order to produce the maximum surplus.( )

In the pursuit of this rational motive, labor had to be dehumanized.

At first it didn't matter which color man, or whose labor. The Rev. John Taylor

in his description of the slave system in seventeenth century Jamaica argues that

the white indentured servants - who were bound to serve seven years and then due

to be set free with land made available to them - were treated worse than the

slaves who were outright property, and as such had to be cared for.

Taylor tells us that during their term of indenture, all their potential

for work was dragged out of them and many, exhausted, soon died. Even then,

writes Taylor,

> "When dead, no more ceremony at their funerals than if they were
>
> to bury a Dagg." (i.e. dog). ( )

The white servants were not property. The slaves were. So they were,

for a time, allowed to keep those customs which the planters believed would reconcile

them to their new lots as labor units. Here was the paradox, here the escape

Central to this process was the transmission of a core of beliefs

and attitudes from the traditional societies of Africa--as well as the trans-

plantaition of a traditional relationship to nature, a relationship under the

inspiration of which the slave, now in exile, both adapted himself to Nature

and transformed it. In this type of relationship the land (i.e. part of Nature)

could not be regarded as a mere commodity in the land-labor-capital-relationship.

New world land, like the land in Africa was still seen as "the Earth- the communal

means of production." This attitude, transferred and perpetuated, was the central

grid for many old beliefs which could be retranslated into a new reality.

The Greek poet, Hesiod, writing in the 6th Century, B.C. pointed out that the requirements for being a peasant were to "First..get a house and a woman and an oxe for the plough". John Taylor, writing from Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century, gives significant information:

"When a planter hath purchased some 20, 30 or more Negro slaves,

motive was seen, nakedly, for the first time, as the impulse of society. The

planter relation to the land was the market relation, a relation of land/labor/

capital.

Land and labor was there to be utilized by rational techniques for

the purpose of increasing capital. In such a relationship the African presence

represented both a paradox and a contradiction. On the one hand, in his relation

to the plantation he served as the labor power which helped to bring about the
the African

technical conquest of nature in order to serve the now all powerful good, capital.

As Marx wrote:

> *"Today industrial supremacy implies commercial supremacy. In the*
> *period of manufacture, properly so called, on the other hand, it*
> *was commercial supremacy which implied industrial supremacy. Hence*
> *the preponderant role of the colonial system in those days. That*
> *system was a 'strange god' who had mounted the altar cheek by jowl*
> *with the old gods of Europe, and who, one fine day, with a shove*
> *and a kick, swept them all into the dusthin. The new god proclaimed*
> *the making of surplus value to be the sole end and aim of mankind." ( )*

Yet in relation to the plot where the slave grew food for himself, his

relationship with the land remained that of the peasant. Since house, plot, and

woman were provided, the African converted into negro remained, to borrow Senghor's

phrase, "obstinately peasant." And, as the Russian economist Chayanov has shown

in his studies of peasant economy, the pure peasant does not function in a relation

of labor/land/capital, but rather in a labor-consumer balance where labor is balanced

by needs. That is to say, whereas surplus value is the mainspring of the plantation

dynamic, needs are the mainspring of the provision-ground, and the peasant world-

view. If the plantation existed in a world of abstract exchange value, the plot/

provision ground existed in world of concrete use value.

The indigenous race, writes Mariategui, is a race of agriculturalists.( )

generally speaking

In other words, the indigenous culture and its complex of attitudes, including world view, spring in the first instance from a certain relation to the land which is the base of the community's existence. Miguel Angel Asturias defined this relationship when he distinguished between two types of Guatemalans--el hombre indigena who sows corn for food, and el hombre criollo who sows corn for profit, as a business. ( ) The two different relationships, one based on what has been termed the use-value structure, and the other based on the exchange-value structure, lie at the heart of a duality of structure in Caribbean society. This is true even where these categories might not be as hard and fast as the simplification might suggest. I propose, however, that the indigenization of the black man in the Caribbean came from the historical process by which, leaving Africa where he grew yams for food--i.e. a use-value world--he now entered a dual and ambivalent relationships with the new land in which he grew cane/cotton for his master's profits and yams for food.( )

In the scheme of the plantation relationship the blacks represented both labor and capital. In this scheme they were part of a rational calculation of profit and loss. As far as the plantation was concerned slaves were piezas defined by price, by the money value that they represented, by their labor potential. Not only were they 'alienated labor' they were alienated from their species.( ) history people culture

But in the slave's relation to the plot, his relation to nature would remain that of the peasant from time immemorial. As labor power on the plantation, he would represent the extreme case of alienation, producing an export mono-crop, (sugar, cotton,, vast areas of forest), dominating Nature to create a product which was alien to his own needs, and which alienated him from them. As he created this product, it produced more capital, whose power over him was thus enforced. In his relation to the plantation he was the silkworm who spun in order to continue his life as a caterpillar. ( ) On the plot, his position was a dual and dynamic relationship in

which he adapted himself to Nature and also transformed Nature.

The plot was the slave's area of escape from the plantation. It was an area of experience which reinvented and therefore perpetuated an alternative world view, an alternative consciousness to that of the plantation. This world view was <u>marginalized</u> by the plantation but never destroyed. In the relation to the plot, the slave lived in a society partly created as an adjunct to the market, partly as an end in itself.

In growing his own food the slave was, on the one hand, producing food in order to reproduce himself as labor-power for the plantation. But, as a valuable account of a slave's funderal ceremonies, given us by the Rev. John Taylor, shows, the slaves by means of their paradoxical position as both peasant and slave laborer inserted into the interstices of the plantation a culture and religion whose rationale was antagonistic to that of the dominant super structure.

The Rev. John Taylor was struck by the central part that funerals played in the lives of the slaves. He described what he calls their "death lamentations and funerals" :

> "When these slaves die they make a great adoo at their burial... carry the corpse to the grave in a mournful manner."

At the grave they place the corpse in the grave and with it

> "Cassada bread, roasted fowles, sugar, rum, tobacco and pipe with fire to light his pipe withall.."

This is done as they explained to Taylor,

> "In order to sustain him on his Journey beyond those Pleasant Hills, in their own Country, whither they say he is now going to live at rest..."

After they have placed the food in the grave, Taylor writes,

> "...they fill up the grave and eat and drink thereon, singing in their own language very dolefully, adjuring, informing the dead corpse (by kissing the Ground) to acquaint their Father, Mother, husbands and

other relations of their present condition, slavery, as he passeth

through their country towards the Pleasant Mountains which message

they bellow out to the dead corpse in a doleful song.

Here began the blues. Here began the creation of a culture of exile, the

rerooting of the uprooted, the mutation of an ancient, traditional culture,

into a new one. Here began that secret process of intrahistory, a process which

LeRoi Jones describes as the creation of those 'African sources, hermetic and

infracultural' that exist secretly in the American reality.( ) These are the

sources of a black creativity which, we propose to show is a 'native' creativity.

SubTitle — Native Creativity — The Renumanizing Process

St. Clair Drake has emphasized the fact that the blues, although

African-derived, are an American invention, sprung out of new circumstances.( )

As he writes:

"There was no need in Africa, even under the mild forms of

slavery to which a few people were subjected, for them to sing in

lamentation. But it is no mystery why, out of the traumatic

experience of the transatlantic slave trade and subsequent enslavement,

American Negroes came to sing:

"Sometimes I feel like a motherless child;

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child

A long way from home." ( )

And LeRoi Jones in an early and brilliant essay had pointed out that

black musicians and composers have reached more authentic modes of expression than

black novelists as a whole, for black musicians feed on an entire creative tradition.

As the Rev. Taylor's description shows, this tradition was created out of the pain

of exile. And as Le Roi Jones argued, this tradition has been created in a large

part by the lower classes of blacks, those who "preserved their fundamental identity

as blacks." And it is clear that the lower classes of blacks are those who continue

to experience this exile or alienation out of which their great and popular music

has sprung. These are the people, Jones pointed out, who continue to live in that

.."frontier zone, in that No Man's Land where the beauty and logic

of black music was born. That is, for the black the only manner

in which he can put forward his personal vision of his country;

taking off from that No Man's Land, sheltered great currents of

that black region, which is almost totally invisible to the

White man, but which is such an essential part of them that it

stains everything with a threatening grey..." ( )

This frontier zone of the black is the frontier zone of the native.

With the "doleful song" which Taylor describes, we see the beginning
of the African transformation in the Americas. The old structure of African
music is used to pattern the new experience of exile. The sea-changed song is a song
of exile. Here began the spirituals, here began jazz. Here began the world-wide
beat and sound and pressure of humiliated, degraded, disrupted, abandoned man.
Here began his auto-salvation, the means by which he patterns, in "the worst
possible biological conditions," his new and alien rite de passage.

The "doleful song" carries messages back to kinsmen in Africa,
and the final destination of the corpse is the "Pleasant Mountains." The funeral
rites were to ensure that the corpse on his spiritual Middle Passage back to the
homeland would be unhindered. Also, Taylor tells us of the religious significance of
the "Pleasant Mountains." He writes:

"These poor Souls live without the sense of a true God, yet do they

believe in the Soul's immortality... its redemption after death which

they say is beyond the Pleasant Mountains of their own country, where,

after death, such which lived well shall go to, and there in the full

enjoyment of all things shall be eternally happy..." ( )

Taylor's version was filtered through his Christian interpretation, but
his assumptions are themselves significant: the 'poor Souls' are not quite up to

having a true God. But he accords them the logic of a belief, and, according

them this logic, he notes some observations that come across three centuries to

negate the myth of the 'Negro' past. Above all he provided us with written

proof of the persistence of a culture that was largely oral. Here is contemporary

proof of the crucible transformation of African cultures into a culture native

to the Americas. Here is a culture, therefore, whose crucible of conversion was

exile, and not only exile from a place, but exile from the human condition. This is

a culture therefore <u>native</u> to exile.

  Yet here we see too that transformation of Africa, the memory of Africa,

into a vital myth, one living in the cultural bloodstream of the black man in the

New World. IT WILL BE MUCH LATER THAT THIS VITAL MYTH, THIS DYNAMIC OF ACTION,

WILL BE INTELLECTUALIZED, OBJECTIFIED IN MOVEMENTS LIKE The Marcus Garvey Back-

to-Africa Campaign, Negritude, Black Power. The African came to the New World

differently from the European who came towards a Golden Age in the future, towards

an exotic land of dreams paralled only by the enchanted islands of the novels of

chivalry ( ), or towards a Manifest Destiny whose aim was 'to give to those strange

lands the form of our own'. The African sailed, packed together, so many <u>piezas</u> of

labor power, towards a nightmare. A slave trader describes this nightmare:

> *"Many of those slaves we transport from Guinea to Africa are*
>
> *prepossessed of the opinion that they are carried like sheep to*
>
> *the slaughter and that the Europeans are fond of their flesh; which*
>
> *notion so far prevails with some as to make them fall into a deep*
>
> *melancholy and to refuse all sustenance, tho' never so much compelled*
>
> *and even beaten to oblige them to take some nourishment; notwithstanding*
>
> *all which they will starve to death." ( )*

They were convinced that across the Middle Passage on the far side of the 'river

of salt water' they were to be sold not to the white men, "but to a race of

gigantic cannibals called <u>Koomi</u>, whose country was named, in Mandingo, Jong Sang

doo, the land where the slaves are sold." (   )

For the black the New World was a nightmare reality. The black's Golden Age was in the past. The memory of the Golden Age, as an age of human totality, in which they had not yeat been alienated from being, became a living presence. In the ancestor worship tradition, central to their former African religions, Africa became the land of the ancestors. Africa interacted with its distant descendants as the dead ancestors, transformed into spirits, interacted with the living. It remained as the place of expectation, the ultimate Heaven, where they too could one day return and achieve the status of an ancestor with an assured "permanent future." The myth of the return from the diaspora would be one of the great myths that, as St. Clair Drake pointed out, would in a variety of forms sustain the self-esteem of the blacks, and reaffirm their human status. (   )

It is the context of this myth of return that Richard Wright's account of his conversation with an African houseboy in Northern Ghana takes on tragic overtones. For Wright, like all positivist Marxists, took the line extracted from a larger or more complex statement by Marx that "religion is the opium of the people" as its face value, without distinguishing those moments when religion serves as "opium" from those other moments when it has served as a humanizing and revolutionary ideology for great movements of the people. (   )

Wright in his controversial book, Black Power, written about his impressions of newly independent Ghana, records his conversation with a cook from Northern Ghana, a man about forty years old. The cook told Wright that if he died he wanted to be taken back to the land of his ancestors, but that if he died far from home, a special grave dug in "the pathway pointing towards home" and a prayer to the spirits by his mourners pointing out that he had intended to return home, would cause his ancestors to forgive him.

Wright asked him if he had ever thought of going far away, to America for example. He answered:

"Oh no, sir! Never!... I couldn't leave the land of my ancestors. There is land here for me to cultivate and watch over."

Wright adds in a perceptive aside: *"(As he spoke I wondered what terror must have been in the hearts of the slaves who had been, through the centuries, shipped to the New World. It is highly possible that the psychological suffering far outweighed the physical.)"*

In the ensuing conversation the Ghanaian maintained that in their system of beliefs a man who died young cannot have died a "natural" death. Witchcraft must have taken place. He concluded with the assertion:

"It is only when you are old and have had many children that your ancestors call you to join them."

Wright then asked the crucial question:

"What do you think happened to the millions of your black brothers who were sold into slavery and shipped to America?"

"He was thoughtful for a long time then he answered, speaking slowly:

"They were being punished, Sir. Their dead fathers had no thought for them. Their ancestors did not afford protection for them, abandoned them, did not defend them as they should have..."

"Why?"

"Its hard to tell, sir"

I next asked him:

"Now, look at me. You can see from the color of my skin that I'm of African descent. Now after all these years, why do you think I've come back to the land of my ancestors? Do you think that they called me back for some reason...?"

Again the tall serious cook was deeply thoughtful. He scratched his head and said soberly:

"Its hard to tell, sir. Such a long time has passed."

He looked at me and shook his head pityingly.

"I'm afraid, sir, that your ancestors do not know you now... And

of course, it may be that your ancestors know you but you don't

know them, so much time has passed you see, sir." ( )

It was not only a matter of time. Wright, as Western man, now

inhabited another structure of beliefs - a structure alien to that of the

Ghanaian's.

to

But the slaves whom Taylor spoke to in seventeenth century Jamaica

lived in the same structure of beliefs as the twentieth century Ghanaian cook.

Even more, such a structure was part of the ideological apparatus with which they

managed to survive.

In their struggles to rehumanize exile, Africa became, not as it

would be for their educated, Western-acculturated descendents, three centuries

distant in time,

"A place we are called upon to study

A curious spot pinned on the map

That, and nothing more." ( )

but the living land of the ancestors who, evoked at ceremonies, came, danced, held

up the Universe with an architecture of drums. Death was a journey to an expectation.

They too could become ancestors, they too could be metamorphosized into gods.

Taylor tells us that some slaves starved to death or 'cut their

own throats', with one intention,

"so that being free from their servitude they might return to their

own country and there enjoy rest." ( )

Africa for the new exile was no longer a physical place - rather it

was invested with all the power of a metaphor. It was a metaphor which enable them

to transcend their brute and present reality. Africa was now the ~~area~~ realm of transcendence. Later a dream of 'Heaven' would help them to survive reality. The form of the metaphor would change but never the content. That would remain a constant of their situation in the bitter diaspora. The 'sweet chariot' had the same destination. Heaven or Africa, Zion or the New Day, home was where the hope was. Hell and exile were ~~the~~ here and now. Inherent in all this was a powerful metaphorical critique of the status quo.

on p 7o

insert Drake from p61 & cont.

Delete "Unlike the whites, the black's voyage from their 'homeland' was strictly a one-way affair." (   )

(Philip Curtin in Two Jamaica...etc.)

Ethnic solidarity and a sense of ethnic identity persisted wherever it was possible.... But, from the beginning, a new bond of solidarity is also apparent on the plantations, a supra-tribal bond, the tie between "shipmates," the solidarity of those who defined themselves as "We who went through the ordeal of the Middle Passage together." (   )

(St. Clair Drake.)

Of all the new peoples who came to the New World, the black man was the only one cut off from a central and fixed source of cultural orthodoxy, his country of origin. The conditions of his coming, caused him to cut his umbilical cord with Africa or rather to have it cut for him. The European in the Caribbean on the other hand functioned as a colon-settler for his country of origin in a frontier outpost. He was an agent of the economic system which was the true colonizer of the Caribbean. Behind the European, in his consciousness, was Europe, the home to which he was always, psychologically, returning. He remained culturally and traditionally attached to this home and continued to <u>imitate</u> where he could its patterns of culture, with small, creole variations here and there. But in an important sense he remained a stranger. He was more cut off, more separate from his fellow exiles, the blacks, than he was from the citizens of his native country across thousands of miles. One was a physical distance, the other cultural, and economic. The <u>raison d'etre</u> of the European in the Caribbean was to regulate the system which accompanied the whip of the overseer, to defend the outposts of capital, whether against enemy pirates at sea or, swivelling the guns around, against the slave

population whose revolts were frequent.

The essential relationship between the Europena and the ex-African was that of 'settler to native'. After three centuries, the occasional European who had stayed in Jamaica remained an immigrant at heart. In the United States South on the other hand where the <u>resident</u> planter was the <u>norm</u> and where a widespread class of middling to poor whites also resided, the 'European' became in certain senses neo-indigenous. In relation to the blacks on the other hand, the U.S. southern white also developed the psychology of the <u>colon</u>-settlers in relation to the "native" who he had always to "pacify".

To the extent that the Europeans in the New World remained as 'settlers', to that extent would their culture of origin remained frozen--an ikon of settler-superiority excluding the lesser breeds without the law.

As Esteban Montejo records in his <u>Diary of a Runaway Slave</u>: ( )

"The jota was exclusively for the Cubans. They brought the dance to Cuba and would not let anyone else dance it.." ( )

As a result, except where the blacks drew elements of European folk culture into their own dynamic, reinvented them, European folk culture survived in the Caribbean as the '<u>imitation</u>' of a tradition rather than as a recreation of one. Alejo Carpentier, a white Cuban, points out the difference when he says that the <u>guajiros</u> which many white Cubans have insisted is <u>the</u> national music of Cuba, is a legacy from Spain. While many new words, reflecting the new reality, have been written for the <u>guajiros</u>, the musical patterns have remained the same. The legacy from Spain entered no genuine crucible of conversion but remained a 'creole' version of the Spanish original. Not so with Afro-Cuban music, Carpentier writes. While the <u>guajiros</u> does not create, does not <u>invent</u> music,

"..in the meztizo and black music, if the interest of the words is often very little, the music is of an incredible richness." ( )

Because of its persistent and dynamic <u>invention</u>,

> "..when one sets out to compose a work of national expression
>
> sooner or later, one must turn to one of its forms, to one of its Rythms.'

As we have noted Senghor points out that in the U.S.A. the same thing happened with

jazz in the nineteen twenties.

Blacks had made themselves the native people, through the creation

of a folk culture. Folklore was the expression of their cultural resistance against

the Market economy which sought to dehumanize them. At the same time folklore came

out of the slave's attempt to grapple with a new geography in a complex new historical

confrontation. The plantation was the property of the master--mere land--as the

slave was the property of the master--mere labor. But on the plot, on the

provision ground, the cultural pattern was established. Here his was the relationship

of a <u>man</u> to the Earth. On the plot, yams were grown as food, and elements of the

ritual and philosophy embodied in the Yam Festivals of Africa could be continued, as

and

well as adapted. For the earth in the New World form had (herself) become ambivalent:

she was both the source of sustenance as the peasant plot and also the provider of

alienated and alienating land for the plantation. What the black would retain

from Africa, what he transformed, what he recreated, was determined by his attempt

to survive in his struggle against the plantation system. While the official

plantation ideology would develop as an idea of property and the individual's

rights to property, i.e., as the right to own the <u>property</u> of black labor-power,

the provision ground ideology would remain based on man's relation to the earth,

the base of his social being. ( ) For the plantation owner the <u>individual</u> who

had the rights of <u>property</u> was <u>the human</u> being. For the slave his <u>social</u> existence

affirmed him as a <u>human</u> being. The ideology of the provision ground, and the

culture based on it, <u>rehumanized</u> the object/property created by the plantation

ideology. This latter ideology would give rise to the superstructure of a settler

civilization in the Caribben, the former, to the roots of an indigenous culture.
How were these roots put down?

Curtin's point about the one-way, the irrevocable quality of the
slaves departure from his land of origin, is reinforced by St. Clair Drake's
interpretation of the metamorphosis undergone by the African from the moment he
embarked on his nightmare adventure. *inapprop.*

According to Drake, however varied were their tribes of orgin, all
Africans who made the crossing *"shared a common experience."* Drake continues:

> *"At home in Africa, Kofi not only had a name that was of*
> *symbolic significance to him, but also had an unambiguous*
> *group identity and was respected as an individual. To make*
> *a slave of Kofi he had first to be transformed from a*
> *tribesman into a "worthless nigger", a hethen black...*
> *The processes of capture and sale were what anthropologists*
> *call rites of separation, the first stages in the initiation*
> *process. These were acts designed to "kill" the old man,*
> *a death preparatory to rebirth." (   )*

The Middle Passage completed the rite of separation. Yet as Drake
also points out, the African was not the passive object of this process that he is
often made out to be. In order to remain human the multi-tribal African, though
shipped as merchandise, would have to invent for himself a new identity.

The ex-African, now commodity, began to constitute his new identity
existentially, by and through the dialectic of the historical experience of the
Middle Passage. Sartre's abstract formulation of the process by which men constitute
themselves into groups perhaps best approximates the Middle Passage process by which
the slaves began to perceive themselves as other than tribal, other than the commodity,
negro. Under the circumstances of the voyage each individual tribesman would note
that all the whites--traders and sailors--perceived them all as negros, a source

of potential profit and/or trouble. All the whites presented them with a solid front, therefore the line of division was sharp and clear. The whites were free; the blacks were not.

Above all, the whites stood to profit from the un-freedom of the blacks. And they were able to perceive this relationship only through violence directed against the blacks, violence actual or potential. The racism on the part of whites, the racism with which they perceived the black as other-than-human was produced, as Sartre points out, by the situation in which the fundamental relation of the whites to the blacks was one of violence. This violence would have been necesarily produced and reproduced during the crossing. To the whites--traders and sailors--the "slaves" were the enemy who, when they gave no trouble were commodities. When they resisted forcibly, they were violently suppressed by the whites as "demons," as "stupid savages," as other-than-human. As Sartre puts it:

"... the object of this violence is negated absolutely as other-than-a-man." ( )

And the result of this violence was that the blacks were "seasoned," transformed into nothing "except a labor force bought for the lowest price."

While the capitalist trader sees himself as a member of the bourgeoisie, representing the norm of Man, and sees the sailor, an ordinary worker, existing in relation to him as the counter-man, both the capitalist trader and the sailor, together represented the norm as free white men in relation to the slave, the unfree-non-white non-man. In this latter relation, the black becomes the absolute counter-man, unifying the trader and sailor in a relation of solidarity only made possibel by their joint and common relation of violence to the black. The unity of exploiting bourgeoisie and exploited proletariat, a unity based on 'whiteness', is therefore only made possibel by the blacks' existence as a negated group.

The black is excluded from humanity which is defined as white people.

This movement of exclusion and dehumanization of the blacks sets up its own

process of reaction. To quote Sartre

> "human merchandise can only manifest its freedom...(his reality
>
> as a man) by negating his reality (quality) as merchandise..." ( )

The slaves were not regarded as Yoruba, Ewe, Ashanti, etc. They

were regarded as a mass of black slaves. From this circumstance, the

response of a supra-tribal bond began: the constitution of a new grouping based

on ties which were historical rather than ethnic.

The supra-tribal tie of shipmate constituted itself out of the same

process by which sailor and trader united and acted out their unity as "white

and therefore free men" in relation to the slave. As Sartre shows, when the

exploiting class strengthens its solidarity, and closes ranks against the

exploited, then it at the same time reveals to the exploited class their own

collective being, their own imperative to establish links of solidarity among

themselves. Their common, unfree situation revealed to them by the unified

action of the free/white, trader/sailor, impelled their quest for a new group

identity, one based on experience. "Black" is a historical definition, an event

rather than a fact. "Black" was the historical adjective whose substantive form

was "shipmate" during the Middle Passage. The whites formed themselves, temporarily

(the conflict between the trader and the sailor did not cease, their unity against

the blacks was only one moment of their own class relation.) as a group, the norm

of man. The blacks were the necessary non-group, non-men, against whom the whites

could define themselves. As the exploiting group the identity of whites was fixed

and rigid, an identity impelled by the situation of violence in which they found

themselves and from which they profited, a situation which the trader controlled and

in which the sailor had to acquiesce.

At the beginning of the journey, the victims of this situation were

disparate, a chance grouping of separate entities. For the blacks, although

from a widely linked culture spheres in Africa, came from different tribes and

groups, and were sharply cut away from their former fixed identities. St. Clair

Drake described this disruptive process well:

> "Each individual had been torn out of a familiar cultural setting in
> which his obligation to his fellowmen and his reciprocal rights and
> privileges were well defined, even if he happened to be a slave. In
> Africa, he was bound by ties of affection and reciprocity to kinsmen
> and friends, and, even if a slave, was adopted into a kin group where
> time softened, and sometimes totally wiped out the invidious dis-
> tinction. He was not a "chattel". The rules of the game were set
> by tradition and everyone knew what the characteristics of a
> 'virtuous' man or woman were, whatever the station in life in African
> society. The mold was shattered as soon as he became one of the
> nameless mass of individuals designated for the Middle Passage." ( )

It was during the Middle Passage that the slow and pain al process

of creating a new and different mold began. It is on the journey across the

Middle Passage that the "mass of nameless individuals" began to constitute themselves

anew by striking up the "association" of shipmate to replace the tribal age-groups.

In trying to recreate the old links the slave reinvented new ones, and

gave form and pattern to the terror of the new experience. He negated himself as

merchandise by reasserting the old communal patterns, transforming them to fit

the new reality. He negated the system which listed him only as so man "piezas",

so many units of labor power. The "pieza", calculated as profit and loss for the

European slave merchant and plantation owner, endured as shipmates--common journeyers

to an existential identity.

It was part of the paradoxical nature of this process that, on board

ship, the trader, anxious to preserve the saleability of his _pieza_ and to enhance the value, compelled the slaves to play their drums, dance, and so to exercise their limbs and keep in condition. Yet for the slaves, THE DRUMS AND THE DANCE WERE THEIR (TRANSHIPMENT) OF THE COMPLEX CULTURE <u>WHOSE ORAL QUALITY WAS ITS STRENGTH</u> SINCE IT DEPENDED FOR ITS TRANSMISSION AND RETENTION ON NONE OF THE PARAPHERNALIA OF WRITING AND LITERACY WHICH THE FORCED LABOR OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM COULD NOT TOLERATE. So that already, on those decks, a change began to take place, the syncretic fusion of different tribal patterns of dance, of the concepts which the dances expressed (—) all within the matrix of the dominant group.( ) At first the changes would have been imperceptible. The priestly caste, the custodians of the learned tradition of the tribal cultures were very often enslaved and sold, since they served as foci of resistance to the slave traders and their fellow African slave raiders. Embodying as they did the "high" cultural tradition of each tribe, they were the articulated definition of that tribe.( ) On the slave ship across the Middle Passage they would function, however inadequately under the circumstances, as a source of <u>orthodoxy</u>. But with the rupture, the mutation of their reality, the many tribes flung together in the holds of the slave-ships, already orthodoxy began to take new forms. Tribal orthodoxies began to melt, to be refashioned into AN ORTHODOXY IN WHICH <u>CHANGE AND ADAPTATION</u> WERE THE CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE PATTERN. Once landed off the ships, each group carried their "Rome," their "Jerusalem," with them. Africa was transformed from a source of living orthodox tradition (as was Europe to the Europeans) to rather a black <u>Elysium</u>: a mythic Golden Age, a lost paradise beyond the fall, a metaphor of the past that would be transformed into a metaphor of the future, the Promised Land. As the spiritual expresses it:

> _"You got a shoe_
>
> _All God's children got shoes._
>
> _When I get to heaven_

> *Gonna put on my shoes*
>
> *Gonna walk all over God's Heaven*
>
> *Heaven... Heaven..."*

Home was where the hope was. Hell was the exile, the alienation of the here and now. Black music in church or secular form would continue to articulate a rejection and refusal of that Western bourgeois "humanism" which, while celebrating "Man," required the non-man to contrast itself against, and made of the black slave its ultimate Other. If the Western, bourgeois world rose to world hegemony on the shattered lives and identities of that "mass of nameless individuals" who underwent the ordeal of the Middle Passage, it was on that nightmare journey, too, that the negated group, excluded from humanity, began that long and ambivalent process by which it would forge a consciousness and identity which would be in turn the ultimate negation of that structure of values, which had defined, by devaluing their labor, black human beings as merchandise and counter-men.( )

"The slaves worked on the land, and like revolutionary peasants
everywhere, they aimed at the extermination of their oppressors.
But working and living together in gangs of hundreds in the huge
sugar factories which covered the North Plain, they were closer
to a modern proletariat than any group of workers in existence at
the time, and the rising was therefore, a thoroughly prepared and
organized mass movement." (C.L.R. JAMES, BLACK JOCOBINS) (   )

"At their midnight celebration of Voodoo their African cult,
they danced and sang, usually this favourite song:

"We swear to destroy the whites and all that they possess;
let us die rather than fail to keep this vow." (   )
(C.L.R. James: Black Jacobins)

Black slavery in the Caribbean was synononymous with black revolt
against slavery. And these revolts would be crucial to the indigenization process.

African slaves came with the earliest Spanish settlers to the Caribbean.
Already in 1509, the Spanish Governor of Hispaniola, wrote home to Spain asking
that no more black slaves be sent. They ran away into the interior of the island,
he said, and encouraged the Amerindians to also revolt.( ) In Jamaica the same
pattern began. The leaders of the revolts in Jamaica were usually the Kromanti,
i.e., the Ashanti Fanti. Many of these came from a highly specialized military
caste, and they at once began that process of guerilla warfare, taking over the
mountainous interior of the island, which would be central to the history of the
island. They were to become famous as the Maroons, and as we shall see later that
the concept of 'marronage' which has now become synonomous with cultural resistance in
the Caribbean.

The Amerindians too ran away to avoid forced labor and it is more than

possible that in the early sixteenth century united in a common resistance.

It is more than possible that the process which Herskovitz defines as acculturation --- but for which Ortiz prefers the term <u>transculturation</u> --- took place. That is that Africans and Amerindians, with two different but precapitalist cultures, found culture contact points at which a fusion was achieved in the dynamic of resistance. But as the Arawak Indians died out, the Maroons humanized their moutainous interior with adaptation of their original Ashanti culture.( )

The English attack on and capture of the Spanish-owned island of Jamaica in 1655, and the joint Spanish-African resistance over several years, solidified the Maroon reality as the reality of an indigenous people now waging a war against external invaders. For the defense of territory which was theirs brought into play the complex of emotional response identified with the concept of the 'territorial imperative'. the hills of Jamaica were the new Africa. In this sense the Maroons became the 'surrogate autochtonous', occupying the native area of experience left vacant by the Amerindians. From descriptions of early English clashes with the Maroons, we see that the latter were organized in settlements which were almost exact replicas of their former patterns of life in Africa. The land was tilled, crops cultivated, religious feasts celebrated with song and dance. Above all, in these early stages their former African religions, gradually metamorphosed, were openly carried on.

As we shall see, it was by and through the <u>retention/reinvention</u> of their original African religions, in a <u>situation</u> of resistance, that both the Maroons, and the plantation slaves, consciously reconstituted a group identity. The Maroons, primarily Ashanti-Fanti in origin, transplanted these origins into a different soil. For he was a Maroon now, a name given him by the slave holders. He was one of their bests of burden, their property, which had, in the mind of the <u>colons</u>, 'reverted' back to the 'wild animal' state thus negating Christianity, civilization, the concept of property.
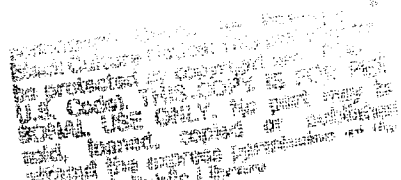
The Maroons took the name with pride. They were 'wild' in that they negated the plantation system and created in the mountains a way of life partly as they had known it in Africa, partly different.

A recent study of the Jamaican Maroons points out that their principle of organization adjusted itself to the terrain, to circumstances. Yet it was no less a legacy from Africa, The same principle of organization that is to be found in such cultural forms as Jonkonnu, Maracatu, Carnival came from the The religion of the Ashanti-Fanti centered about the earth, and the ancestral tradition. As we have shown before, this is the material base of a superstructure of cultural values which will remain pervasive. The religious concept of the earth as the base of the community is essentially a philosophical and political ideology which is opposed to the capitalist plantation system which the Maroons fought; That is a system in which the material base, the earth, is seen not as the base of the total community, but as the private property of individuals.

their own, opposed

Given this central religious concept--the earth as the basis of the community, the community as the overarching concept--the Maroons then separated into decentralized bands, each leader of a band responsible for a territory which he was and those pledged both to defend and to till with his own hands of his band. Each band constituted therefore what has been referred to as 'a natural society'. ( ) In this society a self-created and self-sustained economic structure grew from a terrain which was also the site of the Maroon's struggle against that system which attempted to deprive him of his 'human capital', ( ) of his labor-power.

In his resistance against this attempt, the Maroon metamorphosized the original Ashanti-Fanti culture, the dominant matrix of Jamaican-Maroon culture, selecting those areas which fitted into the imperative of his new situation and shifting emphases. He drew fragments into the central matrix aspects from other tribal-African cultures, and reinvented a cultural/religious framework which was the central factor in the cohesive identity of the group. THE MAROONS THEREFORE

CONSTITUTED THEMSELVES AS A GROUP IN A DIALECTICAL RESPONSE TO THE CAPITALIST

PLANTATION SYSTEM WHOSE IMPERATIVE WAS TO REDUCE THEM TO UNITS OF LABOR POWER --

dehumanize   RE-
TO REIFY THEM. THEIR RECREATION OF A CULTURE AND A RELIGION IN WHICH THEIR

GODS COULD SUSTAIN AND AFFIRM THEIR HUMANITY WAS A CENTRAL MOMENT OF THEIR

STRUGGLE TO REHUMANIZE THEMSELVES. As Marx wrote:

> *"Religion is simply the recognition of man in a roundabout fashion;*
>
> *that is, through an intermediary...Christ (i.e. the gods) is*
>
> *the intermediary to whom man attributes all his own divinity..."* ( )

What Herskovitz saw as the centrality of the religious focus in the

slaves reinterpretation of former cultures was, in effect, the centrality of

the rebellious impulse by which the slave, refusing to accept his status as

merchandise, never ceased to reinvent himself as human and to recognize himself

as such through his reinvention of the gods.

But the Maroons and their experience constituted a relatively small

part of the total experience of the transhipped slaves. The majority of slaves,

landed and sold at the bustling slave mart, Port Royal, in English Jamaica, from

the seventeenth century on, would live out their lives as what James describes

as *"the closest thing to a modern proletariat,"* on the plantations producing

large-scale export crops, or, as the case was of Port Royal which was a bustling

pirate's port and slave-mart, ( ) as semi-urban domestic slaves.

A seventeenth century Attorney General of England defined the slaves in

English law as merchandise. ( ) And the Rev. John Taylor in his manuscript

describes four Uprisings *of these slaves* in the latter part of the seventeenth century ~~and the~~

suppressions that followed.

indicate
These slaves, in Sartre's terms, *that they* had set out to negate their status

as merchandise and to reclaim their right to their own human capital.

In order to act as a group they bound themselves and pledged their faith

by an oath. Taylor writes in his seventeenth century account:

"These Negroes have a great Veneration for the Earth by which they

swear and bind themselves to punctual obedience and performance...

and if you bind them to secrecy by kissing of the Earth than all

the tortures that can be inflicted on them shall never make them

confess or discover it, which is the reason they always are

obstinate in their rebellions, without tears or confession their

designs of Confederates, for if they kiss the Earth it is to them

a solemn and certain oath by which they swear." (   )

In his Critique of Dialectical Reason, which I have quoted before,

Sartre discussed the central importance of the Tennis Court Oath by which the

members of the Third Estate began to constitute themselves into a collective

group at the beginning of the French Revolution. The absolute monarchy and its

supporters against which this group was reacting were the 'third', i.e. the

outside force which represented a threat to each member of the group, a threat

he was helpless to face as long as he remained merely an individual. The first

movement, one of negative unity, is the unity which each potential victim feels in

the face of the external threat.

To fight this threat effectively a transition from a negative to a

positive unity is effected when the group set out to

"interiorize its unity in some more basic way" (   )

It does this by,

"the interiorization of the formerly external third party." (   )

That is to say that the individual slave, before actively constituting himself

into a group, was already linked passively to the others by their common negation

of the Third, the external party. Unity was then achieved negatively by the

existence of the Other which each slave felt impelled to struggle against.

But in the act of binding itself himself to struggle as a group, the slave

achieved autonomy from the Third for, as a Sartre scholar explains it,

"now each member of the group becomes a third to all the rest,

and this is to be understood not statistically but dynamically,

It is not a form fixed once and for all, but a process of rotating

or revolving thirds, in which everyone in turn serves as the unifier

of the other members. Now the group no longer had to depemd on

the look of the outsider or the enemy: a struvture had been

evolved such that the group carries its own source of being within

itseff.... and at this stage in the groups' development everyone

is equally a member of a third." ( )

The implicit God which guaranteed the oath that the French

conspirators took was the secular "god" - experiences as concept -

of liberty of freedom, understood in its bourgeois sense as being

free from the trammels of absolutist monarchy: in order to replace

the old structure by one formed in their image. This was their

cnntral purpose and by the oath each implicitely "pledged his own

death whould he in the future break the unity of the group and

turn traitor to it." (   )

For the Ashanti-Fanti slaves, the Earth was not only a goddess, Asase
Afua, and the source of all sustenance, it was also the place where their ancestors
had been interred. Fortes, in his study of the web of kinship among the Tallensi,
points out that one of the central religious concepts was the concept of the earth
as the base of the community, the source of the common good. Provision grounds
are parcels of land cut from the limitless earth. Man receives life from the earth
in the crops which he reaps. The numerous feasts and festivals connected with these
crops, which we shall look at later, acknowledges and strengthen the tie between the
life of man and of the earth. Religious ritual observances expressed in rites, festival
song, dance are designed to preserve the benevolence of the earth towards the

the community. Without this benevolence of the earth, man's existence

was seen as threatened with extinction. For the forces of the earth are part

of the vital universal force which sustains all life of the universe. Also,

in the Ashanti world view, the earth as land belonged to the ancestors, and

"the living inherited from them only the right to use it." They, in turn, hand

on this right to their children. "Hence the inquirer is often told, 'the land

belongs to the stool; or the land belongs to the chief.' They both mean the

same. The ancestors own the land. The stool and the chiefs are their symbols.

Thus in the Ashanti conception the ancestors sustain the tribe. They have given

then the land; they watch and protect them and they send them the things they

need."   (   )

It is within this central religious concept of the earth that the

funerals described by Taylor take on significance. Within this concept, funerals

assume a symbolic centrality,

> "not only because the dead are laid to rest inside the Earth,
> but also because interring the dead is an act of crucial
> social importance, charged with ritual meanings of great intensity.
> It is one of the points at which man's life and the mystical
> powers of the earth come into contact in a way that is fraught
> with the deepest affective and social consequences for the
> organization of society. Thereafter one who was human becomes
> a spirit...." (   )

The proper ritual ceremonies, well observed, translate the dead into

the luminous status of an ancestor. The grave is therefore the intersecting point

of two traditional beliefs, and it is these beliefs, which recognize the slave

as human in the face of the negation of his human status by the other whom he fights against.

The oath, sworn by kissing the earth, bound each man not only to the

other men of the group, but to the whole world of ancestors, To break the oath

was to be negated by these ancestors and by the numerous gods who claimed their

allegiance.

John *in which he gives . . . (,*

The Rev. Taylor's manuscript tells of the power and binding force

of the oath sworn of the Earth.

He gives an account of four rebellions that took place in the latter

part of the 17th century, and tells of the tortures inflicted when the rebellions

were finally crushed. After the rebels were crushed, they

> *"Were all put to Death -- Some burnt, some roasted, some torn to*
>
> *pieces with Doggs, others cut in pieces alive, and their Head*
>
> *and Quarters planted on poles to be a terror to others..." ( )*

But the religious belief, Taylor writes, and the Oath sworn on the Earth, were

powerful enough so that not only would they not confess and give details of the

rebellion, but they would not even beg for mercy. Taylor was impressed with this.

He writes:

> *"Nevertheless for all this torture they remained so obstinate*
>
> *that whilst they were burning, roasting, etc., they continued*
>
> *singing and laughing, not one of them was seen to shed a tear or*
>
> *beg for mercy." ( )*

Again, telling of the aftermath of another rebellion he comments:

> *"Those Negroe Slaves died as obstinately as any of the former not*
>
> *seeming in the least concerned thereat threat for when they were*
>
> *burning or rather roasting at the stake (for the fire was made at some*
>
> *distance from the stake to which they were chained, and all around*
>
> *so that they roasted or burnt by degrees) they would sing and laugh*
>
> *and by no torture would they ever confess the design or who was*
>
> *concerned therein. And so their tormernt seemed in vain." ( )*

While in Europe and the New World the Inquisition burned heretics to

save their souls. In Jamaica, planters burnt slaves to serve as an example

so that others would not dare to rebel against being <u>property</u>, a <u>commodity</u>.

The heretic to religious orthodoxy and the heretic to economic orthodoxy, both

suffered for their faith. Taylor gives an eyewitness and searing account of a

slave burning which he witnessed in Jamaica:

> "And now 'tis worth of observation to consider the undaunted
>
> resolutions which I observed by a lusty Negro Executed at the
>
> Port (Port Royal) while I was there, when being chained to the
>
> stake and the fire kindled about him and seeing his Master
>
> standing by he said to him thus:
>
> "Master why do you burn me? Did I ever refuse to work or doe
>
> all you ordered me to do? And did I ever steal anything from you
>
> in all my life? Why therefore am I thus cruelly burnt?"
>
> His Master answered him thus:
>
> "Sambo (for that was his name) I have done all I can to save thy
>
> life and would now give 100 pounds to save thee, but thou hast been
>
> in the rebellion and therefore must die for I cannot now in any way
>
> save thy life."
>
> "Well then," he said, "I thank you good master and God forgive me.
>
> And now I will die."
>
> "Upon which he threw himself on his face into the midst of the fire,
>
> and never stirred nor groaned, but died patiently with the greatest
>
> resolution imaginable.." ( )

The master was as helpless as the slave, helpless in the face of the

dominant economic dogma. Property that had rebelled, thereby affirming its

status as human, must be <u>burnt</u> (i.e. tortured) as a 'terror' to other 'property'

who might want to assert their human status. The master had to lose his 100 pounds

(his slave) so that the system by which men were saleable as pure labor-power should

be maintained.

But in the oath which they had taken, the slaves had reaffirmed their place in the group structure affirmed by the gods, the earth, the ancestors. By not giving away the others even under torture, by not crying or begging for mercy, the slave affirmed the identity of the group as an identity more real and compelling than his own. In dying silently, courageously, he reaffirmed the life, the authentic existence of the group.

Monica Schuler writing about Akan (i.e. Ashanti-Fanti) ( ) slave rebellions in Jamaica and Guyana points out that "certain ethnic groups appear to have dominated revolts in various New World societies." In Jamaica it was the Akan-speaking peoples as was the case above. The Kromanti, or Kormantibe was a name given to this group by the traders who shipped them from a trading post of that name. ( ) The greatest number of slaves coming to Jamaica from 1655 to 1776 were consistently Akan-speaking. The Akans were the main ethnic grouping among the Maroons. The number of revolts in which they were the only or the main ethnic group were frequent. The patterns of Akan warfare from Africa were transplanted, and, most important, the religious ritual, the dances and ceremonies which had bound the Akan warrior to fight and die in battle, were here introduced as the basis for organization of revolt. As Monica Schuler explains:

> "The role of the obeahman in the Akan slave rebellions... is very
> like the role of priests and magicians in Ashanti military
> campaigns. Before a military campaign the principal commanders
> of the Ashanti armies met with the priests at night and praticipated
> in a ceremony designed to weaken the enemy each time it was repeated." (

Each company had its own shrine, its own priest. The priests went into battle with the soldiers and provided them with protective charms and amulets, some of
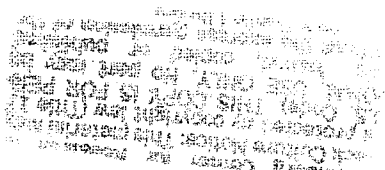
which were believed to make them invulnerable. The warriors on their part

took a bind oath not to retreat in battle. This oath was to the warriors what

the code of chivalry was to European medieval warriors. But in the slavery

economy of the New World, with the high price of treason and the enormous

compensation awaiting for him who revealed a conspiracy to revolt, the oath

took on extra urgency. The temptation to betray, to fall into individuality, was

strong in the New World of slavery. In the land of origin, one took an

oath to validate one's status as warrior, to collectively strengthen the will to

fight for a group, the tribe, whose identity went back long centuries solidified

by myth, ritual, ancestral memories. The oath was the renewal of a pledge

understood to have been made from the moment one was born into a praticular

tribe, and even more explicitely at the rite of passage in which the adolescent

underwent the ordeal of initiation in order to emerge a warrior.

The New World group identity no longer had this firm traditional

essence solidified through long custom in a pervasive and homogenous culture.

Rather the new identity was one reforged in a situation in which all identity

had been negated by the dominant system and in which the group identity was ever

threatened, and precarious. The one who betrayed the group would no longer, as

in the original culture, look forward to shame and ostracism on the part of his

peers. Since his peers were no longer autonomously powerful, the price of his

treachery could very often be individual freedom won at the expense of the lives

of the rest.

Indeed, the Akan slave who was burnt to death had taken part in a

plot to burn down the city of Port Royal. One of the slaves revealed the plot

to his Master and was rewarded. As Taylor tells it:

"for which good service he had his freedom and his wife and had

land and One Hundred Pounds given to him by the Port." ( )

It has been customary to stress how often slaves revolts were betrayed without paying attention to how few were the traitors, how <u>many</u> those that affirmed their group identity. Nor did betrayal and torture stop the slaves revolting and running away, as Taylor tells us:

> "And altho they have used to these rebellious slaves most
> excessive torture, as you have heard by cutting off their
> Ears and members, and making of 'em eat them, by cutting
> out their tungs and cutting off their foot, yet still
> Negroes revolt and daily run away from their masters into
> the woods and mountains, where they work together in parties
> stealing at night from (on) plantations, and doing much
> mischief towards St. Ann and the Northside.." ( )

Nor would the rebellions be confined to the early days when the majority of slaves were still relatively close in time to their cultures of origin. Not only would ever recurring, fresh waves of newly-purchased slaves renew elements of the African transplanted rites, culture, and religion, but it is clear that on the plantations, a culture and religion indigenous to the new situation, was being created out of the exigencies of the new circumstances. The development of these cultures, these religions can be discerned in the description that European observers gave of the ceremonies and festivals of the slaves, descriptions that are often <u>distorted</u> and <u>biased</u>, but whose main lineaments are visible. And in all these ceremonies whether apparently 'secular' or religious, one central impulse was clear, the impulse to negate the system which enslaved them.

The oath, transplanted from Africa, no longer pledged men to fight against the enemy tribes. Rather it served to bind them as a group pledged to guerilla war, to a revolutionary war against their masters. As Walterio Carbonnel points out in the case of Cuba:

> "Not only did the Africans' religions preach liberty, but the

dances and the very ceremonies, by which they were expressed,

held a social content and meaning: rebellion." ( )

Every rebellion negated the black's status as merchandise. And the
reinvention of a culture was an even more significant part of the black revolt
than the occasional physical revolts. For the latter sprang from the seedbed,
the ideology, the emotional states of feeling of the former. Negated as men,
the blacks rebelled in periodic uprisings and in the ongoing creation of
a culture, in order to be.

Cultural
Ritual

Chapter
Jankunnu Festival -
As Cultural Ritual

"Mammy plant a copy o'yam oh

When e bear, e bear like me leg.

Qua, qua, don't mek me laugh oh.

(St. Vincent Folk song.)
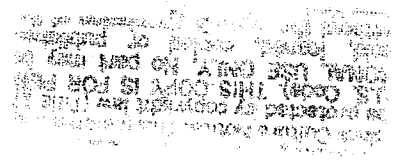
"And whereas it has been found by experience that rebellions have been

concerted at negro dance..by the slaves of different plantations

..if any overseer..or any other white person...shall knowingly suffer

any slaves to assemble together and beat their military drums or

blow horns or shells every white person so offending shall 'suffer

six months' imprisonment..." ( )

(Laws for the Government of Negro Slaves, Jamaica, 1787, Clause 21.)

Lamine Diakhite has pointed out a factor which I see as crucial for
what I have labelled the 'indigenization' process. He writes:

"...among all peoples there exists a precious cultural deposit which

escapes the alienating enterprise of the colonizers. That cultural

deposit is maintained permanently by the community. It consists of

gestures, customs, reflexes, a way of thought, a way of apprehending

reality. Indeed, it deals with a more than formal unity, a dialectical

unity..." ( )

For it is this cultural reserve, this subsoil which is able to take in stronger
elements and then proceeds to absorb these elements so that it is no longer
heterogenous, no longer strange. It is this cultural reserve which is able to
reinvent itself. We see this process of reinvention in the earliest descriptions.
For example, in the description that Taylor gives us of the slaves funerals,
discussed earlier, the messages that the slaves sang to the corpse, messages sent
back to acquaint their kinsmen of their present condition of slavery, became the
spirituals, the blues.

In their African form, these messages had had a traditional significance.

Richard Wright tells of a wake scene which he witnessed in Ghana:

"I saw women going to the foot of the dead man's bed and whispering a few words into his ears. I could not hear or understand what was being said.

"Are they praying?" I asked.

"Well, not exactly," they told me.

"They are giving him messages for their relatives in the spirit world you see." (   )

Three centuries before Wright recorded this, the exiled slaves sent back messages not only to the spirit world but to Africa. And the message was a message of exile. The message invented its medium, the blues.

For the seventeeth century slaves, as for the modern Ghanians, the funeral rites were a central rite of their cosmological world view. The earth of the New World was no longer the earth of Africa. Outside the plot, the earth was primarily land for the plantation. But the sites in which their ancestors--those who died in exile--were buried gradually came to take on a major importance for the slaves. While Taylor observed that the slaves kissed the earth, we shall note in later rebellions that the potent ingredient has been reinvented as 'grave dirt', i.e. earth taken from the grave of the ancestors.

In the new reality, the grave of the ancestor came to symbolize the earth as native soil. Indeed, the grave, in a dynamic relation with the plot, was one of the central factors that gave the slave a sense of historical continuity in the new land, that made the new land native. T.G.H. Strehow, quoted by Levi-Strausss, writes of the Northern Aranda, He

...!clings to his native soil with every fibre of his being. He will always speak of his own 'birthplace' with love and reverence. Today, tears will come into his eyes when he mentions an ancestral home

site which has been desecrated by the white usurpers of his group

territory.." ( )

It is the grave of the ancestors which, though now in a new earth,

gave a sense of continuity to the slaves exiled across the Middle Passage, and

identified them with the new land. The ancestral spirits now peopled the new

land, and those who had graduated into gods, abided in rivers, streams, trees,

hills, mountains. The plants which the slave came to know with their medicinal

values were appropriated by them. And their descendants began to study new

plants with the 'sustained interests' of the intellect dedicated partly to the

ends of religious duty, partly to practical consideration. Caribbean bushes like

cerasee, periwinkle, were regarded not only as good medicine for the body but also

as medicine   which had the power of the god to cast out evil, to cleanse the

land. The grave of the ancestors related the slave to this new geography, to this

new land. In the fantasy and fact of Jamaican life, the 'grave dirt' from an

ancestral grave came to play a powerful part in the struggle between good and evil.

It could kill and it could cure. This grave binds the Jamaican to the soil, the

new geography, through the mediating links of the community of the dead, the living

and the unborn. It is not a national monument by which the living see themselves

as part of an abstract nation, but by this local monument, a dynamic force by

which he sees himself as native to the land. For the surrogate autochtonous "native"

as well as for the original Amerindian,

"Mountains, and creeks and springs and water holes are to him...

not merely interesting or beautiful scenic features..; they are

the handiwork of ancestors from whom he himself has descended.

He sees recorded in the surrounding landscape the ancient story

of the lives and the deeds of the immortal beings whom he reveres....

beings, many of whom he has known in his own experience as his

fathers and grandfathers and brothers, and as his mothers and sisters. The whole countryside is his living age-old family tree." ( )

On the plantation system, the ancestral graves existed in the insterstices, inserted into an dominant alien, reality, yet they served to preserve the identity of the slaves as a group. One of the problems faced by many slaves after Emancipation was the fact that in leaving the plantations, they would leave behind the graves of their ancestors. And in the massive, twentieth century Middle-Passage in which rural Jamaicans migrate to the city, earth from ancestral graves placed in a bottle and reburied in a slum yard, reinterprets an old tradition in a new reality.( )

The funeral rites described by Taylor had reinvented the mourning rites central to African religious observances, rites which bring the present face to face with the past as the corpse is transmutated out of his temporary status to achieve a 'permanent future' as an ancestor. For it is as an ancestor that he will become, like all other ancestral spirits, part of numerous and extended aspects of the life force, and of the historical life of the group.

So central did funerals become in the pattern of Caribbean life, (Deaths were frequent; the statistics, in cold print, horrify.), that they became the site and locus of rebellion. In a psychosocial sense every funeral was a strengthening of group identity, a rite of renewal of solidarity with the group's ancestors-- what would in modern jargon be called a renewal of <u>historical</u> tradition. In the French Caribbean, at a time of frequent revolts, funerals were banned. It was alleged that a certain dance was danced at the funerals which incited the slaves to rebellion. When the planters were alerted to the danger of the seemingly harmless funerals, they soon woke up to the danger of the seemingly harmless drum, the harmless dance. For funeral, dance, drum and song, all were interconnected.

A seventeeth century observer Sir Hans Sloane, describes the drums that he saw in Jamaica:

> "Drums made of a piece of a hollow tree covered on one end with any green skin, and stretched with Thole and Pinns - an instrument forbidden on the plantation because used for war in Africa..." ( )

The meaning of the drum was tied up with song and dance from African-derived religion, with an African-derived world-view and with an imperatively native dynamic.

> "All art is born from religion... and without a previous and clear idea of the consubstantially religious and magical character which verse, song, music, dance has...among Negro-Africans, their art cannot be understood, neither in its multiple manifestations, nor in its instruments, nor in its history." ( )
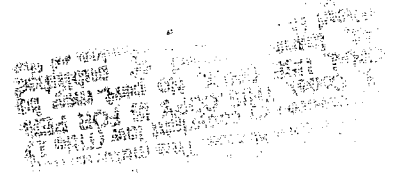
"They have Saturdays in the afternoons and Sundays, with Christmas holidays, Easter called little, or Pickaninny, Christmas, and some other great feasts allowed them for the culture of their won plantations to feed themselves from potatoes, yams and plantations etc. which they plant on ground allowed them by their masters..." (SIR HANS SLOANE, *writing in the 17th century.)* ( )
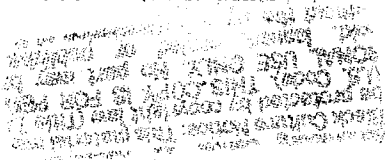
"In addition to having Sundays off, slaves had all or part of their Saturdays free, most of these being concentrated in the off peak periods of farming. There was also up to a week or so of additional holidays, some at predesignated times, as during Christmas or in the insterstice between the end of cultivation and the beginning of the harvest..." (Fogel and Engelman) ( )

The earliest descriptions of folk dances in Jamaica are related to religion and the feasts and festivals connected with religions. The pattern of duality between the plantation and the plot, is seen in the fact that holidays were conditioned both by European custom and the seasonal demands of the sugar crop. The slaves transferred African festivals and African meanings to Christmans, Easter and "crop over," i.e. after the cane harvest and the sugar-making activities were over. But side by side with this process of adaptation to the superordinate system, was a process of continuity. Feasts related to the culture of their own grounds--called provision ground in Jamaica, nigger ground in Trinidad--were also celebrated. The central feast celebrated was the original Yam Festival, central to many cultures of Africa, important to the Ashantis who came to Jamaica in great numbers. The fact that yams were grown as a chief source of food was a central factor of the indigenization process. Lévi Strauss, has pointed out the extreme familiarity of many African tribes with their biological environment, the 'passionate

attention' they give to it, their 'precise knowledge'. (   )

The slave, in relation to his provision ground, was a farmer and to farmers everywhere, "plants are as important as people." To a native farmer every plant, wild or cultivated has a name or use. This naming, this classifying of the biological environment in the new condition of their exile, centered about the cultural traditions related to the growing of yams in Africa which were now transferred to Jamaica. For the numerous plants only had importance in so far as they were classified and coded in the context of a general perception of the universe and man's place in it which the slaves brought with them. The fact that with the plot, the nigger ground, they could establish an analogous relation to their material existence, rerooted the old traditions in the new reality.

One of the festivals that was transplanted in Jamaica was one called the Jonkunnu or John Canoe, (   ) which had a close connection with the Yam Festival, an important festival of the Ashanti. (   ) But the Yam Festival was widespread in the West African culture sphere and a Jamaican sociologist suggests three clusters of origin for the Jonkunnu:

> "These were: the yam festival activities of the Mno secret
> society of the Ibo people; the recreational activities of the
> Egungun secret society of the Yorubas; and the Homowa Harvest
> festival of the Ga people." (   )

All three have to do with the impersonation of ancestral spirits by masked dancers at festivals usually connected with agricultural activities. The Homowa festival of the Ga links elaborate yam feasts with, "drinking and dancing in lament and remembrance of the dead." The dead are not the negation of life. Once spirits, their life force is lessened, but they still retain their 'higher strengthening after life force'. (   ) The harvest festival of yams is therefore linked to the evocation of the ancestral spirits and of the gods or forces of nature, i.e. the ancestral spirits in a higher stage. The celebration of the living is made more

alive by the presence of the dead.

The primary annual festival of the Egungun of the Yoruba is a "masquerade performed by male members of the Egungun cult in order to make visible the ancestral spirits and to command their power." (   )

One of the earliest descriptions that we have of the New World variant of this festival is given us by Sir Hans Sloane, writing in the seventeenth century. He wrote:

"They have likewise in their dances Rattles tied to their legs and wrists and in their hands with which they make a noise, keeping time...Their dances consist in great activity and strength of body, and keeping time if it can be. They very often tie cow tailes to thier Rumps and add such others to their bodies in several places as gives them a very extraordinary appearance." (   )

Here already the basic elements of what is to develop into the Jonkunnu masquerade are evident: the use of the rattle--the instrument sacred to many African religions--with its emphasis on rhythm and percussion; the acrobatic quality of the dance and the 'Cows Tails' tied to their behinds, rumps, etc. Sloane does not describe the actual masks we see in later descriptions. But in the Jonkunnu the mask was not just the face and head-dress but the entire costume. And the mask in African religious thought is of great significance. As one writer puts it 'the mask is the medium'. For it links the human to the supernatural, and speaks a symbolic language that can be deciphered only by the initiates of the cult.

The mask is deeply entwined "with the fundamental element of African life, the dance." (   ) In fact they do not really exist as separate entities. Binding these two together is the rhythm of the rattle, and rhythm,

"according to many African myths, existed at the

> *beginning of time and was often thought to be the*
>
> *absolute Creator of the Worlds and their inhabitants..." ( )*

Rhythm patterns the universal life force. The music Sloane heard, the dances
he saw were 'creating' through 'imitation',

> *..."The hidden fluid that runs through all beings--*
>
> *human, animal and vegetable--the magical point of*
>
> *contact of participation of men with Nature." ( )*

Sloane's "Cow Tails on the Rump," therefore were a part of that *mask*,
that *costume* that was to become central to Jonkunnu in Jamaica. Let us look
to some later descriptions. Edward Long gives his description some eighty or
ninety years after. In Long's description we see the transference of the festival
from September to Christmas, part of the 'slaves' adaptation to new circumstance.
He wrote:

> *"In the towns, during Christmas holidays, they have*
>
> *several tall robust fellows dressed up in grotesque*
>
> *habits, and a pair of ox-horns on their head,*
>
> *sprouting from the top of a horrid sort of visor or*
>
> *mask. The masquerader carrying a wooden sword in his*
>
> *hand, is followed, with a numerous crowd of drunken*
>
> *women, who refresh him frequently with a cup of aniseed*
>
> *water while he dances at every door bellowing out John*
>
> *Connu with great vehemence. The dance is probably*
>
> *an honourable memorial to John Conny, a celebrated*
>
> *cabocero at Tree Puntas, Axim, on the Guiney Coast;*
>
> *who flourished about the year 1720. He bore great*
>
> *authority among the Negroes of that district.." ( )*

Long is the earliest writer to explain the term John Connu. His

explanation has been disputed ( ) but modern historical scholarship bears him

out.   Kwame Yeboa Daaku, in his book, TRADE AND POLITICS ON THE GOLD COAST, 1600 -

1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade, Oxford, at the

Clarendon Press, 1970, devotes a chapter to two figures whom he calls Merchant

delete
+ add
to note

Princes, John Kabes and John Konny. Daaku tells us that John Kony (Counie, Kony)

was politically powerful; that he came from Pokoso in Ahanta, that he was one of

the African traders who were the partners of the European slave-trading companies,

that he was the partner of the (Prussian) Brandenburg African Company, that he

was born some time in the later 1660's or early 1670's. Daaku goes on to say,

> *"He was thus probably in his teens, an impressionable age*
>
> *when the Brandenburgers made their debut, and was in his*
>
> *early twenties when their main fort, the Great Fredericksburg*
>
> *Castle was started in 1695. It may be surmised that Konny*
>
> *helped in building the castle which he later came to command." ( )*

In the fierce rivalry between the English, the Dutch, and the

Brandenburg Companies, Konny played a powerful role on behalf of the latter company.

> *"A man of strong personality and character, he ignored Dutch*
>
> *threats, openly defied them, and successfully pitted his power*
>
> *against an Anglo-Dutch alliance in 1711. For almost fifteen*
>
> *years he baffled the calculations of the Dutch and thwarted*
>
> *their designs. John Konny was a ruler with connections reaching*
>
> *as far inland as Asante. His attempts to inject life into the*
>
> *Brandenburg African Company won him an enthusiastic acclaim in*
>
> *Germany. For his efforts he won the appellation 'the last Prussian*
>
> *Negro Prince.' He faithfully supported a flag the limits of whose*
>
> *power he could neither know nor visualize. His stout defense of*
>
> *the Brandenburg prossessions resulted in their headquarters at*

Pokoso being for long known as 'Connie's Castle' even

after he had been driven away by the Dutch." ( )

Konny's success in defending the interests of the Brandenburg

Company drew down on his head the enmity of the English and the Dutch. When

in 1711 they joined forces to attack him, and failed, their failure increased

his reputation and his power. As Daaku points out:

> *"He became the effective ruler of Ahanta in all but name.. He*
>
> *commanded by far and away the largest force of any single*
>
> *power on the Coast. Thus his capacity to disrupt trade in and*
>
> *around his state was beyond dispute." ( )*

In conclusion, one may say that successful trade on the Gold Coast

depended on the assistance that African middlemen gave to the Europeans... In

the group of able and prosperous merchants, the careers of men like the Akrosan

brothers of Fetu, Asomani of Akwamu, John Kabes of Komenda, and John Konny of

Ahanta overshadowed those of their contemporaries. The fortunes of the English

at Komenda depended on John Kabes, while Konny not only commanded Great

Fredericksburg Castle but virtually ruled the whole of Ahanta and proved himself

the staunchest prop of the Brandenburg African Company... By reason of their

varied and interesting, yet successful lives, one may conveniently call them

the "merchant princes" of the Gold Coast.( )

For generations, in the Caribbean, the existence of John Konny remained

unknown to written history. But in the commemorative festival of the indigenous

oral tradition he was evoked as a life enhancing ancestor and institutionalized. Both

the man and the ceremonies which celebrated him came from Africa, so long left

behind. Transmuted into a new reality, they were never forgotten. Indeed the

description of the ceremony makes clear the parallels with the masquerade procession

of the Egungun secret societies of the Yoruba.

The word Egungun itself means 'masquerador', and in some parts of the

Caribbean as in Jamaica, at certain periods the Jonkunnu dance procession was simply called a 'masquerade'. Each guild had its different Egungun, its special mask costume. At first, as tribal divisions survived, each tribe or nation wore its own mask. Long tells us :

> "In 1769, several new masks appeared; the Ebos,
> the Pawpaws &c: having their respective Connus,
> male and female, who were dressed in a very
> laughable style." (   )
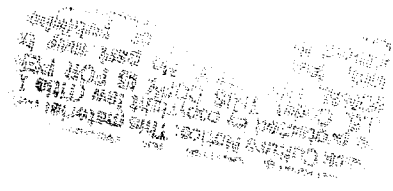
The guilds at first represented the tribal groups in Jamaica. Later still they came to represent crafts and trades. Even later they came to represent "bands" or "sets" all dressed in similar fashion, but divided into the blacks and browns of the society. (   ) That is to say that as the structure of the society evolved and changed, the Jonkunnu dynamic also changed its externals in order to preserve its core. Indeed, as the original Jonkunnu viewed by Sloane changed and developed, two processes, one of creolization/secularization, and the other of indigenization, led to two different aspects of the Jonkunnu celebrations.

A nineteenth century description shows the different processes. In discussing the Christmas celebrations--for by this time the original Jonkunnu celebrations had become firmly fixed at Christmas--one writer notes;

> "Reds and Blues"..sometimes also going by the
> name of Johnny Canoeing'. On the north side
> of the island it is a splendid affair, but to
> the south side it is just the reverse. In
> the latter instance, the negroes dress them-
> selves in bulls hides with the horns on, into
> which they are sewn, and go bellowing about
> the streets; butting all the people they meet.

Several pages omitted See

This is the remnant, most probably of

some superstitious African ceremony." ( )

From the above and later descriptions it is clear that a quality of fear was attached to this original Jonkunno mask, which also came to be called "oxhead". In fact, the oxhead mask was forbidden in the Jamaica of the 1920's, because of the fear it inspired. ( ) This fear, due to the fact that the masked dancers lent themselves to gods and spirits who danced through them, was also common in African versions of the masquerade. Indeed, the powerful spirits of the African ancestral cults became the much feared 'devil' of Afro-Christian Jamiaca. Some of the participants in the early twentieth century Jonkunnu procession were referred to by observers as 'satanic hordes' and were considered unchristian and pagan. Much of their meaning and practise was.

The south side Jonkunnu in the above description was, as we shall show, a continuation of the Jonkunnu in its religious context, and thus part of the process we label indigenization. The "splendid affair" on the north side was part of the secular creolization process by which Jonkunnu was transformed into a phenomenon which fulfilled what Patterson terms a psychosocial function in the plantation system which I shall later explore. Contemporary descriptions of this second variant of Jonkunno show that in the nineteenth century, on the plantation and in the towns, what can be called acculturation between African and European cultural elements reached its peak. While the Jonkunnu ceremonies kept something of their original purpose, the history which they celebrated came to be that of Britain. Monk Lewis' contemporary description ( ) of the 'Reds and Blues' aspect of the masquerade shows most of the orginal elements of the Jonkunn being interpreted in terms of European symbols. The Procession he saw resembled nothing so much as a modern victory ticker tape parade cum float. From Lewis' account the planters and

Drawn from Life, and Lithog. by I.M. Belisario.

Lith. by J. H. Bufford

Koo-koo or Actor Queen 1837   9 the Set Girls

Drawn from Life, and Lith.d by J. M. Belisario.

Printed by A. Duperly
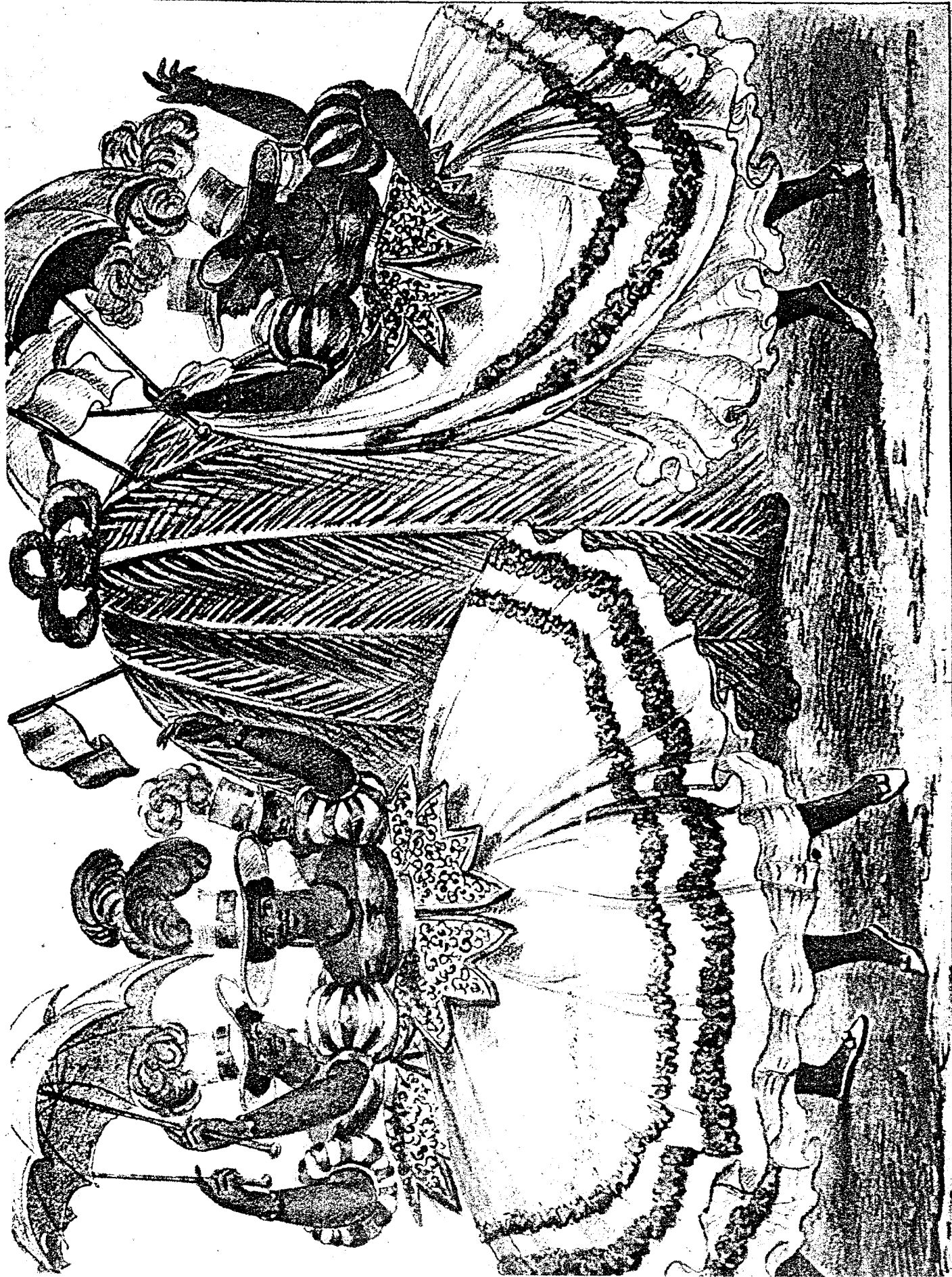
Red Sea Gulls, & Jack in the Green

Drawn from Nature by J. M. Belisario

their families were as involved--as financial backers and spectators--
as the slaves. The terms Reds and Blues, Lewis explains, came from the
rivalry for the favors of the brown girls between the English (the Reds) and
the Scots (the Blues) Navy personnel at the Kingston Naval Station. But a
later explanation by Belisario, who did a set of drawings of the Jonkunnu
characters, attributes the idea of the competition for "set" girls to the
influence of the French Haitian Carnival which fleeing refugees and their slaves
had brought from Haiti. And indeed the idea of the Blue and Red "set" girls
was an integral part of the Catholic Carnival, itself a rite sprung from pagan
roots like the Jonkunnu, although reinterpreted in Christian terms. Lewis
describes the procession:

> "First marched Britania; then came a band of
> music; then a flag; then the Blue King and
> Queen--the Queen splendidly dressed in white
> and silver (in scorn of the opposite party
> her train was borne by a little girl in red);
> his Majesty wore a full British Admiral's
> uniform with a white satin sash, a huge cocked
> hat with a gilt paper crown upon the top of it.
> These were immediately followed by Nelson's
> car being a kind of canoe decorated with blue
> and silver drapery and with Trafalgar written
> on the front of it; and the procession was
> closed by a long train of blue grandees..all
> Princes, Dukes and Duchesses, every mother's child
> of them." ( )

For Lewis, it is implicit that what the blacks were really doing
constituted an act of 'imitation'. In fact, the stereotype of the 'imitative'

black is widespread and in modern times has undergone new mutations. But the

idea of historical commemoration, of history lived and danced in regal

procession, is African in origin. Felix Morrisseau Leroy speaking of contemporary

Africa writes:

> *"There is no African country which does not have*
>
> *its calendar of costumed festival.. Side by side*
>
> *with these are festivals of circumstance which*
>
> *are no less splendid.." ( )*

When the Asafo of Elmina celebrated his annual feast, the Asantehane of

Kumasa called his chiefs together in a general assembly. When the Great

Warrior organized a masquerade, another ruler held a costumed celebration, another

ruler presided over the funeral rites of a close relative. All these led to

spectacle and procession on a grand scale, ~~and~~ *And for these spectacles* for which as with the Jonkunnu

and the Trinidadian Carnival, each village, each group prepares all the year,

actively organizing and participating. ~~As we shall show later,~~ the principle of

organization implicit in these festivals is the central principle of organization

that the New World black inherited from Africa.

Arthur Ramos' description of the Brazilian Maracatu--the equivalent of

the Jonkunnu--shows that it consisted of two parts: one a richly clothed magnificent

procession of Kings and Queens and their trains, a transplantation of similar

processions in the Congo, the second, a performance of a Cucumbys play. The pattern

of this play--a play in the African sense combines songs, dance, pantomime--is

also found in the 'plays' put on as an integral part of the Jonkunnu Christmas

parade in nineteenth century Jamaica. In the Cucumbys play, the protagonists

are King/Queen/ Prince/Sorcerer/Congo King. The plot: the Queen sends ambassadors

to the Congo King's court. A clash occurs. The prince demands an apology. When

none is given a fight takes place. The Prince is killed. To bring him back to life,

the Sorcerer uses incantations, and chants which the Chorus repeats. The prince

revives. All dance and sing.

Although the externals are different, the 'plays' which were performed
in the Jonkunnu processions in the nineteenth century followed this pattern. But
by the time we get descriptions of the 'plays', it is clear that transculturation
has taken place between two similar folk patterns--one from Africa and one from
the British Isles. The African patterns have been mentioned already. During
the Egungun festival in June, for example, when a Yoruba 'All Souls' festival,
a mourning for the dead)takes place, large numbers of Egunguns appear and the
town is in a holiday mood. There are processions and plays with each Egungun
guild putting on its own play. Dancing and mime play a large part; exits and
entrances are regulated by the drum. As with the Cucumbys play of Brazil, for-
mal ritual patterns prescribe the plot.

The Jonkunnu has a clear line of origin from guilds like these. But
as the Jonkunnu 'indigenized' itself, it drew in elements from another folk rite
introduced into Jamaica--English Morris dancing. Before the plantation system
dislodged the English yeomen farmer in Jamaica, he had introduced elements from
this rite, the folk culture in England being then still vigorous. Later this
was carried on by the indentured servants of the planters, and even more perhaps
by the poor "bookkeeper" class of English and Scots whose prospects and fortunes
were so low as to preclude the possibility of a return to their 'home' country.
Through these, and particularly at "cropover" when slaves and bookkeepers and
planters celebrated the harvest, aspects of English folk culture were introduced.
The cultural dynamic of the Jonkunnu at once absorbed these. (   )

Since the English Morris dance celebrated a pagan rite, its cultural
contact points with the African Jonkunnu were numerous. The Morris dance was
originally part of the spring festival where young men danced for the renewal
and continuance of life. It was in fact a 'medicine dance' handed down through
the European counterpart of secret societies, which practised the medicine re-

ligions that conditioned life in Europe before Christendom. Like the Egungun

guilds, the Jonkunnu masks, the Carnival bands, each Morris group had a leader.

There were several characters who made up the group. The hobby horse, which be-

came the Jamaican Jonkunnu Horsehead, was only one of several animal men. In

some groups the horse is the central character or mask. In others, the fools

wearing animal masks diverts and distracts while the dancers carry on their task

of

> "distilling medicine and spilling it out over the people
>
> and place they visit." (——)

From Long's description of the Jonkunnu procession and dancing from house to house,

it is clear that at least the earlier versions of the Jonkunnu had this function

of 'good medicine'. (   )

But apart from the English spring rites, there were also mid-winter

rites. It is in these rites that we find the sword dance cum play. Like the

Morris dancers, the swordsmen were seen as actors "who once disguised themselves,

blacking their faces or covering them with masks." They, too, had a retinue of

characters: hobbyhorse, clown, the woman, Dirty Bet, sometimes a King or Queen,

Lord or Lady, and often a quack doctor and his man Jack. The quack doctor, brought

in to revive the dead swordsman, was the equivalent of the sorcerer or 'medicine

man' in the cucumbys play. There were, however, two versions to the death and re-

birth theme of the English sword dance play. In one of these versions a duel al-

ways takes place at the end: the two protagonists fight with swords, one is killed

but revived by the music, gets up and dances either a sword dance or a general

dance with the rest of the group. The music and the dance are seen as the 'good

medicine'.

There are several descriptions of this pattern in the nineteenth century.

And, what is to our purpose, we see that while the original pattern remains the

same, the groups, as they 'acculturate' with planter society, borrow aspects of other material

fragments of plays, even Shakespearian plays and insert them into the
old folk pattern. They draw in whatever comes to hand, always imposing
the old form. We see this in one description of Jonkunnu Play which
utilizes Richard III:

> "The Joncanoe men..were the two Heroes and
>
> fought not for a Kingdom but for a Queen,
>
> whom the victor carried off in triumph.
>
> Richard calling out, a horse a horse was
>
> laughable enough. The piece however terminated
>
> by Richard killing his antagonist, and thence
>
> figuring in a sword dance with him".(   )

Other plays were performed with excerpts from other authors, but the ending
always kept the same ritual and significance. (   )

In the description that Lady Maria Nugent--an early nineteenth
century Governor's wife--gives of Jonkunnu and the 'play', we note that
contemporary history was also drawn on to supply material for the play.
On Cristmas Day, Lady Nugent informs us, "the whole town bore the appearance
of a masquerade". There were many 'Johnny Canoes' and many 'strange processions
and groups made up of dancing men and women. But a part from the processions
there was:

> "a party of actors. Then a little child was
>
> introduced...a King who stabbed all the rest..
>
> some of the children were to represent Tippor
>
> Saib's children and the man was Henry IVth of
>
> France. After the tradedy they all began dancing
>
> with the greatest glee...." (   )

"Far from being 'ordinary peasants' unused to 'pre-industrial
rhythms of work' black plantation agriculturalists laboured under
a regimen that was more like a modern assembly line that was true
of the routine in many of the factories of the antebellum era...
Just as the great plantations were the first large, scientifically
managed business enterprise, and as planters were the first group
to engage in large scale, scientific personnel management, so too,
black slaves were the first group of workers to be trained in the
work rhythms which later became characteristic of industrial society.." ( )

(FOGEL AND ENGELMAN: TIME OF THE CROSS)

Within the archetypal pattern of the folk play, music and dance
were the "good medicine" which brought the dead back to life. Within
the real historical structure of the plantation, Orlando Patterson has
pointed out, the Jonkunno masquerade as a whole served the planter-slave
society as a 'license of ritual' which helped the society to a certain
level of functional integration.( ) For a few days, on the estates, with their
rigid hierarchy, the masquerade virtually broke down the strict barriers between
black and white.

The reversal of the order of power and authority--a reversal parallel
to that of the originally pagan European carnival with its mock king--is a constant
of the descriptions given of the Jonkunnu masquerade in the nineteenth century.
One writer tells us that during the festival " the slaves appeared an altered
race of beings". They showed themselves off in fine clothes and trinkets.
They spoke to their masters, "with great familiarity" entered the Great House
and drank with their masters, and altogether,

> *"the distance between them appeared to be annihilated*
> *for a moment, like the familiar footing on which the*

Roman slaves were with their master at the feast of the Saturnalia... They seem a people without the consciousness of inferioty or suffering." (   )

They changed their names for that day and took on those of power in the society, names of prominent whites. They called these 'gala day names', The sang satirical philippis against their masters, (   ) and in general took over the society.

As we have mentioned before, French refugees and their slaves had taken the Haitian Carnival to Jamaica. Its later influence would be seen in the famous "set" girls drawn by Belisario (   ). Although the influence of this Catholic Carnival might have reinforced the reversal of authority theme, the reversal of authority function, was also part of Yoruba tradition. Both the Egungun cults and the Adimu festival also show this pattern and social function. In this festival a masked dancer is escorted by a group of followers, all wearing the appropriate hat and badge. Adimu, the chief masker, is protected by a strong force which stops the others from coming too close. He is a figure of respect to whom all must pay obeisance, even the most powerful chief. But after the festival the costume was burned 'and the relic of power is over'.

But on the plantations, this reversal of authority no longer functioned within an integrated whole as in the former traditional societies of Africa. I would like to suggest that in the context of the plantation, the Jonkunno masquerade served not only to break down barriers of caste, if even for a day or two, but also served a recognizably more modern purpose, that of a necessary release of tension caused by the intensive rhythm of increasingly mechanized labor. For as C. L. R. James was the first to point out, and as Fogel and Engelman later confirm, the plantation and its mass labor force

prefigured important aspects of the organization of modern industrial/

technological society. And, as both the earlier and later theorists insist,

the "slave functioned as an early form of the assembly line modern prole-

tariat". (   )   The seasoning process which the slave underwent was not

only a process of adaptation to this new environment. It was also a breaking

in of a peasant accustomed to a different rhythm of group labor into a gang

system of intensive carrying out to carefully allocated tasks. As the slave

was seasoned into the pattern of mechanical, intensive, and continued labor

by the plantation system, the modern proletariat would have seen in him the

image of his won future. Indeed the scientific management of the plantation

--to use Fogel and Engelman's term--in its allocation and utilization of the

black labor force anticipated the later Taylorism of the industrial factory

system.

The Jonkunnu masquerade in its secular, creolized form, then, far

from being a picturesque quaint custom, played a vital function in the

context of the plantation system of the day--the same role that as Bastide

points out, black music and dance play in the world of modern technological

society with its increasing mechanization of existence. That until now

Bastide has been the only scholar to point this out ( ) points to the

persistent "invisibility" of the black reality of the New World, and to

the invisibility of the implications of this reality.

This invisibility has led to theorectical distortions in conservative,

liberal and revolutionary theory, and has been largely responsible for the

incapacity of Marxism to deal with the complex role of the black in the

revolutionary struggle in the New World. If the masters of the plantations

were continually being suprised by each new slave uprising, Marxists in the

United States are continually being overtaken, unaware and uncomprehending,

by black movements such as those of the Sixties.

Yet this invisibility is not always, ~~in all cases~~ simply theoretical error. In many cases the oversight, the invisibility of the black New World reality, is a central constituent of the ideology by which certain Western Marxists--essentially Western cultural nationalists--attempt to maintain the material and cultural hegemony of the West. ( ) Indeed what we are faced with today is a variety of Marxism in which the dialectic has stopped *which has* and been solidified as a manifestation of western cultural nationalism expressed in Marxist terms. To the extent that this variety of Marxist thought has negated its own dynamic in order to remain Western rather than realize its universal implications, it shares and continues to perpetuate this ideology. In this ideology it is necessary that the role of the plantation, and of its black labor, in the historical revolutionary process of the New World, be overlooked *seen*. Yet Marx did not overlook the role of the plantation. He himself was careful to point out that in his examination of the capitalist reality of his time--he was using England--the developed capitalist metropole was the object of his scrutiny. But he was aware, although only marginally so, of the interrelationship of urban England with the plantation. He wrote:

> "In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage workers
> in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery, pure
> and simple." ( )

He did not pursue this to its *logical* conclusion, since the object of his inquiry was England. Hence, when he gave his model of the manner in which the capitalist extracts surplus value from the worker who sells his labor power on the market, he calculates that the capitalist spends a certain amount on the raw material. Yet it is here, in the analysis of the fabrication of the raw material that a crucial oversight takes place: the oversight of the plantation system, and of the role of the slave labor power.

For if, as we showed before, the price of a slave in Africa was determined in the last instance by the price of "free labor power", so on the plantation, slave labor power existed in a continuum with free labor power. If crude sugar was produced by slave labor power on the plantation, it was refined by free labor power in the factory in England.

<div align="center">capitalist</div>

slave		worker
plantation		factory
raw material		finished product
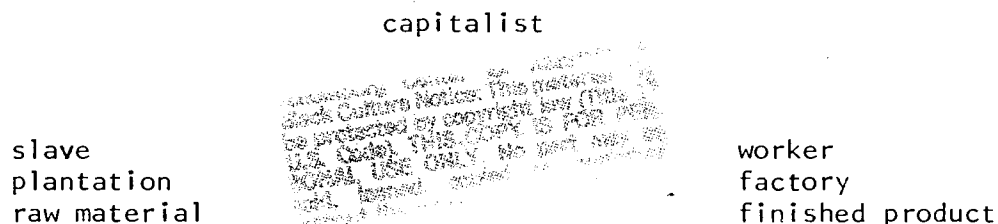
Both operations, the manufacture of crude sugar on the plantations and of refined sugar in the factories were interrelated. One was meaningless without the other. Any analysis of the production of the raw material which the capitalist buys in order to put the worker to work and therefore to exploit him, must take into consideration an initial exploitation. In the case of sugar and cotton, that implied the exploitation of the plantation agro-proletariat, the invisible sub-proletariat hidden in the raw material( ). This invisible sub-proletariat, this superdevalued labor power, existed in two variats: in the earlier variant as slave labor power, in the later as native labor power. The New World black would be devalued as both.

It is clear then that the hard and fast distinction made by many Marxists in their analysis of the plantation as a slave mode of production, and therefore as a non-capitalist mode, is an ideological over-simplification, the consequences of which we shall discuss later. The plantation was an intrinsic and functional part of a capitalist system which consisted of a mode of production based on free wage labor coexisting and dependent on a mode of production based on slave labor, i.e. labor driven to work by extra-

economic compulsion. Both were part of a unified operation producing
for the market.

The mode of production on the plantation was one that existed and
was made meaningful only in the relationship in which it coexisted and was
dependent on a mode of production based on free wage labor. And vice versa.
The plantation mode of production was not, therefore, an anomaly within the
capitalist system. It was intrinsic to the system. The freedom of the free
wage laborer to sell his labor power in the market was for several centuries
dependent upon the compulsion of the black slave labor to be sold as the
slave form of labor power." ( )

The oversight of the plantation-proletariat, logical in Marx, become
ideological in some of his later disciples. In their definition of the
plantation as a slave mode of production, the black slave was excluded from
serious consideration as the first modern mass labor force, and his relation,
as raw material proletariat with the Western factory proletariat, ignored.
Yet, as we shall see later, this relation, unanalysed, prevents any understanding
of the divisions between black and white labor, colonial and native labor.

Western Marxists continually look at the unit in their analysis of
capitalism rather than at the relations between the units; relations that
constitute the system. A contemporary analysis by Immanuel Wallenstein puts
its finger on the problem. Wallenstein asks:

> "But is England, or Mexico, or the West Indies a
> unit of analysis? Does each have a separate mode of
> of production? Or is the unit (for the sixteenth to
> eighteenth centuries) the European world economy,
> including England and Mexico? In which case what
> was the mode of this world economy?" ( )

And he points out too, that the overlooking of this obvious fact had depended on the dogmatic use of "wage labor as a defining characteristic of capitalism." ( ) ~~As we shall show,~~ This dogmatic use of wage labor was central to the ideology with which Western Marxists sought to define the Western proletariat of the advance countries as the revolutionary vanguard, the Big Brother of the non-Western labor, who were their "colonial comrades". All workers were equal but some were more equal than others. Ralph Ellison's portrayal of Brother Jack in The Invisible Man ( ) depicts the bearer of this ideological position. And it is this type of Marxist who has occassioned a widespread hostility among blacks, to all Marxist thought, including those areas of Marxist thought vital to the theoretical definition of the black situation.

Thus) The Jonkunno masquerade ~~taking place~~ in plantation society, took place in an hierarchical system in whichthe colonial state helped the planter capitalists to exploit their slave-laborers, by defining labor power as outright merchandise and denying it the right to change employment. New World slavery was therefore a form of extraction of labor power from the first mass labor force, the first large-scale intensive attempt at the mechanization of human existence. It was this mechanization of existence that the Jonkunno masquerade resisted.

Indeed, what is striking in the description fo the Jonkonnu masquerade through the years, is the way in which the dances and music and concepts were transformed to fulfill primary human needs.

"The Negroes have no manner of religion by what I could observe of them. It is true that they have several ceremonies, as dances, playing, etc. but these for the most part are so far from being acts of adoration of a God that they are for the most part mixed with a great deal of bawdy and lewdness.." (Sir Hans Sloane)

What Sloane saw in seventeenth century Jamaica was the expression of a religious concept so opposed to his that he, unlike Taylor, saw it as the evidence of a non-religion. The religious aspect was invisible to him. Indeed, the <u>bawdy</u> aspect that so misled him was central to the religion which he unwittingly observed. It was this aspect that struck him, for in describing the sons of the slaves he also writes,

"their songs, when they dance on feast days are all bawdy or tending that way." (   )

What he saw as "bawdy" were songs and dances related to fertility rites. For the folk culture of Jamaica, like that of Africa, focussed on two main aspects:

a) The strengthening of the forces of the earth, the fertility of earth and Man *and*

b) The reaffirming of the ties with the ancestral spirits and the community and the earth.

And since the slave believed that he could affect the powers of the earth, dance and song would symbolize the act of fertility as a central aspect of the religious veneration for the earth.

All the nineteenth century descriptions of the dancing in this same Jonkunnu festival mention 'the astonishing agility and violence' of the way in which the central Jonkunnu dancers "dance, leap and play a thousand antics." (   ) Curt Sachs has pointed out that the leap dance is the <u>mimetic</u> dance in all

cultures. The taller the leap, the more fertile the earth, the more the life force was increased. Long strides and vigorous dancing are also involved in this process of growth. The stilt dancer, who appeared in similar Jonkunnu masquerades in Barbados and British Honduras controlled the dance with a tin rattle. As Sachs points out, the stilt dance 'also aims at fertility.'( ) Leaping, the dancer mimetically increased the fertility of the earth.

Levi-Strauss has shown that the assumption by which man attributed the power of natural phenomena to his own actions " was not the evidence of a "pre-logical mentality, not the beliefs of a primitive or archaic humanity,"( ) but rather was an assumption of a 'prior' science, of a mode of scientific thought, inherited from the long tradition of neolithic thought, a mode of thought precisely adapted to discoveries of a certain type. The real distinction between this mode of 'savage thought' and modern sceintific thought, is not one of stage or of time, primitive or modern, but rather:

"...*mind in its untamed state, as distinct from a*

mind cultivated or domesticated for the purpose of

yielding a return." ( )

The culture preserved and reinvented by the people dwelling on the plot represent-
ed 'mind in its untamed state.' This mind operated ~~under~~ by a different principle
of thought from that behind the plantation, of the rational mind related to ~~The latter was a product of~~ a
mind so cultivated or domesticated that it was alienated from the human animal
in which it resided.

What the Jonkunno masquerade and all later popular black culture represented and represents, is an alternate way of thought, one in which the mind and the senses coexist, where the mind 'feels' and the senses become theoreticians. And black culture then and now remains the neo-popular, neo-native culture of the disrupted. It coexisted, and coexists, with the 'rational' plantation system, but is in constant danger of destruction. Levi-Strauss, speaking in general of

'savage thought,' best describes this coexistence:

> "We are better able to understand today that it is
>
> possible for the two i.e. savage thought, modern
>
> sceintific, to coexist and interpenetrate in the same
>
> way that (in theory at least) it is possible for natural
>
> species, of which some are in their savage state, and others
>
> transformed by agriculture and domestication, to coexist
>
> and cross, although--from the very fact of the development
>
> and the general conditions it requires--the existence of
>
> the latter threatens the former with extinction. But
>
> whether one deplores or rejoices in the fact there are
>
> still zones in which savage thought, like savage species,
>
> is relatively protected. This is the case of art, to which
>
> our civilization accords the status of a national park,
>
> with all the advantages and the inconveniences attending
>
> the formula; and it is particularly the case of so many as
>
> yet uncleared sectors of social life, where through indifference
>
> or inability, and most often without our knowing, primitive
>
> thought continues to flourish." (   )

And because this sector of black popular social life in the
Caribbean, the U.S.A., the New World has suffered a mutation and has been
universalized by the parallel alienating experience of the earth's native
masses dwelling in millions of shanty town cities today; because the
Jonkunno masquerade, fragmented into jazz and its variants, has left the
subsistence plot for a wider arena of exile; becuase this popular sector hides
behind the double mask of stereotype and commercial anodyne, this mode of
existence in the catacombs of twentieth century technological civilization, (S.
as tormentedly and creatively subversive as was Christianity in the catacombs

of the Roman Empire. ( )

> *As industrial society begins to take shape under the rule*
>
> *of the performance principle, its inherent negativity permeates the*
>
> *philosophical analysis: "..enjoyment is separated from labor,*
>
> *the means from the end, exertion from recompense. Eternally*
>
> *fettered only to a single little fragment of the whole, man*
>
> *fashions himself only as a fragment; ever hearing only the*
>
> *monotonous whirl of the wheel which he turns, he never*
>
> *develops the harmony of his being and, instead of shaping the humanity*
>
> *that lies in his nature, he becomes a mere imprint of his occupa-*
>
> *tion, his science..." (Marcuse, commenting on and quoting*
>
> *Schiller) ( ) "Art challenges the prevailing principle of reason;*
>
> *in representing the order of sensuousness, it invokes a tabooed*
>
> *logic--the logic of gratification as against that of repression.*
>
> *Behind the sublimated aesthetic form, the unsublimated content shows*
>
> *forth: the commitment of Art to the pleasure principle." (Marcuse,*
>
> *Eros and Civilization) ( )*

If in the seventeenth century when Sloane saw the Jonkunno, the traditional agricultural purpose was still primary, it is clear that by the nineteenth centry the more secular, creolized masquerade played the part that black music and dance would increasingly play on a global scale in the twentieth century. That is, the Jonkunno masquerade no longer strengthened the fertility of the earth; raher it was a form of cultural resistance to the increasing mechanization of man's labor and the concomitant alientaiton of his existence.

It was Claude McKay who first sensed that the role of black New World culture was that of antagonist to Western technological thought. He wrote in

1928:

"*For civilization had gone out among these native*

earthy peoples, had despoiled them of their primitive soil,

had uprooted, enchained, transported and transformed them

to labour under its walls, and yet lacked the spirit to

tolerate them within its walls.

That this primitive child, this kinkyheaded big laughing

black boy of the world did not go down and disappear under the

that

serried crush of trampling feet; and he managed to remain

on the scene, not worldly wise not 'getting there' yet

not machine-made nor poor in spirit like the regimented

creatures of civilization, was baffling to civilized understanding.

Before its grim pale rider down of souls he went his careless

way with a primitive hoofing and a grin." ( )

MacKay, not only made the hero in this novel, <u>Banjo</u>, a folk artist, a

vagabond hero linked by his instrument to the improvising, unconventional world

of jazz, but he also celebrated jazz, its dancers and its singers, in powerful and

uninhibited terms. Many black intellectuals hated him for this. He was

creating, they said, fictional versions of the white man's stereotype of the

minstel nigger. But under the caricature of the stereotype lay an important

truth: a potent danger for the white man who had created the double edged

sword of the stereotype. Black intellectuals wanted to prove that the black

man could 'integrate' into Western civilization, whether at the liberal

status quo or at the Western Marxist revolutionary level. They wished to

prove that he was not 'primitive.' But MacKay sensed and expressed that it

was out of this 'primitive' culture that the black had fashioned the response

which alone could resist the destructive and alienating mode of existence

that Western civilization had developed.

Keil ?

Charles Keil, writing in 1970 on urban blues in America, also

sensed

> *"The small but crucial retention of African*
>
> *tradition, the slavery experience, the post-slavery*
>
> *history of oppression, the reemergence of the non-white*
>
> *world, and America's refusal until recently, to allow*
>
> *integration--all have combined for better or for worse,*
>
> *to give the Negro reality, a different culture with which*
>
> *to master that reality, and a unique perspective... on*
>
> *American society that may be the nation's outstanding*
>
> *and redeeming virture." ( )*

For the black experience in the New World--and especially the U.S.

variant of that experience--was an experience of intense, prolonged, sustained

alienation. Marginally, on the plot, the slave saw his labor as the productive

activity of his life but in the main, on the plantation, he experienced his

labor as the alienation, the expropriation of his life. Slaves functioned

as labor units "as dispersed atoms without the consciousness of their species." ( )

As they dominated and exploited Nature, they saw themselves more and more as

strangers in relation to their work. The product they made was alien to

their existence and out of their control, with increasing power over them.

> *"He works in order to live. He does not even reckon*
>
> *labour as part of his life, it is rather a sacrifice of his*
>
> *life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another...*
>
> *On the contratry, life begins for him where this activity*
>
> *ceases, at table, in the public house, in bed." (   )*

Marx was, of course, talking about the European wage worker. Yet the

alienated wage worker of the Industrial Revolution was preceded by the black

slave. The blacks were the first work force that emergent capitalism had totally at its disposal. They bore the shock of the first disruption. They were the first rural masses disrupted across global distances. Later would come the turn of others. Bastide points out that it is black music today that cushions the psychic shock of dispossession for the world's workers, as technology disrupts them from traditional human patterns. ( ) Black music not only cushions the shock of dispossession, . it also opposes it by reminding, at deep psychic levels, of a potential return to humanity. It reminds by the passion of its protest, by bitter centuries of alienated consciousness, espressed in the shouts, the hollers, the blues, the wailing instrument of Charlie Parker, the soul-singing, all of which rip away the complacent myths of settler-America. And it is the black revolt, (lately assisted by another native revolt, that of the Vietnamese), that has awakened the U.S. for the first time to that tragic feeling of life which is the precursor of an authentic existence. For conflicted, ‑ridden Puritan North America, rigidly repressing its senses (with which it identified the Negro) and ruthlessly exploiting Nature (with which it identified the Negro) black culture is a reminder that the senses are a part of being and that the murder of the senses is the murder of self.

In a psychological sense, then, Jonkunno provided "good medicine," that is an explosive release from the intensive labor rhythm, the alienation, the bitter tension inherent in planter/slave society. From the beginning of the process of transplantation and reinvention of the Jonkunno masquerade, the serious purpose of "good medicine" -- a collective purging through the collective commemoration of the Ancestors-- had always gone side by side with the satirical, clowning part of the procession. Indeed the Egungun cult used sacred and profane masks to symbolize their different intentions, and satire against the dominant society was an integral part. Curt Sachs has pointed out that from the earliest times, the processions of these folk rites had, side

by side, the serious and sacred purposes of "good medicine" and, as an antidote, a roistering troop of clowns. Beside "the divinely inspired dancer walks the jester, a child to the dance." (   ) In the original Jonkunnu they are part and parcel of one and the same thing. But as the Jonkunnu draws in elements of the white society and begins to creolize itself, it begins to reflect the hierarchical structure of the society. Since the heirarchy was based on the biological concept of race and since black was at the bottom, this meant that all African cultural elements were devalued. By the 1830's, in the more secularized festivals, the roles of the Jonkunnu dancers as divinely inspired medicine men had decreased; their role as jesters had increased.

The Set Girls, an introduction from the Haitian Catholic Carnival, all ranged in groups or bands according to color (brown or black), all dressed identically in European style, began to dominate the Jonkunnu. Creole blacks did not mingle with Africa born blacks. The 'high brown ladies' who served as concubines to planters, 'the housekeeper class,' did not dance on the streets. They only paraded. Little by little the original symbols of power, the Jonkunnu who danced the gods, became marginal. Instead they 'play a thousand antics' , tumble to pick up money thrown to them, "give a display of buffonery". (   ) As Cassidy points out, the Set Girls, the European element, had absorbed the Jonkunnus by 1833. Worse, it had set up a new relationship in which the African element of the festival was considered inferior. For the Jonkunnu, "his part was no longer separate but had become merely the grotesque element of the whole", while the Set Girls, "sought elegance in costume, dancing, singing, and general behavior." (   ) The Jonkunnu, "was grotesque, wild, farcical and often disordered." (   ) In the Christian duality of Jamaican society, he was identified with the wild man of nature, with the senses, the instincts and all that had to be sternly repressed if

Jamaica were to be Christian and 'civilized'. After the Emancipation of the slaves, the Jonkunnu continued in the towns, but the mayor of Kingston banned it after fighting broke out between members of rival Jonkunnu bands. Gradually with the decrease of power of the plantation and with emancipation, the Jonkunnu died away as a festival for the whole society. The spread of Christianity increased the shame that the Creole class felt about their origins. Both they and the brown class tried as much as possible to shed all aspects of black culture and to assume those of the colonial culture. The cultural concept of creolization therefore meant a conscious attempt to be cultural half-castes and to deny the cultural dynamic of their being. They became imitators. With the growth of peasant villages caused by the conversion of the former slave with his plot into the subsistence peasant with his ground, i.e. the native, the Jonkunnu retreated to the rural areas. There the more secular aspects of the Jonkunnu Festival joined forces with the religious aspects which, in a parallel process of indigenization, had secretly continued. They now played another powerful role, but were hidden in the intrahistory, in the frontier zone, deliberately secret and evasive to protect themselves in order to survive. They used tactics both of metamorphosis and of 'marronage' (escape) in order to play a totally new role in relation to the creole version. For if the creole version served to integrate a society based on a pattern of domination, the black version served as the resistance to the dominant reality. This was the secretive version of the Jonkunnu which continued in the substratas of the society.

With both the Jamaican Jonkunnu and its parallel, the Trinidad Carnival, the accusations of 'bawdiness,' 'lewdness,' and being 'dirty' constituted the chief accusation of the official Christian society. The secular aspect of both was attacked on these grounds, but their religious aspect was attacked on far graver grounds--that of initiating and inspiring revolt. The circumstances of

African transplantation to the New World caused these "bawdy" rites to

take on a new purpose and meaning--resistance and response to an alienating

situation.

"The concept of God was for a long time the place where the idea

was kept alive that there are other norms besides those to which

Nature and society give expression in their operation... If justice

resides with God then it is not to be found in the same measure in

the world. Religion is the record of the wishes, desires, and

accusations of countless generations.... The productive kind of

the status quo which found expression in earlier times as a belief

in a heavenly judge today takes the form of a struggle for more

rational forms of societal life. But... ever since the transition

from religious longing to conscious social practice, there continues

to exist an illusion which can be exposed but not entirely banished,

It is the image of a perfect justice." ( )

(Horkheimer)

"Not long since, some of these execrable wretches in Jamaica (sic

Obeahaman) introduced what they called the Myal dance, and established

a kind of society into which they invited all they could. The lure

hung out was that every negro, initiated into the Myal society,

would be invulnerable by the white man...." ( )

(Edward Long, 1774)

A description (1826) of the Jonkunnu shows that, side by side with

the more secular, creole version of Jonkunnu, there continued a secretive, un-

derground current which was essentially religious. This description tells

of a procession in which there was,

"an escort of young girls marching before a man dressed

up in a mask with a grey beard and long flowing hair who

carried the model of a house on his head. The house is called

the Jonkunnu and the bearer of it is generally chosen for

his superior activity in dancing... All this

ceremony is certainly a commemoration of the deluge...

the custom is African and religious although the purpose

is forgotten. Some writers say the house is an emblem of Noah's

Ark, and that Jonkunnu means the sacred house or the sacred

dove." ( )

No one has as yet worked out what is the significance of the houseboat mask which replaced the ox head mask in many of the nineteenth century processions. Parallels with other house-shaped masks in Africa have been drawn. Nor can it be ruled out that the house shaped mask is a representation of Connie's Castle, the Great Fredericksburg Castle. But, whether castle or house, and though Stewart's biblical interpretation seems unlikely, the "sacredness" of the structure was clear. Indeed Philip Curtin comments on this Jonkunnu houseboat mask:

"...,the John Canoe dance was in fact closely associated

with survivals of African religion and magic. The

figures represented in the houseboat headdress, the

phraseology of the songs, the instruments--all were similar

to those of African cult groups that were otherwise driven

underground." ( )

Martha Beckwith, who did valuable research on Jamaican folklore in the early twenties, established the connection between the Jonkunnu houseboat mask and dance, and Myal ceremonies in St. Elizabeth parish. Myalism, as we shall see, is an African derived cult-religion. In the remote districts of this parish she found that the Jonkunnu dancers and houseboat were connected with obeah, Jamaican religio-magical practices:

"White says that before building the house-shaped structures

worm in the dance, a feast must be given... of goat's

meat boiled with salt, together with plenty of rum.

As the building of the Jonkunnu progresses other feasts

are given. On the night before it is brought out in

public, it is taken to the cemetery and there the

songs and dances are rehearsed in order to 'catch

the spirit of the dead' which henceforth accompanies

the dancer until after a few weeks merriment during

which performances are given for money at the great

houses and at village crossroads. At the end of the

ceremony it is broken up entirely. For as long as it

stays in the house the spirit follows it." ( )

It is clear that here, in the quiet indigenization processes of the rural areas ~~backlands~~, the purpose and meaning of the Jonkunnu remained. The houseboat mask was an ancestral mask. The cemetery was the abode of the ancestors who were now, in the ~~more~~ hostile new atmosphere, more ambivalently prone to good and ~~or~~ evil. The sacred was not separate from the profane in this form of the ceremony.

But Miss Beckwith further noticed the similarity, and in some cases the identity, between a group of avowed Myal songs from the Cockpit country of St. Elizabeth, which neighboured the Maroon settlement of Accompong, with the Jonkunnu ~~John Canoe~~ songs from Lacovia and Prospect. "Further-more the man who lead the Lacovia dancers was a notorious <u>Myal</u> man in the district who held communication with the spirits of the dead." ( )

She also noted the use of the special <u>gumbay</u> drum, a religious drum connected with beneficent and not so beneficent cult practices. ( ) She observed that in the Jonkunnu songs "a good deal of Jamaican witchcraft is mixed up with words." ( ) She was told that the Jonkunnu Myal man of Lacovia took

his houseboat headdress to the graveyard and danced the special dances with special

songs, among the dead. She concluded that there was a close link between

Jonkunnu and Myalism; that in St. Elizabeth, at least, the Jonkunnu mask and

dance were still 'associated with the invocation of the spirits of the dead.'( )

Jonkunnu, she concludes, is linked to Myalism through meaning, song and dance.

Myalism was that African inspired cult that had been driven underground.

Like the Voodoo of Haiti it had become the religious framework for the

principle of revolt.

Monica Schuyler, in her description of the ceremony which preceded

the Akan slave revolts which we discussed previously, pointed out that the

would-be rebels pledged themselves, constituted themselves as a group by the

taking of an oath. This oath was pledged in blood drawn from all members'

arms and mixed with grave dirt, gunpowder, rum and then drunk by all. The

grave dirt was taken from the ancestral graves. The men pledged themselves,

therefore, to act as blood-brothers under the sanction of common ancestors.

The oath constituted them as a group, now more a historical group rather than,

as before, a purely biological, tribal group.

Just as the mixture of the New World ingredient, rum, and the earth

from the ancestral grave signified the translation of the old into the new,

so, we propose, the Myal cult described above was, like the Petro Rites

of Haitian Voodoo, an adaptation of old, primarily Akan rites to a new

purpose. And further, it becomes clear that Myalism was largely an evolving, syn-

cretic cult which embraced Akan descendants at first, and then towards the end

of the eighteenh century began to widen to embrace even creole blacks. For

as revolt after revolt failed, a process, by which a narrowly exclusive Akan

cult had to broaden into a more universal religion in order to confront the

monolithic power of the planters, seems to have been set in motion. Long

points out that the Myal society held out the lure that every one initiated would

be invulnerable to the white man's bullets. From the descriptions which we have of the initiation ceremony, it seems clear that the purpose of the cult was at once religious and political and that it set out to act as a unifying force.

Central to the concept of the Myal dance was the concept of 'medicine'. In the famous 1760 slave rebellion in Jamaica, Long tells us, many slaves had been stirred up to rise by men who gave them medicine to make them invulnerable. We see this role of medicine in Orlando Patterson's description of the ceremony:

> "The Myal dance was meant largely to exhibit the magical powers of the cult leader usually called the Doctor. The chosen initiate was placed within the circle formed by the doctor and his assistants. The Doctor then sprinkled him with several powders, then blew upon him and danced round him frantically. He was then whirled rapidly around until he fell into a deathlike trance.... When... the initiate... recovered, a miraculous resurrection was proclaimed The Doctor then departed... to the woods from which he returned. with different kinds of herbs..., the juices from a part of which was squeezed into the mouth of the entranced initiate, and the remainder rubbed on his eyes and finger tips. At the same time pieces of glass, bottles, snakes,... and other particles were produced under the guise of coming from under the skin of the initiate. This was accompanied by a chant, to which the assistants holding hands, danced in a circle around both Doctor and initiate, stamping their feet in time to the rhythm of the chant." (   )

It is clear that the initiation ceremony was far more serious in intention than the oversimplified functionalist explanation of Patterson--i.e.,

to display the magical powers of the cult leader. The initiate was said to die to the old life and to be born into a new life, a life in which not only would he be invulnerable to the planter's bullets, but above all he would contract new ties of brotherhood with others. That is to say, the old pattern of initiation into adulthood, an experience which the novice shared with members of his age group, was transformed into a new kind of initiation by which the slaves were constituted into a group. Although the purpose is different, the pattern of the rite is the same.

As Levi-Strauss points out:

> "No anthropologist can fail to be struck by the
> common manner of conceptualizing initiation rites
> employed by the most diverse societies throughout
> the world. Whether in Africa, America, Australia,
> or Melanesia, the rites follow the same pattern;
> first, the novices, taken from their parents, are
> symbolically 'killed' and kept hidden in the forest
> or bush where they are put to the test by the
> Beyond; after this they are 'reborn' as members of
> the society. When they are returned to their natural
> parents, the latter therefore simulate all the phases
> of a new delivery, and begin reeducation even in the
> elementary actions of feeding or dressing...." (   )

The "language" of the old initiation rite is transferred to the new initiation rite. The purpose of the former was to validate, embody, and attain a concept of manhood; the purpose of the latter was to validate, embody and be prepared to fight for and reclaim a negated manhood. The descriptions given of the Voodoo ceremonies which were held before the Haitian revolution were similar in "language" and intention (   ). The language retained its

original meaning to the extent to which the original African cultures, although

transplanted, reinterpreted the new world in the light of their old definitions.

Levi-Strauss points out that in modern rational society scientific

praxis "has emptied the notions of birth and death of everything not corresponding

to mere physiological processes and rendered them unsuitable to convey other

meanings." ( ) In contrast, he points out:

> *"In societies with initiation rites, birth and death provide*
>
> *the material for a rich and varied conceptualization, provided*
>
> *that these notions (like so many others) have not been stripped*
>
> *by any form of scientific knowledge oriented towards practical*
>
> *returns--which they lack-- of the major part of a meaning which*
>
> *trancends the distinction between the real and the imaginary:*
>
> *a complete meaning of which we can now hardly do more than*
>
> *evoke the ghost in the reduced setting of figurative language.*
>
> *What looks to us like being embedded in praxis is the mark*
>
> *of thought which quite genuinely takes the words it uses*
>
> *seriously, whereas in comparable circumstances we only play*
>
> *at words." ( )*

The point of the initiation rite was that psychologically and physically,

while the <u>old</u> man was vulnerable to the power of the planter, the <u>new</u> man,

reborn, is not. And it is on the condition of his group loyalty and group

existence that he is guaranteed this invulnerability. Most history does not

sufficiently estimate the role of Voodoo in the Haitian Revolution--C.L.R.

James insists on this role--if it ignores this central point. It was the <u>new</u>

man, the newly constituted group man, that fought in the manner described

by Lemonnier-Delafosse, quoted by James:

> *But what men these blacks are. "How they fight and*
>
> *how they die" One has to make war against them to know*

their reckless courage in braving danger when

they can no longer have recourse to stratagem.

I have seen a solid column torn by grapeshot from

four pieces of cannon, advance without making a

retrograde step. The more they fell, the greater

seemed to be the courage of the rest. They

advanced singing, for the Negro sings everywhere,

makes songs on everything. Their song was a song

of brave men and went as follows:

> *To the attack grenadier*
>
> *Who gets killed that's his affair...*
>
> *Forget your pa, forget your ma*
>
> *To the attack grenadier*
>
> *Who gets killed that's his affair.*

This song was worth all our republican songs.

Three times these brave men, <u>without firing a</u>

<u>shot, and each time repulsed, only retired after</u>

<u>leaving the ground strewed with three quarters of</u>

<u>their troops.</u> One must have seen this bravery to

have any conception of it. Those songs shouted into

the sky in unison by 2000 voices, to which the cannon

formed the bass, produced a thrilling effect...for many

a day that massed square which marched singing to its

death, lighted by a magnificent sun, remained in my thoughts,

and even today, after more than forty years, this majestic

and glorious spectacle still lives as vividly in my

imagination as the moments when I saw it." (   )

Here the Hegelian noble consciousness is not the noble consciousness

of the individual, but that of the group, translated onto a plane where it

transcended the real and the imaginary. Even dead, they remained invulnerable.

The 1760 slave insurrection in Jamaica was organized in a similar con-
ceptual framework. The religious cult was used as the unifying force for
what was in effect a widespread labor revolt. That is to say, the language
of the initiation rites had been adapted to fit a new intention. For again
we must emphasize that the descriptions we have given of the Myal ceremony
are not the description of a quaint custom, a picturesque atavistic rite,
which is how this kind of praxis is usually seen in order to minimize its
meaning. Rather, the rite which Long describes--albeit from a planter's
point of view--is in effect, a description of the methods by which labor
in its slave form initiated and carried out prolonged and sustained struggle
against total exploitation and the negation of its humanity.

The binding force for this struggling entity was the transplanted
tribal oath by which the tribes and peoples from West Africa ( ), all grouped
by Long under the name Coromantins, constituted themselves anew, not so much
as an ethnic group, as an historical group making use of the language of the
former culture. As Long describes,

> "When assembled for the purposes of conspiracy, the
> obeyah-man, after various ceremonies, draws a little
> blood from every one present; this is mixed in a bowl
> with gunpowder and grave dirt; the fetishe or oath is
> administered, by which they solemnly pledge themselves
> to inviolable secrecy, fidelity to their chiefs, and to
> wage perpetual war against their enemies; as a ratification
> of their sincerity, each person takes a sip of the mixture,
> and this finishes the solemn rite. Few or none of them have
> ever known to violate this oath, or to desist from the

full execution of it, even though several years may intervene. If defeated in their first endeavours, they still retain the solicitude of fulfilling all that they have sworn; dissembling their malice under a seeming submissive carriage, and all the exterior signs of innocence and cheerfulness, until the convenient time arrives, when they think it practicable to retrieve their former miscarriage. If at length their secret designs are brought to light, and that hypocrisy can no longer serve their turn they either lay violent hands on themselves, or resist till they are disabled." (   )

The oath alone was the form of group constitution which could be effective in the conditions of slavery and forced labor. For the reward for the revealing of a conspiracy to revolt--as we showed earlier--was always freedom for the individual slave concerned, an <u>honor</u> in the terms of the repressive society. In this way the <u>scab</u> or <u>strikebreaker</u> assured his own individual well-being for life. After the suppression of the 1760 revolt lead by Tacky, the Assembly passed many acts, among them one "for purchasing from their owners, and granting freedom, to about twenty Negroe slaves, for their fidelity to the public; they settled upon each of them an annuity for life, and gave them a circular badge, or medal of silver, on which was engraved the date of the year, with the words, 'Freedom for being Honest' on one side, and on the revers, 'By the Country.' (   )

In this context, an instrument to forge group unity was needed, one which would put the interest of the group above those of the individual in the same way in which the later trade unionists had to place the interests of the group above the individual interest of the worker. But during slavery, life itself was at stake, life risked in the face of torture and excruciating forms

of death. Long describes the crucifixion of two of the 1760 rebels:

> "*Two of the St. Mary's ringleaders, Fortunate and*
> *Kingston, were hung up alive in irons on a gibbet,*
> *erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. Fortunate*
> *lived seven days, but Kinston survived till the ninth.*
> *The morning before the latter expired, he appeared to be*
> *convulsed from head to foot; and upon being opened, after*
> *his decease, his lungs were found adhering to the back*
> *so tightly, that it required some force to disengage*
> *them. The murders and outrages they had committed, were*
> *thought to justify this cruel punishment inflicted*
> *upon them in terrorem to others; but they appeared*
> *to be very little affected by it themselves; behaving*
> *all the time with a degree of hardened insolence, and*
> *brutal insensibility.*" (   )

In the language of planter Jamaica, the courage with which the
slaves met the sadistic tortures rationally devised by "enlightened" men
was translated as hardened brutality. The mythology of the European Enlighten-
ment was, for Long, manifestly one which equated the new god, Reason, with
European superiority to other races and cultures. Long describes the way
in which the dances of the Coromonatins strengthened their rebellious
tendencies. He writes:

> "*Their music too is livelier, and their dances*
> *entirely martial, in which they resemble the North*
> *Americans; like them too they despise death (more*
> *through stupidity than fortitude) and can smile*
> *in agony.*" (   )

Long then goes on to quote Voltaire in a footnote:

> *"Barbarians always die without regret what*
> *attachment have they to life? They feel not*
> *the pleasures of society, the ties of*
> *affection or of nature. Their faculties are*
> *in such a perpetual state of infancy, that the*
> *state between their birth and death is scarcely*
> *perceptible." (   )*

The conceptualization in which all attributes of humanity are systematically denied the black was central to planter society. Long's empiricist recording of the reality of slave society had to be always passed through a filter of racist interpretation by which the possibility of the black's manhood was denied. Yet it is from Long that we learn that the dances, the music, the religious cults were by no means just "folklore." Long writes, warning his fellow planters:

> *"Their <u>dances</u> serve to keep alive that*
> *<u>military spirit,</u> for which they are so*
> *distinguished; and the figure consists of*
> *throwing themselves into all the positions*
> *and attitudes, customary to them in heat*
> *of an engagement." (   )*

And after suggesting methods by which the dangers of slave insurrection could be avoided, Long proposed:

> *"A particular attention should also be had to*
> *their <u>plays</u> (   ) for these have always been*
> *their rendesvous for hatching plots. More*
> *especially whenever on such occasions any*
> *unusual resort is observed of their countrymen*
> *from other plantations and very particular search*

> *should be made after their obeah-men,*
>
> *who whenever detected should be transported*
>
> *without mercy." (   )*

It is clear that Long saw that the obeah-man was, in a different but comparable sense, the ideologue/commissar of the group and that the cultural activities of the slaves formed the language in which their group rebellions were ploted. For the "fetishe oath" which the slaves "regarded as inviolable" was central to their collective action, as Long records:

> *"... they bound the compact with their*
>
> *fetishe, according to custom." (   )*

As the obeah-man was the one who administered the oath, and ritualized its taking, he was dangerous to the plantation system. Long tells us that a rebellion was nipped in the bud on a St. Mary estate by the fact that the planters surprised and apprehended:

> *"...a famous obeah-man or priest, much respected among*
>
> *his country men. He was an old Coromantin, who, with*
>
> *others of his Profession, had been chief in counselling*
>
> *and instigating the credulous herd, to whom these*
>
> *priests administered powder which, being rubbed on their*
>
> *bodies, was to make them invulnerable: they persuaded them*
>
> *into a belief, that Tacky, their generalissimo in the*
>
> *woods, could not possibly be hurt by the white man, for*
>
> *that he caught all the bullets fired at him in his hand,*
>
> *and hurled them back with destruction to his foes. The*
>
> *old impostor was caught whilst he was tricked up in all*
>
> *feathers, teeth, and other implements of magic, and in*
>
> *this attire suffered military execution by hanging; many*

of his disciples, when they found that he

was so easily put to death, notwithstanding all the

boasted feats of his power and incantations, soon

altered their opinion of him, and determined not to

join their countrymen, in a cause which hitherto

had been unattended by success. But the fame of

general Tacky, and the notion of his invulnerability,

still prevailed over the mind of others, as the hero

had escaped hitherto in every conflict without a

wound." (   )

Long saw clearly, as did the planters, the fact that the cultural activities transplanted from Africa were central to resistance and revolt. In defending against the accusation that Jamaica was a place distinguished by the frequency of slave revolts, he argued:

"The truth is, that ever since the introduction

of Africans into the West Indies, insurrections

have occurred in every one of the colonies, British

as well as foreign, at times." (   )

He then goes on to point out that many of the laws passed in the colony were passed as consequence of these revolts:

"...restricting several sports, and prohibiting certain

festive assemblies, which the Negroes had freely enjoyed

before, but were made subservient to the forming and carrying

on of dangerous conspiracies. They were formerly allowed to

<u>assemble with drums and musical instruments; to dance</u>, drink

and be merry. This was permitted because it was thought an

inoffensive mode of recreation for them. But when these <u>games</u>

> were afterwards converted into _plots_, they were
>
> with great justi~~v~~e suppressed, as riotous assemblies
>
> of people are in England, and for the like reason; that
>
> being perverted from their original intention to wicked
>
> and unlawful ends, they became inconsistent with the
>
> peace and safety of the community." (   )

The descriptions of the oath-taking ceremonies that Long gave us have, up till now, applied mainly to newly imported Africans from West Africa, Long's Coromantins. But he makes a distinction between these blacks and the creole blacks, those born in Jamaica, who were more reliable from the planters' point of view and saw themselves as superior to the "salt water Negroes". What is interesting is that his description of the Myal dance applies to the creole blacks' and reinforces our contention that Myalism, like Voodoo, was a reinvented rite which helped to unify an historical group.

Long points out that creole blacks fear the African obeah-man and, because of this fear, desire to be baptized as Christians so that "the virtues of baptism....making them Christians, render their art (i.e., the obeah-man's) wholly ineffectual." (   ) He goes on to describe the Myal dance. He writes, italics mine:

> "Not long since, some of these execrable wretches
>
> in Jamaica introduced what they called the _Myal dance_,
>
> and established a kind of society, into _which they invited_
>
> _all they could_. The lure hung out was that _every Negro_,
>
> initiated into Myal society, would be invulnerable to the
>
> white man; and although they might in appearance be slain,
>
> the obeahman could at his pleasure restore the body
>
> to life." (   )

The point of the ceremony was obviously to ritualize the concept of
death and rebirth. Long of course saw it differently. He wrote:

> "The method by which _this trick_ was carried on,
>
> was an acid infusion of the herb branched _colalue_,
>
> which after the agitation of dancing threw the party
>
> into a profound sleep. In this state he continued,
>
> to all appearance lifeless, no pulse, nor motion of the
>
> heart being perceptible, till, on being rubbed with
>
> another infusion... the effects of the colalue gradually
>
> went off, the body resumed its motions, and the party
>
> on whom the experiment had been tried, awoke as from
>
> a trance, entirely ignorant of anything that had
>
> passed off since he left off dancing..." ( )

That is, as we pointed out before, having died to his old self he was
reborn as a member of the group. And this time the group was not at one
and the same time ethnic and historical as with the Coromantin. This time the
group was constituted simply as an historical group.

It is here we would like to suggest that in the context of the
plantation system, the persistent series of slave revolts points to a particu-
lar tradition of labor struggle, an earlier form of the later struggle in
which the wage-labor proletariat would be involved. For if the latter entered
the field of capitalist production as free wage labor "owning" his labor power,
the slave did not. As Marx wrote:

> "The slave did not sell his labour power to the slave
>
> owner, any more than the ox sells his labour to the farmer.
>
> The slave, together with his labour power, was sold to his
>
> owner once and for all. He is a commodity that can pass from
>
> the hand of one owner to that of another. He
>
> himself is a commodity but his labour power is not
>
> his commodity." (   )

Slave revolts were therefore the logical form of struggle--as the strike and the formation of trade unions were the logical forms of struggle for free wage labor. To kill the owner of the slaves' labor power was the only way in which to regain ownership of that labor power. In the case of free wage-labor, surplus value was extracted indirectly; in the case of the plantation porletariat, the extraction of surplus value was carried out by means of direct coercive methods. The first form called for the trade union struggle, the second form called for the direct application of a counterforce Fogel and Engelman's analysis does much to clarify this aspect. They point out that the

> "...conditions under which labour was elicited from slaves
>
> did not correspond to the conditions under which labour
>
> was elicited from free men." (   )

Also they write:

> "In general, the labour of free men could only be elicited
>
> through wage bargains. However ownership of the human
>
> capital of blacks carried with it the right to use force
>
> to obtain labour. Ownership of the title to a slave gave a
>
> master the right to use whatever force was necessary--
>
> including such force as might eventuate death--to compel his
>
> chattel to engage in the normal work routine. From the
>
> master's viewpoint, the advantage of force when judiciously
>
> applied, was that it produced desired behavior, in certain
>
> realms of activity, at a lower cost than would have been

achieved through financial inducements..." ( )

That is to say, the crucifixion of Fortune and Kingston was supremely rational as were all such punishments. One century later, in the 1860's in the United States, the terror punishments of slaves, such as this case quoted by C.L.R. James, served the same rational purpose--the continued extraction of surplus value:

"The negro was tied to a tree and whipped with

switches. When Souther became fatigued with

the labour of whipping he called upon a Negro

man of his and made him 'cob' Sam with a single.

He also made a Negro woman of his help to "cob"

him. And after "cobbing" and whipping, he

applied fire to the body of his slave, about

his back, belly and private parts. He then caused

him to be washed down with hot water in which pods

of red ppper had been steeped. The Negro was

also tied to a log, and to the bed post, with

ropes, which choked him, and he was kicked and stamped

upon by Souther. This sort of punishment was continued

and repeated until the Negro died under its affliction." ( )

The use of various methods of crucifixion was not an anomaly, nor an aberration, but central to the operation of the most efficient means of commercial agriculture know at the time--the use of the slave gang system.   As Fogel and Engleman prove, the use of the right amount of force to insure maximum efficiency was a carefully calculated and rational form of capitalist enterprise.

"Force was not an incidental feature of slavery. Without force

the alienability of the title to the human capital of blacks

would have been worthless, at least in

so far as it affected the plantation's capacity

to produce. For it was only by applying force

that it was possible to get blacks to accept gang

labour without having to pay a premium that was in

excess of the gains from economies of scale. The

validity of this contention is demonstrated by the

experience of the immediate post-emancipation period.

After the slaves were freed many planters attempted

to reconstruct their work gangs on the basis of wage

payments. But such attempts generally foundered despite

the fact that wages offered to freedmen exceeded the

incomes they had received as slaves by more than 100

percent. Even at this premium planters found it

impossible to maintain the gang system once they were

deprived of the right to apply force." (   )

The use of force was as institutionalized a part of the system
as was the use of free wage bargains. And the struggle against it as necessary
a response as the trade union movement. Yet it has been a part of the general
mystification inseparable from the black experience in the New World, that
slave revolts, the plantation form of labor struggle, have not been interpreted
as such. This mystification, ~~as we shall later see when we examine the~~

Note

~~numerous erroneous theses vis a vis the black presence in the New World,~~ is
central to the ideological interpretation which relegated the black struggle
to a marginal role in New World History.

This cannot be too much insisted upon. Once this fact is grasped
then slave revolts appear as what they in fact were--the earliest form of sustained
labor struggle against the hegemony of capitalism in the New World. Slave
revolts, like slave-created culture, constitute a central part of the long
tradition of labor struggle on the North American continent. The implications

of this are far reaching.

It means that the tradition of labor militancy in the United States began with the blacks and that the white proletariat, if it is to validate its existence as proletariat rather than as "white," must be able to see its own struggles in every slave revolt. It must assume its own history, as distinct from the history of the bourgoisie. For, ~~as we hope to develop later~~, the double consciousness of which Dubois spoke is not confined to blacks. For whites, it constitutes the main cause of the ambivalence in the American identity.

This problem is not confined to America. In Cuba the black Marxist, Walterio Carbonnel, was put in a work camp because he insisted on the black revolutionary contribution as the earliest example of the revolutionary tradition in Cuba. He pointed out the need for the psyche of the white Cuban to assume this history, this tradition, if the social, political, and economic revolution were to be matched by a cultural one. In orthodox Marxism, as interpreted in Cuba, this line was seen as divisive, as dangerous to the solidarity of the masses. Fernando Retamar, a poet and cultural official, was later to write his perceptive and important article "Caliban," in which, using allusive terminology, he in effect supported Carbonnell, arguing that revolutionary Cubans should all assume the identity of Shakespeare's Caliban as against that of Prospero. (In Cas de Las Americas, No. 68, Sept.- Oct. 1971, pp. 124-151.) place in footno[te]

While the colonial nature of the Caribbean plantations has been noted, its capitalist nature has been disguised by the erroneous conception of the plantation system as a system based on a slave mode of production. This mode of production is then differentiated from the capitalist mode of production and conceptualized as pre-capitalist. Eugene Genoves, the historian of the South and of slavery in particular, has persisted in this interpretat[ion] Yet as we have shown, the plantation was central to the capitalist system.

It did not compete against capitalism but was a <u>unit</u> of it in the same way as the factory. The peasant growing cash crops for the market on his small acreage constituted another unit. The modes of labor control, the forms of the extraction of surplus value are different, but all units exist for the same purpose--the extraction of surplus value from exploited labor.

The forms of the <u>encomienda</u> and the plantation were the earliest large-scale forms. Indeed, an illuminating note by Marx give us an insight into the plantation system as the very model of the bourgeois/proletariat relation-ship--the relationship of the owners and the unownérs, to quote <u>Don L. Lee</u>--intrinsic to capitalism. He writes:

> *"Concerning the treatment of slaves, I may mention,*
> *as a good compilation, that of Charles Comte,*
> *<u>Traite de la Legislation</u>, Third edition, Burssels,*
> *1837. Those who want to learn what the bourgeois*
> *<u>makes of himself and his world</u>, whenever he can, without*
> *restraint, <u>model the world after his own image</u>, should*
> *study this matter in detail." (   )*

This conceptualization is a subject for another study. For our purposes here, we merely note that the interpretation of the plantation system as a slave mode of production rather than as a <u>model of capitalism</u>--indeed a "pure" model, as Marx implies--had had wide ranging ideological results. By means of this interpretation, the contemporary proletariat conceptualizes the slave as a fundamentally different type of laborer and loses any relation to a tra-dition which could throw much light on the present situation. Seeing the blacks on the plantation only as <u>slaves</u>--as completely <u>other</u> than themselves, "<s>free men</s>"--rather than as a <u>form</u> of exploited labor like themselves, his slavery a more explict form of their so-called freedom, their "freedom" a form of his slavery, the white worker remains unable to change his status. The

contemporary plantation system of monopoly capitalism and therefore cannot
to understand and decipher the modern forms of colonization which he
experiences at the hands of the corporate bourgeoisie.

If the forms change, the reality of explotation remains the same.
What the existence of a black popular culture shows us is that the mode
of fighting against exploitation also took different forms. Until now
Western culture has been ideologically illiterate concerning forms of con-
ceptualization used by other cultures. The insights of Lévi-Strauss and
his disciples have changed all that. Now we can read of the Myal Revolt in
the language in which it was written. In a recent book of essays, (System
and Structure: Essays in Communication and Exchange, Tavistock Publications
London 1972) ( ) Anthony Wilden develops a contemporary French theorist's
concept of the inextricable link between writing and speech: writing as a
logical prerequisite for all speech. In societies without writing in the
Western sense, Wilden points out that,

> "...the past of the society--its memory, its set
>
> of instructions, its sacred text, is literally
>
> embodied in every domicle, in every person or group
>
> marked by a kinship term or by a taboo, in every
>
> person or group who exemplifies a ritual or recalls
>
> a myth." ( )

In other words, the oath-taking ceremonies and subsequent revolts were at one
and the same time a form of praxis and an abstract theoretical activity.
Neither could be separated from the other. The theory existed only in praxis;
praxis was inseparable from theory. As Wilden goes on to point out,

> "Except in so far as the ground plan of the village and/or
>
> various cultural objects and implements provide a minimal
>
> objective memory for the survival of the organization of

> *of the society from generation to generation, the*
>
> *significant distinctions in such a society have to be*
>
> *maintained, reconstructed, represented, and in essence,*
>
> *reinvented in the very flesh of each generation. Every*
>
> *living member of the system is both a message in the*
>
> *code and a message which maintains the code, a message*
>
> *which retains and remembers a part of the code." (   )*

One begins here to understand the aesthetic tradition of the blues,
and even more, the central function of the dance.   In cult ceremonies in
the contemporary Caribbean, each devotee is constituted as an entity by his
dedication to one of the gods.   And each particular god is codified by his own
rhythm, the rhythm which summons him to the ceremony.   The possession of the
worshipper by the god is therefore a rite through which he renews his contract
with the god who guarantees his sense of self.   The theology of African reli-
gions, as one anthropologist points out, is danced.(   )

The dance in African life was even more central than writing is in
contemporary Western society. It defined reality.   Gustavus Vassa, the slave
who went through the Middle Passage and later, when freed, wrote his life story,
recalls his life before his capture and enslavement.   After describing a
wedding ceremony he comments:

> *"We are almost a nation of dancers, musicians, and poets.*
>
> *Thus every great event, such as a triumphant return from*
>
> *battle or other cause of public rejoicing, is celebrated in*
>
> *public dances, which are accompanied with songs and music*
>
> *suited to the occasion.   The assembly is separated into four*
>
> *divisions, which dance either apart or in succession.   The*
>
> *first assembly contains the married men, who in their dances*
>
> *frequently exhibit feats of arms and representation of a*

battle. To these succeed the married women, who

dance in the second division. The young men occupy

the third, and the maidens the fourth. Each represents

some interesting scene of real life, such as a great

achievement, domestic employment, a pathetic story,

or some rural sport; and as the subject is generally

founded on some recent event, it is therefore ever new.

This gives our dance a spirit and a variety which I have

scarcely seen elsewhere." (   )

So too, in the continuing oral culture of the slaves of Jamaica, the dance signaled revolt. The Myal ritual constituted the new man, making him conscious of himself as part of a group. The black oral culture of the New World constituted a counter-aesthetic which was at the same time a counter-ethnic. In the Myal ceremony the ethical values of the group were the aesthetic values of the group. Death in battle was a continuation of the ceremony. Courage and high spirits in the face of torture was the proof of the reenactment of the constitution of the self.

Later the minstrel stereotype, the grinning song and dance man, was but one side of the janus face of a man who also danced for and through the gods. The dancing in the slave quarters had more than one meaning, which the owners quickly discovered. Thus, historians have been able to overlook the importance which this tradition of struggle played and continues to play in the indigenously, authentically revolutionary tradition of the American continent.

The oath in the Myal ceremony, was far from being a quaint custom or exotic superstition. It was a logical response. The form of struggle was dictated by the imperatives of the situation and the form of organization. And failure meant more than the possibility of going hungry. It went beyond

that. One put one's life, one's manhood on the line: castration was an
institutionalized punishment, a punishment fitting the crime of the
assertion of manhood. The group therefore had to be constituted in such a
manner that the life or manhood of the group could become more significant
than that of the individual. It is to the extent that this was successful
that the rebels died with such stoic bravery. Individual death did not
mean the end. The group survived to the extent that the individual died
silent, protecting the group, courageously bearing witness to the invulnera-
bility of the group.

Later, as in the Nat Turner revolt, Christianity was adapted by
the rebels, and parts of Christian doctrine were used to perform the same
binding function. Where the ancestors had guaranteed a life over and beyond
that of the individual, later God performed the same function. The real
failure of William Styron's fictionalized version of Turner's confession
lies in his incomprehension of the most significant statement in the original
Nat Turner confessions: Turner saw his revolt as sanctioned and guided by
God, and the group of rebels were bound to Nat by and through the binding
force of this sanction.(   )

The Christian God replaced the ancestral God but he still played the
same function--that of a binding sanction whose force was stronger than
that of the plantation owners. The uses, therefore, of the Myal society, of
Voodoo, and of adapted forms of Christianity were essentially differently
coded forms of the same response to the same struggle, forms that
were logical for the struggle of labor power in its slave form.

In the United States where the black slaves were part of a vast white majority, later forms of struggle were not limited to slave revolts. As C.L.R. James pointed out, one of these later forms was central to the mainstream of "official" history of the United States.

> *"After a generation of slave revolts--... the Negroes*
> *organized the underground railroad which rescued tens*
> *of thousands of slaves from the south and established*
> *communications between the insurgent elements of the*
> *South and North. In addition, as propagandists and*
> *organizers, Negroes were the basis of the abolition*
> *movements. The struggles centering around the*
> *abolition agitation, and especially the Fugitive*
> *Slave Law when the South attempted to restrict the*
> *democratic and civil liberties of the North,*
> *were the immediate causes which precipatated the*
> *Civil War." (   )*

Indeed the creation of the genre of the slave narrative as a literary form of propaganda and revolt--an indigenous American genre as Bontemps points out--called into question the institution of slavery in dramatic and universal terms which could be comprehended by contemporary readers. ( ) As Bontemps writes, after having pointed out the deliberate oblivion into which the slave narratives had been allowed to fall,

> *"The Negro's suffering in his private hell of*
> *oppression was the point at which the narratives*
> *invariably began. Enduring this ordeal until*
> *he became desperate, or until he otherwise engaged*
> *the readers' interest or sympathy, the slave was*
> *eventually impelled to attempt the perils of escape.*

> *The stratagems used differed with the*
>
> *individuals, and the journeys varied as did*
>
> *the roads followed. A promised land and a*
>
> *chance to make a new life as a free man were*
>
> *always the goals, even though sometimes the*
>
> *realization fell short of the expectation.*
>
> *The memoirs of the questing slaves were felt*
>
> *by many readers of the nineteenth century to*
>
> *epitomize the condition of man on the earth,*
>
> *since it documented the personal history of*
>
> *the individual to whom bondage was real and*
>
> *freedom was more than a dream." ( )*

In the Civil War, the slaves' fight for the ownership of their labor
power coincided with the larger conflict against black soldiers, one colonel
declared that, "it would have been madness to attempt with the bravest white
troops what he successfully accomplished with the blacks." ( ) As C.L.R.
James concludes;

not a quote
in italics

> *"The whites were not fighting for freedom." (   )*
>
> *for the ownership of their labour power. They*
>
> *already had that. The civil war was for the black*
>
> *the culmination of a tradition of struggle, a*
>
> *tradition at once peculiar to them and their*
>
> *situation: and centrally significant as the most*
>
> *extreme and sustained tradition of labour struggle*
>
> *in the New World. (   )*

The forms of revolt in Jamaica changed too.   In 1831 a slave
rebellion broke out in which the weapon of the <u>strike</u> was used in an attempt
to force the masters to replace the use of slave-labor power with that of

wage labor-power. As I wrote elsewhere:

> "The tradition of the revolt of labour began early
> in Jamaica.... The slave was determined to deny,
> to negate, his status as merchandise. With every
> revolt, every escape he was claiming that his
> labour power was _his_ property and not his master's
> ... Until Emancipation the basic issue at stake
> was a man's right to his own labour; and therefore,
> within the value system of the society, to his
> right as a man." ( )

The last great slave revolt in Jamaica in 1831 bears this out.
It was led by a literate house slave and Baptist Deacon, Daddy Sam Sharpe,
who, after the failure of the revolt and his capture, told a missionary that
part of his plan had involved mass passive resistance. When the cane
reaping was due to start after Christmas, the slaves had planned to sit down
and to refuse to work until their masters paid them wages. Afraid that the
masters would have killed and tortured some to terrorize the others into working,
they had organized a military regiment of some 150 men with fifty guns.
Passive resistance would, in the instance of slavery, have to be backed up
by armed force because of the planters' accustomed and systematic resort to
violence.

> A recent historian puts it accurately when she says,

> "The movement he [i.e., Sharpe] organized did not
> aim to establish a new world but to make specific
> and limited changes in Jamaican society; the slaves
> were to establish their right to sell their labour
> for wages." ( )

With Emancipation, which in Jamaica came in 1838, ~~the scope~~

hastened by

~~of~~ the '31 rebellion ~~had hastened the process~~, the first part of the

labor struggle had been won: the right of labor to own its labor power,

and, in the context of Jamaica, to become native rather than slave labor.

Labor which had been formerly exploited under the slave variant of

labor power would now be exploited under the form of native "labor".

   If by the transplantation and reinvention of a culture the "negro"

had reaffirmed himself as indigenous to his new reality, a new native in

a new world, still in economic terms as either slave or native, he continued

to be the object of superexploitation. He was still dehumanized by the

superordinate system in order that his labor could be devalued and super-

exploited. But behind him now was a tradition of struggle, and cultural

imperatives born out of the recent struggle. So ~~that same~~ *the* struggle continued,

although articulated in different terms. The black experience in the New

World was to be, from its inception until the present moment, imperatively,

centrally revolutionary. The indigenous tradition which the black created

and which created him was a tradition of total revolution against the entire

system which denied him those rights of manhood which it claimed for all others.

The rights of man trumpeted on the Continent existed in a dialectic with the

non-rights of the non-man, the negro, the native. Indeed the existence of the

negro/native became the method by which the white/settler affirmed his own

being. The negro/native was not in order that he (the white/settler) might be.

The nothing of the negro confirmed the being of the settler.( )

   In George Lamming's classic novel, In the Castle of My Skin, the

Barbadian emigrant Trumper, returned from America to his native village,

explains to his boyhood friend G.:

      "Sometimes here [in Barbados] the whites talk

about the Negro people. It aint so in the States...

There they simply say the Negroes...and sometimes

this nigger or that nigger an so on.....'Tis tremendous

difference... One single word makes a tremendous difference,

that's why you can never be too sure what a word will do.

I'm a nigger or a Negro an all o' us put together is

niggers or Negroes. There aint no man an there aint no

people. Just "nigger" an "Negro". An' little as that

seem 'tis a tremendous difference. It makes a tremendous

difference not to the whites but to the blacks. Tis the

blacks who get affected by leaving out that word man or

people. That's how we learn the race. Tis what a word

can do. Now there aint a black man in all America who

won't get up and say I'm a negro an I'm proud of it.....

I'm going to fight for the rights of the Negro and I'll

die fighting. That's what any black man in the States will

say. HE AINT GOT NO TIME TO THINK 'BOUT THE RIGHTS OF MAN

OR PEOPLE OR WHATEVER YOU CHOOSE TO CALL IT. ITS THE RIGHTS

OF THE NEGRO 'CAUSE WE HAVE GONE ON USING THE WORD THE OTHERS

USE FOR US, AND NOW WE'RE A DIFFERENT KIND O' CREATURE.

BUT WE GOT TO SEE FIRST AND FOREMOST 'BOUT THE RIGHTS O'

THE NEGRO 'CAUSE ITS LIKE ANY KIND OF CREATURE TO SEE 'BOUT

ITSELF FIRST. IF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE RIGHTS OF THE

NEGRO WUS THE SAME SAID THING, 'TWOULD BE DIFFERENT BUT THEY

AINT 'CAUSE WE'RE A DIFFERENT KIND O' CREATURE. THAT'S WHAT

A SIMPLE LITTLE WORD CAN DO, AN 'TIS WHAT YOU GOING TO LEARN

SOONER OR LATER. YOU'LL HEAR 'BOUT THE ENGLISHMAN AND THE

FRENCHMAN, AN THE AMERICAN WHICH MEAN MAN OF AMERICA. AND

EACH IS CALL THAT 'CAUSE HE <u>BORN IN THAT PARTICULAR</u>

PLACE. BUT YOU'LL BECOME A NEGRO LIKE ME AND ALL THE

REST IN THE STATES AN ALL OVER THE WORLD, <u>'CAUSE IT AINT</u>

<u>HAVE NOTHING TO</u> DO WHERE YOU BORN. 'TIS WHAT YOU IS, A

DIFFERENT KIND O' CREATURE". (   )

The rights of the negro and of the native existed in a dialectical contradiction with the rights of man--the rights of the whites, the rights of the settlers. To the extent that these latter were men, the former were not. As Sartre wrote in his introduction to Fanon's <u>The Wretched of the Earth</u>:

> "Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two
> thousand million inhabitants: five hundred million
> men, and one thousand five hundred million natives." (   )

The men asserted their being, founding it on the non-being of the natives. The <u>negro</u>, as slave, having fought this absolute negation in one particular stage of struggle, as <u>native</u> now served in the vanguard of a new struggle by right of prior experience in degradation and resistance. This new struggle is that of the world's natives, the wretched of the earth, to reclaim their disputed humanity. The rights of the natives to manhood implies imperatively the negation of the rights of some men to super-manhood.

Chapt ?

NEGRO INTO NATIVE

"The kinds of accomodation which have been achieved

by the various racial and cultural components in Latin

America, are in a large measure the consequence of the

attempt to harness the aboriginal population on behalf

of European profitmaking enterprises." ( )

> *(Marvin Harris: Patterns of Race in the Americas,*
>
> *Walker and Company, New York, 1964 p. II)*

"In our Southern States before the Civil War, whites and

blacks had formed habits of action and feeling towards each

other. They lived in peace and concord and each one grew up

in the ways which were traditional and customary. The

civil war abolished legal rights and left the two races to

learn how to live together under other relations than before.

The whites had never been converted from the old mores...

the two races have not yet made new mores. Vain attempts have

been made to control the new order by legislation. The only

result is the proof that legislation cannot make mores." ( )

> *(William Graham Sumner, Folkways: A Study of the*
>
> *Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs,*
>
> *Mores, Morals. Bosher, 1945 p. 77)*

Legislation could not make mores because ~~it was~~ the economic base and

the relations of production necessary for it to continue ~~that~~ mediated the mores.

The black, freed from slavery, was transformed by the imperative of the

economic system into <u>native</u> labor. The dream, deferred and betrayed, of each

man with forty acres and a mule, had it been realized, would have given the

black the necessary means to transform himself into yeoman, farmer-labor.

But that was not to be his role in the world economic system that ~~had~~ his emerged

since the sixteenth century, in which, as Emmanuel Wallerstein shows, forms

of labor were assigned in a hierarchy. He writes:

> "The world economy at this time had various kinds of
> workers. There were slaves who worked on sugar plantations
> and in easy kinds of mining operations which involved skimming
> off the surface. There were serfs who worked on large
> domains where grain was cultivated and woods harvested. There
> were tenant farmers on various kinds of cash-crop operations (in-
> cluding grain) and wage labourers in some agricultural pro-
> duction. This accounted for 90%-95% of the population in
> the European world economy. There was a new class of yeoman
> farmers....A moment's thought will reveal that these occupa-
> tional categories were not randomly distributed either geographi-
> cally or ethnically within the burgeoning world economy.
> After some false starts, the picture rapidly evolved of a slave
> class divided into two segments; a major one in Eastern Europe
> and a smaller one of American Indians in the Western Hemisphere.
> The peasants of western and southern Europe were for the most
> part tenants. The wage workers were almost all Western Europeans.
> The yeoman farmers were drawn largely even more narrowly,
> principally from Northwest Europe. The intermediate classes
> were pan European in origin, the ruling classes were also
> pan European." (   )

Why different modes of organizing labor-slavery, feudalism in the

serf, and

periphery, wage labor and self-employment in the core, and, as we shall see,

sharecropping in the semi-periphery? Because the modes of labor control

greatly affect the political system (in particular the strength of the six

state apparatus) and the possibilities for an indigenous bourgeoisie to thrive.

The world economy was based precisely on the assumption that there were in

fact these three zones and that they did in fact have different modes of

labor control. Were this not so, it would not have been possible to assure

the kind of flow which would enable the capitalist system to come into existence."( )

The mores that related white and black in the post-slavery South

were mores conditioned by the new mode of labor control in which the black

was transformed from a slave into native labor, sharecropper. The South

itself was transformed from the periphery into the semi-periphery.

This transformation has been noticed without, however, an explanation

being offered. Myrdal wrote in An American Dilemna:

> "Before Emancipation it was in the interest of the
>
> slave owners to use Negro slaves wherever it was
>
> profitable in handicraft and manufacture. After
>
> Emancipation no such proprietary interest protected
>
> Negro labourers from the desire of white workers to
>
> squeeze them out of skilled employment. They were
>
> gradually driven out and pushed down into negro jobs:
>
> a category which has been more and more narrowly
>
> defined." ( )

Negro jobs inside the United States were of course the equivalent

of native labor in the colonial situation. Only in the colonial situation the

State apparatus could be used overtly to ensure that native labor remained devalued

labor-- As Wallerstein says "an individual is no less a capitalist exploiting labour

because the state assists him to pay his labourers low wages; and denies

these labourers the rights to change employment." ( ) Whereas the post

Civil War south, with its state apparatus linked to that of the industrial

North, the vigilante citizens performed this function. Lynchings of blacks

by white mobs were therefore, in essence, the variant of labor control

needed in a situation of native labor. And later we shall relate this

variant to another variant in the colonial situation where the State apparatus

performs the legal lynchings. Indeed it is clear that Jim Crow Laws, etc.

were merely a variant of the military conquest by which the colonial nations

ensured for their economic systems the large body of devalued labor necessary

for capitalist development.

But whereas in the colonial situation the military state apparatus

could be used and was used to keep native labor in its place, in the USA, given

the ideological apparatus diffused in the society, citizens played this

role. Jim Crow Laws were laws designed to ensure the acceptance of black

inferiority by both sides, white and black. They were therefore laws not

so much expressive of racism as creative of a new variant of racism, the

racism necessary for the changed circumstances after slavery. Fogel and

Engelman, while at times falling into the temptation to show slavery as

a kind of picnic in their effort to counteract former dangerous mystifications,

show the rigor of this attempt by the whites to make sure that the freed

slave was converted into native, i.e., devalued labor. They write:

> "One of the worst consequences of the traditional
>
> interpretations of slavery is that it has diverted
>
> attention from the attack on the material conditions
>
> of black life that took place during the decades following
>
> the end of the Civil War...by exaggerating the severity
>
> of slavery, all that has come after it has been made to
>
> appear as an improvement over previous conditions.

The relatively low levels of wages of freed blacks,

the relatively low-skill composition of the black

labour force, the relatively poor condition of black health,

the relative shortness of black life expectations--

these and other conditions of the post war-Civil War

decades have been explained largely as the unfortunate

inheritance of the era of slavery. While many have

recognized that obstacles continued to be placed in the

paths of blacks struggling for self-improvement it has

been widely assumed that the slow pace of progress was

due to the 'disabilities with which the blacks emerged

from slavery.'"( )

And of course the subsequent ideological conclusion to be drawn from
this interpretation reinforced that gradualist myth which has been used
in the continued segregation of blacks as a group from the mainstream of the
U.S. developmental process. The rationale as Fogel and Engelman put it, runs
like this:

"Only time would overcome the lack of black skills and

the unfortunate habits towards work and morality inculcated

in blacks by the conditions of slavery." ( )

Thus, ideologically, blame for failure to make it in the American
dream was put on blacks, on the freed slaves themselves. The new ideology.
no longer argued as it had done during slavery that the black was an animal,
a brute beast. Now he was an inferior man. As an inferior man he was
relegated to Negro-jobs, native labor. Jim Crow laws, far from being an
aberration, took the place that the legal slave status had played in the
slave system. Jim Crow laws forced the black to accept his status as inferior
labor, as devalued labor in the context of a surrounding society, based on the

---

for example

In the Algerian, ~~for instance~~, reality, the inferiority of the Arab was instilled by force. Elaborate Jim Crow laws are not needed in the colonial situation, as Fanon writes:

> "Within a nation, it is usual and commonplace to
> identify two antogonistic forces; the working class
> and bourgeois capitalism. In a colonial country
> this distinction proves wholly inadequate. What
> defines the colonial situation is rather the
> undifferentiated character that foreign domination
> represents. The colonial situation is first of
> all *a military conquest,* continued and reinforced by
> civil and police administration. In Algeria as in
> every colony, the foreign oppressor looks upon the
> native as marking a limit to his dignity and defines
> himself as constituting an irreducible negation of
> the colonized country's national existence." ( )

The "military" conquest of the colonial situation took different forms inside the national borders of the USA. Black labor, which because of slavery had had the opportunity to become skilled and habituated to the rhythms of industrial life--unlike other native minorities--had to be reduced to native status, had to be made progressively less skilled.

THE LOGIC OF SEGREGATION LAY IN ITS FUNCTION: the transformation of the black, who had culturally made himself the "native" of the United States, "Native" in the sense of neo-autochthonous, ~~who had made himself~~ into the internal native labor force of the market system now spearheaded by the United States. ~~When he was a slave the market system was still spearheaded by Great Britian.~~

Fogel and Engelman describe the process by which this was done:

"Evidence that is beginning to accumulate, suggests that
the attack on the material conditions of the life of the
blacks after the Civil War was not only more ferocious,
but in certain respects the life expectations of blacks
declined by 10% between the last quarter of the
nineteenth century. The diets of blacks deteriorated.
They were protein and vitamin starved. The health of
blacks deteriorated. Sickness rates in the 1890's were
20% higher than on slave plantations." ( )

The skill compostion of the black labor force deteriorated.
Blacks were squeezed out of some crafts in which they had been heavily
represented during the slave era and were prevented from entering the
new crafts that arose with the changing technology of the Industrial
Revolution.

"THE GAP BETWEEN WAGE PAYMENTS TO BLACKS AND WHITES IN
COMPARABLE OCCUPATIONS INCREASED STEADILY FROM THE IMMEDIATE
POST-CIVIL WAR DECADES DOWN TO THE EVE OF THE WORLD WAR II." ( )

lower case

In other words, the black labor force was deliberately underdeveloped
from its former level of skill. ( ) Gunder Frank's thesis about the
development of underdevelopment in the neo-colonies and colonies is amply
~~and terribly~~ illustrated here.

Yet critics of Fogel and Engelman's thesis who argue that view of
slavery is too rose colored have a point. It was not so much that blacks
were treated better under slavery as that the forms of extraction of
surplus value differed under slavery and after slavery.

Exploitation of slave labor is carried out through force, force that
is persistently used. Exploitation of native labor is carried out through
an initial act of force--military conquest in the external colonies, Jim

Crow laws in ther internal "colony." Even though force is resorted to

after that, it is not a daily occurence, but only used at such times when

the native labor shows any inclination to step out of line. And indeed

force was also resorted to when free wage labor attempted to step out of line.

But the mechanism of exploitation of native labor took place not only

in the act of production, i.e. not only at the moment when, like the norm of

white labor, native labor is paid for the use of his labor power. Unlike

the norm of labor, native labor is even more underpaid. But in addition to

being underpaid in the moment of production, native labor's segregated status

in the overall relationship of production ensured that his share in the

distribution of the total product was minimal. That is to say, native labor

was ripped off through the mechanism of unequal exchange which we have

discussed previously.

Marx has pointed out that

"A definite form of production determines the form of

consumption, distribution, exchange, and also the mutual

relations between these various elements." ( )

If the earlier form of production called for slavery at one end and

wage labor at the other end of a continuum, the later form in the South called

for devalued native labor at one end as compared to the normatively valued

labor at the other. The increase in wage differentials as between white labor

and black, as well as the increase in the inequality of separate facilities,

created that concrete material difference that made it increasingly impossible

for black and white workers to unite. Capitalism as a system fragmented workers

into more exploited and less exploited groups. The race prejudice of the

white worker towards the black is therefore economically logical, and not due to some

inherent sickness in white labor. The existence of more devalued labor

made the white worker more of a man. HIS BEING CAME TO DEPEND ON THE LESSER
BEING OF THE BLACK. In keeping the black in his place he assured his relative
superiority, but at the expense of accepting his own relative exploitation by
the bourgeoisie. By a mechanism of substitution the black became the enemy.
The consequence of this was THE EXISTENCE OF NATIVE DEVALUED LABOR. NATIVE
BLACK DEVALUED BEING UNDERCUTS AND MAKES IMPOSSIBLE THE REVOLUTIONARY
IMPULSE OF THE WHITE PROLETARIAT. THE STEREOTYPES OF BLACK AND NATIVE LABOR,
THROUGH THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE VALUE SET UP BY THE MARKET SYSTEM, WHICH
VALUED MEN NOT FOR THEIR SOCIETAL WORTH AS HUMAN BEING'S, BUT FOR THE RELATIVE
EXCHANGE VALUE OF THEIR LABOR POWER AND THEREFORE OF THEIR BEING, GAVE TO
WHITE LABOR A PSYCHIC SATISFACTION WHICH REPLACED HIS AGGRESSION VIS A VIS
THOSE WHO EXPLOITED HIS LABOR AND TRAPPED HIM IN A TERRIBLE ALLIANCE WITH HIS
OWN EXPLOITERS. WHITENESS BECAME A FETISH AND THE PROPERTY OF WHITENESS LINKED
HIM TO HIS OPPRESSORS, SINCE THE STEREOTYPE OF BLACK AND NATIVE LABOR SEEMED
TO ENHANCE THE MARKET VALUE OF WHITENESS. FOR THE BLACK AND NATIVE LABOR TOO,
THE LACK OF WHITENESS BECAME AS ABSOLUTE AS THE LACK OF MONEY. WITHOUT WHITENESS
AS CAPITAL, THEY ACCEPTED THE DEVALUATION OF THEIR LABOR POWER, OF THEIR
BEING. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT CULTURAL NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS, THE REVALUATION
OF BLACKNESS, ETC. ARE IMPORTANT AND REVOLUTIONARY. IN THIS MOVEMENT BLACKNESS
DEMANDS A HIGHER VALUE FOR ITSELF ON THE MARKET.

As the market economy penetrates all areas of the world, the emergence
in all Third World countries of a skilled urban working class whose wages rise
vis a vis the unskilled labor force shows that the colour of skin, whiteness
versus blackness, was only one form, the first, of the mechanism of division
between the different sectors of the labor force that capitalism instituted. For
as the internal colonial situation strengthens and as the global economy, more
and more makes itself visible, the attitudes of the relatively privileged labor
aristocracy towards the rural and urban subproletariat, reflects the attitude
of the white proletariat in the United States. Where color of skin is the same,

the division is demarcated by <u>skilled vs unskilled.</u> Oscar Sunkel's

model below shows the relative roles of the urban workers and the marginal

workers. ( )   In the U.S.A. this division has expressed itself on the basis

of skin color. The relative worth of the labor power of the black versus

the white has been represented in ideology as the relative value of a white

skin and white humanity versus a black skin and black humanity. Skin and its

color then came to play the role of a <u>SIGN</u> of relative market value. Mis-

cegenation of white and black meant relative devaluation; of black with

white meant relative over-valuation. The fascination of the black man

for the white woman was, in the last instance, *like the* reaction of the white lyncher,

when the black so much as glanced at a white woman, was ~~also~~ finally determined

by market considerations. It was not a caste division between white and black

but a divison between white and black labor power based on their relative

value. The confrontation was between more and less devalued labor. This

is made clear in Sunkel's model. The existence of this vast marginal sub-

proletariat gives to the urban worker of whatever color a <u>relative</u> stake in the

system. As Marcuse points out:

> *"The integration of the largest part of the working*
>
> *class into the capitalist society is not a surface*
>
> *phenomenon; it has its roots in the infrastructure*
>
> *itself, in the political economy of monopoly capitalism;*
>
> *benefits* are *accorded to the metropolitan working class,*
>
> *thanks to surplus profits, neo-colonial exploitation,*
>
> *the military budget, and gigantic government subventions.*
>
> *To say that this class has much more to* lose than its
>
> *chains may be a vulgar statement but is also correct." (   )*

~~In an article~~ "CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DEPENDENCE: BUILDING A

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK," (in Structures of Dependency, 1973, Ed. Robert

Girling and Frank Bonilla) Evelina Dagnino reproduces the model of Sunkel

and writes:

dear {

"This structure of dependence has been graphically

represented in schematic fashion by Oswald Sunkel in

a recent paper.

"Integrated into this international capitalist system is

the majority of the population of the United States, the

hegemonic center, and a small part of the population of

the peripheral underdeveloped, dependent countries, chiefly

their ruling elites. Excluded from this system, that is,

sharing minimally in its benefits, is that small part of the

United States population formed by racial minorities and

poor whites and the majority of the population in underdeveloped

countries. Other members of the system might be included in

a more complete representation, e.g., the advanced industrialized

countries that share (and at some points challenge) the dominant

power of the USA. The diagram points to a double polarization that

constitutes one of the basic hypotheses of dependency theory.

At the international level there is stratification of nations in

an international economy whose basic characteristic, as pointed out

by Sunkel, is 'the penetration of the underdeveloped economies by

the economies of the developed countries through the extractive,

manufacturing, commerical and financial transnational conglomerates.

"Connected with this and according to the degree of penetration,

another dimension of stratification, internal to each dependent

country, draws a vertical cleavage across activities, social

groups and regions that are developed, modern and integrated into

the international capitalist system. And there

is another complex of activities, social groups and

regions that are backward, underdeveloped, excluded

from the global system, forming the marginal sectors

that surround the first. This cleavage cuts across

different classes dividing each of them in a way that

hinders the formation of national classes. Thus

entrepreneurs, middle classes and workers are absorbed

in different proportions by the integrated sector.

This determines their internal differentiation and

limits their expression as national formations." ( )

Indeed as the consumer society of monopoly capitalism began to create a mass consumer aristocracy, those integrated into the system began to see the marginal masses only as a threat to their consumption patterns. Indeed this claim to a larger historical basket of goods, converts those integrated into the system into its front line defenders. As Marcuse points out:

"It is easy to brush aside the argument of the

tendential integration of the working class into

advanced capitalist society by stating that this

change only refers to the sphere of consumption

and thus does not affect the 'structural definition'

of the proletariat. The sphere of consumption is

one area of the social existence of man, and as

such, determines his consciousness which in turn,

is a factor in shaping his behavior, his attitude

at work as well as at leisure." (   )

The lesser humanity accorded to the black natives entitled them to a smaller historical basket of goods.

It is in this context that stereotypes played a central role.
They functioned as market ideological constructs which marked the value
and non-value of human beings. Class was not only defined by a role in
the production process, but by the value placed by the market on labor in the
production and consumption process--in the overall scheme of things. FOR
THE SUPER EXPLOITATION OF NATIVE LABOR IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS CARRIED AS
ITS COROLLARY IN THE EXCHANGE-VALUE WORLD OF THE MARKET HIS SUPER-EXPLOITATION
IN THE CONSUMPTION/DISTRIBUTION PROCESS.

Under slavery the stereotype of _sambo_ served in the last instance an
economic function. The minimal cost of his labor power in an overall sense,
(Without family life he made no claims on the assets of the distribution process
since he could be fed and clothed on a scale of minimal costs.), was justified
in a society which proclaimed liberty and equality as its norm by the sign of
his stereotype. This sign said: a man not quite a man, childlike, irresponsible,
and not fit to be in control of his own life, i.e., to sell his own labor power
on the market. When with the Civil War, the first revolution in the USA as
far as the slave was concerned, took place, and he was now free to value himself
on the free market, the mechanism of unequal exchange began to function. His
labor was unequally exchanged with that of white labor. The later stereotypes
of the native--in Jamaica the stereotype would come to be known as _Quashie_--
were also designed to show him as a lesser man. As "native" labor, he was now
a man but a lesser man. As a lesser man, the owner now of the commodity of his
labor power, it followed that this commodity was by its very nature perceived
to be _inherently_ inferior to the commodity of white labor power. BOTH COMMODITIES,
THAT OF NORMATIVE AND NON-NORMATIVE LABOR POWER HAD THE SAME USE-VALUE--they
performed the same work--BUT THE MARKET EXCHANGE VALUE WAS DIFFERENT, HENCE THE
CONTRADICTION AND TENSION IN THE UNITED STATES' REALITY. THE IDEALS OF ITS
SUPERSTRUCTURE PROCLAIMED THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN, OF THEIR USE-VALUE AS MEN;

THE REALITY OF ITS DOMINANT MARKET STRUCTURE VALUED MEN RELATIVELY AS MORE

AND LESS EQUAL THAN OTHERS. THIS CONTRADICTION IS CENTRAL TO THE AMERICAN

REALITY, CENTRAL TO ITS PROLONGED INAUTHENTICITY. THE BLACK EMBODIES THIS

PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN ITS ULTIMATE FORM. THAT IS WHY, AS WRIGHT

EXPRESSED IT, THE BLACK ⟨IS⟩ AMERICA'S METAPHOR (   ) ; THAT IS WHY LANGSTON

HUGHES WROTE:

> *O let America be America again*
>
> *The land that's not been yet*
>
> *But yet must be (   )*

It is here that the black struggle becomes both <u>particular</u> and dialectically

<u>universal</u>. In demanding his right to full manhood, he must negate the market

system, must free this country *in freeing himself* from its inauthenticity of being.

It is here too that the long civil rights struggle of the black

can be seen as part of an ongoing revolutionary, rather than reformist, process.

For claiming the right to eat in the same restaurant, to use the same toilet

facilities went, and goes, beyond the surface nature of the claim.

As we pointed out before, the exchange value of native labor was not

only lower at the moment of exchange when the use of his labor power was exchanged

for <u>wages</u>, but ever more so when the amount of labor power that he had in-

corporated into the total social product of the society is returned to him in

the form of services provided by the society, i.e. separate facilities meant

devalued facilities or none. Riding in the back of the bus ritualized the

acceptance by the negro of the fact that his claim to the historical basket

of goods which labor power needs to reproduce itself was a lesser claim than that

of the norm of man. And since manhood was defined by this claim, it ritualized

acceptance of a lesser human status.

The word <u>native</u> now defined, a the word <u>negro</u> had done, the place of

the lesser breeds in the production scheme and determined through that definition

the natives' inferior share in the social product. As Marx pointed out:

> *"In society however, the relation of the producer to*
>
> *his product, as soon as it is completed, is an outward one,*
>
> *and the return of the product to the individual depends on*
>
> *his relations to other individuals. He does not take immediate*
>
> *possession of it; Nor does the direct appropriation of the*
>
> *product constitute his purpose when he produces in society.*
>
> *Between the producer and the product, distribution steps in,*
>
> *determining by social laws his share in the world of products,*
>
> *that is to say, distribution steps in between production and*
>
> *consumption." (   )*

The social laws which defined some labor as native, others as normative, constituted and functioned within what Althusser has called the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). (   )   These social laws in the context of the USA were essentially pure market laws. Jim Crows laws, far from being aberrant psychological reactions were actions induced by the market system. Jim Crow laws were needed in the United States to structure an unequal relationship between settler-labor and native-labor at a time when the ideal was equality for all. But the contradiction is this: within the market reality equality can only mean equality of the exchange value of all labor power. But the dynamic of the Market system calls for inequality of labor exchange-value, since the maximization of surplus value is its dynamic, and this inequality of the exchange value of labor power is that which makes surplus value possible.(   )

This contradiction is today the central contradiction in the capitalist system. For the market system now cuts across national frontiers, defining equality as equality of exchange value: i.e., as purely market value. The

native increasingly refuses to accept a native standard of living as traditional to his due. He too begins to think in market terms. As such the wretched of the earth coming to claim equality in market terms in production and <u>consumption</u> ( ) initiate a global revolutionary situation. Russia and China may have had communist revolutions. But the label only obscures the fact that the real revolution had been *was* the revolution of <u>native labor</u> and not of the classic proletariat. ( ) We shall look at the consequences of this in our summing up.

The social/market laws which determined, defined some labor as native and some as not, also determined the native's overall share of the product. Althusser has shown how within a nation, the educational system functions to determine the role of the workers' children in the production process.( ) It produces workers' children as workers and middle-class children as middle class, all under the guise of an apparently open system. The system successfully shakes off the "factory fodder" when they are fifteen/sixteen and keeps the elite classes in the universities for a certain number of years. These social/market laws value the humanity of the elite over that of the worker. That a few children of the working classes make it into the system only strengthens the division. In the market reality, <u>social laws are market laws.</u> The idealized humanist system of education functions therefore as an <u>apparatus of the market.</u> This is true even in the Church. To be an Episcopalian is to be a more valued humanity than to be a Baptist in Western society.

<u>The same mechanism that distinguishes elite from worker also distinguishes "white elite" normative labor from native labor.</u> Only this time <u>race</u> is used as the factor that divides the luxurious, highly valued life of the settler from the devalued life of the native. ( )

The settler/native dichotomy is important. Colonial-labor in Algeria

and settler-labor in South Africa and in the USA South show that the
super exploitation of native labor transforms the white proletariat into a
settler proletariat. As a settler proletariat he mans a psychic frontier
acting as a buffer between the rulers of the system and native labor. Hence
the fascist impulses, dialectically linked with the revolutionary impulse,
of the white proletariat. He is both settler and proletariat. The ambivalences
of the labor movement in the USA and its ambivalent relation to black/native
labor comes from this central situation in which it finds itself.

IT IS HERE THAT WE MUST POINT OUT AN IMPORTANT FACT FOR THE
REINTERPRETATION OF U.S.A. HISTORY. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES INTRODUCED
INTO THE UNITED STATES SYSTEM A LARGE BODY OF DOMESTIC NATIVES--AS DISTINCT
FROM THE AMERICAN INDIAN WHOM WE TERM RESERVATION NATIVES--AND THE EXISTENCE
OF THIS LARGE 'NATIVE' POPULATION TRANSFORMED THE UNITED STATES INTO A
PARTLY COLONIAL SOCIETY, WITH THE WHITES AS THE SETTLER CLASS. THE
AMBIVALENCES OF U.S. DEMOCRACY ARE TO BE CITED HERE. ONLY A SETTLER SOCIETY
COULD TOLERATE LYNCHING. ONLY A SETTLER SOCIETY IS BUILT ON FASCIST PREMISES.
BUT THIS WAS ONLY A PART OF THE DIALECTIC. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE
DIALECTIC WAS THE THRUST IN THE USA TO FREEDOM AND EQUALITY, A THRUST TRAPPED
BY THE SETTLER/NATIVE DICHOTOMY. AS A RESULT ONLY THE REVOLUTION OF THE
NATIVES CAN FREE THE AUTHENTIC DYNAMIC OF AMERICA AND RELEASE HER FROM THE
DARK SIDE OF THE DIALECTIC, THE NIGHTMARE UNDERSIDE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.
HERE LIES THE PARTICULAR YET UNIVERSAL ROLE OF THE BLACK NATIVE. TO REALIZE HIS
AUTHENTIC NATIVITY HE MUST NEGATE THE MARKET DEFINITION OF NATIVE LABOR AS
INFERIOR HUMAN BEING.

Chapt.?

SAMBO INTO QUASHIE

"War, war, war OH!

War down a Monklands

The Queen never know

(Jamaican Folk song, relating to the 1865 rebellion) ( )

"Sitting yonder with their beautiful muzzles up to

their ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices;

the grinder and incisor teeth ready for every new work, and

the pumpkin cheap as grass in those rich climates while

the sugar crops rot, because labour cannot be hired, so

cheap are the pumpkins." ( )

(Carlyle Occasional discourse on the Nigger Question,

Fraser's magazine XL, 672. London, December 1849) ( )

place in foot notes

The post slavery experience of the black, in the Caribbean
as in the USA, revolved around one desire and its frustration: the
desire for land, for the ownership of the means of production. For
a while in the Caribbean it seemed that this would be possible. In
Jamaica, in particular, there was a massive exodus from the planta-
tion onto the available lands. The plot was reinstituted on small
peasant holdings in innumerable villages in the mountains. A
peasantry was therefore created after slavery and with this peasantry
a neo-popular culture. Sidney Mintz writes of this peasantry:

"They represented a reaction to the plantation

economy, a negative reflex to enslavement, mass

production, monocrop dependence and metropolitan

control. *Though these peasants often continued*
to work part-time on the plantation for wages, to
eke out their cash needs, their orientation was in
fact antagonistic to the plantation rationale."( )

It was this peasantry and their rationale that Carlyle,
siding with the planters who complained of not having an available
labor force when and where they wanted it, castigated ~~in the above~~
~~THE NATIVE OF QUASHIE~~ -, whom he animalized as: "sitting with
their beautiful muzzles up to their ears in pumpkins." In fact,
in this stereotype they were seen as "pigs with pumpkins: who
stubbornly went against God's design, growing subsistence food,
and neglecting to work as a labour force for "nobler crops"
i.e., capitalist agriculture, crops that lead towards,→
"commerce, arts, politics, and social development." (179)

Here we see the deliberate use of the stereotype to reduce
the black to the role of native, i.e., to the role of devalued
disposable labour. ~~As I wrote before,~~ *from p 168*
~~quote.~~ He used the term Quashie - an African name which became a
term of contempt in Jamiaca, the synonym of the stupid, clownish
black who had to be protected against himself, in other words the
epitome of the "native". For as long as the newly freed slaves
had enough land, they ceased being devalued labor, manipulable labor.
They would work on the plantations for a few days to get the necessary
cash they needed to function in the money economy; but for the
rest, they planted both subsistence and cash crops and were well
on the way to becoming an independent peasantry.

"The plantation society of Jamaica...was a creation of the Market. But the plantation order was upheld by the military might of England's adventure in Empire that began with Cromwell's capture of the island as part of the Western Design. From our inception the forces of the *emporio* (emporium) to borrow a phrase of Miguel Angel Asturias, were the forces of the *imperio*. The emporialist forces and the imperialist forces were and are one. And the plantation was and is the unit base of the ultimate power of the *emporio-imperio*. [180]

The post-slavery plantation system sustained both its *imperio and its emporio* rationale from the careful stereotype of the black native. The most persistent of these myths was that the black was "childlike", that he loved nothing better than to be protected by dear Massa; that he was contented with his lot, accepting the benefits of civilization imposed on him by the plantations systems. In fact that he was QUASHIE.

The rationale of this peasantry, as Carlyle saw, struck at the heart of the colonial capitalist system, since it transformed a disposable, devalued labor force from native labor into independent owners of their labor and their means of production. In his famous article "Occasional Discourse on the Quashie" was, the new variant of the slave stereotype SAMBO. Carlyle, with accuracy, had seen through the real clash which lay at the heart of the post slavery crisis--a clash and conflict of rationale. Was the labor power of the freed slave to be used for his own benefit or for that of the plantation? The first course threatened the emporio. And emporio and imperio were one. already said, no?

Thus ownership of land became the central economic issue.
For side by side with the peasantry were those who were landless, and
who constituted a force of agro-proletariats who still worked on
the sugar plantations. The Governor and Assembly were there to see
that land was *not* made available to the peasantry, that land should
be divided in such proportions as to institute a latifundia/minifundia
situation where, as the peasant family grew, lack of land and
erosion would reduce all hands to part-time seasonal labor on the one
hand and coerced cash-crop farmers on the other. The mode of labor
control which based itself on the monopoly of land by the large
plantations and on the company store--the tienda de raya in Latin
America--which involved the native worker in a sustained unequal
exchange between what he was paid for his labor and what products
he got in exchange. This was the central mechanism which perpetuated
the super-exploitation of native labor.

Rural proletarianization is the term given to the process which
transforms peasants over the world into a native agro-proletariat--
and constitutes them as a revolutionary force. Daniele Dehouve, in
an aritcle "La destructuraration du secteur precapitaliste Un exemple,"
(   ) in Critique de L'economie politique, No. 3, April-June 1971, place footn
examines the situation of a small Indian village in the State of
Guerrero in Mexico. They make straw hats as their principal source
of revenue at such low prices that Mexico is the largest exporter
of straw hats in the world. Seasonally they work also on the large
sugar, coffee, and maize plantations. They grow some subsistence
maize for themselves, but must buy the most part of their basic food
from the intensively cultivated semi-industrial regions. The
prices they pay the ladino merchants for this and other articles of

of consumption are well above those paid in other areas.

Although they live in an isolated village, the villagers participate in an intimate relationship with the national and international capitalist markets. The intense exploitation to which they are subjected leads increasingly to their proletarization. They come to constitute, in fact, the marginal proletariat, or as Fanon had termed them, the wretched of the earth.

This mechanism was at work in Jamaica in 1865. The rumblings in the society, the discontent over the lack of aviallable land, the low wages paid by the planters and the high prices of foodstuffs lead to an attempt on the part of the Governor to contain the discontent by asserting that there were no real causes for grievance. One intelligent Anglican parson, in a report that antedates and supports ( ) Arghin Emmanuel's idea of unequal exchange as the central mechanism by which the wretched of the earth are ripped-off, set out the way in which this mechanism functioned. Before the rebellion in October 1865, the Governor, Edward Eyre had sent out a circular letter to all Custodes and ministers of religion and other prominent men. The purpose of the circular letter was to collect opinions to refute the allegation of the Baptist missionary, Dr. Underhill, who previously had written a letter to the Colonial Office in which he complained of the wretched conditions of the people of the island. A cental charge in his letter was that labor was grossly underpaid. One of the main questions in the Governor's circular asked whether in the opinion of the Custos or minister involved, labor was underpaid or not.

In his answer to this question, the Rev. Henry Clarke gave a penetrating analysis of the political economy of tropical

plantation labor. In Jamaica, he pointed out, the worker
made sugar yet had to import in exchange many of his basic food-
stuffs and other necessities. He could not, therefore, realize
the value of his labor except through external exchange. If
one assumes that in exchange for his years' labor the worker gets
a hogshead of sugar, what does he get in exchange for that hogshead?
Clarke traces the hoshead of sugar as it is put in a cask, carted,
insured, shipped, commission-agented, with all those involved
taking their share. Although he does not point this out, all the
other factors were paid at a much higher rate, therefore their
share was proportionately higher.

Once in England the hogshead of sugar was exchanged for
English manufactured goods. These goods were then shipped to
Canada or the U.S.A. and exchanged for flour, saltfish, rice, again
with all concerned taking their share, and a proportionately
higher share since their wage rates were higher. By the time it
returned the value of the hogshead of sugar had become minimal indeed.
The Government then collected 12½ indirect taxes on this returned
value. By the time the value of the hogshead of sugar returned to
his hand, the laborer could clearly see that he had not gotten the
equivalent for his year's labor. The Rev. Henry Clarke rounds off
his exposition with an apt Vergilian quote. "It may be said of the
Jamaican laborer: 'Vos non vobis mellificatis apes' - "You, the
bees make honey but do not enjoy its sweets." ( )

In 1865, the people of St. Thomas in the East rose up against
this mechanism of impoverishment central to the plantation system
of the emporio/imperio. The rebels were composed of peasants who

wanted more land on which to expand, as well as the large army

of agro-proletariats who worked on the sugar estates for minimal

rates of pay. The clash was between two rationales, that of the

plantation/market, and that of the people.

As I wrote before, "Since the _imperio_ and the _emporio_ were

one--Eyre as Governor was there to protect not only the imperio,

but also the emporio; i.e., the plantation system." ( )

At the oposite extreme was Paul Bogle, a peasant farmer

whose rationale was antagonistic to the plantation system. He

represented all the frustration of this new class which since

independence had become citizens and had obtained enough property

to vote. And he supported the mulatto, George William Gordon,

whose growing interests were also antagonistic, although less so,

to the plantation system. Gordon kept a counting house and dealt

in crops like coffee, honey and even sugars, produced by the part

subsistence, part cash-crop peasant farmers. He had speculated in

land after many estates had been given up, and he rented lands to the

peasants, as well as growing cash crops, particularly coffee, himself.

Gordon's economic interests then placed him, like Bogle, in

opposition to the monocrop interests of the sugar plantations. Soon

he came to clash in St. Thomas with the Custos, Baron Von Ketelhodt had a German sugar cane planter,

and, later in the House of Assembly, with Eyre. The Anglican Church,

of which Eyre was a member, was the official Church of the plantation

system. The House of Assembly voted it f40,000 a year, and voted

f3,000 per annum for the people's education. Gordon, who had once

been confirmed as an Anglican, became a native Baptist, setting up

a tabernacle in Kingston, and developing a chain of tabernacles all

over the island. Deacon Bogle's tabernacle at Stony Gut, the chapel

which played such a large part in the rebellion, was part of a
chain of Gordon's tabernacles, though one with considerable autonomy.
Paul Bogle, who had bought land from Gordon and also in St. Thomas,
supported him politically. Indeed, Bogle and the others had voted
Gordon in as a member of the Vestry. But the *Custos*, on the point
that Gordon was no longer an Anglican, had him lifted out of the
Vestry meeting. Gordon took the case to law [*Court*] and lost.

What is clear here is that Bogle, Gordon and Eyre are figures
caught in a conflict that is endemic to the plantation structure
and not even primarily of their own making. They were caught in
a moment of collision, a collision that was inevitable between the
plantation system, owned and dominated by external forces, and what
we shall call the peasant plot system, the indigenous autochthonous
system. In his comment on his novel, <u>Hombres de Maiz</u>, Asturias
defines its central clash as the struggle between

> "...the indigenous peasant who accepts that
> corn should be sown only as food, and the <u>creole</u>
> who sows it as a business, burning down forests
> of precious trees, impoverishing the earth in
> order to enrich himself." (   )

The basic struggle then, is between the indigenous man--still
involved in subsistence agriculture, still involved primarily in
a world of <u>use-value</u> where the rationale for the growing of a crop
is a response to human need--and the market economy with its
structure of <u>exchange value</u> where the product, the commodity, is
grown in response to its profitability on the market.

In the world of <u>use-value</u>, human needs dominate the product.

In the world of <u>exchange-value</u> the thing made, or grown, becomes a commodity whose central dynamic is the maximization of profit. The commodity dominates and manipulates human need. The plantation institutionalizes the world view which springs from the exchange structure; the peasant plot is the expression of a use-value world-view.

But the peasant-plot was marginal to the dominant plantation system, a system backed in the final analysis by force. The world had to be kept safe for the exchange structures of the market economy. The rebellion of 1865, revolved around the key problem of <u>land and labor</u>.

The plantation, in order to grow sugar, the dominant export commodity, used political and military power to deprive the peasants of the <u>use</u> of the land and thus deprive them of their means of production. A West Indian historian sums up the situation like this:

> "This antagonism (between the plantation and the peasant plot) was basic to the situation, and it has rendered the growth of the peasantry difficult and made its existence marginal. The plantation, mainly the sugar plantation, had dominated the landscape and the society for centuries. It engrossed nearly all the best land, monopoli ed the few technical skills available, controlled the sources of credit, and possessed a decisive voice on all questions of public policy. Emancipation of the slaves threatened a weakening of this control by creating a labour force which was no longer entirely dependent on the estates...They

> (the planters asserted) that the loss of
> 'steady and continuous labour' would endanger
> 'the maintenance of the colonies as valuable
> and productive prossessions of the Crown';
> and that the ex-slaves who left the estate would
> quickly and irrevocably decline in the scale of
> civilization." ( )

Here we see the myth--that the plantation was the seat of civilization--juxtaposed with the reality that the plantation needed 'steady and continuous labour.' As W. K. Marshall points out:

> "What the planters wanted, as the Royal Commission
> of 1897 pointed out, 'was a large supply of labourers,
> dependent of being able to find work on the estates
> and consequently subject to their control and willing to
> work for low wages.' The fact therefore of peasant
> land settlement would confirm their worst fears and
> disrupt their economy.
> Consequently planters sought from the beginning to
> obstruct peasant land settlement; they sought to
> bind the ex-slaves to the estates by a form of labour
> rent tenancy and long labour contracts; and they attempted
> to limit opportunities for occupational differentiation
> by establishing a system of license fees for employ-
> ment outside the estates. In addition, by one means
> or another-e.g. systems of licenses and fees, they made
> it difficult for ex-slaves to produce staple crops, or
> to employ themselves in the production of charcoal,
> firewood, and arrowroot flour. But above all else they

> tried (and managed) to block extensive peasant
> settlement on the uncultivated land in the various
> territories." ( )

Crown land was extensive in Jamaica. This was the land which some peasants of St. Ann, in 1865, asked to rent. This request was revolutionary in its intention. The Queen's Advice-- as the answer was called--used the language of the planters in the refusal of this request. The Colonial Office, behind the guise of the Queen, showed that while they had fought the planters to free the slaves, they had freed the slaves in order that they would become 'dependent free' labor, and not independent peasants. The Colonial Office bureaucrats, wrote inter alia:

> "The prosperity of the labouring classes, as well of
> all other class, depends in Jamaica, and in other
> communities, upon their working for wages, not
> uncertainly or capriciously, but steadily and
> continuously, at the times when their labour is
> wanted, and for so long as it is wanted;...and thereby
> render the plantations productive...." ( )

It was the denial of land which caused the anger of 1865. For the peasants believed that 'Missis Queen' had freed them, and had also made the land theirs. This was a persistant belief basic to the historical world view of the peasant. Later, in 1938, widespread disturbances were climaxed by the peasant myth that, 100 years after slavery, the land of Jamaica was to become theirs. That the Queen should have failed them in their cry for land helped to demystify the people: they realized that when it came to the crunch, 'Missis Queen'

was on the side of the plantation. The <u>imperio</u> finally had to come

down on the side of the emporio. The exchange value structure of the

society had to keep the use-value structure marginal, both economically,

politically and socially. And the key weapon to ensure this was to

keep the peasant restricted to the marginal lands.

The uprising of the people in 1865 was then an uprising against

the <u>emporio/imperio</u>. As with the Indian Mutiny and the striking

native laborers of Bengal, the suppression was direct and terrible.

As one newspaper put it, in the district of the rebellion there

were "eight miles of dead bodies." (   ) The terror was used deli-

berately to teach the people a lesson. The laws of the <u>emporio/imperio</u>

were backed in the last instance by force. The House of Assembly

was taken away and Crown Colony Government, which could more safely

ensure the perpetuation of the plantation system, was established.

The native was taught the lesson: his purpose was to be native

labor Yeomen farmers belonged to the core states. After the terror

of the suppression, the native masses--part/peasant, part/proletariat-

--closed in on themselves. But their cultural creativeness continued

and the seeds of their culture, carried as it had been carried through-

out slavery, bided their time to surface. The spontaneous actions

of the people are never really that spontaneous. They are structured

through the secretive underground current of cultural assumptions.

What is important to note with the 1865 rebellion was that

the rebellion was a rebellion expressed in religious metaphors, in

religious terms. The leader, Deacon Paul Bogle, was a Native Baptist

Elder. And the Native Baptist religion was part of that Afro-Christian

fusion in which Myalism had adapted elements of the Baptist religion

into its own structure. It had perpetuated its role as the ideology

of resistance. The Native Baptist church began, as Myalism had done for the slaves, to constitute itself as the cultural expression of the natives, of the independent peasantry. What they were striking for was the realization of their new felt power as a class. In the last days of the rebellion they came to identify this with the national interest and exhorted each other to "fight for your country." ( )

The phraselogy of the revolt was religious as it had been under slavery but this time it was Afro-Christian. After the first confrontation in which the rebels killed members of the ruling classes, the Deacon leader gave thanks to the Lord that he had succeeded in "the work". Much of the ritual and the metaphors of freedom came from the Bible, but the spirit that infused it, that matrix that expressed the dynamic of revolt was part of the same continuum that had created Jonkunnu/Myalism. The Bible was adopted as the high tradition, the popular Afro-Christian religion of the people. But the bureaucracy and centralization of the formal Baptist religion was rejected. In its place a decentralized mass of tabernacles continued the form of organization that was part of the principle of organization of the Jonkunnu groups and of the later Trinidad Carnival bands.( )

Just as Jonkunnu had commemorated and carried on the history of John Conny, drawing him into the pantheon of ancestors, translating the past into the present, so in the culture of the peasant plot the history of the 1865 rebellion was carried on. As I wrote before:

"For the peasant plot, too, has its own history.
A history still embodied in a transplanted version
of the Ancestor worship--where the dead interact with

the living; and the past is part of the

dynamic of the present. The events of 1865

continue to exist, handed down in folksongs

which reconstitute the experience of the events;

in songs such as "War down a Monklands, the Queen

never know"; in another such as the tragic-comic

folksong, in which the historical old Anglo-Indian

General Jackson, hunts down the rebels:

>   *Oh General Jackson? Oh General Jackson*
>
>   *Yu kill all the black man them!" (   )*

As late as the 1950's research done on the Kumina cult--an
African derived religion on the more purely African side of the Afro-
Christian continuum of Jamaica, and still widely current in St. Thomas
in the East--the dead peasant leader of the rebellion, Paul Bogle,
'possessed' and initiate of the cult, and "danced as an ancestor spi-
rit" now became and ancestor-god. (   ) In 1970, as the pressures
of the neo-colonial reality began to be felt, people commented that
things were so bad that "Paul Bogle would have to come back again." (   )
For Paul Bogle now symbolizes the quest for justice on the part of the
people, as the unofficial religions constitute through their ritual
the method of this quest.

This has been the role of religion in the black experience in
the New World. The official religion of the plantation, Christianity,
supported the official status quo. As Horkheimer argues,

>   *"The more Christianity brought God's rule into*
>
>   *harmony with events in the world, the more the*
>
>   *meaning of religion became perverted." (   )*

But the unofficial religion of the slaves or natives drew Christiani-
ty into its own indigeneous cultural dynamic and transformed it, freeing
its original revolutionary impulse. This cultural dynamic converted
the alien elements, the heterogenous element into an indigenous pattern
and structure of meaning. As I pointed out before:

> "Myalism was to strike up an alliance with
> the Baptist religion. It was through this
> alliance and fusion that elements of Christianity
> would become centrally indigenous rather than a
> merely creole part of Jamaican folklife." ( )

The Christianity of the black masses in the New World is distinctive
because it is a Christianity transformed by a native dynamic--a dynamic
of critical opposition, resistance and revolt. While the official
religion is the opium of the people, the unofficial religion serves
two functions: to sustain a sense of identity in the face of increasing
pressures, and to structure those states of feeling that wait their
moment to erupt in what may appear to be spontaneous resistance to
the system, but which is really carefully structured reaction re-
imposed by ritual, by song, by ceremony. In the meta-language of
this popular religon words like Egyptland, Babylon, Zion, are not
only biblical words. They are conceptual labels that reject the
status quo of the official society and help the people to wait on the
coming of the enchanted millenium where all shall live, under their
own vine and fig tree, at peace in Zion.

ck. pp.
carefully

TABLE OF AFRO-JAMAICAN CULTURAL SURVIVALS

RELIGIOUS/SECULAR

A. RELIGIOUS

B. SOCIAL

A. RELIGIOUS

(1) MORE PURELY AFRICAN SURVIVALS

    a) KUMINA
    b) CONVINCE
    c) GUMBAY

(2) MORE AFRO-CHRISTIAN SURVIVALS

    a) ZION REVIVAL
    b) PUKKUMINA

B. SOCIAL

(1) MORE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS

    a) NINE-NIGHT DANCES
    b) RASTAFARIAN DANCING

(2) MORE SECULAR

    a) MORE RURAL
       QUADRILLE/MENTO
    b) MORE URBAN
       SKA/REGGAE

(3) PRESENT DAY REMNANTS OF JONKONNU

    a) BRUCKINS
    b) JONKONNU

By Sylvia Wynter. In JJ Vol. No. June 1970.

A. RELIGIOUS

(i) Kumina, Convince and Gumbay, more purely African survivals all descended from original Myal cult. First two reinforced in African elements by contact and involvement with Maroons -preserved the more African Myal after absorption in the Great Revival. Elements strengthened by the arrival of African immigrants after Emancipation to work sugar estates, particularly St. Thomas, where both cults found.

Gumbay - a remnant of Myalism - of the great 1860 s Myal Procession. Found only in remote areas of St. Elizabeth, uses drumming and dancing to exorcise evil spirits - or to 'tame them' when one moves into a new house. Among drums, special one-headed square goatskin drum played with the fingers as shown in Belisario's sketch of the Jonkonnu, roughly same drum sketched by Miss Roberts in the 1920's. Drum used both by Jonkunnu dancers and Myal practioners; usually same people. Myal and Jonkunnu rhythms and songs similar.

Kumina ancestral cult uses gomba (i.e., gumbay) drums - a set of three drums, two bandas or bass drums and a playing drum, to evoke ancestral spirits or gods. Gods are termed 'African gods' and two types 'earthbound gods' and 'sky gods'.

Myal term used to refer to "the possession dance of a dancing Zombie". Zombie is either an African god or ancestor once possessed by a god.

Kumina worship - a religious dance ceremony held on occasion of birth, betrothal, and Nine-Nights.

At Nine-Nights the KUMINA QUEEN in a special dance invokes spirit of deceased, and speeds it to its rest. Most important Kumina dancing takes place at the Memorial for deceased about a year after death. Dance ceremonies help member of cult engaged in lawsuit. Dance invokes the gods and spirits - 'power' to ensure other party in court case withdraws or disappears. Cultist dance around in circle while dancers- in the Myal - dance outside circle. Among dances - (a) courtship dance between Queen and two men (b) possessed dance of Queen alone, dancing with glass of water on head, lighted candle in hand-at times climbs fence or rolls on ground, entranced. (c) Possessed dance of men - climb trees, hang from feet, head downwards, still dancing. (d) Mimed weapon dance between cult leader and another man. (e) 'Coolie-man' dance, possessed by an East Indian spirit. (f) Mimetic fertility dances - 'distinctly sexual'.

Convince cultists believe in Christian deities, but these remote. Convince deals instead with ghosts of relatives, ancestors; and by extension, those of the ex-members of cult; also ghosts remembered from oral history. Dance invokes power of ghosts, behavior amoral. Ghosts not Christians, cultists argue; outside Christian concept of sin. Each ghost with prescribed dance and dance step, prescribed costume. Songs, special for different spirits. Only handclapping used. Hymns sung to call ghosts. Ghost uses body of cultist violently, driving him to climb trees etc. Through body of the cultists, it drinks, smokes, uses special and rather blasphemous language, attempts sexual intercourse. Lends power to cultists to 'pull obeah', or 'set obeah.'

A. (ii) Afro-Christian Survival

a.) ZION Revival

b.)   Pukkumina

Two Revivalist cults, heir to all elements that entered Jamaican folklore; Zion Revival belongs to more Christian side of Afro-Christian continuum; Pukkumina, influenced by Kumina, more African oriented cult.

Jonkonnu parade with its different 'Characters' influenced cults - principal 'Spiritual Dancers' dance roles - called 'posts' in Zion Revival, and 'portions' in Pukkumina. Myal Procession and Great Revival influenced by concept of 'dancing in circle, labouring in the spirit' and 'groaning' in order to attain deeper order of possession - deepest '61 order' - (the Great Revival year).

The concept of 'spiritual journey' on which dancers travel, central to Pukkumina - same origin. Both cults exist in all parts of Jamaica - Zion Revival tends to replace Pukkumina in rural areas. In Kingston Pukkumina holds its own in more poverty stricken area. Pukkumina and Zion cults increase in response to rural influence - changes in social order - advent of technology - increasing modernization and subsequent feeling of disruption from kindlier rural pattern. Both cults offer refuge of communal urban framework. Both cults 'danced religion' - to both possession and possessed dancing sign of the saved.

For both the spirit world in three categories:

a)   Heavenly spirits
b)   Earthbound spirits
c)   Ground spirits

Zion Revival deals only with first two, Pukkumina excludes none-particularly fond of 'ground spirits' i.e., ghosts. Nearer ancestral cults like Kumina - both cults God remote. Jesus for Zion Revival nearer to man. His death and Resurrection fuses with original Myal ritual. He comes to be seen as "a 'curing' spirit, the ultimate source of all healing forces."

Zion Revival, with proliferation of 'balm-yards' where they heal with herbs and psalms - true heir to Myal in healing aspect. Jesus pours out healing spirit through Holy Ghost as at Pentacost. The Holy Ghost passes on these gifts through messenger angels, who 'teach' them through spirit possession and spiritual dancing. One of these gifts - 'unknown tongues'. Pukkumina tend to use African and Hindustani words in songs. Angels in Zion, ghosts in Pukkumina allot to their converts both 'posts' and 'portions' i.e., roles they must dance in spiritual dancing; and costumes they must wear. Both angels and ghosts give their converts moral advice - Cults function as source of morality - Cults also function as mutual aid, through partner-insurance, loan and burial societies, spiritual dancing and religious concept provide cohesion.

MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF DANCING

1. Both cults adhere to main pattern of choral circle, dancing around the 'SEAL' or consecrated ground.

2. Zion Revival use drums which play especially before procession.

Both cults use rhythmic 'groaning' to achieve varying depth of intensity

of possession. 'Groaning' "a series of deep guttural sounds, made by rapid inhalation and exhalation of breath through the mouth."

Zion Revival breathing polyrhythmic - the cultist use side step movement, body lifts on one foot, then lowered with a stamping sound on other - which at same time travels ground with small hop. Continues movement and sound coalesce in unified whole. Circle 'labours' i.e., dances in unison to achieve harmony through similar depth of possession. When this attained, angels send messages which leader interprets by singing - this called "rich area of folk-music."

3. While for Zion Revival 'spiritual dancing' used to summon spirits, in Pukkumina 'ground' spirits possess devotees - violently knocking them to ground. Pukkumina breathing pattern in 'groaning' - one-two beat, marked by the movement. This a "genuflecting or bowing motion in which the upper half of the body bends forward, while at the same time, the knees are bent, resuming an erect position... with this movement dancers travel sideways towards 'the light of the spirit'."

Each special 'portion' of each cultist devised to be danced to cope with hazards and dangers of 'journey'. Spectacular dance of 'River Maid' to take 'bands' across river. Colourful dance of the Indian order leads 'bands' through India. Technological terminology noteworthy: 'locomotive', leads 'train' assisted by 'engineer', 'brakemen', 'coalman' etc. Shows urban emphasis of cult.

4. Both cults use 'Tables' - spiritual ceremonies combining religious service and feast as in 'thanks-giving', 'uplifting', mourning, 'sacrifice' and 'destruction' (particularly secret, as connected with popular dread of obeah). New 'tables' devised for new needs. ('Destruction Talbes' movement reversed from normal counter-clockwise to clock-wise; foot-stamping also reversed, left foot being used first.)

Revivalists through spiritual 'labour' and 'work' deny brute facts of everyday existence by their transcendence in super-reality. They establish in dance 'a putative society' in which they are the elect, the elite. Dance turns world upside-down, liberating participants. Challenge and response syndrome leads to fact that dance as a vital and meaningful reality found mainly among dispossessed.

B. SOCIAL

(i) SOCIO-RELIGIOUS

NINE NIGHT DANCES:

Kumina/Tambu/Buru/Dinkie-Minie/Calimbo/Combolo/Etu

Ritual connected with death plays special part in Jamaican folklore. Kumina dance, like original Tambu Buru, Etu, Dinkie-Minie - dance associated with speeding the dead. All counterparts of the Haitian Banda. Both Buru and Dinkie-Minie became associated with will eroticism - reference to fact that fertility dances, in all folk cultures performed at wakes etc. to reduce power of Death, by opposing life force. Description of Dinkie-minie danced in Eastern Portland, shows this. "A peculiar jumping dance to drums...involving vertical heights in the jumps... the dancer bends on one leg at the knee and makes a long series of high leaps all on the other foot." Parallels leap/fertility aspect of Jonkonnu.

Nine Night dances spread out their purpose and meaning to purely social functions. Meanings changed. Dinkie minie now associated with ring plays at Nine Nights. Buru kept an association of violence and eroticism. Both war dances and fertility dances originally danced at wakes, etc. Name, dance and association of Buru taken over by Rastafarians. Calimbe and Combolo term which survived regular performance of their dances. Calimbe a dance which two men hold pair of sticks while third dances upon it. Dance represents death of third dancer as vegetaion spirit - lifted up and then lowered, life restored to him. Combolo an alternative term for similar dance with erotic implications.

Tambu Etu - in isolated areas - still danced at social functions in particular those connected with funerals and weddings.

RING PLAY and the dances accompany song and action.

Games played in circle to pass time at wakes and Nine Nights. Dance actions accompany songs and game, among them:

a)   A shuffle step, one flat foot, one toe; feet always on ground in a slow turn called 'riding'.
b)   Wheel by which player selects his partner.
c)   Bows and curtseys and hopping steps to imitate animals.
d)   Exhibition dancing steps in which player shows his motions.

Many ring-plays influenced by English children's games and some songs adapted from English folk tunes. But African anti-phonal form also dominant. The Ringplay with its integrated song, dance, words and mime, the indigenous form-only one in which a conscious art form can meaningfully develop.

b)   RASTAFARIAN DANCING

A millenarian movement, which sees Ethiopia as both Heaven and Fatherland on earth; the Emperor the black Christ. Bible, interpreted in 'black' terms - is 'high' tradition of sect. Called "Black Israelites". Nostalgia for lost and distant Africa - reject prevalent value system of society. Assimilate instead, all 'despised' African elements of folkculture. Nyabingi Order, or Locksmen, more fanatic members of sect, vow not cut either hair or beard. This Order adopted Buru and Kumina dances and drumming from semireligious cult. Both used to welcome fellow cultists from prison. Nyabingi dances, with Niabingi drumming on a set of three drums called akete i.e., Maroon war-horn-dances of fire and power, with emphatic footwork, jerky taut arm movements, stamping and abrupt turns, sudden stops and starts, fierce mime. Both dancing and drumming impressive. Through their longing for Africa, Rastafarians stumbled on their Jamaican roots.

(ii)   MORE SECULAR

a)   More Rural

European folk-dances, after they died out in Europe, took on own life in Jamaica, Quadrille, like mazurka, polks, jog, schottische etc., became widespread and indigenous. In quadrille slight but pervasive hip movements introduced. Quadrille, in remote European past, danced as fertility charm.

Mento very much a dance of African origins, featuring hip-sway and pelvic roll and connected with original courtship-fertility dances. Influenced by statelines and suaver quality of quadrille, especially as danced by older rural folk. In midst of quadrille figures, mento movements will be introduced and folk tunes played as Mento and quadrille. In towns and especially in cabaret dancing, more erotic aspects of Mento degenerated into belly dance. Even here not altogether lost vitality of original meaning. Mento, perhaps the national folkdance. Gentler than Trinidad calypso, somewhat like Cuban rhumba but without fast footwork, Mento, danced with shuffle step over small space, ripples whole body in up-and-down, side to side movement.

b)   More Urban

More urban and modern dances; Ska and the Regae, -response of rural folk, alienated from ancient folkways, confronted with rapid urban and technological change. Source of both dance and song heavy marked beat of Pukkumina and Zion Revival, part of dance movement of Ska taken from 'portion' of Pukkumina cultist's 'train'. Body bent forward, back almost horizontal, one leg placed forwards, slating outwards. Arms held straight out, loosely doubled in fists, move backwards and forwards in pumping movement which jerks head and shoulders forward. Changeover to other leg takes place by straightening back and putting other leg forward. Second part of dance owes origin to Jockey's dance in today's Jonkonnu - riding and whipping part. Arms bent from elbow, and fists held in front holding 'reins'. Whole body moves forward and back in jogging motion. Knees bent, 'riding' motion controlled from pelvis. One had goes backwards to 'whip' horse, swings forward to crack whip, with a sudden and dramatic _Crack_ then the 'riding' resumed.

Reggae, more honed down, energy more reined-in also, in essence, the Jockey's dance. Only, body held straight, and arms, one on belly, other stretched out to side, alternates as head and body keep up a muted tight rocking back and forth, from taut pelvis rather than from knees. Feet move, going forward change slant of rocking body. Dance of city streets, all excess rural energy away. Movement used in Revival cults by those cultists who - "rocking themselves into getting the spirit".

Reggae secular purpose, only enjoyment. Young urban dispossessed known as 'Rudies' associated with these songs and dances. Rudie at once macho (very masculine) and violent - assertion of manhood by ~~circumstances~~ the deprived. ~~Walk weapon dance — weapon - rachet knife. When society affords him manhood, both transformed into art; into the dance.~~ Dance expresses new tensions of new transitional social order. _disruptive_

PRESENT DAY REMNANTS OF JONKONNU

a)   Bruckins

Bruckings survives in Portland - originally celebrates Abolition of slavery 1838. Many 'play' patterns of Jonkonnu contained in Bruckings as shown in songs dealing with abolition; songs with dance use swords. Dancers wear costumes to match songs and dances, sometimes, words used. Similarity with Brazilian 'quilombo' celebrating important Negro events and with Trinidadian 'Cannes Brulees' which celebrated Emancipation. Sword dance in Bruckins represents fusion of African and English folk elements as seen in Jonkonnu.

Aggressive stance, walk, weapon, the ratchet knife. Dance, reined in energy, displaced violence, imposition of style on chaotic circumstance.

Bruckins movements today - dancer steps forward on alternate feet, bending over from the waist with movement forward of head and arms - arms jerked back as body straightens. (Similar step in Portland Jonkonnu - rhythmn different - by 'masquerade queen'). Queen strides forward, arms held regally, stiffly by side. Step called 'bruckins' - queen said to 'bruk' when performing movement. In Abolition Bruckins dancers use shoulders, arms and head for the 'bruckins' - faster tempo used.

b)   Jonkonnu

Now only Queen performs 'bruckins' step. Jockey does riding step; Pitchie-Patchie in multi couloured rags, shakes rags and body telling crowd to 'dress' i.e., make-way. 'Masquerade Queen' wears crown and veils face; also John Crow feathers and Jamaica beads. Warrior wears tallest head-dress and carries hatchet - same as Yoruba Shango - and sword. Dance consists of great leaps crossing sword and hatchet over head. Then bringing hatchet down on top of one leg onto ground telling crowd to 'dress'. Devilman prances and capers, dressed all in black (tight fitting) pants and shirt, mesh wire mask of tarred black mask with cowtail beard and moustache. Wears bell in place of tail moving constantly with pelvic motion making bell ring. Carries two pronged fork. 'Belly-Woman' a man dressed as pregnant woman with out-size stomach which slips as she/he dances, in jigging step - fertility symbol: makes crowd laugh. 'Policeman' costumed as real policemen. 'Whore Girl' (man representing her) dressed with strings of beads and feathers, wire-mesh face mask and silk panties and stockings. 'Wild Indian' - head-dress of feathers and beads. All head dresses decorated with small mirrors. All dances satirical. No central Jonkonnu. Band headed by fife player in charge. Tourism induces weekly performances for cruise ships. Jonkonnu at nadir. 'Whore Girl' and 'Wild Indian' now similar to belly dancer. Vestige of original meaning lost.

Chap ?

"IN THE KINGDOM OF JAH MAN SHALL REIGN"

Bob Marley and the Wailers ( )

"Social, cultural, political, psychological
and other non-economic variables influence the
economic behavior of individuals and groups in
every soicety; and these factors are important
in determining the pattern of development and
underdevelopment. First, most societies evolve
from an initial pattern in which agriculture
is the main activity. In consequence we find
that rural institutions subsequently influence
the nature of social development as a whole."

George Beckford, *Persistent Poverty*. ( )

The establishment of Crown Colony Government and the terror
of the military suppression achieved its purpose. The natives accepted
their role as native labor. Population growth hieghtened the erosion
of the minifunda, setting in motion that push and pull factor that
started the second Middle Passage, the exodus from the land into the
cities, into the shanty towns and the ghetto slums. As with the
first Middle Passage, the old beliefs like the old gods were carried
into exile and retranslated into ghetto dwellers, carried with them
their general attitudes towards the world. The attitudes had been
formed and moulded in the crucible of the fusion between African
descended Myalism and the mainly Baptist variant of the Christian
religion. This fusion had been the creative response of the people

to the pressures and challenges of their concrete conditions of existence. The important thing to note is that the essential features of these material conditions of existence did not change; if anything they became intensified in the harsh ghetto conditions, a variant of Dante's Inferno. Here in the shanty towns the people constituted a castaway contingent culture *Society?* in lines of barrack yards and temporary hovels constructed of discarded tins or motor car tires.

In the ghettos they were becoming expendable: unskilled labor used when needed, discarded to starve when not needed. The sharpness of actual hunger sharpened the revolutionary impulse, the Messianic dream, the millenarian aspiration. In the 1890's, in Kingston, the people were caught up in the Messianic movement of a prophet who called himself Bedward and who offered them flight to heaven, escape from their intolerable conditions of existence. As with the Maroons who fled into the interior fastnesses, Bedward's solution was a variant of escape, a _spiritual_ marronage. His marronage was to Heaven. ( ) On a certain day he was to fly to Heaven and send back for his faithful followers. There in Heaven they would be whole again.

The actual place, Jamaica, was still a nightmare to be escaped from. One wanted to turn one's back on reality. But while waiting, the ritual and the organization of the Bedward Church shared common symbols with the former indigenous conceptual framework. The 'doctor' of Myal who made the rebels invulnerable, who communed with the gods in the woods and was given their herb lore to bring the dead back to life, had been transformed into Bedward who would assure them a permanent future in Heaven where life would find its full expression.

Africa, the Golden Age of the Past to which they had yearned

to return was replaced by Heaven--a dream of the future made present.
The Ancestors of the past would all be symbolized by Christ--the hope
of the future.   The symbols were reversed, but in a species of <u>bricolage</u>
the elements were the same.   And the organization of the Bedward cult
participation of different groups, responded to the same collective
principle.   The dream of salvation was collective.   Bedward tried to
fly, failed, was sent to the asylum by the colonial authorities.
Alarmed at the organizational power of the group, ignorant of its
origin and of its meaning, afraid that Bedward would turn his eyes
from Heaven to colonial Jamaica, the colonial authorities took no
chances.

Later, Garvey's international New World Movement, his Back
to Africa campaign, was more far reaching in its scope.   It translated
the age old dream of return into modern terms: not the return of the
dead but of the living to the homeland.   But it too held elements of
a <u>marronage</u>, an escape into a 'reservation'.   Africa was to be 'reserved
for the black man wherever he came from.   His life in the New World,
and what he had build in it, was to be negated.   These centuries of
diaspora had been a mere nightmare to be ended and quickly forgotten.
~~As with the Jewish Zionists,~~ The Garveyites dreamed of return to Africa,
the historical motherland.

But the positive revolutionary side of Garveyism lay not so
much in its aim--escape to a mythical Africa--as in <u>its principle of</u>
<u>organization</u>.   It is the principle of organization of decentralized
groups, with total participation in the context of an overall frame-
work of belief, which had been central to Jonkunnu, to Myalism, and
which would be central to all the versions of Afro-Christian cults.
The Zion and Pukkumina cults in contemporary times for example, are

organized in groups, each group with Leader, Governess, Mother,

Shepherd, Water Maid, Cooing Dove, Train Driver, Conductor, all

functionaries who have a role and a function in the organization of

the group and in the order of the spiritual journey which is the

central theological ritual of the cults. Each member participates,

seeing in his duties, his opportunity to express himself creatively,

to 'deliver himself' as the cult phrase has it. In the dance portion

of the ritual that each one carries out, the individual expresses

his role in a communal "laboring of the spirit," by which the collective

attains a more authentic order of being, a deeper order of possession,

of self-fulfillment through communal release.

Shut out from any creative responsibility for their destinies

in the harsh reality of their lives, these cultists create a counter

world in which the brute labor of their daily toil is transformed

into the 'laboring in the spirit' by which they participate creative-

ly in their destiny. Both the Bedward group and the Garvey organiza-

tion, and later populist political movements were linked by this

principle of organization where power to the people was not a slogan

but by the imperative of a long, persistent tradition.

For example, the use of uniforms by Garvey, so much mocked by

his enemies, played a specific traditional role. These uniforms

responded to the same needs that had been fulfilled in the former

African secret societies, where devotees wore colors and costumes

appropriate and corresponding to their tutelary deities. In the

later Afro-Christian cult religions, as in Pukkumina and Zionism,

the devotees wore the costumes which their guardian angels designated

for them in a dream, or the costumes that symbolized their function in

the spiritual journey. But above all, the uniform, the 'costume' was

a recognition, in the terminology of the native tradiition, of the

individual dignity of each worshipper, a dignity which had its value,

given it in the total frame work of the group belief and activity.

The power of Garveyism came from its organization which responded

even more intimately than Garvey's conscious formulations, to the

imperatives of the cultural tradition of the New World black.

Modern political parties in the Caribbean, especially the

more populist ones build their organizations unconsciously on the

remnants of the old Garvey organization and on the example of the

cult religions. But they borrow the skeleton of the organization

without any of its implications. Their power as mass parties remains

in those areas where the people themselves have assimilated the new

political symbols into the infrastructure of the organization. But

at the leadership level--apart from the odd intuitive leader--there

is little awareness of this potential. Here the leaders have been

Westernized, and their political behavior, imitates Western techniques

and even Western terms of analysis--conservative, liberal,radical.

The paradox of course is that as all the variants of Myalism,

and the more secular folk culture (See attached table and Descriptions,)

accompanied the exodus from the country to the city, adapting them-

selves to urban conditions, they retained an essentially non-capitalist

principle of organization. Central to the capitalist principle is

the individual atom, with his labor power, whose price determined the

validity or lack of validity of his 'humaness'. In the cults, the

individual only expressed himself as such through the collective,

through his role in a ritual that existed outside the Market reality.

For in the Market reality the masses who were marginal to the produc-

tion process could have no being in the terms of that reality. The

reinvention of themselves had to depend on this collective and communal enterprise which they postulated in ideal terms. Here was a concrete organization of reality in which they could be the creative subjects, rather than the expendable objects of their own destiny. The organizational principle of the band or group with its decentralized emphasis reflects the non-capitalist imperative of participation by and through fraternal association. Bastide in his study of the black experience in the New World, points to this type of fraternal association as expressing the particular genius of the black group experience. ( )

In Bedwardism and Garveyism, in the cult groups of Pukkumūna and Zion, the complex yet ordered ritual constantly embodies a counter order which functions as a critique of the status quo which rejects the definition of the worshippers as the discards of the system. And this counter order is not a Market order. In the Market order they are the refuse of the system--the Lumpen--the outsider. ( ) This counter order, this position of an alternative, has functioned and continues to function as a critique of the status quo. The hostility of the ruling classes to the culture which issues this counter order is pervasive. They sense its threat. J. D. Elder has written of the struggle which the lower classes of Trinidad had to wage in order to win the right to carry on with Carnival, and to express the counter order of the popular culture. ( )

He points out how in Trinidad, the introduction of 'nigger grounds', like the plot in Jamaica, helped the black to evade the laws which prevented dances and music making. There on the 'grounds' the blacks had unsupervised sessions, and the opportunity to carry on

music, dance, religion. For, says Elder, the real attack of the
planter class was against the religions the Africans had brought.
The ban on drums was a ban on the gods. Drums were sacred to the gods,
Ananja, Dya Shango. And the gods continued a world view which was
subversive to the planter economy and to middle class morality, its
agent.

The struggle of the Trinidad Carnival and calypso music
against the forces of law and order, not only during but after
slavery, is the cultural history of the island. The battle was
joined early between the upper and middle class and the masses.
The struggle was about the freedom of the masses to manifest their
world view through song and dance. In the context of increasingly
urbanized Trinidad, black song, coming out of a 'socially revolutionary
are in Trinidad,' became the most powerful social weapon. It was
a powerful weapon because it still embodied the power of the gods.
Elder tells us that the earliest calypso which has survived deals with
freedom to worship the African 'power' (god) known as Shango. He
translated the song

> "Oh Ja ja Romy; I am coming to
> the dance of the god (Shango)" ( )

Trinidad Carnival sprang out of the Emancipation celebrations.
To mark the anniversary of freedom in 1838, traditional parades were
held on August 1st. These parades were versions of Jonkunnu. In
Jamaica, too, to celebrate and commemorate historical events, a special
form of Jonkunnu Parade-Bruckins--was organized. But Bruckins re-
mained in the country areas while Carnival became more and more urban,
more and more a part of the National scene. The Trinidadians called
the parade 'Cannes Brulees'. This means 'cane burning', and at first

depicted a folk play. The organization of the Carnival parade

was along the same lines as Jamaican Jonkunnu and the Brazilian

Maracatu with King, Queen, and royal attendants, these latter armed

with kalinda sticks. At the front of the procession were the baton-

iers, armed with fighting sticks. Next came torch-bearers carrying

large lit rush flares. Behind came the paraders. The "chantwell"

led the signing to the accomapniment of horns, rattles, conch shells

and drums. Behind came the mass of the paraders.

Until this, the blacks had had to stand by and watch the annual

Carnival held by the Spanish, and the Christmass mummings of the

British. They were not allowed to take part. The history of Carnival

and its development from here on, was based on the class-struggle

that underlay the determined attempt of the blacks to keep their

Carnival and of the whites, browns and educated blacks to suppress it.

After inumerable laws and restrictions had failed to get rid of it,

the whites and their auxiliaries left the streets to the blacks and

their Carnival, which they saw as a 'saturnalia', 'the buffoonery of

low and stupid folk'. (   )   Their songs were obscene and lascivious,

impertinently criticising their betters. [These latter hoped that

without them Carnival would die out.]

Instead the black Carnival developed along the principle of

organization native to it--a decentralized principle of participatory

organization. The 'band's system transplanted the original African

cultural concept of a society behind each group, each mask, into a

mode of participatory organization. As with Jonkunnu it created

communal loyalties among groups, moving out of ethnic tribal loyalties

into groups based on communal and conscious, creative artistry. The

competitiveness and division inherent in the macro-society caused the

rivalry between groups to be bitter and intense. Clashes between

groups gave the forces of Law and order a grievance, an excuse for

action.

In about 1877, a captain of police began to pass regulations ?

and rules to curb 'the various excesses of the Negroes'. ( ) In

February he and his men attempted to put out the torches of the

masqueraders. The subsequent riot lasted two days. The military

was called out. Soldiers from a visiting man of war ship came ashore.

But the riot went on. Only when the troops withdrew could the

Governor persuade the people to stop. They stopped, but concluded with

a rite. They carried effigies of Baker, the police captain, and burned

them in a ceremonial fashion. An enquiry was made into the 'distur-

bances'. The report recommended that Carnival should be regulated but

not stopped. Gradually torchlight processions were declared illegal.

The drum was banned. But the steel bands were the creative answer

of the blacks.

In 1884, another attempt to interfere with Carnival led to the

Arouca Riots, in which the Sergeant who led the police was killed.

Arouca was the center of the great Kalinda stick fighters. After the

riots, the Kalinda chantewell were jailed even more frequently. But

then the female song, the cariso, started its mutation into the calypso.

Bands multiplied; the popular tradition put down roots in the urban

asphalt. The tin oil drums, the rejects of the 'white economy' were

'humanized' as instruments on which to make music. In the future if

necessary the steel bands will be discarded in favor of some new way

of making music. The external, the contingent circumstances are not

important. The indigenous changes its externals in order to keep its

cultural dynamic, its apprehension of reality. The artifact, the drum,

the steel band is not valid in itself. What is the imperative

that demands a once more human world in which to see reflected the

'power' of Shango which is the power of man's creativity.

In Jamaica too, after Emancipation, the Jonkunno bands were

banned by the Mayor of Kingston. This ban led to rioting, but the

order remained in force. Jonkunno withdrew to the country districts

and the indigenous culture found new forms, expressing itself in a

secret underground current. Out of this current came a spectrum of

cultural survivals, religious cults, songs, dances, which we have

tabled below. ( ) *(see appendix for details)*

In Post-Independent Jamaica--since 1962-- under the intolerable pressures on the poor in the neo-colonial reality, two cultural areas indicated on the table have emerged. One is the millenarian Rastafarian cult, which has become the metaphor of the creative response of the ghetto dwellers to a new dispossession. And out of this cult has emerged, first the ska, then the rocksteady, then now the Reggae, which has begun to articulate a new vision for the dispossessed, a new rejection of the status quo, a new hope of home. In a paper on black oral tradition in the New World, I explored the significance of this new cultural response of the dispossessed: put in ref

"What is Reggae?" Pamela O. Gorman, in an article, An Approach to the Study of Jamaican Popular Music, defines it like this: ( )

"The 'Reggae' song has no beginning, no middle and no end. The preemptory up-beat of the traps which seldom varies from song to song, is less an introduction than the articulation of a flow that never seems to have stopped. There is no climax, there is no end. The music merely fades out into the continuum of which it seems to be an unending part. Like the blues, which shares with it this same characteristics, it lies outside the post-Renaissance sense of time and in this, it is essentially non-European." (   )

Musically, then, Reggae like the blues reintroduces a concept of time which is heretical to the Post-Renaissance sense of time. This latter sense of time is one related to the capitalist production in which as Lukacs argues, "time sheds its qualitative, variable, flowing Nature", and "freezes into an exactly delimited qualifiable

continuum filled with quantifiable 'things'; in short it becomes space." ( ) For Post-Reaissance Europe, the life of the worker was reduced to his labor-time. His life was quantified, valued at the rate at which he was paid for this use of his labor time, and the value of the rate he was paid for his labor time determined also the value of the <u>historical basket of goods</u>--food, social amenities, education, etc.--he was allotted for the reproduction of his labor power. This determined the value of his "human being". In that concept of time each man was strictly, heirarchically determined. In the <u>Capitalist/Western</u> production process his labor-power ( ) became man; and labor-time became his life.

The subversive quality of black popular music has been primarily in its assault on this sense of time, its freeing of time from a market process, its insistence on time as a <u>life</u> process. Each man experiences time. ~~Time is a lived/~~<u>experienced</u>, i.e. as qualitative rather than quantitative ~~time~~. It is this time, of course, that lyric poetry also explores, the only time in which it can have being. It is this time that the marginal men of the Kingston ghettoes ~~who~~ have created in the Reggae <u>experience</u> and out of which they write and sing their songs.

Let us look at one of the song/poems of Bob Marley, the artist, who, with his group, The Wailers represents the creative explosion of Reggae at its best.

Bob Marley sings:

S O Jah seh / not one of my seeds

shall sit on the sidewalk and beg bread

No they can't and you know that they won't. ( )

<u>Jah</u> is the form in which the religious cult group to which the musicians belong, the Rastafarans, reinvents the name and concept of the biblical <u>Jehovah</u>. What we shall note with the Reggae is the fact that it is related to the retotalization of an alternative heraldic vision, an alternative not only to the status quo of Jamaican society, but to the entire complex of Western values, that structure the imitative culture and reality of the Jamaican status quo.

SO JAH SEH is the Jamaican/English form for AS JEHOVAH SAYS. The difference is that between an oral-structured language and a written one. The Jamaican/English form of language is an oral transformation, an amalgam of former African structural speech patterns and English. This is the language that had developed over the "four-hundred years" ( ) as one Reggae song recalls, that Jamaica had been established as a plantation society, planting sugar for the world market. 1838 and the freedom of the former slaves led to the establishment of a peasantry, living on marginal subsistence levels and continuing the cultural creation they had begun with the Middle Passage. But the usual pattern of Third World travail-- large landed estates and peasant minifundia, an exploding population, the forcing of the excess rural population off the lands and into the shanty cities of Kingston, led to an explosive population that worsened after the 1929 depression which hit hard in such peripheral countries.

The pattern of religious creativity begun under slavery-- the slaves had reinvented themselves as men primarity through their invention of religion, ~~proving Marx's thesis that "religion is simply the recognition of the humanity of man in a roundabout fashion"~~

continued in the cities. In the early 1930's a sect called the
Rastafarian sect, which adopted Haile Selassie of Ethiopia as
the living God, began to create a world view which saw established
a society as <u>Babylon</u> and dreamed of a return to Ethiopia as Zion.
The Bible, and especially the old Testament, had become the high
tradition of the popular oral cultures of Jamaica.( ) So Haile
Selassie--his title Ras Tafari--gave title to the sect- was envi-
sioned as a black Jehovah, Jah. But he was one who lived on
earth, who promised a heaven here on earth--the Promised Land in
the kingdom of this world rather than in the sky.

As Bob Marley sings:

> We're sick and tired of your teasing kissing game
> to die and go to heaven in Jesus' name
> we know and understand Almighty _God is a living man
> You can fool some people sometimes
> but you can't fool all the people all the time
> and now we've seen the light (What you gonna do?)
> we gonna stand up for our rights...( )

The bluesman's personal plea to his woman--You are so <u>evil</u>
when we are together/ and so jealous when we are apart--is translated
in Reggae into the political recrimination with the State and the
ruling class. What you gonna do? Bob Marley asks, when the <u>ideal</u>
<u>abstract</u> solution of heaven after death is rejected, Jesus becomes
Almighty God <u>who is a living man</u>, and the demand becomes the demand
for concrete happiness here on earth, for redemption in and of the
flesh?

St. Clair Drake has explored the centrality of <u>Ethiopianism</u>
to the new World experience of the blacks. As he wrote, and we

quoted before in a chapter of his forthcoming book on the <u>Black Diaspora</u>:

"The people of the Black Diaspora, uprooted and thrown into the New World cauldron and melting pot, have had to grapple for centuries with the problem of how to preserve their dignity and self esteem in situations where white men held them in slavery...Great myths, the source of every people's deepest strengths---were needed to bolster their self esteem."(   )

The myth in this case, reinvents the being of the ghetto dweller, negates his present non-status. The World of the <u>sidewalk</u>--the pavement is the <u>street world</u> of the Reggae singer. This is his concrete reality. The song, by its words and by its act--that it is sung at all--negates that status by positing a future, a glorious one which is guaranteed not by Man, whom the Reggae singer knows he cannot trust since <u>Man</u> is the Boss who imprisons him in his present situation, but by Jah the symbol, the image of absolute Justice. (   )

Jah has prohesied and his promise is certain. The sidewalk ghetto dwellers are therefore <u>hijos d'algo</u>--sons of someone. They are of the very stuff of Jah, they are his seed. And he has prophesied that they will not sit on the sidewalk and beg <u>bread</u>. Bread takes on a special force here. Hunger, concrete hunger, haunts the lives of the ghetto dwellers in Jamaica. The longing for the absent love is the longing here for food, for material happiness. The society is divided between those who eat and those who don't. Bob Marley sings:

them belly full but we hungry

a hungry mob is an angry mob

a rain a fall but the dutty tough

A pot a cook but the food no 'nough

(their belly is full but we are hungry

A hungry mob is an angry mob

Rain falls but the earth is tough

A pot cooks but the food is not enough...( )

The role of hunger in the taking on of a lumpen consciousness is central. What is being exploited is not labor time but life itself. Cleaver has a valid point here that

"The basic demand of the lumpen to be cut in on Consumption in spite of being blocked out of Production is the ultimate revolutionary demand." ( )

And in Bob Marley's words it is Jah---created and postulated by man---who has determined that none of his seed should have to beg for bread. One must remember that this consciousness comes out of a situation in which 60% of the population shares 19% of the national income, where unemployment and under-employment hovers around 30% and where this underemployment is structural.

This is the man who is reinvented as Jah's seed and who, as such, takes on a new pride and dignity, a sense of self denied by the larger society. To formulate this sense of self he refers to himself as I-man, as I and I, and so Bob Marley adjures them to live together, to

Inite oneself and love Imanity( )

The I makes concrete the idea of the individual self and reinforces it. It is a taking on of a consciousness of self, like that of the earliest self-portraits. The Eye that asserts and sees and sites the presence is a distanced eye, this Eye that sees the I an I. And the belief in Jah that gives this identity

is that which causes I, a man, to endure. As Bob Marley sings:

> And down here in the ghetto
>
> down here we suffer
>
> and I an'I, I naw leggo (I am not letting go)
>   (I am hanging on in there)
>
> I and I hang on in there
>   (I am not letting go)
> and I an'I I naw leggo
>
> For so Jah seh.
>
> I am gone to prepare a place
>
> That where I am thou shall abide
>
> So Jah seh
>
> Fear not for mighty dread
>
> Cause I'll be there at your side. ( )

Contrasted with the official church and the official god of the
larger dominant society, the ghetto creators tear apart elements of
the dominant structure's heraldic vision and constitute them as their
first revolutionary act in taking control of their destiny, in
reinventing their being. God is replaced by Jah. So Jah seh
gives the oral quality of immediacy. But the prophecies are couched
in the King James English of the Bible, i.e., in a more "sacred"
language. Against the larger society's vision which sees them
as outcasts, they see themselves as the seed, the chosen people of
Jah. And Jah commands his chosen to stop interpersonal violence,
to live in peace together, to create an "Imanity," each man keeping
his concrete Imanity, yet uniting with those like him who suffer
the same experience of marginality, who live the experience that
the Reggae codifies.

For I man is a redefinition of humanity. Men are because
of the experience they suffer, out of which they reinvent themselves.

They have no rights to humanity based on property, not even the rights of the _property_ of their labor. Outside the production process they are unable to actualize that right. As the non-propertied, their sense of manhood goes beyond rank and status to bare forked unaccomodated man. I-manity replaces abstract humanity. The relation of togetherness will be concrete. Jah has gone to prepare a place that where he is, I man may abide. Here, explicit, is _the enchanted city of all millenarian movements_: the dream of that world where the state (Babylon) shall wither away, here takes on verbal/musical flesh.

Because of Jah, I and Man are sure that one day exile will end, that there will be a return to the Kingdom of Jah. In the kingdom of Jah _man_ shall reign. Pass it on! Pass on the good news. That is what the Reggae songs do. They are the prophecy made, the message, the promise articulated in words, music and song. The prophecy of Jah sings through the mouth of his believers, weighted with millenarian hope; yet at the same time it structures states of feeling which push ineluctably towards an inevitable confrontation with the real surrounding world: the ultimate demand that Zion be created here and now, that the kingdom of Jah become reality, the kingdom in which man shall reign.

Out of another dispossession, out of another Middle Passage of the spirit, Reggae, like the blues, like jazz articulates the revolutionary demand for happiness on the part of the wretched of the earth--the global natives of all races disrupted from their traditional cultures into twentieth century terror.

The Derived Self

CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS

"CAN A MULE SING?"

Big Bill Bronzy.

"I AM AN INVISIBLE MAN..."

Ralph Ellison

"The fact that the African cultures had an oral
rather than a literate base and the instance of
cultural isolation within the United States make
it possible to suggest a new method for examining
the Afro-American experience as a continuum. If
the American Negro managed to preserve his oral
culture and to extend its base into the greater
American society, then there exists in America even
today's "subculture" or "counter culture" with its
own social and value structures and a mode of
perceptual orientation capable of supporting such
structures. The retention of oral culture means
the survival of the necessary perceptual attributes."

(BEN SIDRAN, Black Talk, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
1971, p. 1.)( )

the emergence of the world market system and later rise to power
of the Untied States as the most successful expression of this
system. The refusal to see blacks as the outermost periphery
of the world's exploited labor force i.e., the _most_ devalued labor
force/ _most_ devalued human beings in an _internal colony_ of the
United States, a colony also of the world market system, with all
the corresponding consequences, is an _ideological refusal_. Hence
the uneasiness of all with the position of the black who is at one
and the same time a native of the United States, and the ultimate
symbol of native labor, i.e., of the super exploited labor of the
world market system. (a)

Fogel and Engelman saw that the black slave labor force,
growing cotton for England, was exploited not only in England and
the industrial North but by the consumers of cotton all over the
world. They point out that,

"the main gainers from the gang system were not

slave holders but consumers of cotton." (   )

They go on to say:

"Slaves as a class therefore, suffered a net loss in

1850 of at least 84,000,000 dollars so that the rest of

the world could benefit by 24,000,000...Most U.S. cotton

was consumed abroad... For every slave working in the

cotton fields, there were hundreds of consumers of cotton

...for every dollar gained by a typical consumer of cotton

cloth there was a slave labouring somewhere under the

hot southern sun who would lose at least $400.00." (   )

It is this dual identity of the black--the domestic native
of the United States and the ultimate symbol of the "native labor"

of the global market system, which has caused so much confusion, lead to so many ideological misinterpretations. As the early Congolese saw and warned, <u>negroes</u> were not a <u>race</u>; they were a social/historical class, <u>slaves</u>. Indeed the black in the New World was the first historical g*r*oup to be <u>created</u> by Global relations of <u>production</u>, i.e., by the relations between masters and slaves, men and natives, Crusoes and Fridays, Prospero and Calibans, between the settlers and the settled, the immigrants and the rest. ~~Relations of production are central~~ to the system.

It is in this context that we can begin to understand wy why John F. Kennedy's book which extols America as a "nation of immigrants" can find no real place for the black.( ) Except for a few uneasy references here and there, the black is the forgotten man in Kennedy's concept of the American nation. In the description of the different contributions of the several ethnic strains, and in the summing up of the different foods that the immigrants Americanized, the black's contribution exists in silence. This is but one example of that negation of existence, that wiping out of the blacks from the general consciousness, which James Baldwin has pointed out as the categorical imperative of white America.( )

In Kennedy's version of America, a picture of a slaveship is shown, ánd Kennedy allows that in 1619 "the first shipload of twenty Negro slaves arrived at Jamestown."( ) The entry before, dated 1607, tells of the founding of Virginia by English colonists, to 'fetch treasure' and enjoy 'religious and happy government'. It is here that the contradiction lies, a contradicition which Kennedy must overlook. The treasure to be fetched would include the black men therefore this happy government would exclude the blacks from

The white American, the immigrant American of whatever race or color, even black, needs his <u>nigger</u> as a surrogate autochtonous, just as the capitalist <u>colonizer</u> of whatever color needs his native. In the U.S.A. the <u>niggers</u> were the domesticated natives, seasoned to act out a stereotyped role, to replace the wild natives, the Indians who had been wiped out, cleared like mere underbrush of nature which was also to be dominated. But to assume that it is only a psychological need that requires the <u>nigger</u> is to perpetuate a false ideology. In the market reality of the United States where manhood is based on the value of labor power, the white American needed the <u>nigger</u> as the sign of devalued labor power in order to guarantee his relative value, his relative manhood. It was the negation of the black <u>nigger</u> that guaranteed the national identity, inauthentic and market dominated as it was, of the white American. And for the white American, as for the white European colonizer, the <u>nigger</u> was the sign that told him that even if he was being exploited, he could still share in the relatively greater exploitation of others. Part proletariat he might be, but also part settler.

As Sartre pointed out:

> "In fact racism is built into the system; the colony sells produce and raw materials cheaply, and purchases manufactured goods at very high prices from the mother country. This singular trade is profitable to both parties only if the native works for little or nothing. The colonial agricultural sub-proletariat cannot even count on an aliance with the least favoured Europeans, for every one lives off them, even the small colonizers... the average income of the Algerian Frenchman being ten
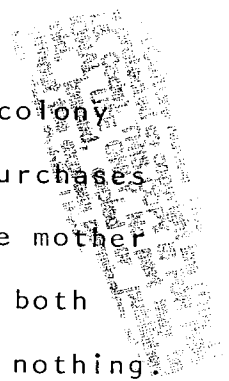
times that of the Algerian Moslem... Here the

tension is born..."( )

The ~~overlooking~~ oversight of the black reality and black culture in

the United States leads inevitably to the oversight of the fact that

the system which once super-exploited black labor <u>now finds black</u>

<u>labor expendable.</u> Genocide is ~~on~~ no longer a <u>paranoic</u> nightmare, it

<u>is happening--Genocide by slow death, death in life, by Moynihan's</u>

<u>benign neglect.</u>( )

The suicide rate of young blacks in Harlem ghetto is twice

that of young whites.

Black political action to contest this latest form of

dispossession must take into account the latest variant of the myth

of the cultureless blacks. When skin color and the concept of race

sustained the divisions in the labor force, the purposeful

ignorance of the black cultural tradition in the New World and

the pervasive cliche that <u>blacks ain't got no culture</u> served to sus-

tain the rip off. But now that skill versus lack of skill has become

the form in which division is to be perpetuated, the propaganda

which divides the sheep from the goats emphasizes the <u>difference in</u>

<u>I.Q.</u> While the smart black from the ghetto makes it, the less

smart is supposed to accept his "innate genetic inferority." ( )

Hence the Jensen/Shockley fascist formulations. Anthony Wilden

exposes this use of intellectual theory as a new form of the myth

of absolute differentiation:

"One can find innumerable instances of the use of the

term 'difference' in such a way as to conceal an ideological

commitment to social oppositions imposed from the top

down. The most obvious example occurs in the current

use of the real genetic differences between human

beings, but in a linear, quantitative and one-dimen-

sional fashion which projects the liberal assumption

of equalitarianism, away from the real differences

between classes and races into an assumed egalitarianism

of the environment. Both Ernst Mayr...and Jensen...

assume variations in people (correctly) and uniformity

in the environment (incorrectly). By reducing all

qualitative differences to a quantitative measure of

performance in a society tending towards its own

destruction, they effectively attempt to reduce real

political questions about the quality of life in the

United States to a new form of original sin (the inherent

quality of "giftedness to perform") ( )

The suicide rate of blacks in Harlem ghettoes expresses the
effectiveness of this new division. They are expendable now, not be-
cause of their low I.Q. The larger society, including blacks

who have made it, are made to accept the fact that those without

grace, i.e., genetic intelligence, are not being discriminated

against. Wilden goes on:

"The subtlety of Jensen's assumption of uniformity and

homogeneity is such that he at first appears to be

accounting for environmental differences. But what

his work carefully and deliberately ignores is the

positve feedback effect of power, economic status, and

class in a system of institutionalized racism, where the

psychological costs of conformity to its values produce

fleeting improvised people and Uncle Toms of all hues....

The panoply of scientific rigor masks the real context--

physical, social and economic --of the relationship between

tester and testee, mediated as it is by unspoken white

values." ( )

White values are inherent in the market system, determined

by the fact that relatively overvalued white labor of all types

is guaranteed in distribution and consumption patterns a relatively

larger portion of the world's resources for its historical basket

of goods with which it must reporduce itself. The WASP model which

holds U.S. society together, with as everybody attempting to assimilate,

is in effect not a biological but a social, historical market

construct. This model represents the old standard for labor power as commodity

in the capitalist world. The black anti-model, or rather the black as

polar opposite of this model, functions as the negative sign in

this mathematics of inequality. The black is the most historically

devalued labor power and his share of the historical basket of

goods with which to reporduce his labor--i.e., schools, hospitals,

etc.--is at the bottom of the market chain of being. Hence the

invisibility of which Ellison speaks when he writes that white

men's inability to see the truth of black reality is due to "the

construction of their inner eye, those eyes with which they look

through their physical eyes upon reality."( )

Those inner eyes are mediated through and through by the

market values of the society in which the cliche--every man has his

price--is a truism. Indeed, every man has his market value. If

the WASP functions as the norm of market valued man, the black

functions as his negation. Thus the so-called psychology of racism

is sustained by the market values(b) The entire society attempts to nationalize

itself as American by assimilating to the WASP model and rejecting

the black model. And, tragically yet naturally, as Fanon has shown,

the black has a need to be anti-black, too, since his unconscious

is shaped by the same forces as the white unconscious. <u>The black</u>

<u>rejects not so much himself</u>, as himself as a sign of the most

devalued model of human being. Who wants a Model-T Ford self in a

market reality when there is a Lincoln Continental self available?

Hence the black man's fascination with the white woman

rather than the black is a reflection of the market society's

fascination with the Lincoln Continental rather than a Model T

Ford. ~~Sex objects are designated~~ Sexual desire is mediated by the market. Eldridge Cleaver

gives an example of this in <u>Soul On Ice</u>:

> "I love you because you're white/Not because you're
>
> charming/or bright. Your whiteness/is a silky thread
>
> snaking through my thoughts in red hot patterns of lust
>
> and desire." ( )

The white woman exists as <u>a valued consumer object</u>. The relation

expressed above is the relation to a consumer object in a society

where consumption equals being and where each man is the value of

what he consumes at table and in bed.

Cleaver quotes the prisoner who spoke of his worship for

white women, of his hatred for black women, and then he tries to

analyse it:

> "For instance I don't know just how it works, I mean I
>
> can't analyse it, but I know that the white man made the
>
> ~~black~~ white women the symbol of freedom. Every time I embrace
>
> a black woman, I'm embracing slavery, and when I put my
>
> arms around a white woman, well, I am hugging freedom...

You may not believe this... when I off a nigger bitch, I close my eyes and concentrate real hard, and pretty soon I get to believing that I am riding one of them bucking blondes. I tell you the truth that's the only way that I can bust my nuts with a black bitch underneath me for if my hand happened to feel her nappy hair that would be the end, it would be all over. I might as well get on up and split because I wouldn't be able to get anything down, even if I piled her all night long. Any black man who says that he doesn't dig Jezebel is a goddam liar..."( )

The most intimate recesses of the psyche are penetrated by the market. [C] The white lynched the black for lusting after the white ~~black~~ woman in order to protect the market value of his "property," or his white pew. White neighborhoods protesting the black presence see that the presence of a devalued commodity object devalues their property. The proletariate of South Boston protesting the black presence is protesting what it sees as devaluation of its share in the Material a Psychological state in the status quo. national ~~basket of goods~~. Every instance of so called psychological racism is a racism mediated and determined by the market reality which prevades the society.

The so-called I.Q. intelligence tests, by which the black masses are now being ideologically excluded once again, are far from being objective tests. Rather they are tests carried out according to market imperatives ~~and completely ignorant of black culture~~. What is being tested is the ability of the child in question to perform well in the market reality, i.e., to produce that surplus value which keeps the market in being. The tests are

designed to measure each child's ability to perform well in the market system.( )

The black masses are conditioned by a material base marginal to the market process and above all by a culture created in response to this material base. This culture is the polar opposite of the market culture which defines the official status quo. The exclusion of black *opposed* *cultural imperatives* from I.Q. tests is therefore an ideological oversight.

As I wrote before:

"The super exploitation of black and native labor carried as its corollary the devaluation of his culture, since it is his culture that expressed him as a human being;... the process was dialectical. Negated as human, made into a commodity the black reinvented himself as human, as native...transformed into a <u>negro</u>, a commodity, his response was to negate this transformation."( )

The creation/transplantation of the popular culture in the New World reality by the black would spring out of the imperative of this negation.

The black oral tradition in the New World must therefore be seen as part of a dialectical process springing out of the Middle Passage travail. Sold as a commodity, dehumanized by the plantation system, later converted into inferior native labor, and in the global system made into the ultimate native, the black created a culture and reinvented himself as human and dwelt terribly, yet poetically, on the new earth.

For though the slaves were listed as mules on the plantation, they sang worksongs, humanizing labor, and spirituals, humanizing

travail. ( ) Disrupted from the land of the South into the
cities in a second Middle Passage--the Middle Passage that
all the natives of the globe are undergoing today--they created
jazz. And above all they sang the blues.

Work songs, spirituals, blues, jazz, were the counter-
poetics native and indigenous to the American continent, subterrane-
anly subversive of its surface reality.

Black & Blues of The American Dream

"The Negro rebellion in America is destined to usher in a new era in human relations and to add a thoroughly new conception of the meaning and form and content of social revolution. In order to make social progress the world as a whole must move towards unification within the democratic framework of human national, ethnic, or racial variety... In America however, we have an unsolved problem of a unique type of semi-colonialism. The Negro rebellion comes at this time to give voice to the long suppressed ethnic consciousness of the American Negro as he rises to the task to throw off his semi-colonial yoke. But this Negro rebellion, mistakenly called by some the Negro Revolution, is not revolutionary because it projects no new ideas beyond what have already been ratified in the democratic philosophy of the American Revolution...Hence we have projected the new concept of Cultural Revolution. We maintain that this concept affords the intellectual means, the conceptual framework, the theorectical link that ties together all the disparate, conflicting and contending trends within the Negro movement as a whole, in order to transform the movement that can "shape actions to ideas, to fit the world into the theoretical frame"... What has this to do with the Negro struggle for racial equality and why should the American Negro assume the initiative for such a task? Because the American Negro is the only ethnic group in America who has the need, the

motivation, and the historical perrogative to demand

such. Also because racial equality cannot be achieved

unless the Negro rebellion adopts revolutionary tactics

which can enforce structural changes in the administration

of certain sectors of the national economy..." ( )

(Harold Cruse: Rebellion or Revolution, New York 1968.) ( )

The Negro, said Cesaire, is the only human being in the

world whose humanity has been totally negated.( ) As a result

he is doubly alienated: as worker, as human being. This alienation,

this devaluation of his humanity takes place on the superstructural

level, and it is also this superstructural level that maintains in

being the relations of production which, defining him as lesser

man ideologically justify his super exploitation both as labor

power and as consumer. This is the paradigmatic case and the

vanguard experience of all the native labor of the world. As

such, the black has the historical perArogative to pose a different

kind of revolution both in the United States and in the global

market system for it is this market system which has colonized him,

negated him as man. The market culture operates at all levels of

It is this system which has done him not a particular wrong but wrong in general

his dispossession, at the economic infrastructural level and at

the superstructural level. Hence his imperative to initiate the

kind of structural changes which carry as their imperative both

a change in the definition of the United States and in the beginnings

of a new global civilization. The black oral culture of the New

World, spearheaded by the blues, by the whole complex of jazz and

its related variants, is the first articulated culture that is

globally popular, as the recent explosion of "soul" music in Japan

shows.

The black oral culture in the New World is above all subversive of the market culture, of the reality created and dominated by the market.

As I wrote before:

The black oral tradition has not been separate from the developments which lead to technology; rather it survived and developed at the heart of the large scale capitalist enterprises--the plantation, and its culture developed as a dialectical response to the dehumanization and quantification of life imposed by the system.( )

We showed this process in the earlier portion of this paper. Indeed the black, because of his situation in the market reality, has imperatively had to contest the market. His oral culture has sprung out of this contest. ~~Indeed~~ So has his political action. By and large, the early Civil Rights movement was a movement of liberal middle-class blacks and whites. It touched only marginally on the popular black masses until the Alabama bus incident awakened a collective response among the black people of the South. It was not so much non-violence that was the issue. (In the situation, given the minority position of the black, non-violence was the strategic and realistic decision that ~~luckily~~ tactically appealed to a shared Christian -collective- ideolog and/or morality.) Rather the power~~of~~blacks~~as~~a/group was the issue; power ~~and, above all,~~ activated through the churches, the collective ideal of decentralized group organization. The bus boycott brought an traditional ~~ancient~~ method of organization into contemporary reality. ~~And the~~ This organizational form was not confined to the work situation of the black, rather it extended into his boycott worked. total life situation. For it is in the totality of his life situati --and not only in his work situation whose organizational form is the trade ~~And it worked because it struck at the only point where the~~ union that the black is exploited. The boycott worked. It worked because it struck at the only point where the

market is vulnerable: the maximization of profit. Blacks could
ride in the front seats on the buses once it was shown that back-
seat-riding meant the minimization of profit. The action of the
blacks brought this lesson home. As consumers, the blacks had to
be equalized if profits were to maximize. The terror that the
blacks underwent paid off finally because what they threatened to
hurt was the mechanism of the market.

It was no accident that such a movement happened in the
South. It is there that the process of "indigenization", a
dialectical process of resistance and adaptation, had objectified
itself in the black Churches. The oratory of Martin Luther King,
a fusion of words and music, and rhetoric which sprang from
spirituals, blues, the entire gamut of the African experience in the New
World, came out of this process. This was King's power. His
weakness lay in the fact that he was not fully conscious of the sources
of his power. Nor was he given time to become so. But when he
linked the black struggle with the struggle of the natives in
Vietnam against their neo-colonial aggressor he, too, was taking the
black struggle beyond the Civil Rights myth of 'creolization,
assimilation', beyond the mythological reservation, the marronage
of the Black Muslims. He was beginning to accept the black as a native
of America, as its native son who lived on the nightmare underside
of the American experience. He was a native of America, and yet
would have to realize a different America if he were to actualize
his nativity. To realize the authentic America was to destroy the
inauthentic one. That is why the battle line stretched from
Alabama to Vietnam.

The Negro experience in the United States was essentially

only a variant of the native experience of all the devalued super-exploited labor of the non-west. His experience was the paradigmatic experience of all the natives of the world, the paradigm of the victim, and All the guilt felt by the oppressors in the system was projected onto him.

The black, according to Baldwin, is the necessary myth of the American dream.( ) He represents the other, that ~~human and the rest of~~ Nature which had to be fought with a stern Puritan conscience and conceived in the social phantasy system of market America as the latest weaponry. He is that savage interior beast, invested with an insatiable and uncontrolled sexuality, and a blind and merciless capacity for violence, to which is added an animal grace, a primitive sense of rhythm, and all the vitality and the capacity for emotion which are prohibited by the Protestant, the capitalist, ethic[d] For at the core of the ~~ideology~~ project of capitalism is the conquest of nature so as to substitute for the 'natural' laws of physical nature the 'natural' ~~human~~ laws of the market ~~man~~. A mythology of the market, a market projected outside history, becomes the antithesis to Nature. American man, the settler, ceases to be a 'specific part of Nature'. He is the being of the marketplace. He produces, he sells, he buys, he possesses, therefore he is. Nature is allowed to exist only in so far as it is reducible to this process. Natural man becomes 'human', in market terms only insofar as he detaches himself from his 'human nature' and internalizes the 'second nature' of the market, which is now postulated as his true nature. From the beginning the attitude of white, immigrant America toward to the nature of the New World, was a relation of dominance and of conquest. That is to say, a relation unlike This inspite of their traditional relationship to the Nature of the Old World ~~which had been~~ that a complex and dialectical

relation *ship* with nature which makes a man native to a place. The
genocide of the Indian was the genocide of nature. *also the liquidation of a certain relation to nature* The ravaging
of the brave New World, the enormous ecological problems faced by
America today are part and parcel of the same problem. So too is
that hatred for nature, for their own nature, for that identification
of an important part of their being, of their senses and of their
natural environment, with the Protestant hell. *And, in consequence* Here was their need
for appropriate devils which had to be tamed, domesticated. That
is why the <u>nigger monster</u> was made a <u>nigger minstrel</u>! Their own
sensuality, ~~their own capacity for being was~~ relegated to the jungle
of the unconscious, now that the actual jungle had been converted
~~for cash~~ *into* profit. The pagan gods of sex were degraded into wild men,
castrated of power. Just as their cities deny and exclude nature,
so their creation of the <u>nigger</u> denies and excludes their own
actualization of nativity. By denying the blacks *the Indians* their humanity,
by refusing to recognize their ~~importance~~ *centrality* to the American identity,
the immigrants of America remain *still part* immigrants: schizophrenic. The
concept of 'having' replaced the concept of 'being' and part of
what was to be 'had' was black labor*; Indian negation*
        As Marcuse points out, *in* an anonymous lead article *newspaper* in <u>Les
Temps Moderne</u> (January, 1966) "nature links the war in Vietnam with
the Puritan tradition in the United States. The image of the enemy
is that of dirt in its most repulsive forms; the unclean jungle is
his natural habitat, disembowelment and beheading are his natural
ways of action. Consequently the burning of his refuge, defoliation,
and the poisoning of his foodstuffs are not only strategic but also
moral strategic operations; removing of contagious dirt, clearing the
way for the order of political hygiene and righteousness."( )

The war against the native in Vietnam was fought both by American 'men' and American 'natives!' But the 'men' are also partly 'natives' of the system of which they are agents. The Vietnam defeat has brough home to the 'men' for the first time the fact that the system, the product that they made, is now out of their control. The black natives suspected it all along. The revolt of the blacks, the recognition of the ecological menace, the rise of Women's Liberation, even the stirring of the 'hard hats' are expressions of and the reactionary discontent of the middle class is why, for the beginning of a new consciousness. That is why for the first time in the U.S.A., the 'tragic feeling for life', hitherto confined to the blacks with their blues, has spread out and launched America into a new and tormented phase of history: The imperative of this new phase is: the destruction of the American nightmare which was the corollary of the American dream.

The 'blues,' old and new, are the most powerful expression of that nightmare/dream, not only its expression but its transcendence in the form of art and, as such, constitute its most powerful critique. It is to the extent that the blacks create and are created by the blues that they remain subversive of the immigrant reality. The black presence is defined by his music. This presence, undigestible in the American system, unmeltable in the American pot, is the ultimate question mark. It is, in the New World, a dynamic dialectic of terror and hope.

For the black cannot be just another group in the pluralist concept of America. The concept of pluralism is an capitalist market concept, a concept which permitted the coexistence of separate groups with separate interests. That is what puzzled Kennedy--why the Black did not melt into the melting pot of "Americanness." But blacks

had been in another crucible, one that had converted them into

the natives of the system. And the natives of ~~the~~ any system tend to

live in what Levi-Strauss has termed 'the cold society'( ) i/a

society which seeks to maintain or to recreate equilibrium. This

society, like peasant society, balances human needs against human

labor and seeks a labor/consumer balance. A society which seeks a rela-

tionship of equilibrium with its natural environment substitutes

the concept of equlibrium lost, sought, recovered, lost again,

for the ideal of progress. The ideal of progress is the ideal of

the 'hot society' which internalizes history as a dynamic, propelling

it on its march of Manifest Destiny. The goals are different, and

the second needs to cannibalize the first if it is to progress.

The first needs to resist, absorb and transform the first into its

own image if it is to continue to exist. Pluralism is the social

philosophy of the society whose dynamic is abstract progress. Now that

this progress has created a new nightmare, the purely defensive

of the alternative tendency

posture is no longer enough. As the Anglo-Saxon reality pushed

aside the thin Norman crust so that England could realize itself

as a nation, so now with America, the Caribbean and the rest of

the Third World. It is time now for the natives to move out of the

reservation, their ghettoes, out of their marginality and convert

the marginal into the mainstream. The ideal of the collective common

of the black underclass

good which underlay the black organizational genius now finds its

that

place in history. Now, says Paul Wolff, that the problems of the common

good, and not of mere distributive justice, confront America:

"We must give up the image of society as a battle-

ground of competing groups and formulate an ideal

of society more exalted than the mere acceptance of

opposed interests and customs. There is a need for

a new philosophy of community, beyond pluralism and

beyond tolerance." ( )

The native ideal, an ideal of the community, must replace the settler's.

America, the New World, the Caribbean, must cease being the frontier

of Western civilization and become itself. *the center of its own universe* The civilization of

the market must become the culture of a community. The caste society

of the settler and the settled, the pacifer and the pacified must be

abolished.

From the beginning, the immigrant concept of progress was alien *black underclass*
to the black since that began as an exploitation of him. He was *immigrant American expectation since part of that expectation*

hostile to the idea of capital since ~~that~~ *that capital & its accumulation* his own capital, his
~~labor had been stolen from him.~~ *had required his conversion into a commodity a thing the concept of labor* He was ambivalent to other workers
since ~~their work only fattened~~ *his labor had historically worked to strengthen that market mechanism* that which depersonalized and

alienated him from his own being. That is why the black problem is

the problem of the United States. The black *underclass,* in order to realize *itself*
~~himself~~, must reverse the social philosophy of the white: the common

good must replace the cult of the individual and the pluralist *as well as the cult of the group*
which is the pluralist
extension of this ethic. The black ~~became~~ *through a historical process has become* a native. He cannot *now*

aspire to be a settler. He cannot, however much he may long for this,

return to the anachronistic, and therefore barbaric ethic, of ~~the~~ *my group right or wrong*
other Americans. Rather he constitutes himself as that group whose particular struggle impels the
plural emigrants, the Greeks, the Italians, the Jews. He is native *United St...*
towards th
to America and requires that America be realized before he can *realization*
of itself a...
and whe...
actualize his nativity. To do this he must stand the American Dream *He now...*

on its head. It is in this sense that the lower class black, in
potential
Marxist terms, is the revolutionary group of America.
itself
~~Even~~ Marxism must be reinterpreted ~~to fit~~ *if it is to come to grips with* the black *reality...*

The proletariat of America, the hard hat, is part *settler* man, part native. All ~~other~~ *white* Americans in relation to the blacks *and other nonwhites* are men. The ~~battle~~ *struggle* among these Americans is one of class. Between them and the blacks *and not whites* it is one of cast, but caste created not by blood but by the market. The *totally* exploited are, in the context of America, the blacks; *the nonwhite underclass* In the context of the world, they are the Third World. In the context of the Third World countries themselves, the *totally* exploited are the rural agro/proletariat, the peasant-proletariat, whether they remain in the country or are disrupted to the towns and converted into the marginal masses. Cannibalized into the mainstream of the exploiter, theirs is the *catalytic* task of ~~bringing about~~ *occasioning* a mutation, ~~from inside.~~ *For what we are talking about is a new global culture a new civilization*

In the Caribbean and in the U.S. South, the plantation imposed a system in which the economy was ~~the~~ mainstream and the people ~~were~~ marginal. The economic impulse took precedence over all else. The provision ground and its folklore construct sprang out of the slave's attempt to grapple with a new nature, in a new and complex relation*ship.* It also sprang out of the slave's attempt to grapple with a new reality *a second social nature* the plantation reality. Folklore, sprung from the provision ground; was "the cultural guerilla resistance against the market economy."( ) Like the provision ground, it was at once complementary and opposed, static and dynamic, embodying old traditions in a principle of change at once adaptive and resistant to the plantation reality.

From the principle of adaptation came the cultural process known as <u>creolization</u>. From the principle of resistance comes the separation principle which I label <u>marronage</u>. From the contradictory adaptation/resistance process comes the concept of <u>indigenizaiton</u>. These three processes lead to three well defined philosophies of

action on the part of blacks in the New World. Creolization leads to the

philosophy of integration. Marronage leads to the principle of separation.

Indigenization must lead to the principle of liberation. What we are witnessing

today all over the world is the eruption of the natives of the world from their

marginal reservations into the mainstream of the supernatural systems.

"The Negro Concept of Cultural Revolution demands that

both the American national psychology and the organization

of American cultural institutions be altered to fit the

facts of what America really is. Culturally speaking

America is a European-African-Indian racial amalgam--

an imperfect and incompletely realized amalgam. There-

fore the American racial problem...is essentially a

cultural problem of a type that is new in modern history.

Until this is intellectually admitted, and sociologically

practised, chaotic and retrograde racial practises and

conflicts will continue in American society. This is

why the concept of Cultural Revolution becomes an

intellectual means of introducing a new set of ideas

into American social theory. A basic reaason why the

cultural aspect of Negro reality has been overlooked,

dismissed and neglected is that most articulate and

intellectually-inclined Negroes are beguiled to think

of culture solely in terms of the white Anglo-Saxon

ideal, which is the cultural image that America

attempts to project to the world. The American

national psychology prefers to be regarded as an all

white nation, and the American cultural arts are,

therefore, cultivated to preserve and reflect this

all-white ideal. Any other artistic expression is

regarded as an exotic curiosity." (   )

             (Cruse op.cit.p. 113)

place note in
footnotes

The oversight of an alternative culture has been determined by
market considerations, for the ~~market~~ *totalitarian* reality works to present itself as
the only possible reality, its market values as the only possible values.
Indeed, the values of the marginal masses, values sprung from a different
material base, are not operative <u>within</u> the market context, ~~which~~ *since it* works pre-
cisely to exclude such values. Hence the failure of various poverty
programs has lead the puzzled authors of <u>Beyond the Melting Pot</u> to write in
1970:

"...<u>Beyond the Melting Pot</u> did suggest that a significant check to
the economic rise of the Negroes might be found in the values of
American Negroes themselves; these played some large but not
fully explicated role in economic development." (   )

Any fully explicated analysis of this phenomenon, would lead to the
conclusion that the values of the American blacks, and of the native majorities
who exist in similar circumstances in the world wide economic system, are values
that prevent their economic development. For the framework of development
against which they are measured is a market framework in the context of which
American blacks, and native majorities, play the necessary role of the 'hinter-
land/frontier, *the* <u>exploitation</u> of which provides the material base *f*or the ~~ideal~~ *super*
structure of the market-place. That is to say, the blacks and the native
masses are the prescribed sacrificial <u>victims</u> of a market place religion which,
by the nature of its being, needs victimizers and victims. This division is
the original sin of all cultures.   The guilt from this original sin is
subsequently projected on the victim. The values of the victim, the human/ *opposed*
~~natural~~ *cultural* values which condition his being, are the very values which make him
vulnerable to the market values of the victimizers. It is typical that
Glazer and Moynihan, having internalized ideal market values, should see the

the failure of the blacks as an incapacity rather than as an indictment of

the dominant values to which they subscribe.

It is the 'failure' of black values to adjust to the prevailing reality

[above "values": Cultural]

which explodes the melting pot myth, and leads Moynihan and Glazer to

conclude and confess:

> "This continual deferral of the final smelting of the different
>
> ingredients (or at least the different white ingredients) into
>
> a seamless national web as is to be found in the major national
>
> states of Europe suggests that we must search for some systematic
>
> and general causes for this American pattern of subnationalities;
>
> that it is not the temporary upsetting inflow of new and
>
> unassimilated immigrant, that creates a pattern of ethnic groups
>
> within a nation but rather some central tendency in the national
>
> ethos which structures people, whether those coming in afresh or
>
> the descendants of those who have been here for generations into
>
> groups of different status and character."( )

This central tendency is itself a tendency not of the national ethos but of

the anti-national influence of the prevailing market system which obstructs

and frustrates the formation of an authentic national ethos. In place of a

national ethos there is a basic incoherence, an incoherence which is given

ideological form in the concept of pluralism. Central to this concept is the

idea of American society as a market place in which each separate group strikes

its bargain. The identity of the nation is formulated through market relationships.

And since the black came in not as a group, buying and selling, but as a

commodity bought and sold, he therefore exists as the negation of this concept

of contract and as the negation of the nation in its market conception. Individual

blacks--labelled by Frazier the black bourgeoisie-- can, by internalizing the

values of white settler America, by negating their actual historical role,

enter the market relationships of the nation. As such, this black is a

settler-American, as equal in dollars and cents as any other.

But he does not enter as a <u>group</u>. He competes individually, as the

nominal Negro, the token Uncle Tom, the 'you are not like the others' black.

But his black condition leads to a paradox in which his achievement marks the

non-achievement of his group. And the non-achievement of his group is the

categorical imperative of the very system in which he achieves. For the pro-

jection of an absolute ideal requires an absolute non-ideal to reject. In

the absolute ideal of the market, the black became the symbol of that Nature,

of that native reality, of that 'human nature,' all to be rejected. The guilt aroused

by the exploitation of nature and one's own "human nature" is thereby

transferred to the black, to the native masses in the Third World, and

leads to the creation of the <u>nigger</u> stereotype in the U.S.A., <u>el indio</u>

<u>bruto</u> in Latin America, and to the varying pejorative formulations for 'natives'

in other Third World countries. The stereotype not only serves as a scapegoat

to absorb the guilt. It also obscures, like a trick mirror, the <u>true content</u>

of the values which the prevailing system, if it is to continue to prevail,

must reject. The values of the American blacks which provide a "significant

check to the economic rise of the Negroes" are alternative values, which, expressed

in however distorted a manner given the prevailing incoherence, provide

a pervasive critique of the system and an ultimate challenge: if blacks are not

made for the system then the system must be remade for blacks.

What is true of the blacks in the intra-empire of the U.S.A. is true

for the native masses, the neo-colonialized, in the extra-empire of global

monopoly capitalism. Glazer and Moynihan, speaking of Negroes and Puerto

Ricans in New York City, write:

"To a degree that cannot fail to startle anyone who encounters

the reality for the first time, an overwhelming portion of both

groups constitutes a submerged, exploited, and very

possibly permanent proletariat."( )

And a Labor Department Report which initiated the second phase of the U.S.

War on Poverty beginning in 1967, after investigating black ghettoes and slums

in New York City, Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Louis,

San Antonio, and San Francisco, concluded that:

"No conceivable increase in the gross national product

would improve these backwaters."( )

Both Stavenhagen and Gunder Frank have brought evidence to show that

the underdeveloped backwater and the over developed-metropolis are two poles

of a single historical process. Gunder Frank, in addition, proves that the

most underdeveloped are those which have had the closest ties to the metropolis

in the past. He concludes:

"This hypothesis seems to be amply confirmed by the former

supersatellite development and present ultra-underdevelopment

of the once sugar-exporting West Indies, Northeastern Brazil, the

ex-mining districts of Minas Gerais in Brazil, highland Peru and

Bolivia and the central mining states of Guanajuato Zacatecas and

others whose names were made world famous centuries ago by their

silver. There surely are no major regions in Latin America which

are today more cursed by underdevelopment and poverty; yet all of

these regions, like Bengal in India, once provided the life blood of

mercantile and industrial capitalist development--in the metropolis.

These regions' participation in the development of the world

capitalist system, gave them already in their golden age, the

typical structure of underdevelopment of a capitalist export economy.

When the market for their sugar or the wealth of the mines disappeared

and the metropolis abandoned them to their own devices the already

existing economic political and social structures of

these regions prohibited autonomous generation of economic

development and left them no alternative but to turn in

upon themselves and to degenerate into the ultra-

underdevelopment we find there today."( )

The black population of the slums and ghettoes is the hinterland/

backwater of the intra-American urban economic system. They show the typical

structure of underdevelopment, typical in relation to the over-development of

dominant economic system. This superordinate system prevents the possibility

of alternative roads to the over-coming of this underdevelopment. To do

this they dams up the alternative cultural possibilities which exist in

these 'backwaters.' The possibility of change is contemplated only within

the lines laid down by the superordinate system. The backwater is created

by the relationship between dominant and dominated.

The rest of the Free Third World exists, too, as 'backwaters' in their

relation to the dominant world economy. Their cities are the imperial 'urbs'

which act as the agent/ports for the exploited hinterlands. And the governments

and bureaucrats who rule from the city are agents, willy-nilly, of an economic

process where the increasing gross national products enrich primarily the metropolitan

areas and secondarily, the agent class in the neo-colonies. Like the U.S. blacks,

the native masses increasingly disrupted from the land by the processes of

'modernization,' pour into the cities to create on a global scale, replicas of

the prototype, the black slums and ghettoes of the U.S.A. The nineteenth

century national struggles between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has

moved into a twentienth century stage between 'men' and 'natives'. Both are

created by an economic relationship sustained by the market.

The black in the New World was the first native so created. The massive

exodus into the cities taking place all over Asia, Africa and the New World,

parallels the early enforced diaspora of ~~a~~ the black labor force.

Blacks, living for centuries on the underside of the American myth, have

already experienced domination by a system whose fantastic acheivements have

been attained at the expense not only of his ~~own~~ the blacks humanity, but also at the expense

of the humanity of the agents (fo) the system. That is why the black

presence remains the ultimate question mark. This presence is, in the New World,

up and down the brown, black, and white Americas, a dialectic of terror and

of hope. As George Jackson expressed it, a dialectic of 'Narodnik and Nihilist.'( )

This is Kennedy's new frontier, but in a different time, space and area of

experience from that about which he dreamed. His was the last shred of an

illusion. With him died a problem. That problem, still posed by the dream,

was how to integrate the blacks into America. The problem now is quite another:

How to _realize_ that nation which is authentically America. And it is the

'black problem' the non-white problem which poses the solution.

> "Rather I've always strained to see the indivisible thing
>
> cutting across the artificial barricades which have been
>
> erected to an older section of our brains, back to the
>
> mind of the primitive commune that exists in all blacks." ( )
>
> (George Jackson, 1970)

> "...it is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as
>
> other ethnic groups viewed themselves because- and this is
>
> the key to much in the Negro world- the Negro is only an
>
> American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture
>
> to guard and protect. He insists that the white world
>
> deal with his problems, because... he is so much the product
>
> of America...." ( )
>
> (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963)

In the second edition (1970) Glazer explains that he was wrong:
blacks do have 'values and culture' but that,

> "...Negro values and culture were so completely
>
> American in origin, that Negroes, as against other
>
> groups of foreign origin, had no strong incentives
>
> to create schools to preserve a foreign language,
>
> hospitals and old age homes to give comfort to
>
> those raised in a foreign culture, or even to develop
>
> retail stores to serve a distinctively foreign market." ( )

Now he has seen the light. Glazer goes on by saying that the fact that
"..Negroes saw themselves as American did inhibit to some degree the develop-
ment of a fully elaborated set of strong organizations along the lines of other
groups. But, argues Glazer, a "conscious awareness of foreign origin based on the
reality of a foreign culture" is not the only factor in the 'establishment
of a strong set of social organization.' He goes so far as to concede that
it is "by no means abosolutely essential" and to point out that the Mormons
had been created 'out of completely American origins.'( ) The Mormons prove
that "foreign language and culture is no requirement for very strong social
organization'. In fact,

> "Out of American origins, one can create a distinctive
>
> sub-culture which generates the need for its own organization,
>
> to guard and protect it. This has certainly happened as a result
>
> of 300 years of Black Ameican history, and could serve as
>
> sufficient basis for strong organization, regardless of the
>
> contribution of African origins."( )

The original insight of Glazer, that blacks are 'more American' than
any other immigrant group in the United States, was distorted by the upside

down perspective by which, as a white settler American, he viewed reality. It is clear that he accepts as the norm the pluralist concept of America, in which different ethnic groups promote their own interests through different organizations; in which politics represents negotiotiations and adjustments between the different interests of the competing ethnic groups; in which the politician "is a middleman in the power transactions of the society."( ) But for this system to work it is necessary that each individual belong to or be able to be absorbed into a 'group' interest. This group interest can be ethnic or organizational, i.e., trade union, employer's federation or ethnic, Jew, Greek, Italian. Outside of these groups, the individual has no validity. To be 'American' like the black is to belong to no group, since there is no overall concept of an American group. Pluralism is in its essence a settler immigrant ideology. As Robert Paul Wolff points out:

"It [pluralism] eases the conflicts among antagonistic groups of immigrants, achelves a working harmony among the several great religions, diminishes the intensity of regional oppositions, and integrates the whole into the heirarchical federal political structure inherited from the founding fathers..."( )

It is clear that it is pluralism itself which constitutes that 'central tendency in the national ethos which structures people...into groups of different status and character." ( ) For the concept of the plural society is a concept basic to the colonial condition. A plural society is a society where its citizens meet only in the market place and is an organizational expression of colonial capitalism. For a plural society is the answer to the categorical imperative of the imperialist--Divide and Rule--, and far from being an expression of tolerance of differing groups, it is a perpetuation of these groups. The plural group concept lies at the heart of what we have termed 'inauthentic nationalism'. Its tolerance is a 'repressive tolerance,'( ) tolerating and

consolidating the power of the dominant groups against the challenge of
the outsiders to the system. It is the greatest barrier to genuine nationalism
and to nationalism's purpose of "constituting the whole society a genuine
group with a group purpose and a conception of the common good."( )

It is this kind of nationalism that pluralism rules out

"by portraying society as an aggregate of human communities
rather tan as itself a human community; and it equally rules
out a concern for the general good in practice by encouraging
a politics of interest group pressures in which there is no
mechanism for the discovery and expression of the common good." ( )

What we have tried to show is that both the African origins of the New
World black and his American experience involve him in a principle of
organization which demands as its imperative a <u>conception of the common good</u>.
Within this context, the members of groups compete, not each for his own
interest, but to actualize in practice this concept of the common good. The
group is thereby constituted, as in the cult, the bands, the sets, the Church,
not on the basis of ethnic or racial diversity, but on the basis of a <u>common
collective endeavor</u>. This is the 'primitive commune' that Jackson hints at.

The pluralist concept, based on ethnicity, tends to substitute caste
for class. That is why racism is inherent in pluralism as a social, political,
and economic theory. The <u>caste</u> system accepts the society as being 'naturally'
heterogeneous. It accepts each ethnic groups as a 'natural species' and the di-
visions of the society as 'natural'. The plural society is therefore
paradoxically held together by the principle of divisiveness. The 'natural'
acceptance of the 'natural' interests of each group, excludes the concept of
the common good. Glazer and Moynihan argue that "black defines, not a race, but
a cultural group", in other words, an ethnicity. They then imply that the

solution to the black problem is for the blacks to develop and strengthen their ethnic group feeling. While they argue that 'ethnic divisiveness' should not be fostered, they conclude that 'the reality of group existence and group attachment' should be accepted as long as it does not become 'the sole basis of public decision.' Their solution to the black problem is to make the blacks one more legitimate interest group within the prevailing pluralist philosophy of America. Although the black is only 'a product of America,' they argue he can form his group too, even if his experience is only the American experience. He can then insist that the 'white world' deal with his problems since they are not only his problems but everyones. And Moynihan and Glazer breathe a pious hope that,

> "Once they have become everyone's perhaps they will see that
>
> they are his own too." ( )

It is typical of white America to see the problem the wrong way round. It is the white world and the concept and practice of pluralism which confirms and strengthens the power of the white world, which is the black's problem. Part of the problem that the white world poses is this very insistence on seeing the problem upside down: as if cancerous cells were to accuse the tortured body of invading them. The black is American, and nothing else--his return to Africa will, as we have shown, only strengthen his American roots. His is not the deviant, but the norm, the pattern to which all should aspire if America is to be actualized as a people and not as now,

> "a new nation on the North American continent made up of wildly
>
> different nationality groups..." ( )

This, the achievement of an American people, cannot be conceived within the structure of the present economic system. That this 'ethnic' shorthand is desirable, can only be construed from within the absolute blindness of two men who accept the ethnic groupings--in which their own groups are

and advantageously

are thoroughly at ease--as the norm and pattern for society. If the common good

of an American people were the basis of the system, the ethnic strength of groups

such as Jews, Italians, etc., would not be an advantageous norm, but merely a

carryover of traditional patterns which are barbaric because they are anachronis-

tic. The ethnic grouping is not a living dynamic impulse, but a defensive posture

whose structure

in a society which makes group defense disturbingly necessary. It is not the

black who is wrong for being so "American" but the white for not being suffici-

ently "American." And he cannot be American as long as he lives in an settler

position vis a vis his own nature and his natives. To be a colonizer is to

be a man in a certain relationship. The colonizer is never native. He remains

what Freyre termed a horizontonal settler: living in a state of psychic

uprootedness.( ) The strength of the ethnic group is an advantage in the

prevailing American reality. But this prevailing reality is sick. The

acceptance and understanding of blacks' inability to adjust as a group is the

first condition for the potential realization of the authentic America. This

ment propaganda

is not easy. The established reality under the guise of objective scholarship,

turns the truth on its head. The celebration of the "tolerance" of pluralism

is the celebration of institutionalized racism. And even blacks have come to

celebrate this doctrine whose acceptance implies their rejection. As George

Jackson wrote:

"You see, my father, we have been 'educated' into an acceptance

of our position as national scapegraces."( )

And he goes on to turn American reality on its head by redefining, without

mentioning by name, the concept of pluralism implicitely accepted by Glazer and

Moynihan:

"Their philosophy concerning government and economics has an

underlying tone of selfishness, possessiveness, and greediness

because their character is made up of these things....They cannot

understand that ~~from~~ each according to his needs is the only

way men can live together without chaos."( )

The character is formed by the philosophy. Pluralism is a rational

justification of chaos, the ideological defense of the continued domination

of the market system.

"The very concept of black power is informed with Soul,

so on the deepest levels of meaning it implies a kind of

society which is radically different from the one we now

live in. It implies, to use Lerone Bennet's words again,

a life geared to the spirit rather than the letter, a

relaxed and non-competitive approach to being, a complex

acceptance of the contradictions of life." ( )

(Stephen Henderson, 1969)

In a recent paper on the black oral tradition in the New World, I

pointed out that:

"Black music, in church or secular form would continue to

articulate a rejection and a refusal of that Western bourgeois

humanism, which in dethroning God and celebrating "man" needed

a non-man as "devil", as non-man, to define itself against--and

made of the black slave, the Ultimate Other. If the Western

bourgeois world rose to hegemony on the shattered lives and

identifies of that 'mass of nameless individuals' who underwent

the ordeal of the Middle Passage, it was on that nightmare journey

too, that the negated group, excluded from humanity, began that

long and ambivalent process by which it would forge a consciousness

and identify which was and would be the negation of that structure

of values which had defined, by devaluing their labour, turning

it into a naked form of commodity, black human beings as merchandise

and counter men, as the ultimate non-man of the global system." ( )

And herein lies the paradox. The black man, converted into commodity/object,

social phantasy system

used his former culture to restructure a heraldic vision which would create

him, define him as human. And in defining himself as such, he became the neo-native of the American continent--and the proto-native of the emerging world system.

In defending and defining his right to the particularity of black humanness, he was compelled, by the ~~hostility~~ *total negation* of the post-fifteenth century *which placed him at the polar end of humanist being* Western world-view to create an alternative vision of human values, which would negate his own negation.

That is to say, the black man, in defending the particularity of his black right to human status, has in the context of the emerging world system, created the matrix of a heraldic vision which is formed about the universal right to human status. This human status is seen not as a prior essence but as a potential invention which all men should be allowed to create for themselves.( ) Hence the black oral tradition bears within itself the challenge to Western humanism. The bourgeoisie defended their right to manhood against the nobility, but while the bourgeoisie's claim to manhood was based on human essence as property and finally legitimized by the ownership of property, the claim of then*new* ~~we~~ popular cultures is based concretely on the man as man, El hombre de carne y hueso, of bone and flesh. Ben Sidran points out that:

"Black Music was particularly attractive because of its basic adherence to emotional truths. You cannot lie in the blues."( )

The blues like all variants of lyric poetry, let the truth of emotions emerge. This truth of emotions remains marginal, in the blues and formal poetry, providing a counter-culture to the Watergate world where truth is only permitted when it is ~~useful~~ *operative*. In the blues and in formal poetry a man is a man without rank or status and a thing is a thing.

Here in jazz and the blues, reason and the senses are dialectically linked in what the blacks call soul. *Soul is that which in* that ~~negated~~ poetry, blues and jazz becomes a mode of cognition ~~to negated~~ *reduction by both* western analytic

reason ~~and~~ Western irrational intuition. For soul, like the poetry and music of which it is the well-spring, is strictly structured and <u>thinks itself through the senses</u>: rhythm as the aesthetic/ethic principle of the gestalt.

It was this radicalization, this heresy of Western values, that was carried on by the music of the Beatles. The Beatles evolved from black music which they ~~plagiarized~~ adapted. What we must ask is why? Here we shall note that the black cultural matrix was the only one available to them as ~~unconscious~~ class outsiders natives, in England. In their effort to break out from the pervasive middle class world view which had for centuries crushed the free play and inventiveness of the working class they naturally gravitated to a culture which spoke to their plight. That is to say, their social situation as outsiders was the imperative of their being which made it possible for them to emotionally hook into the underground reservoir of cultural heresy that black music embodies. They weakened it, yes, even adulterated it, but they also helped to globally disseminate those musical patterns which are carrying through the most difficult of all revolutions--<u>the transformation of psychic states of feeling</u>.

It is the paradox of the black oral tradition in the New World, too, that this culture which was created to shelter blacks against the total assault of the capitalist system should now be the motive force in the revolt of all those, of all races, whom the system has also negated. [9]

It is not too sweeping to say that it was by his concious acceptance of this paradox--posed and extended by black music--that Malcolm X threatened to become the leader of a revolution that was at once black and American. And the blazing incandescent letters of George Jackson, the epic revolt of Attica, presented the same kind of danger--the black recognition and acceptance of the particular/universal nature of his twentieth century role. This is a truth so

simple that it evades the normal eye, but the eye of the system is alert to the threat of cultural heresy.

The death of Malcolm X, was one way of wiping out a threat. ~~Now the~~ *Today* suicide *& jobless* rate of young blacks—twice as high as that of whites—shows that the domestic natives are being cleaned out of their native habitats by drugs, unemployment, uselessness and death, ~~just~~ *last original* as the Brazilian Indians are being exterminated as casually as one would swat flies. It is here that the domestic natives and the reservation natives meet, here that we see that the site of the struggle is the same for all of us.

It is no longer a question of preserving natural habitats. No one today can escape the condition of exile in the modern world. It is a question of reconquering this exiled world to make it the habitat of a human ethos instead of the market habitat of commodity objects. We must humanize, which is to say, poeticize our object world. And this will be done only as a part of our common struggle to defend our disputed status as men.

Insert from 247 ⟶ The re-examination and reinterpretation imperative.

⟶ Cruse quote ;

As I wrote before

"If we examine this cultural side of the race question in
America very closely, we will find that, historically and
culturally speaking, the white American, Anglo-Saxon cultural
ideal of artistic and aesthetic practices is false, predicated
as it is on the myth of Western superiority in cultural tradi-
tions and conceals the true facts of <u>native American cultural</u>
development. What the white American creative artist or
cultural critic is upholding as 'superior; is the Western
tradition of cultural creativity stemming from European sources.
The statement often heard that 'America has no real culture'
is not far from the truth.
But to say that white America has not been culturally creative
or original does not mean that America as a racial or cultural
amalgam has not been culturally or artistically original. The
historical truth is that it was the Afro-American cultural
ingredient in music, dance and theatrical forms, the three
forms of art in which America has innovated, that has been the
basis for whatever is culturally new and unique that has come out
of America...the Afro-American ingredients formed the basis of
all popular cultures as opposed to 'classical culture' in
[Cruse, op. cit., p. 114]
America.....All Europe now finds American jazz as necessary as
the seasons..American jazz has now become a universal language. *delete*
It knows no national boundaries..."( )
(The New York Times, 1955, quoted by Cruse op.cit., p. 115)

    The re-examination and reinterpretaion of the black oral popular
cultures of the New World now becomes imperative. As I wrote before,
    "In that peculiar interpenetration of base and super-structure

that defines our societies in the New World, the cultural

levels play a key role in that conjuncture of forces which

must be brought into play if we are to realize the promise

that this continent, unique in history, has always held ( );

that of being the continent where the four great races of men,

as Carpenter points out, races who lived for milleniums apart,

have been brought to work out a destiny. ( ) As Langston

Hughes puts it will all the bareness of the blues; with its

levels of irony,

> O let america be America again
>
> The world's that's not been yet
>
> But yet must be.

This particular America that is to be made again must yet realize itself

as a global civilization. It has no alternative. Today as all the natives

of our continent move off the last reservation, or are driven off, and the

reservation natives undergo their own Middle Passage into the twentieth

century shanty town city, the music and the popular poetics of the domestic

native, exist as the first articulation of a alienation and concomitant

surge toward authenticity.

The black oral culture in the Americas, the culture by which the black

indigenzed himself on the American continent, has functioned as a sustained and

prolonged attempt to reinvent the black as human, to recreate his self-definition

his self-reconstitution in the face of intolerable pressures, material and

psychic. This culture has seen him through his transformation into a pure

form of commodity labor power, and later it helped him to resist the role of

victim/scapegoat of this transformation. Even later, it is aiding him in his

fight against being labelled expendable rejects, the cast-offs of the system,

the marginal native.

In this process he was compelled to define for himself in music and song an alternative definition to the market's definition of man as the market value of his labor power turned into commodity/object. The black's alternative definition of man is embodied in the blues, spirituals, the reggae, afro-cuban, the whole tradition of jazz.

In this black oral culture articulated at the popular level to quote Marcuse,

> "One does not have to be realistic" for man is at stake not
> his occupation or status. Suffering is suffering and joy is
> joy. The world appears as what it   behind the commodity
> form; a landscape is really a landscape, a man really a man,
> a thing really a thing." (   )
> (Negations, London 1968, p. 1)

Listed as a mule, on the plantations, the black asked with Big Bill Bronzy: "Can a mule sing"? The answer was given in the creation of his counter culture, which was his self definition. And in this self-definition he gave the definition of what the non-market, common human being of the American must now propose to be. It is only there that the concept of America as an authentic nation--rather than a settler civilization--will realize itself. Out of that consciousness of suffering, that intensity of exile once reserved for blacks only and now increasingly native to all, will come a new America. It is the Vietnam experience and the black revolt--both native "happenings" --that have shaken the United States out of its white-masked and sterile complacency, jerked it into a tragic concept of life and challenged its defense of the global market system. It is the natives, all the wretched of the earth, who, breaking out of their reservation, are now called upon to reinvent the very concept of the human, through a restructuring of the world

system created by the discovery and conquest of the New World by the West.
But the new universality of that world market system was distorted by the
fact that it was a system made to work in the interest of a limited section
of people, the Western bourgeoisie. Incorporated into the market system
through institutions like the encomienda, the plantation, the hacienda, the
modern plantations of the large monopoly corporations, the natives of
traditional societies were converted into the exploited native labor force
of the globe, the proletariat of the Western world.

Yet out of the relation of exploitation the concrete parameters of
a new global civilization were forged. The realization of this new civilization
has now become a concrete possibility for the first time in human history. The
potential for a common humanity--as opposed to the abstract unity of Western
humanism which, according to Sartre was shattered "when we sensed around our
town the immense crowd of submen conscious of their subhumanity" ( ) --
leads for the first time to the concept of a decolonized civilization. In
a Time interview, Andre Malraux recently pointed out:

> "Something started around 1450, the conquest of the world
> by Europe, followed by colonization. It is we who discovered
> the world. Nobody discovered us. The year 1950 marked the
> end of a period. India became free in 1947. Mao came to
> power in 1949. We are actually between civilizations--the
> colonial one and the decolonized one--which we do not really
> know but only sense."( )

In this transition from one civilization to the other, I see the
post-Middle Passage experience of the blacks in the New World as a paradigm
of the universal native experience. This native experience is the
central creative force behind the new decolonized civilization. It is now
clear that the central historical event of the twentieth century is the wide-

spread diaspora of all native peoples, and their entry into the mainstream of the century as the bearers of a new civilization. It is out of their experience of negation and alienation that they have begun to construct a counter-culture free from the original sin of all previous cultures--i.e., the fact that they were built for the few at the expense of the many, for the men at the expense of the natives.

Again as the experience of black popular culture in the New World shows, it is only the natives, liberating themselves, contesting their dehumanization by the commodity culture of capitalism, who will be able finally to resolve the contradictions between men/natives, partiality/universality. As C.L.R. James has pointed out, if the damned of the earth do not set about doing this themselves, then the earth will truly be condemned.

The physical conquest of nature had been the undoubted achievement of Western man. As the achievement of the black popular culture of the New World shows, the humanization of that frontier has been and will continue to be the work of all those who constitute the Other, the non-men who helped build this civilization, without even sharing in its benefits. And, as the black popular culture in the Americas also shows, the humanization of that frontier is imperatively a collective, a universal task. The blues, spirituals, jazz, reggae all pattern a collective, a universal experience of pain and, as the Akan proverb puts it:

"When all the world bears the burden of the gods, No one

goes humpbacked." (   )

CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS

"We have no philosophers or thinkers who...have reflected upon...fundamental problems...such as the nature of human knowledge and the meaning or lack of meaning of human existence.

We have no philosophers who have dealt with this and other problems from the standpoint of the Negro's unique experience in the world...The philosophy implicit in the folklore of the Negro folk is infinitely superior in wisdom and intellectual candor to the empty repetition of platitudes concerning brotherly love and human dignity of Negro intellectuals who are tyrants within the Negro world and never had a thought in their lives.

They (Negro intellectuals) have failed to study the problem of Negro life in America in a manner which would place the fate of the Negro in the broad framework of man's experience in this world...it has meant that Negroes have cut themselves off from a vastly rich source of human experience to which they had access." (E. Franklin Frazier) (453)

THE PLANTATION MODEL: CAPITALISM AS A MODE OF DOMINATION

"We have been made the floormat of the world, but the world has yet to see what can be done by men of our nature, by men who have walked the path of disparity, of regression, of abortion. There will be a special page in the book of life for the men who have crawled back from the grave. This 'page will tell of utter defeat, ruin, passivity and subjection in one breath, and in the next, of overwhelming victory and fulfillment..." (George Jackson) (454)

"...that amazing country of Gulag, which though scattered in an archipelago geographically, was, in the psychological sense fused into a continent--an almost invisible, almost imperceptible country inhabited by the zek people.

And this archipelago criss-crossed and patterned that other country within which it was located, like a gigantic patchwork, cutting into its cities, hovering over its streets. Yet there were many who did not even guess at his presence and many, many others who had heard something vague. And only those who have been there knew the whole truth." (Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn) (455)

The plantation archipelago of the New World has not had the unique figure of a Solzhenitsyn to map the experience of the social topography of its _____ world, of its cost in human terms. The plantation archipelago which extends through time has had instead a chain of testimonies beginning with slave narratives and witness-autobiographies

to reach a peak in the Sixties autobiography of Malcolm X, in the confessional of Cleaver, in the incandescent letters from the Soledad Prision of George Jackson. The ghettoes and prisions of today's North America are the new forms of the plantation archipelago. The new forms of the plantation archipelago are not, as were the old forms, the sites of a system of industrial colonization, but rather are reservations, where those now inscribed as expendable¥ by the system of production can be herded, to repeat in contemporary terms the protracted agony of the American Indian.

The parallels that are to be found in the testimony of a Solzhenitsyn to those coming out of the experience of the plantation archipelago, gives a clue to the centrality of what I want to term ͵the plantation model · to the modern world system. The constitution of this world system was concomitant with the rise of the Western nations to global hegemony. The economic centrality of the plantation system to the accumulation of capital in the Western world has been revealed in Eric Williams seminal book <u>Capitalism and Slavery</u>. The insistence that the plantation system was the earliest model of contemporary factory organization was the insight long ago of C. L. R. James. Both of them are black scholars, both from the Caribbean, one Marxist-influenced, the second a Marxist, though scarcely orthodox.

But what the plantation lacks is the type of analysis which can follow up on James' insight, and paralleling the method of a <u>Michel Foucault</u>, explore the plantation as a model of social relations. This model, diffused in variants, was to become central to the global structures of production of the modern world system. In the context of the rise of this world system it can be seen that the plantation system was not only a new economic innovation, a new form of the organization of production, but was also and perhaps above all, a new

mode of domination. The new form and the new mode were patterns
created and imposed by the Western bourgeoisie as it displaced the
previous cultural, social, economic and political hegemony of the
aristocratic classes and of the absolute state. This bourgeoisie
used as its strategy the development of new forms of production which
could solve problems of the Old World, exacerbated by the discovery
of the New, as well as exploit the new frontiers of lands and
peoples, that stumbling upon, it had appropriated by force.

Emmanuel Wallerstein emphasizes the mutation of history that
was involved in the development of the new world system.

"In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century,
there came into existence what we may call a European
world-economy. It was not an Empire yet it was as
spacious as a grand Empire and shared some features with
it. But it was different and new. It was a kind of
social system the world had not really known before and
which is the distinctive feature of the modern world
system. It is an economic but not a political entity
unlike empires, city states, and the emerging 'nation-
states'. It is a world system not because it encompasses
the world, but because it is larger than any juridically
defined political unit. And it is a 'world-economy'
because the basic linkage between the parts of the system
is economic, although that was reinforced to some extent
by cultural links and eventually, as we shall see, by
political arrangements and even confederal structures.
'An Empire by contrast is a political unit.' " (456)

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The interest of this monograph has been primarily in one aspect of the structural relations and interrelationships of this world system. What holds it together? What mode of social interrelationships keeps it functioning? The central point I want to make is to suggest that the plantation model reveals to us the mode of social relations, the form of domination, that was to be generalized throughout the system, in differing modalities. What were the economic and cultural links between the units? How did these links function at the level of the concrete individual, the concrete groups who constituted the new structure of social relations?

We began this monograph by asking how did the prieto, the original tribally defined African, broken into being a negro by the hegemonic culture of production, come to see himself as "native" to the Caribbean, to such an extent that, unlike the white emigrant, he created a neo-indigenous popular culture. Why is it the black who has created the only indigenous popular culture that the USA possesses? Alain Locke pointed this out long ago:

"If American civilization had absorbed instead of exterminating the American Indian, his music would have been the folk music of this country...It fell to the lot of the Negro, whom slavery domesticated, to furnish our most original and influential folk music, and to lay the foundations for native American music." (457)

There is an important clue here. The Indians and the blacks belonged to cultures of origin whose forms, structures and world views moved outside the space of the expanding hegemonic Western culture of production. The clash on the American continent between the primarily hunting cultures of the Indians and the settler culture of production was a clash between two mythologies, two modes of reason,

two world views. The culture of production won because it was monolithic and its raison d'etre [lead it] to marginalize all other modalities of social life and being. It was a culture that could not conceive of coexistence, since the social relations which it expressed were based on [a] binary opposition between the Self as Norm and the Other, not as simply different, but as its negation. The principle of the Non-Norm as the deviant that communicated to the Self about its own normality, was central to this mode of relation. The pervasive racism of the Western world is to be found in this absolute acceptance of itself as the Norm of human being--even of revolutionary human being. It is, this privilege of being the Norm, that the Western world will find most difficult to relinquish.

The plantation model, and Edward Long's eighteenth century table that we quoted earlier, reveals the concept of the Norm as the Pure White. Sepúlveda's formulation is based on the division [between] the Norm as the Spaniard, and the Non-Norm, the little man, the Indian. Both formulations reveal that the relationships between the units of the world system was based on what Saussure has defined as the structural law of value. This structural law of value underlying [an] egalitarian idelogy is central to the cultural signification system and to the social structure of the Western culture of production.

Jean Baudrillard discusses Saussure's distinction between the functional law of value and the structural law of value.

"Saussure defined two dimensions to the exchange between the terms of a language, in assimilating these terms to money; a piece of money [must] be able to be exchanged for a real commodity of a certain value, on the other hand, it should also be able to be placed in a relation with all the other terms of the monetary system."

(458)

Saussure increasingly tended to reserve the term of value for the second dimension, that is to say for the dimension which founds value on the relativity which is internal to the system, and which is made up of distinctive oppositions; on the relativity of all the terms between themselves.

Thus the "Pure White" of Long's table gets its value from the fact that it exists in a structural relation with its negative zero reference point, the Pure Black, who is represented as, not even of the human species. The same relativity of valuation of human being works for Sepúlveda, this time between the Man/Spaniard and the Little Man/Indian. As Long's table shows, an elaborate grading between the two end poles of the value hierarchy is then constituted. The legal system which declares the white free and black unfree, making it possible for someone who is fifteenth-sixteenth white to be declared legally white, constitutes a model of social interrelationships that was to be basic to the structures of production of the world system.

The relative value is constituted about two central attributes, both of which are represented as indices of the natural/divine plan. These attributes are, one, White Skin/White Blood, and, two, the "intellectual faculty." What Long does is to assimilate each, as the index of the other. The "markings" of whiteness are assumed as Norm, and the "markings" of blackness, are designated as the Non-Norm. White being is constituted about the intellectual faculty, and black being about its lack. Inbetween white and black there are grades of "natural" being who can climb the ladder through a kind of inter-breeding mobility, taking pride in their "amended blood" as they ascend the "genetic ladder." (459)

It is clear that the mode of social relationships of the plantation, its mode of domination and its code of production, are the

determining causal factors of the paradigm through which Long views reality. The plantation table of being is extended, imposed on the natural system of Creation. The social discourse constitutes the theoretical discourse, whilst the latter reinforces the social structure that makes such a discourse possible. The scholarly system and the social system interact.

For Edward Long, the "Negro people" are the lowest in the hierarchies of all peoples. He quotes Hume's similar formulation with approval and combats _ the opposed views of a contemporary, arguing that this opponent confounds "the negroes and the Mexican Indians together" and is thereby able "to deduce conclusions of the ingenuity of the latter to shew the probable ingenuity of the former." Rather, Long insists, in spite of two centures of commerce with Europeans, the Negroes "have been little divested of their primitive brutality." He concludes with the resounding assertion that:

> "Of all the human species hitherto discovered, their natural
> baseness of mind seems to afford least hope of their being
> (except by miraculous interposition of the divine providence)
> so far refined as to think, as well as act like perfect men."
> (460)

Their outward marks are "a covering of wool, like the bestial fleece instead of hair", the "black colour of the lice which infest their bodies", etc., etc. These are indices that prove them to be, in general, "void of genius, and almost incapable of making any progress in civility or science. They have no plan or system of morality among them", etc., etc. But the indices increase and decrease as one goes towards Negro land or leaves it.

> "As we recede from Negro land, this blackness gradually
> decreases, and the wool as gradually changes to lank hair,

which at first is of short staple but is found longer the further
we advance. We observe the like gradations of the intellectual
faculty..." (461)

This passage continues into the one already and earlier quoted.
The constitution of the Negro, the negrofication of the black as the
object of an analysis based on an apparently objective paradigm,
ignorant of its own presuppositions, also achieves another objective--
that of privileging the "intellectual faculty."

As with the privileging of writing, carried out by Sepúlveda,
this privileging of the intellectual faculty was a part of the
ideological arsenal of the bourgeoisie as it rose to ascendacy. Over
against the feudal man of arms, it counterposed the bourgeois man
of letters. The model of the privileged centrality of intellectual
labour is then imposed as a model on to nature. Natural history is
based on a social ground.

In constituting the Negro as the negative Non-norm, Long is
also constituting the cultural signification system based on the
structural Law of Value, and essential to the class society that had
emerged with the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

Thus the supposedly "natural" distribution of the intellectual
faculty in Man is posited as the determining factor in the ladder rung
of the human hierarchy, in other words, of their value.

> "But if we admit with Mr. Buffon, that with all this analogy
> of organization the orang outang's brain is a senseless
> icon of the human, that it is a mere matter unanimated with
> a thinking principle, in any or at least in a very minute and
> imperfect degree, we must then infer the strongest conclusion
> to establish our belief of a natural diversity, of the
> human intellect, in general ab_origine; an orang outang in

this case, is a human being quoad his forms and organs; but
of an inferior species, quoad his intellect; he has in form·
a much nearer resemblance to the Negro race, than the
latter bear to white men; the supposition then is well founded,
that the brain, the intellectual organs, so far as they are
dependent upon mere matter though similar in texture and
modification to those of other men, may in some of the
Negroe race be so constituted as not to result to the same
effects; for we cannot but allow that the deity might, if
it was his pleasure, diversify his works in this manner,
and either withhold the superior principle entirely or
in part only, or infuse it into the different classes and
races of human creatures in such portions, as to form the
same gradual climax towards perfection in this human
system, which is so evidently designed in every other."
(462)

Developing this argument, Long argues that the orang outang
is the lag of human kind. In other words, it is not the orang outang
who marks the separation between man and animal, but the Negro.

"The Negroe race (consisting of varieties) will
then appear rising progressively on the scale of the
intellect, the further they mount above the orang outang
and brute creation. The System of Man will seem more
consistent and the measure of it more compleat and
analogous to the harmony and order that are visible
in every other line of the world's stupendous fabric.
Nor is this conclusion degrading to human nature while
it tends to exalt our idea of the infinite perfection
of the Deity; for how vast is the distance between

inert matter and matter endued with thought and will.
(463)

Long's exposition gives an example of the coding, inscribing and separating that would be necessary to the social machine of the plantation system. A dual principle is at work in the kind of inscription that is being set into play here. The principle both of equality, the equality of the Norm, of the Pure White is being insisted upon, and therefore the equality of Man, since the Pure White is constituted as the Norm.

What is being formulated is the equality of the Norm. But this principle of equality relates to the structural rather than to the functional law of Value. It is not that each white will be equal to the other white. Rather each white in his relation to the marked term of the black will be equally superior. It is the GAP between the Negro and the Pure White that produces the Pure White as the Norm and equal.

At the same time, however, the principle of hierarchy is legitimated. The degrees of hierarchy are ranked according to the degrees of the "intellectual faculty that 'animates'" inert matter. The Negro is the zero reference point. He is represented as being as close as is possible to inert matter, the closest of all the races. As Sepulveda has inscribed the Indians, marked them, so Long constitutes the "object" Negro.

"Their genius (if it can be so called) consists alone in trick and cunning, enabling them, like monkies and apes, to be thievish and mischievous with peculiar dexterity. They seem unable to combine ideas or pursue a chain of reasoning. They have no mode of forming calculations, or of recording ... posterity, or of communicating thoughts and ... by marks, character

or by that method so common to most other countries

in their rude and primitive ages, by little poems or

songs. We find this practice existed among the

Egyptians, Phoenicians, Arabians, Mexicans and many

others..." (464)

The constitution of the object, the cultureless black, deprived

of intellectual faculty, his representation as the very principle of

deviance from the which the valuation both of whiteness and of

intellectual labour can derive will be central to the symbolic and

the social order of the plantation as well as to the structures of

production of the emerging world system. The black was and is the

"floormat" of the world.

All others in the system would be able to measure their own

relative place in relation to the Negro as the middle-class measures

its own role in the system in relation to its distance from the

working class. Among the popular classes, the coding of the Negro

as the zero reference point would become widely accepted. Black

Being marked the limit of the white self, took the place of the

animal in the code of value. One differentiated oneself from the

Negro. It was in this differentiation that whiteness--and hence

intelligence--lay. And it was the intellectual faculty that

assimilated one most to the bourgeois norm.

Isabela Zenon Cruz refers to Puerto Rican popular sayings in

which all references to the Negro present him as engaging in improper

and anti-social behavior. One saying . seeks to make the point

that the Negro is intellectually incapable. As the phrase has it:

"El negro sólo piensa los viernes," i.e. Blacks think only on Fridays.

Other sayings criticize the Negro for trying to whiten himself through

intermarriage, others criticize the Negro who does not want to stay in

his place. She points also to the fact that the Negro is not

referred to as a balck Puerto Rican, that is as a Puerto Rican who

happens to be black, but rather as a negro puerto riqueño, a black

who is only adjectivally Puerto Rican. (465)

What is sought to preserve here is the structural value of the white

self that depends on value distinction. Indeed it is the distinction

that creates the category "white" as a superior term. The superiority

is a relative one. The White and the Black are no longer autocentric.

Their relative valuation is based on their social interaction.

The Black/White coding is essential to the structures of

production of the world system, a system which under its egalitarian

ideology maintains a complex hierarchization of peoples, groups and

cultures. The new social structures were fashioned as part of the

process by which the Christian civilization of the West was mutated

into Western civilization at the same time as African cultures were

stigmatized as its very polar negation, the absence of civilization,

its void. Wallerstein describes the process of transformation from

the Western perspective:

"What was it about the social structure of the

sixteenth century world economy that accounts for a social

transformation of a different kind, one that could scarcely

be called homeostatis?   .... it must be that the world

economy was organized differently from earlier empires, and in

such a way that there existed social pressures of a

different kind... We have already outlined what we consider

to be the pressures of Europe to expand. Expansion

involves its own imperatives. The ability to maintain

relative social solidarity at home (in turn a function of the mechanisms of the distribution of reward) and the arrangements that can be made to use cheap labor far away (it being all the more important that it be cheap the further it is away, because of transport costs.)" (466)

The cheap labor far away was to become the concrete OTHER of the West, the ultimate polarity in a series of hierarchical polarities. Wallerstein explains:

"Expansion also involves unequal development and therefore differential rewards, and unequal development in a multi-layered format of layers within layers, each one polarized in terms of a bimodal distribution of rewards. Thus concretely in the sixteenth century, there was the differential of the core of the European world economy versus its peripheral areas, within the European core between states, within states between regions and strata, within regions between city and country, and ultimately, within more local units.

The solidarity of the system was based ultimately on this unequal development, since the multi-layered complexity provided the possibility of multi-layered

identification..." (467)

This multi-layered identification was to be put into play, and sustained by the structural Law of Value which centered about the Norm and the Non-Norm. This structural Law of Value affected, as we have shown, the determination of the relative value of the labour-power embodied in the commodities produced by the periphery, semi-periphery

and core labour. The principle of unequal exchange on which the system is based should perhaps be more precisely defined as equal change between relatively valued labour-power. The flow of surplus value to the centre states, the very mechanisms of accumulation depended on the multi-layered identification, on the marked and coded interrelation-ships between what Wallerstein calls the three different modes of labour control. He points out also that:

"The world economy was based precisely on the assumption that there were in fact these three zones and that they did in fact have different modes of labour control. Were this not so, it would not have been possible to assure the kind of flow of the surplus which enabled the capitalist system to come into existence." (468)

It was the core zone, the zone which used wage labour and self-employment as its mode of labour control which increasingly defined the relation. That zone became enriched by the exploitation of its own labour and of the even more devalued labour of the semi-periphery and the periphery. The core zones would be bearers of Western "civilization," the agents and main benefactors of the world economy. But this zone itself was what it was, by nature of a relation; to what it conceptualized as a negation--the NON-WEST, i.e. The Other.

Whilst much has been written of the impact of the West upon the non-West, very little attention has been paid to the transformation of the European by the new relations which he now constituted with the Other. Yet to understand the endemic nature of Western racism or to understand the magnitude of the achievement of Western man--both aspects are conjoined--it is necessary to understand the mutation of the European psyche occasioned by the new relationships in which he came to find himself

after his appropriation of the New World. Any such analysis
points to the fact that both the racism and the achievements were made
possible by the conjuncture of the new situation in which they found
themselves. In this unique conjuncture they were placed, by the nature
of their own internal kind of development to take advantage of the
suddenly acquired New World and to initiate more changes on ·the
earth's surface than had been brought about in all the previous eras of
Man's existence upon the planet. They were able to do this because
the bourgeosie became the bearers of a system which found the
mechanisms to accumulate, appropriate and centralize the social power
of all the peoples of the earth, including their own.

No transformation was to be more far reaching than the
transformation that took place in the European's self, a transformation
occasioned by a mutation in his social relations and in the culture
which now expressed these new social relations. This break in
consciousness was to be not a transition, but rather a discontinuity
caused by the X factor of the New World acting as a catalyst. The
revolutionary new relation to other men and to Nature, metamorphosed
the European and made him in Wendell Berry's terms, both exploiter and victim.

Before this mutation took place, Western man had conceptualized
himself religiously. He would continue to do so for some time even after
the transformation began. Reflecting the European social hierarchy in
religious terms, European man represented as himself standing on a natural Chain
of Being between the angels on the one hand, and the animals on the other.
The angels represented the ideal of purity to which he could aspire; the
animals the non-ideal, which marked the limits of what he could not be;
what he should strive against being. It was this concept which
Pico della Mirandola still expressed in humanist terms, when he exulted
in the fact that man alone, on the Chain of Being, had no fixed place,

but could make himself what he wanted to be, as high as the angel;
as low as the beast. (469) With the post-New World mutation rupture,
European man would now define himself secularly in relation to other
men. In response to a new concrete relation he detotalized his former
world picture.

In the new retotalization, European man was transformed from
Christian man to Western man; the other peoples of the earth were
transformed into negroes and natives. The "negro" was to be a
particular form of the generic "natives." The European socio-
cosmic vision of the world in which the social order paralleled
the natural order was not discarded, but retained, transformed to
serve the purposes now not of Christian theology, but of secular
ideology. If the Sun was now recognized as being the centre of the
natural universe, the West and its countries, its people, paralleled
this Centre here on earth. In a form of bricolage, the elements of the
[470]
old world view were not so much discarded as rearranged. Non-Western
man, non-Western lands now provided a periphery, by which Western man
and lands could dialectically become the Centre. The domestication
of Western lands and peoples could be more easily carried out in a
context in which all that was non-West became the negation of all that
was the West. The Non-West territory became the frontier/jungle/Nature
red in tooth and claw. Non-Western man became the "noble savage" or the
savage monster. Indeed the very definitions of the term "natural" would
change in order to legitimize the insertion of Western man, paralelling
the sun at the centre of the physical order--at the centre of the new--
now global--world picture. In other words, the new definitions of the
"natural" institutionalized Western man as the NORM OF MAN; and non-
Western Man as the OTHER, the not-quite, the non-men who guaranteed the

Being of the Norm by his own non-being. In creating themselves as the norm of men, the Western bourgeoisie created the idea of the Primitive, the idea of the savage, "of the despised heathen," of the "ethnos" and the idea of Sambo. [471]

The idea of the savage black, writes Cesaire, was a European invention. Roy Harvey Pearce points out that in the U.S.A. the settlers created the idea of the savage as the further limit of what they could not allow themselves to be; what they should not be. [472] The "savage" was not a fact but a negative concept of Western man; he existed as a sign. As Western man "pacified" New World nature, eliminated the "savage," penned them up in reservations, he did the same with whole areas of his Being. Indeed it would be difficult to explain the extraordinary nature of his ferocity if we did not see that it was, first of all, a ferocity, also wrought, in psychic terms, upon himself. Western man--as defined by the bourgeoisie--retained those areas of Being whose mode of knowing could sustain the narrative conceptualization of his New World picture, but eliminated, penned up on reservations--those areas of cognition which were, by their mode of knowing, heretical to the conceptualized orthodoxy that was required.

As the orthodox became the axiomatic, the central Norm, the heresy of an alternative mode of cognition was carried on by the marginal world of art, literature and music--as far as the bourgeosie were concerned. But above all and universally, this central heresy was carried on by the black popular culture, which had been born out of the confrontation that had taken place on the site of the plantation archipelago. The paradox was that it was to be the technological breakthrough made possible by the plantation's accumulation of capital that now provides the medium of communication by which this black popular culture diffuses globally its subversion of the axiomatic culture, the axiomatic psyche.

As the <u>New York Times</u> wrote in 1955:

"All Europe now seems to find American jazz as necessary
as the seasons...American jazz has become a universal
language. It knows no national boundaries..." (473)

The plantation archipelago was the site on which the people of the
core interacted with the devalued labour force of the periphery. In the
case of the Caribbean, the planter class of an Edward Long represented
the presence of the core in the periphery. In the context of the
United States, the plantation archipelago represented the incorporation
of the periphery <u>inside</u> the national borders of the United States.
Cheap labour was not the native labour of a country far away where one
sent one's people as settlers to, so that they could manage the natives.
Rather, as Harold Cruse has pointed out, a unique form of colonialism, a
<u>domestic colonialism</u>, would be initiated within the national borders of
the United States.

The multi-layered levels of identification, the multiple ego identities
needed, called for a structure of world social relations which was inscribed
and coded by different mechanisms. Among these mechanisms racism, colonial-
ism and nationalism are paramount. Colonies were settled and maintained to
the extent that the respective peoples and territories could play the roles
assigned to them in the overall system. As Baudrillard points out, the
workers of Europe were to suffer for two centuries an intensive industrial
colonization. The patterns of this industrial colonization had been set by
the model of the plantation, only they were broken into being wage labour
whilst blacks were broken into being slave labour and the symbolic zero of the
system.

It is in this context that I want to look at the implications of the
Sambo stereotype, and its necessary correlation with the conception that the
"master" group had of itself.

For it would be out of the processes of his own self repression that Western man confronted the black on the plantation, and in the context of its socio-economic structure, projected the idea of Sambo, as the symbolic "carrier" on whom he off-loaded those areas of his potentialities that he represented as disfigured, displacing these onto the idea of the Not-I. And thereby guarded against his rebellious instincts, his own self-subversion.

Since Stanley Elkins first formulated the thesis of the Sambo personality of the slave over a decade ago (474), there has been a sustained debate concerning the concept. This debate had been documented recently by Ann J. Lane (475). Elkins postscript to his original contribution as well as the illuminating essays by other scholars in the Lane collection brings the thesis up-to-date. Elkins opened the debate on slavery into a new and creative area of investigation. What were the effects of slavery on the people who were involved in the system?

By and large however, there has been little attempt to examine the effects of slavery on the master class, and on the surrounding white population. In his postscript Elkins makes the point that the entire South had to mobilize itself in order to keep the blacks under control. Yet very little analysis has been given to the transformation of the Southern psyche, its mutation into a settler-identity, repressing its own potentiality as it socially repressed the black. In established scholarship, black and white, the idea of the Pure White, separate and defined in its atomistic certainty, has been the basic unexamined presupposition that distorts the findings, however scrupulous the research. That the "white" was "blancified" and produced as _Pure White_ out of a process which was allied to the _negrofication_ of the black, is an evident fact which is totally unseen.

Indeed, the concept of the West itself as a self sufficient atomistic entity rather than as a group constituted by its relations with the non-West, parallels the atomistic conceptualization of the Pure White. This atomistic insistence on the individual and on the individual group is of course one of the central formulations of classic liberalism, the first elaborated ideology of the new system. We shall show later that Marxism which restricts itself to the factory model of exploitation finds itself utilizing the theoretical categories of the system which it critiques.

The plantation model reveals that the category of the White is a social construct, which depends on the opposed term NEGRO for its structural reality and relative value. This model also reveals that the category of "WHITENESS" is as central to the caste/class coding of the world system as is the category of BOURGEOIS. The model of social relations first developed on the plantation as the relation between PURE WHITE and NEGRO, was the micro-model that was to be diffused throughout the global system. The relation between the European bourgeoise and its own proletariat was to be patterned on the MASTER-SLAVE, WHITE/NEGRO model. It was the plantation model that would displace the model of former social relations based on the Christian-paternalist ethic of pre-Capitalist Europe.

This change in the mode of social relations was marked by the passing of the Poor Law of 1804. Two centuries before, when the Christian paternalistic ethic of Elizabethan England in which the idea of the Christian community, hierarchial but a community, still reigned, the Elizabethan Relief Act was passed. This paternalistic concern culminated in 1795 with the Speenhamland system, "which guaranteed everyone, able bodied or not, working or not, a minimal subsistence to be paid by public taxes." (476)

It was this expression, this enactment of community relations however hierarchical that capitalism had to destroy so that social groups could

be decoded, detotalized and hence made available for the structuring

of new forms of hierarchy based on the homogenized/atomized individual

necessary to the system, and whose perfect expression was the pieza--

interchangeable units of labour power. The foremost ideologue of the

new system was Jeremy Bentham. He conceptualized man as inert--as inert

matter, Long would later argue--and because of this, as motivated only by

the avoidance of pain and the maximization of pleasure (pleasure was

quantified, like labour-power) Bentham arguing that "quantity of pleasure

being equal, pushpin is as good as poetry.")(477)

A binary opposition was then made between labourers who owned no

property and men who owned property. The men had a rational intellect

with which they may make rational calculations. These calculations, based

on reason, lead them to maximize pleasure and to minimize pain. These

higher ranks of individuals were motivated therefore by ambition, since

ambition was a rational form of maximizing pleasure. Labourers however

were incurably lazy--implicitly irrational--and thus had to be goaded

to work by an external spur. In other words, inert matter had to be

prodded. The whip used on the plantation for the slave was translated

into : hunger. Hunger became for the industrial bourgeoise what

nigger-breaking was for the plantation bourgeoisie. The two centuries

praxis of the plantation had diffused new attitudes, helping the

bourgeoise to rupture the stubborn insistence of a sense of community.

The Poor Law of 1804 was calculated to ensure that the goad of hunger

could be socially produced.

In a logical foreshadowing of Proposition 13 with respect to the

slashing of property taxes (1978), the Poor Law (1804) was passed with

the purpose of ensuring that the society

"save the property of hard-working men from

destruction by putting an end to the monstrous system

under which laggards who would not toil for their

support lived at the expense of their hard working

neighbours..." (478)

The Christian social community imperative was replaced by the

imperative of the individual, and his private property. It was the

possession of this property that was the index, that inscribed the

property owner as the natural possesor of the rational faculty. Non-

ownership marked the labourer as inert matter who had to be nigger-

broken by hunger into rational work, so that he could serve the ends of

the property-owning NORM. The relation became no longer that of

Christian highranking, with Christian low ranking. But rather that of the

rational intellect to inert matter. It was only in relation to the

category Negro that the secular notion of whiteness would come to constitute

a new group bond between bourgeosie and proletariat. Whiteness became

part of a new theology, the theology of WESTERN MAN as DEITY.

If the earlier plantation model diffused outwards, so its own model

was in turn intensified by the influence of the bourgeois/proletariat

model. What becomes clear is that a series of micro models of inter-

relationships constitute the polystructures of production of the world

system. White/ Black, bourgeois/proletariat, male/female, settler/native,

became in different situations, interchangeable models of a central

strategy of domination. Each model represented a colonial mode of

relation--that is a relationship in which the colonizer achieves psychic

gratification, psychic surplus-value, realized by and through his relation

with an Other whose relative inferior value is fixed by the overall system.

Acts of social exchange then take place in situations where the coefficients

of exchange are fixed. The experience of mastery that the plantation

master enjoyed in his relation to the slave, parallels the more indirect

experience of mastery that the bourgeois enjoys in relation to the proletariat;

the white in relation to the black, the settler in relation to the
native, the man in relation to the woman, the heterosexual in relation
to the non-heterosexual. In other words, it is the relation of the Norm
to the Non-Norm. Since it is precisely the inequality of the exchange
that constitutes the Norm, the exchange can never be equal. Indeed the
fiction of the quest of equality is the most powerful ideology that works
against change. If nothing else the recent Supreme Court decision on
the Bakke issue (1978) has now made this clear. It is the realization
of the non-reciprocity of exchange between Norm and non-Norm that
transforms the struggle from the ideological and impossible struggle for
equality to the revolutionary struggle for reciprocal relations. As
George Lamming pointed out some time ago, to be a colonial is to be a
man in a certain relation. (47@) It is the existence of colonial
relations that constitute the colonial experience. The relation of
MAN TO NATIVE is therefore the basic paradigm of the relation that is
central to the structures of production of the world system. Each man
needs his relative nigger, in order to experience--to realize the
surplus value of--his relative privilege of the self, his superior status.
Each social exchange with the Other is therefore a self-signifying act--
the self signifies itself as superior as it inscribes the Other as its
relative inferior. The Other, powerless in the relations of exchange to
counter-signify, accepts his inscribed identity as a variant of Sambo.
There is no reciprocity of signification.

It is the non-reciprocity of signification--the master signifies the
slave as slave, and imposes his self-significations as master upon the
slave--that is basic to the settler/native paradigm. It is in this context
that every middle class person in relation to the working class is a settler;
and every white in relation to a black. To the extent that a man is coded
as white, his ego identity coded as white, he behaves in his relations with

the man who is coded as black in a parallel fashion to the settler in relation to the native. What he expropriates in each case, as white settler, as bourgeois, is the power of the Other to define himself, to signify himself. What he expropriates is not merely labour power. Far more comprehensively the expropriation is that of social power. Indeed the capitialist is only able to be in a position to expropriate a part of what is produced by the proletariat because he is socially and culturally able to control the means of socialization and signification—-the cultural apparatus—-and to therefore expropriate the worker's power to define himself, to choose his own signification through the choice of his own end, his own purpose. He becomes the proletariat, signified as the proletariat—-as the black becomes the <u>Negro</u>—-because it is this signification and this form of being—-the being of producer, that the bourgeosie needs to fulfill its own goal—-production.

By enclosing the black in the being of a caste—-<u>Negro</u>, by enclosing the worker in the being of proletariat, the bourgeosie incorporates the black and the worker into its Won system of signification, its own universe of definitions.

Do not call us <u>negros</u>, the Congolese had warned. To be incorporated into the universe of definitions of the other is to lose all autocentric identity. To lose autocentric identity is to lose all possibility of self definition, self-expression, of creative—-and therefore of autonomous action upon the world.

The Robinson Crusoe-Friday relation is the bourgeois relation par excellence, and the fictional representation of the relations between those who signify and those who are signified. In the novel we see the <u>naming</u>, signifying, process at work, the social naming of relation between the powerful and the powerless. By calling the Indian <u>Friday</u> Crusoe negates his former name, the meaning of his former culture, its architecture

of significance. With the past, the cultural world of Friday wiped out, he is reduced to his role as Crusoe's servant. The relation changes, metamorphoses Friday, but we must note that it also changes, metamorphoses Crusoe.

Before he had the power to name things, now he has the power to name other men. This power, new to Columbus, is pyrrhic. Once called into existence it will play out its total possibilities. For it is an OBJECT--Crusoe's gun--which gives him this power to name other men. The object has inserted itself. Friday, seeing the ease with which the gun has wiped out his at once fellow/and enemy Indians, assimilates the gun as Object to a Natural force, and therefore to a God. He prays to the Gun, pleading that it may not harm him. Crusoe is now the agent of the power of the gun; as such is master.

It is not Crusoe but the gun that sustain's Friday's definition as servant: Crusoe's definition as master. The gun makes Crusoe a MAN,

since he owns it, and Friday a Native, since he is without it. Men are masters; natives are servants. The gun, the object, assigns roles and definitions. in the heraldic vision.

In his excellent study THE PRISONHOUSE OF LANGUAGE Frederick Jameson discusses the problem of naming.

"Saussure's definition of the sign runs as follows:
The linguistic sign unifies, not a thing and a name, but
a concept and an acoustic image--'the latter terms being then
replaced by a new set, the signified and the signifier.
The point is made further that the sign is wholly arbitrary,
that its meaning rests entirely on social conventions/ and
acceptation and that it has no 'natural' fitness in and
of itself." (48D)

Here we see that the social convention accepted by both Friday and Crusoe, of the latter's power to name, is historical, not natural, and is based on the power of the gun. For the power that Crusoe has to name

recognizing each other. With the gun, there is a master on the one hand, servant on the other.

Jameson shows that after Saussurian linguistics what became clear was that,

> "...what distinguishes human beings is no longer that
> relatively specialized skill or endowment which is the
> power to speark, but rather the more general power to
> create signs..." (481)

The general power to create signs becomes Crusoe's power and his alone; to name, to create a sign, is to conceptualize, to draw into a universe of meaning. Friday for example, was drawn into Crusoe's universe of meaning; and dispossessed from his. To Crusoe he signifies the day on which he was met; a time and date measurement. The imposed name suits the imposed role of servant. Friday as a sign is arbitrary in Friday's original universe, meaningful in Crusoe's. The gun, the object, is central to this decision, this differentiation of meaning and non-meaning.

On the other hand Friday recognizes that the gun is the real power; that Crusoe is the mediator. But Crusoe cannot ideologically afford to recognize this. His assumption is that his victory over the Indians is due to his God who has created him as a superior ethnos to the Other--as a chosen people. He is the Norm. He is MAN. The Indian is the savage. When converted to civilization, he is almost a Man--a servant. Crusoe's mastery over the Other is as Crusoe sees it, inherent in his Being; in his truly uniquely human essence.

The myth of Crusoe is central to what we shall call the Western myth-- the Myth of its own Immaculate Conception. I referred earlier to this myth, to the part it plays under the neutral seeming rubric of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. What is at issue here is to prove that the West became a capitalist developed civilization because of its inherent virtue and foresight--its wise - virgin - prudence (482). Always overseen is the true explanation of its rise to world power--the X

factor of its relation to the New World Other; of its exploitation of
Friday's labour, and Friday's lands; of his dispossession of Friday from
human being.

The oversight of the Friday relation allows for a smooth evolution
from Western feudalism to Western capitalism, with the Western subject-
feudal lords, bourgoeisie, proletariat, always centrally subject. To
conceal a relation the lable FIRST/THIRD WORLD with its sleight of hand
then becomes the political/ideological parallel of civilized/primitive.
These binary oppositions of a Western dominated structure, expressed in
a Western dominated language, are ideological, i.e. they mystify and hide
the fact that the First World is only First to the extent that the Third
World is Third and vice versa.

But the positing of Crusoe/Friday, White/Black, First/Third World as
separate atomistic entities--like the positing of separate atomistic
individuals, separate atomistic ethnic groups--in a relation of binary
opposition, responds to the operationality of the structural Law of value,
which is the central mechanism of the capitalist mode of domination.
Friday/Negro/Third World function as signifiers which devalue as they
describe. They are signifiers which signify ideologically resolving the
contradiction between the ideology of freedom--The Free World, the
Free Market--and the reality of the varied strategies of "niggerbreaking"
which compel people to act "freely" in the prescribed manner. [483] The
stereotype of Sambo was a prescription which presented itself as a
description.

I would like to refer again to my earlier formulation of the Sambo
stereotype, extending some of my earlier insights, contradicting others,
in the context of the contemporary implications of this monograph. As I
said earlier, the social construct of Sambo, like the opposed social
construct of the rebellious Nat, was necessary to the self conception not

only of the master, but to that of all whites in the South who patterned
their own self conception on the master-model. The slaves' testimony
point to the way in which the poor whites had internalized the master-
model; the way in which their claim to equality with the rich whites came
to be based on their claim to equally exercise forms of mastery over the
Black. We get an insight here as to the strategies by which the
bourgeosie projects its own bourgeois model, as Norm, so that it can
be internalized by the proletariat who then vindicate their claim to
equality within the context of the bourgeois universe of signification.

The internalization of the master-model by poor whites who owned no
slaves--and who had no material relation to the ownership of slaves--
gives insights into the power that the bourgeois control of the means of
socialization had in fashioning the attitudes and responses of the non-
owning classes. It is here perhaps that we glimpse the mechanisms of the
constitution of white racism, a pathology so deep rooted and pervasive,
that Richard Wright defined the problem of the U.S.A. not as a Negro
but as a White problem.

Yet almost no serious indepth studies have been carried out into the
complex levels of this pathology; into the history of its social
constitution. This is linked to the fact that whiteness is taken as a
given itself, rather than as a striking phenomenon calling for extensive
research. A related cause for the oversight of this area of study has to
do with the academic refusal to question the pressuppositions of the
egalitarian creed of the United States. Yet any explanation of the need
that whites had to project the two basic stereotypes of the black--Sambo
and Nat--will have to begin with the contradictions of the egalitarian
creed. The white master, and the poor white each found himself in Bateson's
classic example of the double bind. On the one hand the sacred injunction
of the Constitution declaimed that all men were created equal. On the

other, the mores and everyday conventions, ethics, values constituted
him as a man, only as white and therefore only on condition that he
distanced himself as far as possible from the symbolic negation of manhood
and whiteness--the black.

The projection of the Sambo stereotype with its Janus face Nat responds
to the need of the dual psyche of the white--as settler and as the bearer
of the egalitarian creed--to resolve the contradiction. The relatively,
slightly milder, treatment of the black in Latin America is due far more
to the fact that with the minimal development of capitalism, the traditional
hierarchies-rather than the indirect capitalist principle of hierarchy--
made it unnecessary for white Latin Americans to project the Sambo stereo-
type; and to find themselves in as conflictual a psychic situation. As
Latin American countries become more capitalistically developed, however,
racism tends to increase.

In the United States, the slave masters needed most of all to find
a solution to this contradiction. The solution was the construction of
the ideology of paternalism. The ideology of paternalism called imperatively
for the Sambo/Nat stereotype. Central to bourgois ideology is the idea
of the atomistic individual as a responsible agent. By constructing
Sambo as the negation of responsibility, the slavemaster legitimated his
own role as the responsible agent acting on behalf of the irresponsible
minstrel. By making sure that the social process and legal structures
deprived the slave of any decision-making power over his environment, the
slave master created as far as possible a dependency complex in the slave,
needing this opposed complex to constitute his own autonomous and
responsible role. By representing the identity of Sambo as childlike, by
setting to work processes of infantilization, the slave master constituted
himself as Paternal Father. The ideology of paternalism could then seem
to be grounded on empirical fact.

The stereotype of the Southern slaveholder as the paternal master would underlie the entire mythology of the Southern aristocracy. Yet the myth interacted in everyday life, patterning social relations between black and white, between whites, and influencing the structure of the white and the black family. The heavy paternalism of the Southern paterfamilia, the gallantry of the Southern male to the helpless "infantile" female, the authoritarian responses of fathers to sons were themselves conditioned by this necessary structure of paternalism in the larger social order of the plantation.

As the Christian paternalist ethic of precapitalist Europe which had modelled the nation on the model of family, was gradually superseded, the model of the family became privatized. That is to say, the social whole was atomized, but each head of a private family, whether in the factory, the plantation or in the household, assimilated to himself the absolute paternalism formerly associated with the King. The house indeed became a castle. The Lord of the manor alternated between a heavy hand and paternal indulgence. Thus Sambo became the model of the black who behaved in the prescribed manner, who "freely" infeodated himself, thereby communicating to the master that he was indeed a feudal lord of the baronial manor. Indeed it was Sambo who made possible the mirrors of aristocracy in which Southern planters preened and their wives coquetted and were courted. But it was a rococo aristocracy and the gilt could suddenly crack, the coaches turn to pumpkins if Sambo turned the Janus face of Nat. He was malicious enough to do so with some frequency.

It is fair then to say, that as Blassingame pointed out, Sambo and Nat were two constructs in the ideological arsenal of the slave owner/bourgeois master, by which he consturcted his own self conception. Sambo was the obedient slave who did his work, bowed and scraped, was submissive, or as J. A Froude puts, faithful and affectionate TO THOSE WHO ARE JUST AND KIND TO HIM.

The ethics of being just and kind were the ethics born out of this relation. The rebellious stereotype of Nat Turner legitimated the use of force ~~which~~ as a necessary mechanism for ensuring regular steady labour. As the ideology of inert matter legitimated the use of hunger, Nat Turner was to use Froude's terms, the "mangy cur" to which the black relapses, drifts back without a firm hand. Stern punishment is then called for on the part of the "father," and the dual approaches of kindness and force are thereby sanctioned by and through the construction of the master-slave as father-child simulation.

The construct of the "person" of the master as "responsible agent" is confirmed by the slave who acts like Sambo. Indeed the slave-acting-out Sambo drew from the master-model impulses of benovelence, thus intensifying the experience of the latter as being the paternal father. For mastership there is not an intrinsic characteristic. It is not the blue-blood category of the feudal order which existed as an index, as an unquestioned attribute. Rather there is a place of the NORM, the Norm of mastery, of which the white skin is merely a sign. Thus mastery, the experiencing of the identity of being master can be lost. If one fails by one's action to act so as to occupy the Place of the Norm, one can be displaced from the Norm, can fall into being the Non-Norm, in this case, Sambo. Any subversive desire which moves outside the Norm is repressed freely by the self which "recognizes" this desire as stigmatized by and through the symbol/stereotype, Sambo.

But since the certainty of occupying the Place of the Norm can only be confirmed through the recognition of his mastership by the Non-Norm, the only action open to the master is to compel this recognition from the Other. The certainty of the self as master can only be obtained by and through a constant cultural and emotional terrorism directed at the Non-Norm. This terrorism directed at the non-norm is only the

extension of the internal terrorism directed at the self, of its psychic repression.

As Deleuze and Guattari point out in their Anti-Oedipus, "...there is no fixed subject unless there is repression" (484). The strategies of capitalism as a mode of domination depends on the modes of social repression which assigns standardized prescribed ego identities to their assigned places, for the functioning of the social machine. The social machine homogenizes--as in its constitution of the "negro", a process during which it homogenized multiple cultures,multiple genetic strains into one entity; as in its blancification of the "white" American in which it homogenizes multiple cultures, ethnicities, genetic stains into one entity--but once it has homogenized it needs to differentiate, to demarcate, to inscribe, so as to produce the multi-layered levels necessary to the hierarchical structures of production.
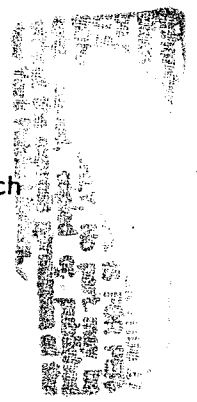
To achieve this, the central strategy of the system is the colonization of desire. How does this strategy function? First of all the system produces the imaginary social signification of the Place of the Norm. The Place of the NORM is constituted by and through the definition of certain desired attributes. As we saw in Edward Long's table, the most desired attribute was the "intellectual faculty." The sign that pointed to one's possesion of this attribute was whiteness of Skin. The sign that pointed to its non-possesion was blackness of skin, which revealed non-human being. The black exists as the Symbolic Object constituting the Lack, the Void of these qualities that have been postulated as the absolute sign of the certainty of being human. That a man or almost a man can exist, lacking these things, sets into play the terror that these attributes can be lost.
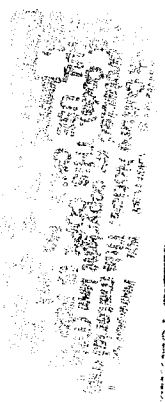
The plantation order which made it illegal for a slave to learn to read, to become educated, which exhausted the black with relentless work, then produced empirical evidence of the Negro's "lack of intellectual

faculties." The Negro then becomes the SYMBOLIC OBJECT OF THIS LACK WHICH IS DESIGNATED AS THE LACK OF THE HUMAN. The category and quality of Lack is then constituted by the "negro" in his Sambo stereotype. The self, to constitute itself as human, in the normative conception, must then conceptualize the possibility of lack, of the lack of the intellecual faculties, of being the non-human, of being Sambo. This representation of a possibility engenders anxiety, the anxiety of falling into the socially stigmatized. This anxiety engenders the prescribed, the colonized desire. This then becomes the mechanism by and which the imitation of the master-model, of the imitative quest to occupy the Place and of the Norm, acting in fear and trembling that one may not fall off, is deeply instilled. To occupy the place of the Norm one must inscribe on one's psyche the marks of repression, to repress all that the place of the Norm stigmatizes as its non-negation.

The social machine of the plantation system, a machine whose marks and inscriptions are so well described by Long, colonized, above all, Desire. The colonization of desire once carried out and effected by and through the social interrelationships of the different parts of the system, then leaves this colonized desire to work "freely." Thus the system apparently gives absolute freedom of choice on the parts of those legitimated as free in the plantation system. These are the Pure White of whatever class. Although they are Pure White, they must act in order to legitimate the privilege of being Pure White. This privilege is absolute in relation to the Non-Norm. In relation to other Whites, the category of the intellectual faculty and the degrees of its lack comes into play to assign each white his proper place, his class position. But his caste position is interdependent with his class position. The absolute privilege of the caste position compensates for the relative non-privilege of the class position. The lower the class position, the more absolute is

the anxiety that the Caste position should be retained and recognized as absolute.

The terror of lack, a terror ceaselessly produced by the social and cultural machine of the system, is put into play. Sambo is produced as the symbol of the Negative Other, the very principle of Lack. One must strive to attain to the Pure White as Full being, without any security that this cannot be lost, that one cannot fall off into the dark. This terror then reactivates the Lack. As Delueze and Guattari write:

> "Lack (manque) is created, planned and organized in and through social production...It is never primary; production is never organized on the basis of a preexisting need or lack...The deliberate creation of lack as a function of the market economy is the art of a dominant class." (485)

Its central strategy, in the case of plantation relations, was the creation of a lack of being by and through its imposition of the structural law of value of being. Thus the value of white being needs to be constantly realized, recognized, attained by the social act of exchange with the relative non-value of black being, a non-value represented by the Symbolic Negro/Sambo. It is this social act of exchange that communicates to the white about his own autonomy, an autonomy which as in the case of the white Pease and Reynolds, the white does not <u>experience</u> in other aspects of his life.

Richard Wright, in <u>Black Boy</u>, tells of another incident with his fellow workers Pease and Reynolds:

> "The climax came at noon one summer day. Pease called me to his workbench; to get to him I had to go between two narrow benches and stand with my back against a wall.
>
> 'Richard, I want to ask you something,' Pease began pleasantly, not looking up from his work.
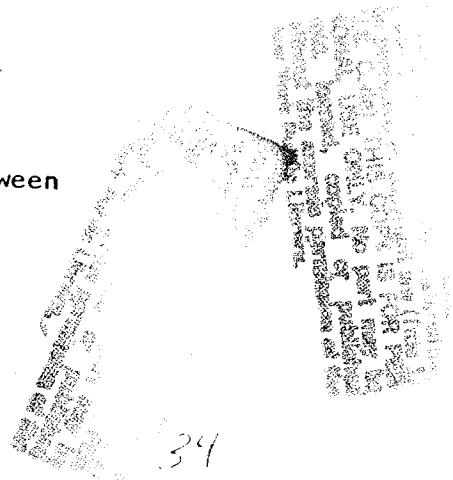
'Yes, sir.'

Reynolds came over and stood blocking the narrow passage between the benches; he folded his arms and stared at me solemnly. I looked from one to the other, sensing trouble. Pease looked up and spoke slowly, so there would be no possibility of my not understanding.

'Richard, Reynolds tells me that you called me Pease,' he said.

I stiffened. A void opened in me. I knew that this was the showdown.

He meant that I had failed to call him Mr. Pease. I looked at Reynolds; he was gripping a steel bar in his hand. I opened my mouth to speak, to protest, to assure Pease that I had never called him simply Pease, and that I had never had any intention of doing so, when Reynolds grabbed me by the collar, ramming my head against a wall.

'Now, be careful, nigger,' snarled Reynolds, baring his teeth. 'I heard you call 'im Pease. And if you say you didn't, you're calling me a liar, see?' He waved the steel bar threateningly.

If I had said: No, sir, Mr. Pease, I never called you Pease, I would be inference have been calling Reynolds a liar; and if I had said: Yes, sir, Mr. Pease, I called you Pease, I would have been pleading guilty to the worst insult that a Negro can offer to a southern white man. I stood trying to think of a neutral course that would resolve this quickly risen nightmare, but my tongue would not

move.

'Richard, I asked you a question!' Pease said. Anger
was creeping into his voice.

'I don't remembering calling you <u>Pease</u>, Mr. Pease,'
I said cautiously. 'And if I did, I sure didn't mean..."

'You black sonofabitch! You called me <u>Pease</u>, then!'
he spat, rising and slapping me till I bent sideways over
a bench.

Reynolds was up on top of me demanding:

'Didn't you call him <u>Pease</u>? If you say you didn't,
I'll rip your gut string loose with this f--k--g bar, you
black granny dodger! You can't call a white man a liar
and get away with it!'

I wilted. I begged them not to hit me. I know what
they wanted. They wanted me to leave the job.

'I'll leave,' I promised. 'I'll leave right now!' "

[486]

Pease and Reynolds want above all, recognition of their absolute
and unquestioned mastery. The emotional terrorism that they display
towards Wright is matched by their subservience to the Yankee employer
who however, recognizes that in their claim to dominance over Wright, he
has found one point where they are prepared to challenge him. His own
attitude to Wright is partly based on the fact that as a Northerner
he comes from a society in which the rationality of production has
penetrated and therefore in which the imperative of the skilled worker
takes precedence over the white/black division. His own mastery comes
from his unquestioned right to the organization of production, his mastery
is expressed in his productive activity. In the relation of Manager-
Worker, his privilege of the self is not only unquestioned but rationally
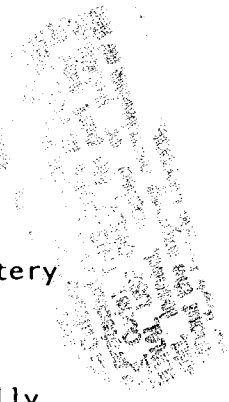
legitimated.   H07

What we note in the interaction between Wright, Pease and Reynolds

is the pathology of "whiteness," put into play, and this pathology of

whiteness is the conjoined variant of the pathology of the colonizer that

Fanon and Memmi analyses; [487] the pathology of middle class, of the bourgeoisie,

that is yet insufficiently explored. What we note in the interaction is the

fact that Pease and Reynolds act so as to compel Wright to behave like

Sambo. What, we must ask ourselves, underlies this compelling need of

Pease and Reynolds to produce Sambo-like behavior on the part of Wright?

Deleuze and Guattari gives an insight into the processes that are at

work here:

> "Desire is not bolstered by needs, but rather the contrary;
>
> needs are derived from desire; they are counter products
>
> within the real that desire produces. Lack is a counter
>
> effect of desire; it is deposited, distributed, vacuolized,
>
> within a seal that is natural and social...Desire then
>
> becomes this abject fear of lacking something." [483]

Being in the Southern experience had come to be formulated by and through

the master-model. All could not be equal masters, but one could be a

small master, or as Memmi argues, one could be a small colonizer. The

colonized desire itself produces the need based on the sense of lack, the

need to be master in order to experience as the Norm, as human.

One should make a distinction borrowed from Lacan--who distinguishes

between the Symbolic Father in the Symbolic Order of each society and

the real father-- [489] between the Symbolic White and the Symbolic Negro —

either in his Sambo stereotype, submissive, or in his Nat Turner phase,

rebellious and the real white and the real black. What Pease and Reynolds

as real whites do in their interaction with Wright is to compel him as

real black to occupy the Symbolic place of Sambo so that they can activate the experience of participating in Symbolic Whiteness, of privilege and of relative power. For this privilege they are prepared to act so as to socially and psychologically repress Wright as they repress within themselves any subversive desire which flow outside the prescribed and regulated desires of the social order.

It is in this sense that we should view the Sambo stereotype as the scapegoat-carrier of all alternative potentialities that is repressed in the system. Sambo becomes the representation of all desire that flows outside the normal order. The attachment to his stigmatized figure of other desires, other possibilities causes these to be then proscribed along with his Symbolic being.

This is the link that exists between Sambo the docile submissive stereotype and the problem of the minstrel stereotype, the song and dance man. When Sambo and the minstrel are conjoined ... it becomes clear that the stereotype is the carrier not only of all that must be repressed if one wants to aspire to the white master MODEL, but also of all that must be repressed if one wants to aspire to the Middle Class Master-model. Harold Cruse has recently extended Nathan Huggins' earlier discussion of the white American variant of the Minstrel Show, arguing for the complex nature of the minstrel show, its central role in the development of the American musical form [495].

The American Minstrel show is a direct development out of the popular folk cultures of Africa, with possibly, as the Jonkunnu plays show contributions from the parallel folk cultures of precapitalist Europe. The point to note here is the world popular. What is being stigmatized in the stereotypical treatment of the minstrel is at once black culture and popular culture, both opposed to the middle class world view. Hence the middle class world view draws in what it needs from the
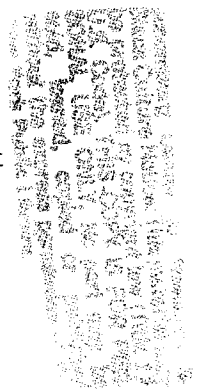
popular cultures transforming the complex popular tradition of satire into harmless entertainment.

But as Harold Cruse observes, the fact that <u>black</u> entertainers who came out of the popular culture moved to take over and give life to the froms, led to a revitalization of the forms. Because of this even under the stereotyping, the force and power of the dynamic black popular culture came in to fill a lack that by filling, it created, and began the cultural subversion of the normative bourgeois American reality.

Why was it that it would be the culture, stigmatized as black, as of African origin, and as of the popular forces, that would provide the counter culture and the counter signification system in the American reality? I think the reason can be found in the plantation model, in the interrelation of the "white" master and the "negro" Sambo. It is here that Hegel's analysis of the Master-slave relationship as well as Fanon's development of this analysis of it can perhaps give us insights.

First however, we must note that it is not only the popular black culture that is being stigmatized by the Sambo Stereotype, the minstrel stereotype. Far more importantly, in a system that produces the economic as its reality principle, it is <u>all cultural activity</u> that is stigmatized. Popular creativity that could draw energy away from the productive goal, that could liberate repressed subversive desire was stigmatized. Middle class cultural activity would be spiritualized, attached to the figure of the marginal artist, himself postulated as the Bohemian, the licensed heretic allowed to dabble in the non-real things of the world. As such he produced artistic commodities that the real men, captains of industry, could purchase for their wives. Spiritualized art, like the home, then became the domain of Women or of marginalized humanists. The devaluation of its activity was carried out by and through this association with the feminine as the devaluation of theoretical activity would be stigmatized by the

stereotypes of eggheads, pointy-heads.

The marginalization of creative cultural activity was therefore carried out through parallel strategies; and one of these strategies was the Sambo/minstrel stereotype. The marginalization of culture which was carried out through the privileging of the economic, the autonomization of the economic drew away attention from the fact that the capitalist mode of domination works mainly through its cultural apparatus--and that the mode of production constitutes one of its central cultural mechanism. Stanley Aronowitz argues that the workplace is the very site of the ideological domination of the worker. [49] Baudrillard discusses, too, the industrial colonization of the worker carried out on the site of the factory. The plantation-model was the source and origin.

In this overall context, the process that I have tried to define in this monograph as the cultural process of INDIGENIZATION takes on varied dimensions. In constituting an other self, an other collective identity whose coding and signification moved outside the framework of the dominant ideology, the slaves were involved in a long and sustained counter struggle. Slave revolts were the punctuations of this struggle, the violent strategies carrying on the struggle by other means. What I am arguing is that what Elkins, in his postscript essay defines as the mechanism of rebellion was to be found in this constitution of an alternative culture. The constitution of this culture has been all along a sustained act of cultural subversion, a subversion of the dominant system as axiomatic. This counter-culture provides the basis for the theoretical formulations of the forms of social revolution needed in America today.

I would like to look again at Elkin's crucial essay in which he discusses the criticisms and the alternative formulations that have been made following on his orginal formulation of the Sambo thesis. In

replying to Genovese's Hegelian/Marxist argument that,

> "...Sambo--having internalized all the contradictory
> elements of the system--could, if the "psychological
> balance was jarred" rise up and become the negation of
> himself (Nat Turner)" [467]

Elkins points out that in the reality of the United States rebellions have never been a major issue, that in fact after 1831 there were none of any consequence.

He then points out that the historical Nat Turner was the very negation of a Sambo. To Genvoese' conditioning/psychological argument, he adduces a counter-argument.

> "He (Nat) was psychologically able to do what he did precisely
> because he was so situated in the system that he could
> resist the full impact of its Samboizing coercions. More-
> over Turner was an exception. There were few like him
> and this is the thing that has to be explained." [488]
> "Genovese has not yet, to my satifaction located the true
> mechanism of rebellion, such as it was on the North American
> continent, nor does he seem willing to consider the full
> extent to which the South was able to organize itself--
> militarily, psychologically, ideologically--to discourage
> all forms of resistance, well short of open rebellion.
> There was a strain toward consistency in the South's own
> self mobilization here that I for one, have not been
> able to perceive to a like degree in any other society." [493]

I agree with Elkins on this. I believe that this fact gives a unique quality to the Black experience in the United States. I shall discuss in a following chapter the theoretical implications of this uniqueness. But as this monograph has argued, the mechanisms of rebellion

were sited in the culture; and when overt physical resistance was made impossible by the South's transformation of itself into an armed settler-society, resistance was continued by and through the cultural activity itself. Hence the weight and power of that culture, the intense emotional charge that it carries.

As Dubois wrote,

"Little of beauty has America given the world save the rude grandeur God himself stamped on her bosom; the human spirit in this new world has expressed itself in vigor and ingenuity rather than in beauty. And so by fateful chance the Negro folk-song--the rhythmic cry of the slave--stands to-day not simply as the sole American music, but as the most beautiful expression of human experience born this side the seas. It has been neglected, it has been, and is, half despised, and above all it has been persistently mistaken and misunderstood; but notwithstanding, it still remains as the singular spiritual heritage of the nation and the greatest gift of the Negro people.

Away back in the thirties the melody of these slave songs stirred the nation, but the songs were soon half forgotten. Some, like 'Near the lake where drooped the willow,' passed into current airs and their source was forgotten; others were caricatured on the 'minstrel' stage and their memory died away. Then in war-time came the singular Port Royal experiment after the capture of Hilton Head, and perhaps for the first time the North met the Southern slave face to face and heart to heart with no third witness. The Sea Islands of the Carolinas, where they met, were filled with a black folk

of primitive type, touched and moulded less by the world
about them than any others outside the Black Belt. Their
appearance was uncouth, their language funny, but their
hearts were human and their singing stirred men with a
mighty power. Thomas Wentworth Higginson hastened to
tell of these songs, and Miss McKim and others urged
upon the world their rare beauty. But the world listened
only half credulously until the Fisk Jubilee Singers
sang the slave songs so deeply into the world's heart that
it can never wholly forget them again." [4$]

In his article Elkins welcomes the contribution of Bryce Laporte,
especially the latter's suggestion of an independent subculture in the slave
community, and expresses his interest in the conditions under which such
a culture might function. This has, of course, been the concern of this
monograph and Laporte's differentiation between what he calls <u>primary</u>
<u>adjustment</u>--the adjustment to the Sambo role and other roles--and
secondary adjustment which deviated from these roles is valuable.
Elkin's summary of Laporte's main points is useful in the context of our
discussion:

> "Bryce Laporte has no extravagant illusions as to the 'political'
> character of this underlife...But he does believe that the
> plantation system permitted, overlooked, or tolerated a series
> of activities--religious services, spirituals, folk tales,
> holidays--which allowed the slaves a measure of protection
> for his individual autonomy, and which blunted the full impact
> of the system upon his personality...All in all, Bryce Laporte
> believes the underlife could sustain the widest and subtlest
> variety of activity including the activity of protest...The
> suggestion of Bryce Laporte and others on music, conjuring,

prayer meetings and escape lore, the description of Negro

night life in the cities by Richard Wade, Stuckey's studies

of double meanings in worksongs, spirituals and the Brer Rabbit

cycle--all these represent a vast treasury of material...Nor

Incidentally do I see why such a concept of underlife cannot

itself be extended to comparative examinations--say, with

Latin America." [490]

What needs to be elaborated, however, is a theory of this underlife.
I see this monograph as trying essentially to open the way to such a
theoretical elaboration. Elkins points out that Laporte is the first
argument to come forward with a satisfactory theory of slave resistence
[   ]. He then paraphrases an important point from Laporte:

"Bryce Laporte argues for example that although underlife does

not ordinarily change an institution by revolution, it can, over

time force a series of long term evolutionary adjustments.

We do not yet know how much of this occurred in America, but

it certainly occurred in Brazil. The wild (sic) candomblés,

the cults of black madonnas and black saints, the African

folk festivals that could dominate the routine of a Brazilian

city for days, the activities of the black brotherhoods--

together, all such aspects of slave underlife in time altered

not only Brazilian Catholicism but also Brazilian slavery."

[491]

This is a more limited formulation of the point I want to make about

the process of indigenization as a form of cultural resistance, a form of

cultural subversion of the dominant cultural order, and therefore of its

mode of social relations. I think that the mechanism of this process

can be best shown by and through the Hegelian model of the Master/slave

relation, together with Fanon's comments on this model.
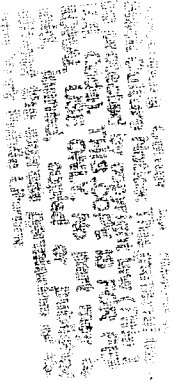
INDIGENIZATION AND THE UNDERLIFE: THE MAN/NEGRO, MASTER/SLAVE MECHANISM

OF REBELLION

"For Hegel there is reciprocity; here the master laughs at
the consciousness of the slave. What he wants from the slave
is not recognition but work. In the same way the slave here
is not identifiable with the slave who loses himself in the
object and finds in his work the source of liberation. The
Negro wants to be like the master. Therefore he is less
independent than the Hegelian slave. In Hegel the slave
turns away from the master and turns towards the object. Here
the slave turns towards the master and abandons the object."
[Fanon] [497]

"I know t'ings dat de wite folks wid all dar larning nebber
fin's out an' nebber sarches fo' nudder..No, honey. De good
Lawd doan gib ebery'ting to his wite chilluns. He's gib em
de wite skin an' larnin' an He made 'em rich an' free. But
de brack folks is his chilluns, too an' he gibs us de brack
skin an' no Jarnin' an' has make us t' work fo de wite folks.
BUT DE GOOD LAWD GIBS US EYES T'SEE t'ings dey doan SEE...
An' de time's coming when he'll make his brack chilluns
free in dis yere wurl', an' gib 'em larnin' an' good homes
an' good times. Ah! honey, I knows, I knows!
[A Virginia slave, 1840's quoted by L. Levine] [498]

In his Phenemonology of Mind, in the chapter on Lordship and
Bondage, Hegel develops the dialectic of domination and servitude. Jean
Hyppolite points to the widespread influence that this theory has had on
social and political philosophy, to the crucial role that it would play

in Marx's philosophy. This interrelation between the Master and slave

can give an illuminating insight into the mechanism of rebellion

embodied in the black culture of the New World Diaspora.

Hegel argued that in the relationship that exists between master

and slave, the dialectic of their interaction reveal that it is in fact

the master who is the slave and the slave who is the master. If we see

Pease and Reynolds as the two who reenact the master-model and Wright

as cast in the role of the Slave/Sambo, the implications are revealing.

Jean Hyppolite develops Hegel's argument, pointing out that "The

master is not a master except he is recognized by the slave. He is

autonomous by the magiation of another self consciousness, that of the slave's.

His independence is therefore relative.." [ ]

Pease and Reynolds, like the masters cited in different slave

testimonies need to be recognized by the slave, the Negro/Sambo, as

Master. The Social machine defines whiteness as the sign of mastery, and

the sign must be consumed, must be experienced by and through the act of

social exchange. To the degree that the master is permitted by the

social, economic and political arrangement of the society to realize the

surplus value of his mastery by and through the normative mechanisms--

economic, political--then the lack of mastery created is regularly

fulfilled by and through these same institutional mechanisms. The

Yankee owner's experience of mastery is fulfilled in the very act of

putting the men to work.

But with skilled workers like Pease and Reynolds facing another

potentially skilled worker in Wright, the value of pure whiteness can be

put in question, cancelled out by the variable of SKILL which is also

a central differentiating inscription of the code. If that gap is

removed between The Pure White and The Pure Black then Pure Whiteness, in

itself, ceases to have "value" in the realization of mastership.

If the interaction of Froude with the Sambo stereotype, or with the Quashie stereotype, is that of the established bourgeoisie with the Negro, that of Pease and Reynolds is that of the small-master, the small colonizer with the Negro. For both, the big master, and the small master, their self recognition depends on their

Seeing: the black as Sambo/Quashie and on the black assuming this role, this being of Sambo/Quashie. They need his recognition of them as masters, thereby establishing their self certainty. Indeed, their prescribed ego identities as white intellectual and white proletariat depends on this confirmation by the devalued Other. It is on the basis of this confirmation of identity that both will act in their prescribed multilayered roles, to act out their identity as white bourgeoisie and white proletiariat upon the world; playing their prescribed functions in the global machine of capitalism, establishing its structures of economic 'kinship'.

Their relation to social reality is mediated by and through their relation to Sambo. In being recognized by a stereotype, their own self recognition is the recognition of a self that is itself a stereotype--i.e. the model that the system needs. Sarmiento the father of Argentinian white Western nationalism and the genocidal bureaucrat who exterminated the Indians, justified his actions by making a definition between the ideal model of the English worker who, "works, consumes and lives with dignity," [501]

and the Indian, who refused to be broken into the regime of the culture of
[502]
production, to be standardized. The "gaucho" literature of Argentinao

hymns this <u>refusal</u> of standardization. It is written by "white" artists
refusing the bourgeois coding.

What of Wright himself, of the Black who must accept his Sambo role?
Bryce Laporte speaks of the primary and secondary adjustments made by the
blacks, the first an adjustment to the Sambo role, the second one a
deviation from it. Wright's description of his fellow worker Shorty who
plays Sambo in order to con the white man gives an insight into this
mechanism.

"The most colorful of the Negro boys on the job was
Shorty, the round, yellow, fat elevator operator. He had
tiny, beady eyes that looked out between rolls of flesh
with a hard but humorous stare. He had the complexion of
a Chinese, a short forehead, and three chins. Psychologically
he was the most amazing specimen of the southern Negro I
had ever met. Hard-headed, sensible, a reader of magazines
and books, he was proud of his race and indignant about
its wrongs. But in the presence of white he would play
the role of a clown of the most debased and degraded type.

One day he needed twenty-five cents to buy his lunch.

'Just watch me get a quarter from the first white
man I see,' he told me as I stood in the elevator that
morning.

A white man who worked in the building stepped into
the elevator and waited to be lifted to his floor. Shorty
sang in a low mumble, smiling, rolling his eyes, looking
at the white man roguishly...

'What would you do for a quarter?' the white man
asked, still gazing off.

'I'll do anything for a quarter,' Shorty sang.

'What, for example?' the white man asked.

Shorty giggled, swung around, bent over, and poked out his broad, fleshy ass.

'You can kick me for a quarter,' he sang, looking impishly at the white man out of the corners of his eyes.

The white man laughed softly, jingled some coins in his pocket, took out one and thumped it to the floor. Shorty stooped to pick it up and the white man bared his teeth and swung his foot into Shorty's rump with all the strength of his body. Shorty let out a howling laugh that echoed up and down the elevator shaft.

'Now, open this door, you goddamn black sonofabitch,' the white man said, smiling with tight lips.

'Yeeeess, siiiiir,' Shorty sang; but first he picked up the quarter and put it into his mouth. 'This monkey's got the peanuts,' he chortled.

He opened the door and the white man stepped out and looked back at Shorty as he went toward his office.

'Your're all right, Shorty, you sonofabitch,' he said.

'I know it!' Shorty screamed, then let his voice trail off in a gale of wild laughter.

I witnessed this scene or its variant at least a score of times and I felt no anger or hatred, only disgust and loathing. Once I asked him:

'How in God's name can you do that?'

'I needed a quarter and I got it,' he said soberly, proudly.

'But a quarter can't pay you for what he did to you,' I said.

'Listen, nigger,' he said to me, 'my ass is tough and quarters is scarce.' " [503]
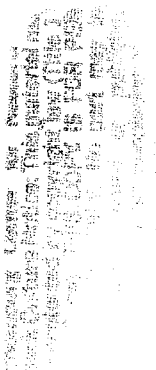
In this episode Shorty is forced to confront reality, to recognize not only how his consciousness works, but how the master's self consciousness works. He recognized this because his survival depends upon his precise knowledge of the social scene in order that he can deal with it.[504]. He must _read_ reality correctly from the perspective of his experience of it.

Irene L. Gendzler in her critical study of Fanon, points to the influence of Hegel's _Phenomenology of the Mind_ on Fanon's _Black Skins/ White Masks._ Yet if Hegel's influence is central, even more central is the ground of the Fanon's experience of being black in a white world. It is the ground of this particular experience that will allow Fanon to push Hegel's formulation beyond its still partly bourgeois horizon. Fanon in France, had come upon a variant of the Sambo stereotype. A variant only, because Fanon, as a student and later a psychiatrist in a country which still codes the intellectual life as valued, would not encounter the crude Shorty-like version of the stereotype. What he would walk into day after day, however would be the protostereotype of the black that underlies the West's self-consciousness of itself. He had to encounter day after day, to use Sartre's phrase, that "phantom person, himself as he is seen by the Other."

As Irene Gendzler informs us:

"In the days when he was trying to make some sense out of the shocking contrast between his own self image, and how he discovered that others, especially white Frenchmen looked at him, Fanon was understandably preoccupied with questions of identity and self definition." [505]

In other words, Fanon was experiencing what the slave in the Hegelian model experiences. The Other recognizes the slave as slave in order that the slave can recognize him as master. The Other then prescribes the

parameters of the Slave/Negro/black being, fixing it in the mould
that is needed to establish the Other's self confirmation within that
Symbolic Order that posits the Other As Norm. The master-slave model
is essentially the Norm/Non-Norm model.

With this in mind let us look at the Hegelian model. In the relation
of the master to a slave a struggle for recognition ensues. But the
master--to use Hyppolite's paraphrase of Hegel--is not only the concept
of self consciousness, he is also its effective realization. This is to
say, he realizes his self consciousness, obtaining the certainty of his
self, by and through his relation with the slave who recognizes him as
master.

> "The master is not master except by and through the fact
> that he is recognized by the slave, he is therefore
> autonomous by and through another self-consciousness,
> that of the slave." [5.3]

It is here that Fanon argues that on the plantation system of slavery
what the master wanted from the slave was work, and not recognition.
Yet as the slave testimony showed, the plantation masters wanted both--
work and recognition. We may argue that for the large masters, who owned
their plantation, the slave's labour was tribute and recognition enough:
the slave at work was the recognition of his mastership. But with the
smaller masters, the poor whites who owned no slaves themselves, recognition
cannot be accorded by the slaves through the indirect tribute of productive
labour. This recognition of their self consciousness as masters, has then
to be effected by the direct personal tribute that they demand of the
slave so that the surplus value of the white self can be realized. In the
exchange they demand the social labour of the black's own self-betrayal.

Whilst Hegel argues that no true self consciousness can be achieved
except through the recognition of, and by, another uncoerced self-consciousness,

what he posits is the ideal model related to the egalitarian ideology within the bourgeois modal ity of thought. What his model proves is the impossibility of this equality, of this mutual self recognition by the very fact of the master-slave model. Reciprocal recognition demands not formal equality but the total absence of hierarchy, i.e. of master-slave statuses. With the slave in a relation of Dependent Other, controlled by the social and cultural mechanism to accept his prescribed identity as slave and his prescribed self-consciousness as slave, the Master also accepts his prescribed ego identity as master. By the very fact that his certainty of self is confirmed by and through his interaction with the other who can recognize him only to the extent that his slave-mirror reflects the master-model the master is cut off from any direct confrontation with social reality. In seeing Wright as Sambo, and in compelling him to play the role of Sambo, Pease and Reynolds see themselves as masters and are unable to apprehend the reality of their own form of servitude.

They feel no compulsion then to decode the cypher of social reality as Richard Wright was impelled to do [5c7]. Posited as the NORM by the ideological system of that social reality, they are embedded by this signification in the hegemonic ideology. Not only are they embedded in this reality, but the existence of Sambo prohibits any desire they may have to cease being the NORM, to initiate their own self-subversion. Rather they continue to realize the normative self-certainty that the social machine prescribes. The Sambo complex realizes for them a relative structural law of value. They inscribe value on themselves to the extent that they realize this Norm, that is, the negation of Sambo.

Because of the master's relation to reality by and through the mediation of a Dependent Other, he is able to deny reality, and to affirm himself unquestionedly. The Symbolic Order of the society is constructed to assure him of his normative being; he has no need to question it. But if the slave

refuses to accept his own role, his own Symbolic place, then the entire
architecture of white being is shaken. To keep Sambo in his Symbolic
place becomes essential if the symbolic White Place of the Norm is to
be assured, if the very constitution of reality which assures of mastery is
to be sustained. Hence the Pease/Reynolds incident and the logic of the
long and scandalous history of white_s lynching blacks. It is a ritual
of the self that was enacted with every lynching.

Hegel's analysis of the reaction of the slave leads to the logic
that underlies the mechanism of rebellion of the black counter-culture.
Hegel argues that life is independent being. That the master, by
nature of having a dependent Other to confirm his identity does not
have to extend his consciousness out into the world, into life; and
to experience there the resistance of this independent life to his
desire to affirm his own self consciousness. Rather the dependence
of the slave confirms him in his self-consciousness as Master. Because
of this the Master can have no true selfknowledge. The independence
of the being of life, the resistance that it puts up to desire, does not
exist for him. In other words, he is able to impose his ideological
consciousness upon reality without encountering that resistance that
would compel his consciousness to draw back upon itself, to reflect
upon itself and thus to usher itself into experience of true self
consciousness; and therefore of true self knowledge.

To the contrary, the slave is not recognized in his self
consciousness by the Master. Fanon, like all blacks, does not find
his own image of himself confirmed by metropolitan Frenchmen. Yet
it is these metropolitan Frenchmen who exercise cultural hegemony
over the social reality in which he find himself involved. Because
of this, he finds that their image of him exists as an idngpendent
stubborn intransigent part of life, of social life. He therefore finds

himself in the position of the slave in the Hegelian model. So does Wright. So does Ellison. So do all black writers, black intellectuals, all blacks. All find themselves in a situation where their own self image is not confirmed by what Dubois refers to as "the tape of the world'; what Lacan and others analyse as the symbolic Order of society.

Hegel explains that the slave is not, properly speaking, the slave of the master, but rather, he is the slave of life. Because he has accepted servitude, has preferred life in slavery rather than death with liberty, he has made himself the slave of life. In this respect, because he has, so to speak, chosen to be mere living-life rather than to risk this living-life in death, the slave cannot, like the master, negate the reality of life. He has no autonomy with respect to life. Life offers nothing but resistance to his desire for self consciousness, for the affirmation of the self. Hyppolite paraphrases Hegel:

"His desire knows the resistance of the real and he cannot choose but to elaborate, to work on the real." [502]

Irene Gendzler comments on Fanon's point about the master wanting nothing but work from the black slave.

"In making his comments Fanon was thinking primarily of the economic exploitation of the servant. He may have been reflecting on the utter disdain in which the white master held the black servant, a disdain so totally destructive that it seemed to obviate any considerations of the servant, save as labor-producing machine. The confusion may lie in the commonsense meaning of Fanon's distinction, as expressed in his sentence, between recognition and labor...But when Hegel wrote of labor it was not in the restricted and exclusively economic sense of the word at all. He thought in terms of its function in the process of the servant coming to a

consciousness of self--in related fashion as this applied

to the master." [500]

It is   precisely in the context of this meaning of labor that the

scope and range of Fanon's own writing, his own work would be the "labor"

of the slave who must turn on reality, on the reality of a world, which

as Dubois puts it, can yield him no true self consciousness, and begin

the work of transformation of such a world.

Thus it is the slave, Fanon, who shatters the ideal concept of a

Hegel that the master, any master wants recognition from an equal self

consciousness, wants self certainty as a human being, by and through the

mechanism of an equal self consciousness. This is rather the philosopher's

desire. The real master wants a fixed prescribed dependent devalued

delf consciousnesss to recognize his mastery, and to provide the fabric of

social realtions which alone can inscribe, and place him as master.

He needs Sambo in Sambo's place, as Fanon's colleagues, how over intellectually

radical, tend to want Fanon in his' negro' intellectual place. It is only

by this relative placing that the Place of the Norm is assured. Thus the

work of Fanon, his 'work' to transform the real world at once confirms

Hegel--and negates Hegel. Fanon's work confirms Hegel's formulation of

the dialectical process by which the slave feels himself impelled to

transform the real world, and at the same time negates Hegel as far

as the master is concerned. For the master wants recognition from the

slave that recognizes his certainty as master. His self certainty as

human is recognized by the very fact that he _is_ a master.

It is in the ·   · process of the slave, confronting the

resistance of the real world to any affirmation of his self consciousness,

and of his working on this real world to transform it, that we should

site and examine the concept of the cultural underlife of the black world.

This underlife   . was constituted by and through the process we have

labelled indigenization. We referred earlier to the fact that
Esteban Montejo, the runaway slave who told the story of his life
during slavery in Cuba, told how the white Cubans who had brought a
popular dance the jota from Spain, would allow no blacks to dance it.
The whites posited as the Norm, protected their cultural legacies like
icons, as inscriptions of their normative place. Carpentier, too,
mentions how the popular musical forms from Spain remained frozen. It
was in black music that Cuba was to find a music of national expression
and of incredible creativity. It is the stigmatized slave who continued
to create culturally, using his cultural labour to transform the social
reality that yielded him only a stigmatized view of himself. His culture
constitutes a counter-symbolic order with counter definitions. It is
out of these counter significations, significations guaranteed by the
transhipment of the gods, that the affective creative power of black
culture emerges.] [The gods were the central mechanism in that cultural
resistance. They counterecognized the slave, giving him an autonomous
identity distinct from that assigned by the master and the Symbolic order
of the dominant culture. This identity was experienced in the communal
interaction of the cult, the black church. The underlife was the locus
of the gods in exile, the source and origin of a counter world view, a
counter identity, a different modality of recognition of being.

The incredible inventivity of black culture is not to be understood
outside this imperative task of transformation, of counter-resistance to
the resistance of the Real world, to the quest of the marked excluded
blacks to affirm themselves. ...:This culture, perceived as a threat
by the dominant order, was marginalized and contained by the fabrication
of the minstrel stereotype. The white caricature of the minstrel traditon
expressed the bourgeois eye view of all popular culture. Just as cricket
In England, once a popular game, was taken up by the middle class and

coded as a middle class ritual, introjecting middle class values [   ]

so the minstrel tradition, coming out of black culture was taken up by

white, bourgeois class world, to provide itself with "harmless

entertainment," and to keep the social relation of serious responsible

white agent to happy-go-lucky irresponsible Sambo going. Whites laughed

vicariously through Sambo.

        In the stagnation of all other areas of cultureal activity, the

white world found a source of cultural life on which to feed, if the

barest minimum of an affective and emotional life were to be sustained

in the wilderness of technological rationalization. Thus the minstrel

shows, like the rest of black culture--its spirituals, blues, its jazz,

were incorporated in a form that kept its relative exclusion intact.
Black culture, black music in particular, became an original source of

raw material to be exploited as the entertainment industry burgeoned.

Once again blacks function as the plantation sub-proletariat hidden

in the raw material.

        The movement of Negritude, a movement which began with the
                           popular
revaluation of the   ⋏ culture of Haiti, followed on the movement of

the Harlem Renaissance which also began with a return to the source even

if this return took place in the context of the return to the primitive

by the West. The West had begun to become conscious now of the cultural

death it had inflicted on itself through channeling all libidinal energy

to a productive finality. As the self-confidence of the axiomatic

culture weakened, the stigmatized cultures began to counterdefine

themselves, in terms of the larger world, moving out from the underlife

into the main stream to extend the work of cultural transformation. The
                    of indigenismo
parallel movement :   ⋏   s did the smae. That both movements were to
                                                                q
become postulated Norms incorporated by the dominant system given place

of licensed heresy would lead to the ambiguities of the Negritude of the

later Senghor variety. The attacks by Marxist black leaders and by
Fanon himself on Negritude would help to reveal the areas of
fraudulence that had developed with Negritude's institutionalization.
Yet this does not gainsay the fact that Negritude drew attention to
that implicit cultural blanchitude which had been central to the social
machine of the world system. Blanchitude had been nothing else than the
constituted NORM of culture in relation to which all other cultures had
been made subservient. It was that normative culture of blanchitude that
inscribed the globe, coding value and non-value, binding the structures
of production under the hegemony of its imaginary social significations.

It was the pain, the angst of those posited as Non-Norms that
compelled examination of the functioning of the Symbolic Order itself.
From the perspective of a painful self knowledge--the Negro wants to be
a master--Fanon began to provide answers and to give new dimensions
to the question asked by William Reich, after the trauma of Nazism as
a mass movement. How had the "revolutionary" people become a Nazi? How do
the mass come to desire their own repression? The black experience held
the answers [51 c].

For if the lower classes of blacks, those who had no dependent
Others beneath them, those who were totaly excluded, turned towards
the object, towards the social world, the real world, to transform it,
those higher blacks who through wealth and education had been partly
incorporated into the world turned towards the master, as Fanon argued.
Although black, the middle class aspirants began to don the white
masters' masks. In explaining how this was possible Fanon began to
open the exploration of those self-repressive mechanisms on the basis
of which the world system keeps itself freely functioning. If a black
could want to be a white master then it was not whites who defined
the Place of the Norm, but the Place of the Norm which used whiteness

as one of its categories, one of its inscriptions, its codes. And the Place of the Norm was bourgeois. If white masks were worn by blacks then it became clear that non-bourgeois whites too, only wore white masks, as Pease and Reynolds wore the mask of the master, as the white proletariat under their hard hats wore the middle class masks of their bourgeosie.

I would like at this point to contradict an earlier formulation. At the beginning of the monograph, I defined the Sambo stereotype as the mechanism by which more surplus value could be extracted from relatively devalued labour. I was right to the extent that the racism implicit in the Sambo stereotype, forms part of the mechanism of inscriptions and hierarchical demarcations which sustain the multi-layered identity structure necessary to the extraction of surplus value and its increasing accumulation in the form of capital. It is clear that the acceptance by different levels of workers of their relatively higher or lower historical basket of goods is the result of social mechanisms by which each level of worker is prepared to accept its relatively lower valuation in exchange for its assurance of a relatively higher valuation with respect to some other level. And the fixed zero level is symbolized in Sambo--the symbol of the greatest "lack" of the intellectual faculty.

I would tend now, however, to see Sambo stereotype as a mechanism which is far more central to capitalism's functioning as a mode of domination. That is, I would see its function in extracting surplus value as secondary to its function of permitting a mode of domination to be generalized at all levels of the system. Shorty was able to con a white man out of a quarter by allowing him the gratification of the experience of the realization of surplus power. For power, too, is accumulated along with capital and redistributed, at different relative
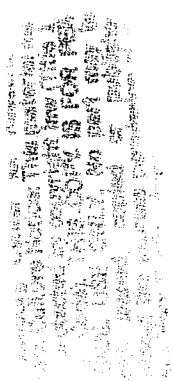
levels of gratification. Permitting to Pease and Reynolds no possibility

of the experience of power in relation to the boss, the system inscribes the

black as their proletariat. In getting Wright to play the Symbolic (they
Sambo

experience not only whiteness but the power of bourgeois being.

By being allowed to terrorize the freed slave, the poor whites are

induced to accept the relatively milder forms and modalities of social

repression exercised by the bourgeois against them. The slave too used

his vicarious identification with the rich masters to look down on the
[511]
poor whites. As Fanon says, the Negro too wants to be master. The

proletariat wants to be the bourgeosie, as the middle class black wants

to be the white master.

Earlier in this monograph I had accepted the Marxian division

between the infrastructure--the economic posited as base, and the

superstructure defined as a separate level of culture, ideas, legal

system, etc. I had therefore also accepted the theory that the

economic tended to determine the "superstructure." This theoretical

position carried on that marginalization of the cultural by the economic

which is perhaps capitalisms central strategy of domination. Marxism too

continues this marginalization of the cultural by the economic because

of the implications of what I shall analyze as its factory model of

exploitation. Harold Cruse has pointed out that Europe, having a fairly

homogenous culture, did not present Marx with the imperative cultural

problem that the United States, with its different ethnic groups, poses.
the
Because of this theoretical framework coming from Europe can oversee

the cultural problem, whereas the problem is primary for any revolutionary

theory in the United States.

In the movement of the periphery peoples of the world against

domination by the core, the role of culture has come to play central role.

Cabral, the revolutionary leader of Guinea-Bissau's anti-colonial struggle,

THE MAYFLOWER AND THE MIDDLE PASSAGE: BACK TO AFRICA, BACK TO EUROPE

AND THE RETURN TO THE SOURCE

"When all the world bears the burden of the gods, none goes

hump-backed." [Akan proverb]

"...Oedipus is always colonization pursued by other means. It

is the interior colony, and we shall see that even here at

home, where we Europeans are concerned it is our intimate colonial

education." [Deleuze & Guattari] [5:5]

"...Harlem also fostered something else...a cultural movement

and a creative intelligentsia...What was unique...was that

the Negro cultural movement ran almost parallel to and in

relation with, a white American cultural resurgence."

[Cruse] [5:6]

The United States has been and is, culturally colonized to see

itself as what it is not--all white, and a mere extension of Western

culture. The imposition of this great Single Norm of being and of

culture has been the central strategy of the bourgoeis ruling

consciousness. This consciousness in the United States was to have a

free and total dominion, unchecked as it was in Europe by the

resistance of other former powerful classes, and by a working class and

other popular forces who carried over memories and popular traditions

of the non-bourgeois past. It was in the cultural sphere--in what Baudrillard

calls the mental, sexual, and cultural structures--that the bourgeosie

would have free rein to dominate the socialization of the American

people. It was through their ownership, control of, and domination of

the areas of socialization that they would "produce" the prescribed

multi-layered ego identites necessary to the functioning of the system.

De Tocqueville's view of the American reality points to the extent to which this was being carried out by the cultural apparatus of the system.' Jules Henry comments on, and quotes De Tocqueville:

"De Tocqueville found us sunk in personal pleasures and so frightened of having a deviant opinion that he wrote: 'When I survey this countless multitude of beings shaped in each others likenesses, among whom nothing rises and nothing falls, the sight of such universal conformity saddens and chills me, and I am tempted to regret that form of (aristrocratic) society which ceased to be...' " [5l7]

Karl Polanvi has shown that in Europe the aristocratic class · In fighting for their interests against the ascendant bourgeoisie forced compromises on them, even allying itself with the popular forces. Because of this, Europe was able to remain partly protected against the ⁚ . onslaught of the triumphant bourgeois structures that unleashed themselves on the expanding frontier of American society. The marginal-ization of all non-productive, non-economic activity, a process central to the bourgeois rationale, lead in the U.S.A to what has been called the Symbolic Return of the Mayflower to Europe. This Return operated on two levels. On one level Europe became the standard of reference by which the cultural barrennesss of the United States could be judged and condemned. The return of a Henry James, for example, was to be based on this first level, even though there were to be commingled traces of the second level. At the second level, the Return constituted a central strategy for the bourgeoise itself, its attachment of the Inscription of Western culture as part of the "heritage" of White America. This way without expending much, it appropriated the Western form of high culture as an ikon of spiritual superiority. It adoptedthis culture   and inscribed it as Sepulveda had done, as the sign of white

superiority; as the Single Norm of culture that legitimated not only white America but bourgeois America. But it spiritualized this ikon, putting it to work as a Symbolic Culture to which all could aspire to belong, whilst accepting their own non-worthiness, seeing their lack of culture as one more lack that needed to be filled; yet at the same time rationalizing this lack as a frill, a luxury, something red-blooded frontier Americans could do without. That culture was something that expressed their mode of social interrelationships and their activity upon the world, was unthinkable; and that the artistic non-creativity—except somewhat sporadically in the religious sphere—of the majority of white Americans—as contrasted to their technological creativity, was determined by the mode of social relations, was unthinkable.

But if the Symbolic Order of Europe became the standard reference of what Culture was, its conjoined figural antithesis was Africa, the land of the negation of all that Culture was. And the blacks, the "Negroes" were bearers of this non-culture. Americans of European descent, by merely being white, were vicariously associated with this great cultural heritage that had been handed down to them, one that they had to guard and protect like a Grail. It was essentially a Sunday culture—as religion became for many a Sunday religion—with which a hurried rite of renewal had to be made from time to time, a genuflection here and there. But this culture or rather this idea of culture was that it had nothing to do with the world where the economic reality principle ruled. What De Tocqueville saw and noted as the instant materialism of the American people was the result of the unbridled hegemony of the culture of production, a culture which marginalized and stigmatized all activity that was not harnessed to the goal-seeking activity of producing surplus value. A totalitarian culture, it increasingly used its "free" market system to suppress all other goals.

Later it would use its state/party system to even more total effect.

Because there were no aristocratic classes to combat the emotional deprivation that resulted from this distortion of human life, even if only from the point of view of their own interests, the parallels of the aristocratic classes were to slowly emerge from the ranks of the bourgeosie themselves. These parallels were to be found not only amongst the artists but also amongst those members of the bourgeosie who became rich enough to withdraw from the direct productive process, and from the introjection of its totalitarian ideological assumptions.

The escape of the artists to Europe is well documented. Here a Symbolic return was made an actual return. The flight of later black artists from the cultural and emotional desert of America as well as their flight from the harshness of its implacable racial frontier would be part of the same process. Each return, Symbolic and actual, was a blow in the great cultural task of revolution, the permanent, ongoing counter-cultural task of shattering the Norm, the monolithic axiomatic of productivist reason, of reminding of alternative ways of life, of alternative desires. Each escape, each flight was a species of maYronage, the qeust for a free space from where to wage the ongoing process of revolt against the cultural colonization carried out by the productive bourgeoisie who attempted to model America in its own image, the image of the plantation, the factory.

But in the return to Europe, the return of the Mayflower, a return carried out essentially by small groups of artist, and of the wealthy who served as patrons and centres of artistic activity, was matched and paralleled by another Symbolic Return, the Return across the Middle Passage, the return to a Symbolic Africa. By the very impossibility of the concrete return--the blacks were to be the only ones totally cut off from the culture of origins, with a one way voyage out, the Symbolic

Return took on great force as an assault not only against the reality of
the material exploitation but against the symbolic and psychic exploitation
to which blacks were subjected by the axiomatic of the culture of
Production. The myth of the Return was central to the chain of cultural
innovations by and through which the black popular forces withstood
the physical and psychic pressures of   industrial colonization.

The Myth of a return to Africa symbolized the positing of an
alternative mode of life, of alternative desires. It is through the
totalitarian colonization of desire that bourgeois hegemony activates
its strategy of power. For its theologization of the material life,
its production of the economic as its sole reality principle, its
reduction of man to his productive capacity--in other words to his pieza
status-- are central strategies with which it controls and regiments
the multiple layers of its world system.

The Myth of the Return was a central pillar in that figural
representation by which black popular culture was to establish its own
form of the transcendent, Africa--later translated into Heaven--became the
masalla, the Beyond of the gnostics, the kingdom of Jah, that assails
and delegitmates the present reality.

But the Beyond was, for the New World black popular forces, a Beyond
which existed spatially as an alternative mode of being, rather than
temporally in an eternally delayed future, the conceptualization by which
official Christianity supports structures of domination. The future was,
for the New World black, incorporated into the now, heaven was here and
now because experienced. The Symbolic Return to Africa or Heaven, fo the
true Home, was ceaselessly carried out through the cults, and their U.S.
variants, the ring shouts.

Lawrence Levine's valuable book, Black Culture and Consciousness, gives
documentary support to the thesis of the revolutionary transformation that

Black popular forces made in Christianity, infusing its official

orthodoxy with manifold heresies, that not only pointed to its own

— Christianity's —

origins, but expressed the African cultures' refusal to separate the

spiritual from the material life, their refusal of binary oppositions.

This revolutionary heresy is the central contribution of unofficial

black popular culture to the great transformation of our times, the

transformation of the technological frontier into a "homeland". Levine

first quotes Lucy McKim telling of how she heard the spiritual Poor Rosy

sung as a song during the Civil War, on the Sea Islands--and the earliest

documentation of black folklore would come out of this "return to the

source" by Northern whites during and after the Civil War--sung by

oarsmen to keep the beat of the oars by workers, at the hominy mill

"to keep up with the whirring stone,'and in the evening after the day's

work is done, Heab'n shall be my home'...peals up slowly and mournfully

from the distant quarters" [518].

Levine then comments, and we quote his comment to show how un-

ceasingly in the Black popular culture the Symbolic Return was and is

actualized through the religious experience, whilst the religious

experience is secularized in song, in dance, the material spiritualized,

the spiritual materialized.

"For the slaves then, songs of God and the mythic heroes of their

religion were not confined to specific time or place, but

were appropriate to almost every situation. It is in this

sense that I use the concept sacred--not to signify a

rejection of the present world but to describe the process

of incorporating within this world all the elements of the

divine. Mircea Eliade...maintains that for people in traditional

societies, religion is a means of extending the world spatially

upward so that communication with the other world is made

ritually possible and extending it temporally backwards
so that the paradigmatic acts of gods and the mythical
ancestors can be continually reenacted and indefinitely
recoverable. By creating time and space, man can perpetually
live in the presence of his gods, can hold on to the certainty
that within one's own lifetime rebirth is continually
possible, and can impose order on the chaos of the
universe." [514]

This is very well put. However, only one aspect of this
invention of the más allá, its incorporation in this world, is accounted
for in this formulation, i.e. the way in which the mechanism of religion
functions to give self-certainty to the human group. This is a very
important attribute. Indeed one might argue that religion is the
cultural labour of man by and through which he compels his gods to
recognize him as their child and to guarantee his partly divine status;
this partly divine status then guaranteeing his humanity--i.e., his
partly non-biological status--in the face of death. Death then is
incorporated into the fabric of existence as socio-cultural fact the
very sign of rebirth,of regeneration. Death itself becomes a Return to
the source.
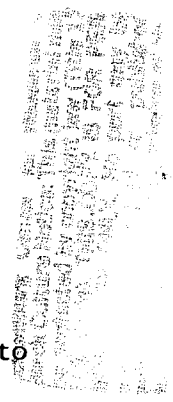
The cults in Jamaica--Zion Revival and Pukkumina, the Ring Shouts
in the U.S.A., were nothing more than the reenactment of this Symbolic
Return to the source, of this death of the self so that being itself
could be regenerated through death--the very source of life. The
paradigm of the journey which the worshippers commonally undertake--it
is this journey which Bob Marley reenacts in his hit song, Exodus-- is
a journey of spiritual and material freedom. The worshippers engage in
religious "work," the groaning, the stomping/dancing, holy dancing,
until they reach as the Zionists in Jamaica term it, the deepest level

of possession, of ectasy--the'61 order of possession (1861 was the year
of the great Christian/Myal revival in Jamaica.)

Levine documents the testimony of white witnesses who found themselves
face to face with religious ecstasy in the Ring Shouts.

"In 1818 a group of white Quaker students observed a
Negro camp meeting. They watched in facination and
bewilderment as the black worshippers moved slowly around
and around in a circle chanting:

'We're travelling to Immanuel's land, glory!
Halle-lu-jah.'

Occasionally, the dancers paused to blow a tin horn. The
meaning of the ceremony gradually dawned upon one of the
white youths; he was watching 'Joshua's chosen men
marching around the walls of Jericho, blowing the
ram's horn and shouting, until the walls fell. The
students were witnessing the slave's 'ring-shout'--
that counter-clockwise shuffling dance which frequently
lasted long into the night. The shout often became a
medium through wich the ecstatic dancers were
transformed into actual participants in historic actions.
Joshua's army marching around the walls of Jericho, the
children of Israel following Moses out of Egypt...'Those
who have witnessed these shouts can never forget them'
Abigail Christensen has written. 'The fascination of
the music and the swaying motion of the dance is so
great that one can hardly refrain from joining the magic
circle in response to the invitation of the enthusiastic
clappers. 'Now Brudder! Shout, Sister! Come, belieber!
Ma¢ma Rose kin shout. Uncle Daryell, join shouters!' "
[524]

The historic actions--as symbolized in the Bible--are drawn into the paradigm of the spiritual journey--as Shakespearian snippets of plays were drawn in to the death and rebirth theme in the Junkunian play. The symbolic journey is itself a reenactment of <u>death/rebirth</u>; and the death/rebirth there as we have shown, fuelled the ideology of the Haitian revolution/ of the Nat Turner revolt, of the 1761 slave revolt, of Paul Bogle's rebellion, of the contemporary Rastafarian revolt. One dies to the this-world, to be reborn through spiritual birth as a legitimated heir to the kingdom of the other. And the identity of the heir <u>is</u> because <u>experienced</u>, participated in. The Counter-Symbolic order of the cults, assult and overthrow the symbolic order of Babylon, of the status quo--not only at the actual moment a revolutionary revolt, but in the rites, ceaselessly repeated.

For the other function of the mechanism of religion when it remains non-official, non-irreversible, non-institutionalized, is to posit a constant critique of the this-world, holding out the potentiality of the reversibility of its social structures. The determinism of material reality, a determinism constituted by Enlightenment Reason, is thereby contradicted. Equally the determinism of official Christian destiny, determining who shall be saved through the accumulation of grace and good works on the final due date of Judgement, is negated. Man through ritual ecstacy, through participation in religious experience, as Radin notes, incorporates God, rather than waiting, passively, to be incorporated by Him.

"The ante-belleum Negro was not converted to God, he converted God himself. In the Christian God he found a fixed point, and he needed a fixed point for both within and outside himself he could see only vacillation and endless shifting..." [521]

Above all he created an alternative identity and destiny opposed to that of the culture of production which reduced him to one aspect of his

biological fact--the amount of strength contained in his muscles which could be used for labour power. Over against productivist reason the black slave created a Symbolic mode of reason. This reason was imperatively social. Levine argues:

> "The spirituals are a testament not only to the perpetuation of significant elements of an older world view among the slaves but also to the continuation of a sense of community. Just as the process by which the spirituals were created allowed for simultanous individual and communal creativity, so their very structure provided simultaneous outlets for individual and communal expression. The over-ridding antiphonal structure of the spirituals--the call and response patterns which Negroes brought with them from Africa, and which was reinforced in America by the process of lining out hymns--placed the individual in a continual dialogue with his community, allowing him at one and the same time to preserve his voice and to blend it with those of his fellows. Here again slave music confronts us with evidence which indicates that ..the slave system was never able to leave the individual atomized and physically defenseless before the white masters. In fact, the form and structure of slave music presented the slave with a potential outlet for his individual feelings, even while it continually drew him back into the communal presence and permitted him the comfort of basking in the warmth of the shared assumptions of those around him." [52]
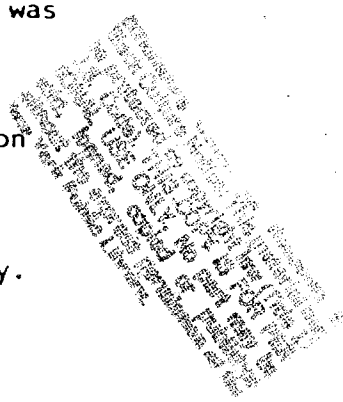
This formulation reflects the thoughtfulness of Levine's contribution to the rewriting of American history, a rewriting which moves it out of the limited parameters of history written from the perspective of white middle class America. However, we must question the implicit

psychologism that tends to see the religious service mainly as an "outlet" for feelings rather than as the cultural innovation that it was. Religious service, each ring shout, each spiritual sung, was a continual return to the source that return to the symbolic roots .. . .. through which man experiences himself as a I more intensely as he experiences himself as a we. This is the liminal space of religious ecstacy, the secular ecstacy of Junkunnu, of jazz, the blues, the spirituals, of all art. It is the experiencing of symbolic reality that constitutes the experience of the social. The rituals of the church service, of the songs, continually reenacted this community, put the community into play so to speak, yet intensified at the same time the experience of the self.

The early Christian Church knew this experience of community. Leo Spitzer has shown how the concept of harmony which was represented as the harmony of the Universe was experienced in the Christian churches, by and through collective song. [523] It was by and through the service that individuals constituted themselves as the beloved community in Christ concerting their wills and desires. This was the beloved community that Martin Luther King struggled to realize in our times as he attempted to re-socialize the Christian gospels, to resocialize the Christian community. Orthodox Christians, by spiritualizing their faith, had destroyed their own experience of community--the impoverished singing of all upper class and strictly white Christian churches attest to this impoverishment, the aesthetic failure serving as an index of the ethical anti-Christianity-- Martin Luther King, sought to rejoin Christianity to the powerful source of community experience that the black popular forces, through their cultural labour and cultural innovation, had introduced into American life; as well as to return Christianity to the power of its own original heretical and symbolic roots [52.]

constitute both the Norm and the Norm as a <u>we</u>. In the lived

hierarchical reality no such <u>we</u> existed. Every ritual of lynching came

therefore to fulfill the distorted need of man to realize himself as

social being, and to <u>experience</u> this realization. The plantation system,

the Auchwitz and the Gulag system as well as today's marginal archipelago,

are all the sites of the nigger-breaking of metaphysical Others whose

existence can "recognize" and affirm that of the Norm as a pseudo-we--

we the whites, the skilled, the technocrats, the party, the national

orthodox, the West--we the possesors and bearers of productivist Reason.

Hence the power of the fascist complex which haunts Western civilization

and the global areas it has colonized.

   Since cultural activity is essentially the expression of the communal,

the stagnation of cultural creativity among the normative majority

expresses the death of social life. Pseudo-religions based on religious,

racial, tribal, cultural and political orthodoxies then enter to occupy

the void. They constitute themselves as cults, dedicated to the religion

of power whose central theology calls for determinism--the constituting

of the ruling social order as irreversible, represented as ordained by

Nature, God, History. It is this irreversibility that the Symbol of the

return to the Source constitutes itself. The return to the source is the

expression of those who die to the normative self so that in the liminal

world of death the rebirth of new forms of new possibilities of being are

endlessly renewed. At this source, the <u>we</u> is experienced as without

boundaries. There is no binary opposition between self and other, the pure

and the impure.

   This experience of the boundless <u>we</u> is however limited to those who,

in the social structure have no dependent, excluded other, to recognize

them as superior. They recognize each other mutually, reciprocally, the

reciprocal recognition guaranteed by the gods.

By putting the symbolic into play they move outside the parameters of bourgeois rationality and thereby reverse: its axiomatic. It is the symbolic implications, rather than the actual process, of the two Returns, the return of the Mayflower, and the return of the Middle Passage, that point to their central importance in the topography of the ongoing underground revolution against the hegemony of the culture of production.

The Middle Passage return, by the very nature both of the culture of origin and of the New World circumstance, imperative posited, the existence of another world, here and now, of other possibilities. The reenactment of the Return by the cults and in the Ring Shouts, expressed an alternative human destiny. Over against the dominant paradigm and representation figural of man as producer the identity as producer itself produced by the destiny imposed by the bourgeosie, the destiny of productive finality the black popular culture puts into play a counter paradigm and figural representation. This paradigm/representation is enacted in the cults, in the religious experience, in the experience of Junkunnu, of carnival-- in the experience of black music secular and/or spiritual. It is in this conflict of paradigms/representation that the productivist reason of the hegemonic system finds itself profoundly challenged.

The political myth of Return embodied in political black nationalism was carried more overtly by the literate tradition of revolt established by the free blacks. [526]

With Garveyism, the symbolic and the political conjoined--the underlife erupted into the mainstream, in an extraordinary mass movement. Two traditions of resistance, that of the popular forces and that of the free blacks, now met to reinforce each other [527]. The secular political Myth of a return joined forces with the religious transcendent myth of a return. From Martin Delany to Garvey to Dubois, black nationalism-- the political/cultural taking of consciousness of an opposed identity to

that of the prescribed Normative identity, of an alternative destiny

to that of the monolithic system-expressed itself, by and through the

striving to put the myth of return into play, to actualize the symbolic.

This is what Revolutions are about--the actualization of the symbolic.

At the same time as there was an external myth of a return there

was another myth and movement of a return--the myth and movement of a

return to those secretive infrastructural areas of the American reality,

of the American continent, to that underlife that had existed, guerrilla

like, invisible in the surrounding terror. The movement of Negritude

was to begin in Haiti with the "return" of some members of the new

intellectual class to the source of Haitian life, to its peasant

reality. The revaluation of the formerly stigmatized cultures,

constituted an assault on the axiomatic--a breach was opened and one was

reminded of other possibilities, other desires, other world views, other

ways of living. The breach in the Great Norm, the breach in its walls,

was opened now not by the religious ecstasy of the cults but by the intellectual

activity of the new black elites. The Haitian elites, complacent in their

past history of glory, when Haitians had become the first bearers of a

successful slave revolution in history, had come to see themselves as part

of the Norm, as magnificent coloured Frenchmen, the true inheritors of

Haiti, co-equals with the Western bourgeosie. The American occupation,

their experience of being neo-natives, became again the marked excluded

Other, jerked them into awareness. From the "blindness" of the master

identity they experienced, like the slave, the resistance of the real world

to their desire to affirm themselves as men. They returned to the roots

and became the articulators and mainstream interpreters of some aspects of

the alternative popular culture. Their negritude laid bare the implicit

blanchitude of the Norm, revealing the particularity of its pretended

universality.

Here in the United States, the return to the source had taken place even before Negritude. Harold Cruse shows the complexity, and the unique nature of the U.S. "return to the source." For one thing the "source" would be essentially urban, even though there would be extensions of the return to the still rural areas of the South-- plantation rural--from which the urban blacks had recently migrated. The "source" would be located in Harlem, and Harlem itself as Cruse shows, was the result of the economic struggle waged by a group of blacks to buy real estate where blacks would be allowed to live. Above all Harlem was the "liminal" stage for Southern black migrants who underwent the experience of urbanization.

For if the source was rural, once again the blacks had been transhipped, and urban Harlem was a space in which the old figural representations of the former culture could reestablish themselves as a new form of the underlife. But in the United States, differently from Haiti, whilst the return to the source was mainly black, the return was partly white. What would come to be known as Harlem Renaissance Would be a movement of black artists and thinkers to return to the source, a movement which would parallel another cultural Renaissance, ' that of the Greenwich Village literary and cultural movement. Out of this movement would come the white political, social and cultural radicals who would make Harlem their mecca as they too "returned to the source." As Cruse explains it,

> "Harlem became what the historian, James Weldon Johnson
> called "the intellectual and artistic capital of the Negro world"
> for a very good reason--because New York City was the
> intellectual and cultural capital of the white world
> in America...the emergence and growth of Negro Harlem took
> place within the framework of Negro-white relations, both
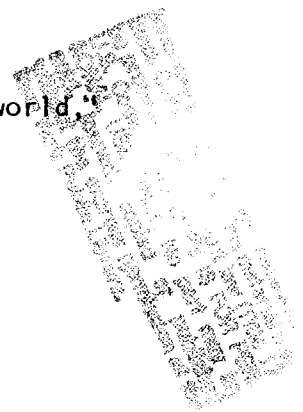
In New York and elsewhere. Manhattan real estate
interests, the relations of various national groups,
Southern Negro migrations, war, economics, etc., made
Harlem a new Promised Land for the black worker and
former 'peasant' from both the South and the West
Indies. But Harlem also fostered something else
which has not been adequately dealt with in the
history books--a cultural movement and a creative
intelligentsia...the Negro cultural movement ran
almost parallel to and in interaction with a white
American cultural resurgence." [52]

Cruse   describes how groups of intellectuals under the
aegis of the wealthy Mabel Dodge came together in 1912; this was to foster
the white American literary and cultural Renaissance that reached its peak
in the 1920's. The birth of Harlem as a city within a city and the
establishment of a cultural guerilla enclave within the very territory
of the Great Axiomatic of production were coter.minous. Harlem was to
become the crossroads where both movements would intersect. It would
also become the crossroads where people from the periphery of the
expanding American empire would intersect with its core denizens, some
of them among the most privileged. Yet the common cultural unease, the
fact that many of them were artists   meant that they, too, experienced a
sense of psychic displacement, experienced marginality. It is in the meeting
of their respective marginalities that the two movements would influence
and interact with each other.

Cruse points out that,

"The majority of the creative generation were not New Yorkers
but hailed from places as distant as Joplin, Missouri (Hughes)
and the British West Indies (Mackay). Harlem was the mecca for the

Intelligentsia." [52]

It was Mackay's novel, Banjo, that would create the figure of the counter
hero, the popular vagabond musician with his guitar whose real life figures, have

been, of course, the chain of great black musicians who have populated

the American space with a woven tapestry of sound, a Joshua's horn of

sound, perpetually tumbling down the iron walls of the normative American

soul, that soul that Lawrence describes and Cruse quotes, as "hard,

isolate, stoic and a killer. It has never yet melted'"[53].

Senghor was later to say that every black student carried two books

with him, Mackay's Banjo and the book in which the German scholar

Frobenius revalued the formerly stigmatized African cultures. The

Harlem Renaissance and Negritude were : . part of a general global

movement initiated by the perception of the psychic devastation that the

monolithic culture of production carried in its wake.

The growing realization of the social destructiveness of this

technological culture, _ _ . of the scarred psyches to which it gave

birth, of the expanding desert of interrelationships that negated the very principle

of the human, lead to multiple movement, multiple attempts to turn back

the tide. The return to the "primitive" was in general an attempt to seek

alternative forms, to escape the monolithic domination of what was presented

as the real. These movements would make it possible for some intellectuals

to make a theoretical break-through to the concept of the relativity of

cultures, to find a point outside from which to retrospectively view their

own. This intellectual activity which shattered some of the myths about

African cultures and set in motion empirical research into other cultures

was to provide the basis out of which the revolutionary new insights of

a Lévi-Strauss--revolutionary precisely because he negated the Normative/

Axiomatic idea that the intellect was the sole prerogative of Western

culture--and of contemporary anthropology, was to emerge.
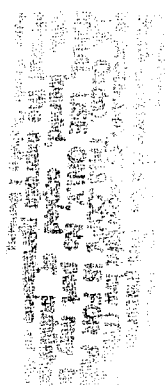
The Western revolt in Europe, the Black revolt in Haiti and later

in France with Cesaire and Senghor, the Harlem Renaissance and the

White American Greenwich Village movement formed part of a connected

wave of a widespread revolt against the universal domination of the

culture of production. As Cruse writes:

"Historically there was an ethnic or 'aesthetic' interaction

between these two racial movements. The Harlem Renaissance

differed from the Greenwich Village Renaissance, first in

actual content, and also in the respective social levels of

the participants. Moreover, the village movement began

under the rare guidance and sponsorship of a patroness

with a very broad and cultivated background in the person of

Mabel Dodge...The Mable Dodge group represented a new

American intellectual and creative movement at another

level. It was the first white intellectual revolt against

the deadening materialistic pall that a triumphant

industrialism had spread over the American landscape,

choking up the spiritual pores of the nation and threatening

to smother its creative potential. 'America is all machinery

and money making and factories' Mabel Dodge had said after

ten years of cultural rejuvenation in Europe. 'It is ugly,

ugly, ugly.'" [531]

What Mabel Dodge had found in Europe were societies where time, care

and concern were still given to the central art of social living. When

Bob Marley demands as the categorical imperative that man should learn to

live life, that's all, that is what he is talking about. With all its

other magnificent achievements, the art of social living is a lost art

for the culture of production. Necessarily so, since the social ceases

to be an end in itself and becomes a more adjunct to the productive process.

This mutation was carried out first of all on the plantation archipelago.
Its model would spread out from there to engulf first America, and then
later would come the turn of Europe. In the face of modern monopoly
capitalism, its defenses have been swept away. Were Mabel Dodge alive
today she would find in Europe the mirror image of America. But she
would find in Europe too the fall-out from the May '68 movement, a
movement paralleling and basing itself on the new forms of social
and cultural revolution initiated by American blacks during the Sixties.
Europe, too, has been incorporated into the plantation model of
experience. The plantation was the embryonic form of monopoly capitalism,
and in the image of the Negro, of the _pieza_ reduced only to his labor
capacity, the Western world saw the image of its own future. The series
of stereotypes that it would project of the _Negro_, was almost a form
of exorcism, the exorcism of a nightmare that drew closer and closer, and
was to reach its climax with the Auchwitz and Gulag archipelagos.

Harold Cruse speaks of the process by which blacks on the plantation
were denuded of the specifity of their former cultures so that they could
be homogenized into large molar aggregates. Here he insists, as would
Frazier, on the almost totally American quality of the black culture of the
United States. He posits them a variant of the cultural void thesis
although with a completely different intent to that of Ribeiro's. But
both share the determinism of what I would like to label the "conditioning
fallacy," that is to say, the concept of the total conditioning power of
the natural and social environment upon groups or individuals. The
lasting contribution of Hegel's master/slave phenomenology was to negate
this total determinism, yet to negate it only in the context of the specific
circumstance of the slave. In this sense, Cruse's insistence on the
specific circumstances of the American experience is timely and important.

He writes:

"The American Negro cannot be understood culturally

unless he is seen as a member of a detached ethnic

bloc of people of African descent reared for

three hundred years in the unmotherly bosom of Western

civilization. With regards to the African Motherland,

the American Negro is not an African, not even remotely

so. Not only have three hundred years separated him culturally

from Africa; so have a thousand miles of geographical

distance cut him off from any kind of real communication

with Africa...It must be clearly understood that our

racial and cultural experience as a group is distinctly

American. The African languages, customs, religions and

traditions of our African forebears were discouraged and

eventually destroyed by the necessities of the slave

system." [53]

Where this monograph disagrees with Cruse is on the question of

"destruction." As the Jewish example shows, the original cultures were

not destroyed in Egyptian captivity, but were instead metamorphosed.

It was this metamorphosis that then provided features that extended

the cultures of origin from local characteristics and transformed it

into a culture of exile, detached from its specific place, its local

habitation, a mobile culture so to speak that became at once particular

and universal. It has been the intention of this monograph to show that

while the formal structures of this culture--its strict language forms,

customs and religions--may have been destroyed, what we may call its

common ground, its central figural representation, one that related to

a central model of generation as the hegemonic culture relates to the

model of production--survived to power an American modality of the

original African culture. Yet a distinction must be made, and it is

this sense that Cruse, and Frazier's insistence on the American nature of

the African survial is important.

As Cruse continues:

"This de-Africanization process began at the point
of the landing of slaves on American shores. These
slaves were detribalized almost immediately, destroying
any means of unity and communication. There began the
process of westernization. We adopted the Caucasian's language,
English, his religion and as many customs as conditions
permitted, including the eight-toned musical scale brought
from Europe to America. Most slaves who learned to
read English learned it from the Holy Bible...During
slavery and for several decades after Emancipation it was
possible to say that AfroAmericans had a distinct culture...
Afro Americans produced a distinct body of social art,
embodied in music, song and dance, folklore, poetry,
formal literature, craftsmanship, mores, and even their
own variant of Christian religion and experience...In the
music field we have been outstanding both in quantity and
quality of musical creativity. American Negro jazz and its
concomitant dance patterns, have given America its unique
musical complexion and have influenced the Western world.
The character of the American Negro theatre is so indebted
to American Negro creative genius in music and dance that
today our music and dance have been fully incorporated into
what is called being "American." [53ā]

Cruse, like Leroi Jones--as he then was--also makes the point that
black literature, compared to this musical creativity, is not as impressive.
The qestion we must ask ourselves is why? Why is that it is in music,
dance and song as conjoined activities that American blacks have made

their greatest contribution to the blackening of America and of the West in the process. That is to say, why is it through these forms that they have reversed the process of Westernization, influencing the West rather than being influenced by the West [   ]? The explanation of this fact is impossible without reference to the culture of origin.

Intellectual inquiry must therefore reverse the Middle Passage and trace the main outlines of that original culture from which the American version would separate and metamorphose itself in new circumstances. If hitherto we have identified two parallel process, the process of indigenization and the process of creolization, with the beginning of Black and White minstrelsy, we must begin   now to note the movement of the underlife outwards into the mainstream. Its own colonizing influences would begin to spread outwards, countering the end-process of Westernization, of the culture of production. What could be called an epic battle of cultures had begun. It is in this context that we would like to refer to another process, the process of syncretism.

For if we are about to insist on the centrality of African origins to American black culture and therefore to the neo-indigenous culture of modern America, we would like to make it clear, that this culture exists in a special form precisely because of its original rupture from its culture of origin. This rupture was to be the condition of possibility of its new form. The Yoruba or the Ibo who crossed the Middle Passage was expelled from an autocentric culture which coded him as the Norm, the centre of his own universe [533].

In his original cultural existence his sense of self was firmly coded. He lived his being as essential being, a being culturally represented as existing from the beginning of time. The common ground of knowledge which he inhabited with the others was an unquestioned ground. What he knew he knew securely. But knowledge outside that coded field, those cultural

what Bahktin has described as the popular culture, a modern toughened variant of all unofficial cultures, all folk cultures that have borne the weight of ruling classes, as they have borne the burden of the gods, seems indisputable.

It is important to note, too, that although Cruse says that the blacks were de-Africanized, there was no such thing as an African culture, no molar aggregate of cultural characteristics, to use Deleuze and Guattari's distinction [535]. Rather, each tribe represented a molecular cultural organism, and each member of that tribe had coded and inscribed, had "written" that culture as he danced and as he sang. In the culture of origin song and dance was not the degraded irrelevant thing it had come to be in Western culture, its degradation symbolized by the stereotype of the minstrel song and dance man. Rather, song and dance were the theology, the medium of liturgy. The gods were, because they were danced. Song dance and the drum created and sustained the space of the gods. And the gods were partly the mechanisms by which African cultures guaranteed, preserved and corrected the social order. The goal-seeking activity of the multiplicity of African cultures was the creation, preservation and regeneration of the social order. If the reason of the Greeks could be said to have been political, and that of the Western world, the culture of production, economic, then the mode of reason of African cultures was essentially social. For this reason, African cultures were and are essentially participatory cultures. Thus, what we label as "African" culture does not exist except to the extent that it is decentralized in each group who codes itself tribally, and further decentralized in each unit of the group. There is no coded body of knowledge apart from each bearer, and the collectivity. The strength of African cultures lies precisely in this fact. Its survival and transformation during the Middle Passage experience would be due to this.
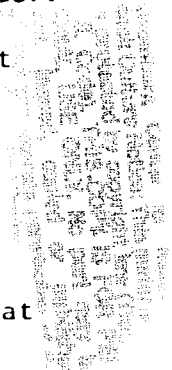
As we pointed out before, the dream of return would be central to Afro-American culture, causing it to secularize that absolute longing which fuels its social revolutionary content. With Garveyism, the dream took overt form, a mass attempt was made to actualize the Symbolic. But a new event since Garvey is of central importance. As Africa itself surges centre stage in the world arena, its struggle for independence partly inspired by the Pan African dream of Diaspora blacks, the long symbolic dream of a return on the part of Diaspora blacks began to meet with the resistance of the real world.

The symbolic Africa that still fueled the force and power of the Garveyite movement in the Diaspora has been replaced not only by the political Pan Africanism, formed by the chain of innovation of the black nationalist dream among the freed black class from Delany to Dubois, but that Pan Africanism itself has been overtaken by events. Hence, the strange situation that some American Blacks, including Lerone Bennett, found themselves in at the Sixth Pan African Conference, when they were confronted with the complex realities, even the incomprehension of the actual African nations, many of them Marxist, or Marxist-oriented, or, even when not Marxist, sharing in that positivism which is central to Western political culture both in its Liberal and Marxist forms.

A paradox had occurred. The dream of Pan African had lead to the establishment of the Africa Bureau in London, headed by Padmore, James, Kenyatta, Nkrumah, the first two, men of the Diaspora in the New World, the second two, Africans, but Africans involved in a new diaspora, the middle Passage break of African cultures and peoples with their traditional societies as they entered the modernization process of the contemporary world, under the aegis of global capitalism, whether in its corporate property or State property form.

The Dream of Pan Africa had been dreamt in London then, Padmore even breaking with the Soviet Union over his insistence that the specific goal
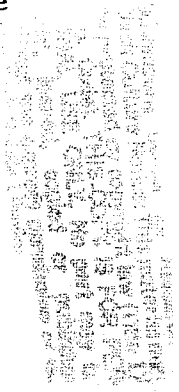
of African liberation could not be subordinated to the political priorities of the Russian State. It was that dream of Pan Africa that would help to inspire African leaders thrown up by the movement of the popular forces on the African continent. It was to put that dream of a Pan African return into operation that Nkrumah had returned to Ghana. The failure of Nkrumah was the definitive failure of the Dream of the Diaspora. The metaphysical view of the continent as an entity coded as a central reference point in an entire architecture of symbolism, had to be replaced by the recognition of the actual continent, breaking up into shifting component parts, split into differing entities and ideologies. As a scramble for power amongst its various elites was matched only by the scramble for political influence -- between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as by the implacable determination of the white enclaves, Rhodesia and South Africa, to level the continent in atomic waste rather than to cede the pleasures and privileges of overt white domination -- Africa became a focus of concrete contemporary politics, and left the realm of the symbolic.

Africans, too, all groups, found themselves entering a new Middle Passage experience, as the impact, first of colonialism, then of neo-colonialism and the industrial technological complex, as well as the different modes of domination practised by the new elites, assaulted from all sides. As Africans too transgressed the space between a non-industrial culture and an industrial one, African cultures too began to mutate under new circumstances, as the cultures taken across the Middle Passage had done.

It is out of this mutation on the African continent, that the high life music, with its musician-hero Fele, has emerged as, indeed has, the High life play. In the description of this play that Dennis Deurdon gives us, we discover the origins not only of the Jonkunnu and of the Maracatu plays, but also that of black minstrelsy, the form that was to become central to the evolution of the American musical.

Dennis Duerdon records his interview with the author Kofi Awoonor.
Awoonor told of a popular high-life song that was sung by Bob Cole during the
Nkrumah regime. From the description, it is clear that we are here in the
world of the Trinidadian calypso of today, in the world of the calysonian Chalkdust with
his satirical comparison of three West Indian Prime Ministers to "three blind
Mice", that we are here in the world of the satirical songs sung during the
Jonkunnu processions in nineteenth century USA, and in Jamaica. But what
it is important to note is that it is not a matter of different folkloric
elements resembling one another, but rather, of parallel responses to the same
imperative. This imperative constitutes the central goal-seeking activity
of African non-industrial cultures, the preservation of the social order by
the complex coding of and limiting of power. This was to be the original con-
tribution of African cultures, the taming and domesticating not the the
natural, but of the social frontier.

The former mechanisms, of traditional cultures, are now brought into play
in modern Ghana as the culture of the West, a culture designed to code and
perpetuate power in its most unlimited forms, sweeps over Africa finding
apt bearers in the persons of the new leaders, of the State bourgeoisie,
"non-Marxist" and "Marxist". The one-party State has become the mechanism
of their mode of domination as the Free Market was and is the mechanism
of the mode of domination of that other bourgeoisie -- the property form
bourgeoisie. The confrontation between the State-ruling classes of the
Caribbean and the popular forces is made explicit in the forms of the popular
songs from the calypso to Bob Marley. Equally today in Africa, Bob Cole,
a famous comedian, dramatized on the stage towards the end of Nkrumah's rule,
"...the whole business of arresting people, detention camps and so on with
his famous song 'Aban Kaba' which means 'the government's chains'. The
song goes like this: 'When you and I were there, and you saw a policeman
following me, did you not know that there was a government chain on my
hands? Now you ask me all sorts of questions, you want to do this to

me, you want to do that to me, but you must see that there is a government chain on my hands.'   And Bob Cole got away with it because nobody really in the political setup at the time, actually felt that Bob Cole was taking a jab at the whole Nkrumah structure." (525

The high life song comes out of the high life plays, and the traditional source of these plays which are now being performed in the urban areas, "...was the *Asofo* company, the age associations of the young Akan-speaking adults also to be found among the Northern Ewe speakers. The rival Asafo companies met and hurled abuse at one another, or were used to abuse chiefs and to destool chiefs, who had carried out unpopular measures by going to their house and singing insulting songs, thereby informing them that it was time to give up office." (53b)

What we note here is the reversibility of power. Bahktin has pointed to the reversal of roles as central to the mechanism of Carnival. We have seen it in the Jonkunnu, the symbol in action of power and of role reversal. It is this possibility of the reversal of power that bourgeois culture would finally negate. Its marginalization of Carnival is therefore not accidental.

The high life plays in Ghana, as in the Carribbean, had undergone a Middle passage experience. Trespassing from non-industrial societies into the space of the industrial town, they took on new roles in relation to new circumstances, much as the Jonkunnu, the Maracatu, and the Calypso had done.

"The companies who performed high life plays were formed by the young adults who had migrated to the towns in search of work and were very often made up of clerks from Government offices. They held annual competitions to see who could perform the best high life play, and then, performing in clubs in their spare time, might rise to becoming full-time professionals through the popularity of their songs, which might be played on the radio

and sold on discs in vast quantities." (539)

Here, the meeting of non-industrial African forms designed to preserve the social order as a participatory experience in which power is coded and limited, meets with the technological achievements of the culture of production whose discarding of the Social imperative had lead to the unprecedented accumulation of wealth and power. The very culture of production which had based its claim to domination on the accumulation of power involved in writing had provided the means by which the power of writing could be circumvented. Technology and cultures which had chosen to remain oral in the midst of available writing methods, when these cultures have been autocentric and able to make autonomous choices, now meet in a fateful syncretism, _with the culture of product_ This meeting heralds another mutation as great as that occasioned by the West's appropriation of the frontier of the New World. The meeting of technology and the oral cultures was to be as decisive a meeting as that between the descendants of the voyages of the Mayflower and the descendants of the voyages of the Middle Passage. It was out of the baggage of the latter voyages that would emerge the matrix of a new universal culture with new social and cultural imperatives.

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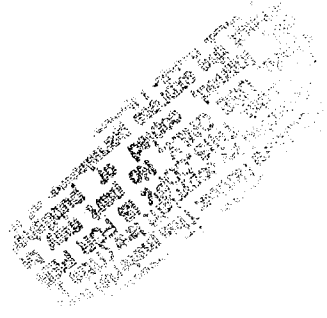
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE REVERSED: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CULTURE OF ORIGIN.

"Got one mind for white folks to see/'Nother for what I know is me. He don't know, he don't know my mind." (Black folksong, quoted by Lawrence Levine) [574]

"All domination must be . atoned for. . Formerly it was atoned for by the sacrificial death (the ritual death of the king or of the leader), or again by ritual inversion (carnival and other social rites also a form of sacrifice). Until then, power was exercised, openly, directly. The social game of reversal ceases with the dialectic of the master and the slave, where the reversibility of power gives way to a dialectic of the reproduction of power." (Jean Baudrillard) (575)

"If we accept the conclusion that Bantu-speaking African society was continually on the move from when it left its original home in the central Sahara (between 4000 and 3000 B.C.) and made its way through the rain forests at about the beginning of our era, reaching the southern tip of Africa in the seventeenth century, the problem of definition in new social circumstances and new environment can be seen to have been the most pressing consideration for every individual." (Dennis Duerdon) (576)

American history as it exists is conceptualized from the perspective of white middle class America. Because of this, the cultural baggage ideas, attitudes, customs, religion -- that the Puritan Pilgrims on the Mayflower brought to the new land, have been exhaustively investigated. Thus, the history of the United States, as at present conceived, is the history whose founding date and myth of origin is the arrival of the Mayflower. The original inhabitants, the American Indians, were to be displaced physically and metaphorically as surely as the Israelites dis-

placed the Canaanites, not only physically, but textually. It is not by
accident that both sets of pilgrims, Jewish and Puritan, were monotheistic --
that their God was an exclusive God, one who had chosen them with the same
exclusive ferocity that they would unchoose and displace all those that
they defined as the non-norm. It was the symbolic privilege of being the
Norm of the human, the universally human that they would claim. In the
case of the Puritans, they were to make their claim good with sword and
gun, with institutionalized terror. That the reverse side to this would be a
record of extraordinary achievement, of discovery and invention, that would
transform the world of imagination and of courage, is alone not thinkable
in the conceptualization, concomitant with their achievement, a conceptuali-
zation based on a binary opposition between good and evil, God and the
Devil, men and little men, men and Nature, Men and women, Christians
and heathens, civilized and savage, white and black, soul and body, life
and death.

But a different conceptualization did come to the United States. It
would come unnoticed, invisible with the transhipped gods. In this world
view, there was no binary opposition between good and evil, because there
was no binary opposition. There was no binary opposition because the
mode of social relations out of which the common ground of the cultural
figuration/representation was constituted was a mode of social relations
in which there was no totally irreversible division, in which no group
could structually institutionalize the total sustained exploitation,
material and/or symbolic, of the other group. This is not to say that
these societies did not have their own modes of cruelty, forms of barbarity
parallel to our forms, nor is it to say that they were innocent idylic cultures.
Rather, that they were cultures which, as nomadic frontier cultures expanding
into a large continent, had by an extraordinary achievement of social and

cultural innovation, managed to find forms which could both allow room for the expression of the talents of the individual, and yet limit and develop those talents, so that they could contribute towards that creativity of the social whole. Thus, the robber barons of capitalism, the antisocial pioneer, a cowboy, would have been allowed to develop their gifts of aggression, swiftness of mind, imagination and inventivity, but only to the extent that these could help to develop -- rather than to stifle, the creativity of others in the social group. The social group, on the other hand, would be allowed to limit the self-expression of the individual only where such limitation would not interfere with the communal goal-seeking activity - the creation of conditions in the context of which each member could develop the destiny that had been assigned to them by the gods; could express and achieve himself to speak. The analogy of generation -- each member conceived of as a plant needing cultural conditions in order to grow -- is very central here.

Dennis Duerdon uses the metaphor of a forest as the basic metaphor in the paradigm which he constructs in order to understand and decypher the imperatives of African art. He writes, "The metaphor with a forest of trees, taken from Middleton's Lugbara informant, is seen to be more helpful than Claude Lévi Strauss' opposition between society and nature, and we can elaborate the metaphor. Groups which may be separate kin groups, lineages living in close proximity or lineages scattered but organized in clans, are seen to establish themselves similarly to seedling trees in a forest. As they establish themselves and grow taller, they draw on the nutriment from soil fertilized by elders who have died." (57)

Dennis Duerdon here describes a process of thought which thinks itself through a central analogy. The analogy is a social construction which uses the model of the Nature to "think with", to use Lévi-Strauss' illuminating explanation of the totemic system. I want to argue that this figuration/

representation, based on the <u>Natural analogy</u>, is central to what Duerdon calls non-industrial cultures. This figuration I would like to term the <u>Model of Generation</u>, arguing that it is opposed to the parallel model of production -- a model which uses the artifact, specifically the machine, as its central analogy, and which is the dominant figuration of western and western-influenced societies, including the present forms of society of contemporary Africa, both capitalist (corporate property) and capitalist (state property). The voyages of the Middle Passage and of the Mayflower brought opposed modes of figuration and representation. The Middle Passage voyage brought a mode which was parallel to the mode of figuration of the American Indians. But this mode, unlike that of the American Indians which was marginalized in the reservations, would enter the crucible of conversion of the plantation system, to emerge transformed and toughened and contemporary.

To conceptualize rather that merely describe the cultural elements which the Middle Passage voyages brought in their baggage let us continue our borrowing of Duerdon's use of the metaphor proferred by an African informant. The fact that the trees are conceptualized as growing on the nutriment of the soil fertilized by the elders who have died, shows that no binary opposition is imagined to exist between the living and the non-living, a binary opposition which as Baudrillard shows, is central both to Western sciences and to the culture of production.

"The irreversitility of biological death, its exact and objective character, is a fact of modern science. It is peculiar to our culture. All other cultures postulate that death begins before death, that life continues after life, that it is impossible to distinguish life from death. Against the representation which sees the one as the limit of the other, it is necessary to attempt to apprehend the radical indetermination of life and death, the impossibility of autonomizing them within the symbolic order.

Death is not an expiration but a nuance of life -- as life is also a nuance of death. But our modern idea of death is determined by an altogether different system of representation; that of the machine and of its functioning. A machine functions or it does not function. Thus, the biological machine is dead or living. The symbolic order does not recognize such abstract digitality." (578)

As Duerdon develops his paradigm, "They (the seedlings) hope that they will grow again in forms created by the dead elders because these were the forms which were able to survive and push their way up to the light through the surrounding forests." (579)

The life of each ancestor, each elder, is represented as a specific and creative development of the life force, represented as common to all. Because of the form of representation, no binary opposition was constituted between the "natural" and the social. The social was modeled on the represented form of the natural -- that is to say, the model of the natural was socialized. To the contrary in the Western culture of production, the model of the social is naturalized. Thus, the social life of man is reduced to the biological measurement of his intellectual capacity -- the genetic "measurement" of the Shockley-Jensen school. In the form of representation of Western culture, the model of man as a machine is the central constitutive analogy. Thus, physical capacity and genetic endowments are conceived of as "spare parts" -- as interchangeable units. It is only in this world view that the project of the cloning of genes -- to make a specific combination irreversible -- is both conceptualizable and possible. In the African cultures, their paradigm, the "seedlings" hope to inherit a selective bundle of cultural traits, the modes in which the life force of each individual found its social expression. But however excellent this social expression was, the old trees are not to be allowed to stifle the young growth. Even the influence of excellence

must be limited.

Thus, the concept of role model is presented. What is important here is that this role model is not seen in terms of good or bad--but of how vigorously the ancestor expressed the life force accorded him--the founding ancestors of varied tribal groupings would have been celebrated for the energy of their adventure and the way in which they fulfilled the projects of their specific cult-group.

But the effects of this energy would have been carefully curtailed in actual life, by the social whole itself. In their original pre-colonial forms these societies had instituted a chain of innovations, of social codings--to guard against the possibility of an unlimited desire for power. Both power and cannibalism, social cannibalism--i.e., the expropriation of the social power of the group--and material cannibalism, were only permitted--to the degree that they were--as long as they were coded and limited as ritual and symbolic acts. Power was represented as the parallel of cannibalism, but a social cannibalism that could be directed against one's own rather than against the enemy. The space of power then must be hedged, limited both in actuality and in the discourse of representation. This can be seen in the metaphor of the trees.

"However, as they grow upwards, the possibilities of form are gradually limited for them, and this limitation of form is expressed in the art of ancestor figures, which begin to imitate the trunks of the trees from which they are carved, usually from soft wood so that they can be eaten by ants and fertilize new generations." (58)

We note here the constant of reversibility. The ancestor is commemorated and remembered, but his memory must not constitute itself as an immaculate power which can dominate the present. He is carved out of wood that can be destroyed, and ants are the agents of his destruction. There is no binary opposition between man and the natural forces and nature itself. Edward Long's representation of man's upright position, was that it expressed the fact that man was to be the master of Nature. The representation master-Nature, in the scope of its extension, was conceptualized on the basis of a common

ground constituted by the social relations in which he was involved. His conceptualization of Nature as totally an object to be mastered is ·the reflection of his real life conceptualization of the black as object -- as pieza. The conceptualization of object Earth and object man would be coterminous.

In the African conceptualization, the ants are forces of Nature which symbolize/represent the reversibility of man's life into death. The young trees growing from the soil they nourish, symbolize the reversibility of death, its regeneration into new life. The carving, made by the living out of a natural product, wood, symbolizes the exchange that the living makes with the dead, as well as the exchange between man, and the mother-source of his biological/cultural being, Nature. The product of man, represented as perishable, is an exchange with the product of Nature, the tree which man has made into a perishable object. By rendering the product that he makes perishable, yet perishable in such a way as to provide sources of life to the ants -- to nature, man keeps the "natural" cycle intact by and through his cultural innovations.

The "natural cycle" figural representation then governs the mode of communication, the mode of relations between members of the social whole.

Power, which is represented as the social product of men living in a group -- as the carving is the social product of men living in a group -- is equally reversible. The mode of relations, based on reciprocity of exchange, determines all other relations. What is constituted is the principle of reciprocity.

This does not mean to say that power, as the product of social interaction, is refused recognition. Rather, its role is recognized, but limited by and through the principle of reciprocity, whose purpose is not equality, but rather, the guarding against the unlimited accumulation of the means of communication socialization and of production by any one group of men, in their/his search for self-expression.

The reversibility of power, the reversibility of the social structure, at once is modeled on and determines the conceptualization of man's artifacts, as perishable and reversible. This representation of reversibility -- in contrast to the Western irreversible institutionalization of the relative power of different social groups, and to its preservation of the artifact in museums -- is at once determined by, and constitutive of, a dynamic of social interaction, based on the contingency of power relations, which the carving, eaten away by ants, symbolizes. Man's works like man's life is represented as subject to a death which is itself represented as regenerative of life.

The object that man has made is not allowed to detach itself and to erect itself into an absolute, which then becomes, as in Western society, the model of the figuration on which the social whole models itself.

The mutation of Western culture, its great transformation of the globe, was based precisely on this process by which the model of the object, was imposed on both man and nature, the ground and source of his being. Without this object-model, the spectacular accomplishments of Western science would have been inconceivable. Yet, the Janus face of this representation -- the ever-present menace of the atomic bomb -- points to the extent to which the object model central to the culture of production, sanctifies the product of man, deligitimating him as its mere appendage -- as producer.

In non-industrial societies, the object was a medium of communication between the social whole, whose members interacted with each other through the ideographic language of the art. In industrial societies, the social whole becomes the means to the production of the object. Thus, the Ford car transformed the social whole so that the production of cars could continue in an irreversible process, an irreversible life pattern. In the African conceptualization, the effects of the "ancestor's Ford's" activity upon the social world would have been as carefully limited in life as the effects of his activity would have been limited after death. As Duerdon continues;

"After a tall tree has produced a restricting form in its place, parts of the tree seek to establish themselves away from its shade." (582.)

The shade can be good in one aspect: it shades from the sun -- bad in another aspect: it prevents the growth and the self expression of the younger seedlings coming up. In these cultures, the absence of good is the expropriation of one man, or group, of all the possibilities of others to work out their unique destinies assigned them by the gods or the divine force of creation. It is not the expropriation of labour power that would be considered dangerous, but far more, what such systematic expropriation of labour-power pointed to -- the expropriation of the chance to work out their destiny by the few at the expense of the many who were to live un-destinied, un-self-expressed. [583] Because of this, the very existence of a Ford -- whose right to self-expression to his unique specificity, called for the existence of homogenized, non-unique, millions of Ford consumers -- would have been impossible. [584]

The metaphor expresses the central paradox that Duerdon underlines -- the paradox of order and innovation, of stability and change. This paradox was important in the circumstance of the long and continued expansion as man domesticated the frontier of Africa, or rather, transformed the frontiers into successive homelands. That is to say, there would be, in the context of Berry's formulation, cultures of "nurture", yet cultures of nurture that could also contain movement away from, innovation and change, that could domesticate change within an order of continuity. The paradox of stability and change was itself the expression of social relations in which the power of the few acting with the organized force of the whole, representing the whole, were not allowed to irreversibly institutionalize the power of the whole as the power of a small group. The very organization of of human society made this expropriation of social power an ever-present danger. Yet, power, too, was necessary, as stability and change were also necessary, if the human animal was to express that cultural destiny that it represented and constituted for itself.

The representation of shade in its dual possibilities -- creative, life supporting, destructive, life-stifling , provide, the solution of the contradictory paradox of stability and change.

Twigs that fall from the tree are symbolically coded as the movement of "segments of the lineages who are taking off some of the dead elders with them as ancestral figures to fertilise a new growth, but to return in a form similar to the original form." [585]

The "shade" of the tall tree that expressed its life, fulfilled its destiny, is preserved in the possibility of the repetition of its pattern, but its shade is escapable by new growths seeking new forms of expressions within the context of the old forms. Because of the representation, each rupture is coded and contained within continuity. - .. : -ie

ry.

Because of the mode of relations in those societies, the central social problem was the conflict, potential or actual, of generations. The metaphor of the trees, coded this conflict, seeing the conflict of generations as a struggle over the exercise of power and control, an exercise needed by each to express his own destiny. As Duerdon continues,

"We could imagine, then, that twigs from trees could move away from that part of the forest, taking root elsewhere, and one of the symbols of manhood among the Igbo is the ofo twig, which has dropped from one particular kind of tree. Its twigs are somewhat phallic in shape, and fall naturally away from the branches of their parental tree just as, it is said, human sons grow as dependents of their fathers but in time become separate from them." (586)

The right of the age-group to express its own uniqueness is related to the right of the individual to express his own uniqueness. But

these uniquenesses -- so to speak -- are assigned by the gods who express

the social whole, not as its sum, but as its mode of interrelationships.

The gods are the conceptual symbols in which the community as the social

whole participates. It is through this participation that they experience

themselves as a social whole. It is for the experience, by the individual

or group, of the social whole, that gods or kings are necessary. No individual

or individual group can *by itself* <u>experience</u> the whole. In the related epistemology,

knowledge is received through participation in the experience of reality.

There were multiple realities, or rather, multiple knowledges of reality

related to each group's and individual's experience.

Abstract knowledge of the whole, the conceptualization "man" in general,

or humanity in general, was inconceivable in that mode of knowledge. But a

knowledge that can "see" aspects of the whole is necessary so that there

can be the proper coordination and harmony between groups and individuals.

Such knowledge can come only from those who are related to the gods in the

representation-system of the culture of origins. This knowledge must

find a form which can be its bearer, but the form must be one that can

itself be controlled by the social group. Duerdon develops this solution

in the metaphor of the relation between the trees, the king and the social

group, articulated by the ancestors. "Meanwhile, it is necessary for

some trees to grow taller than all the rest in order to be able to survey

the surrounding forest from a situation in the sky, to propose the kinds of

forms which best flourish there. These are kings." (587)

Kings, then, are the social architects, the social surveyors and engineers,

today's politicians, corporate businessmen, technocrats, and bureaucrats.

But unlike today's complex-of-kings, the necessity for the king's existence,

and his power -- through wider knowledge, and greater facility for implementation

of order -- is reversible by the necessity for the groups' control over

the king. The groups' control over the king is carried out by those of

the community who have ascended to another nuance or mode of life -- the

ancestor who passed through the crucible of death.

"If they propose (the kings) a variation of form which does not flourish

in a particular forest, then they may be pulled down by the ancestors who

use the birds to fly even higher than the trees of kings, and to report

to the ancestors whether the kings have chosen the best pattern of growth.

It might be suggested, for example, that the collected ancestors in the earth

sent Yoruba kings a calabash of pigeon eggs, to inform them that they should

commit suicide because the pigeon was the bird known to perch on top of

the highest trees." (545)

Technological knowledge represented in the figure of the King is

coded and controlled by "social" knowledge represented by the figure of the

ancestors who dispatch the birds to the region of the sky, the region of

the gods, and of the king who is related to the gods. The birds are sent

to bring back knowledge which can judge and evaluate the knowledge of the

king, i.e., the technocrat. This culture solved a problem that faces the

culture of production today, and was best expressed by Einstein who argued

that once the atom had been split, everything had been changed except man's

mode of thought. It was precisely the culture of production whose represen-

tations of reality had made the knowledge possible that could split the atom,

that now cannot, by nature of the epistemology related to that same mode

of figuration, solve the problem of the kind of social order in which such

knowledge could function in its creative, rather than its destructive,

aspect.

Jurgen Habermas points to the impasse of modern technological rationality,

or the mode of productivist reason, which refuses to accept values, precisely

because it is based on "the value of empirical sciences theories, and this

not simply hypothetically, but normatively. For with its first analytic step,

it already presupposes normatively, that behaving in accordance with technical recommendations is not only desirable but "rational." (569)

The form of technological rationality which dominates contemporary society, is itself the expression of a mode of domination in which the economic is autonmized as the reality principle of the society, and thereby, able to impose its model of functioning -- essentially, the plantation model -- on the social whole. As Habermas argues, this rationality proposes and recommends "rationality" as the preferred -- if not exclusive means for the realization of values because it guarantees "efficiency" or "economy" of procedures. Both of these terms betray the interest of the knowledge guiding the empirical sciences to be a technical one. They reveal that from the outset, rationalization is confined within the limits posed by the system of social labour, that what it refers to is exactly the making available of objective and objectified processes. And in this, the power of technical control remains wholly indifferent with respect to the possible value systems, in the service of which it is to be exercised.

'Thus, economy and efficiency come to be justified as though they were values, and in the organization of society, technology becomes autonomous, dictates a value system, namely its own -- to the domains of praxis it has usurped and all in the name of value freedom." : . (590)

In what is essentially an economic mode of reason, economic rationality imposes itself on the social whole, because in fact, the social whole is atomized, homogenized into masses. Rather than social groups, each group bases itself on a mass model, with mass values, which reflect the dominant paradigm, rather than express the interests of the social whole. There is no participation in the symbol and reality of a common good from which to project common social values. The great technocratic "trees" grow unchecked. Their shade threatens catastrophe.

It is this possibility that the figural representation and the "order

of African cultures" guarded against. The ancestors *can* represent the common good, precisely because they are the symbols of societies without institutionalized castes and classes, in which even relations of exploitation are regulated *and limited* by the principle of exchange, of gift and counter-gift. Above all, it was through the rites of the ancestors, participated in by each member of the clan, that each member both realized his own uniqueness at the same time that he experienced that collective identity which made the actualization of the concept of the common good possible.

It is in this context that I would like us to note the significance of the transplantation of the funeral rites and of the Jonkunnu Carnival complex from Africa to the plantation system of the New World. What are the theoretical implications for the process of indigenization, of the attributes of the original African cultures, the former non-industrial cultures that slaves, as bearers, brought with them and reconstituted in new circumstances? What came out of the clash and conflict of two cultures, one dominant and expansive, spreading out all over the globe, the other existing as an underlife, secretive?
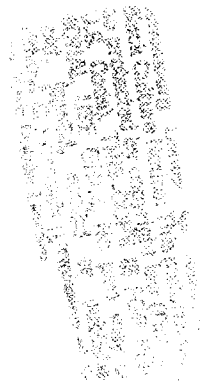
First, it would be well to note a word of warning from Dennis Duerdon. To attempt to formulate the social techniques which Africans brought with them to the New World is not to fall into the trap

of idealizing African cultures as a Noble Savage Other. Rather, it is to

argue that as the technological achievements of the Western culture of

production have been due to a chain of innovation which other peoples now

borrow as they imperatively modernize in order to survive, so the achievements

of a mode of social organization which resolved the problem of unity in

diversity and diversity in unity, was due to a chain of social innovation by

non-industrial African cultures, whose models we can now borrow and adapt

to the requirements of the twentieth century. Some of these social and

cultural innovations were transplanted by the Middle Passage voyagers.

Hitherto, they have existed as an underlife, but in the movements of the

Sixties, unrecognized, some of these innovations surfaced in movements that

initiated a new phase in the social direction of the United States, shattering

the axiomatic certainty that had formerly prevailed.

The central theoretical implication of the transplantation of the culture

of origin, is that of a new mode of social relations, which they at once

reinvented in new circumstances. The social definition of "shipmates" which

replaced the former age group definitions, provided a parallel definition

of the self to that of the original culture. In this culture, as opposed

to contemporary Western culture,

"This principle is that the ego is not found in the separate human

body, but exists in the group in which man lives." (5.91) The imperative

of the group's definition is dependent on that of the ego's, that of the ego's

on that of the groups.

There is a change, however. The age group, a group that had been patterned

on the model of "natural" time, becomes patterned now on a historical event,

the rupture of the Middle Passage. The new group identity is defined

by the existential event, as before it had been defined by the event of

being born at the same time. For those who share the same time span

were represented as participating together in a unique topography of memory that no other group would share.

Against the homogenization which reduced them all to <u>negros</u>, and the atomization which reduced them to <u>piezas</u>, the cultural compulsive reinstituted the group forms, and by and through them,parallel ego forms. This reconstitution of group forms on the original models in new circumstances was carried out primarily through the funeral rites. These continued cultural mechanisms not only buried the dead, they reconstituted the living. As Leach writes: "...although the social and the cultural spheres are intimately linked, priority must go to the former. Culture only has meaning within its social context, not by itself. But what do we mean by social context? A society is not merely an aggregate of individuals; it is a group of people who occupy different social positions. The way in which individuals reciprocally behave to each other is ruled by the mutual acceptance of its heirarchy. This acceptance is based on conduct which adjusts to prescribed cultural paths...We can find out what man is (socially) by how he acts (culturally). Nevertheless, cultural behaviour gets its very meaning from the social matrix. It is not autonomous." (59L)

The transplantation of the former cultures, the principle of selection which would determine what elements of the former culture would be continued, which transformed, which discarded, would all be determined by the social matrix of the plantation system. From being an autocentric culture, the norm of its own group, the former culture comes to be the stigmatized Other, the cultural expression of a group who were relegated *to being* a fixed and irreversible caste at the bottom of a new social order. And of a social order which represented natural differences as fixed immutable social categories and utilized social and legal mechanisms, to translate these categories into empirical facts. A social order which represented itself as a social machine in which men were reduced to being

piezas, interchangeable spare parts, interchangeable units of labour.

The objectification of the <u>prieto</u> into the <u>negro</u> into the <u>pieza</u> was to be the model for the larger later large-scale objectification of all into producer/consumer. The concept of the individual ego, separate and apart, would respond to the system's imperative of atomized objects which could be standardized and quantified. The constitution of the ego in the African cultures was the very opposite of this process. Hence, nigger-breaking and the central role that nigger-breaking would have to play. As Duerdon points out, "African cultures" avoid the use of representations of objects as if they were symbols. There is an understanding that symbols ma. become manipulable in the same ways as things. Symbols are objects which may get out of hand...and any words which become symbols may get out of hand in the same way." [543]

The sharpest differentiation in these cultures is the one made between the things men make -- the commodity object -- and man himself. Man must make sure that the things he makes are at all times firmly under his control, and unable to rise up against him, to assimilate him to their object -- nature. Their object nature must at all times be seen to be reversible -- the ancestor-carving eaten by red ants is the model of reversibility not only of the ancestors' too oppressive memory, but also of man's artifact. But the artifact being consumed by ants must not become a fixed symbol either -- because the fixed symbol is itself an artifact.

The danger that man can assimilate to the rigidity of the artifact as contrasted to the reversibility of the "natural process", the pattern which African culture socially constructs, is extended to his ego:

"This applies to the individual's ego in the group. A man who looks at himself as an object, a thing apart, is using himself as a tool and may himself become manipulable. Therefore, there is no way in which his ego can be spoken of as a discrete unit and given a label." [544)

For the ego of the individual and the group is constituted by the net-
work of relationship. It is this network which alone can define the individual,
and this network extends backwards in time to incorporate the ancestors.
It is this relation to the ancestors which guarantees the specific existence
and configuration of the group and of the individual in the present. The
Earth was the site of the Ancestors, the passageway through which they
passed to their other space, to that death which was the nuance of life. It
is through the agency that they are materially and symbolically regenerated
to interact with the living.

The relations to the ancestors and to the Earth was transplanted in
the New World by and through the complex of funeral ceremonies, a transplan-
tation common to all areas of the Diaspora. The survival of the funeral
ceremonies was a ritual enactment of a relation to the ancestors, and which
constituted the community by and through participation in the ritual. It
was this ritual of constituting themselves as community, that constituted
their relation to the new land, to a homeland. The relation of man to a home-
land is above all the expression of social relations.

The social arts that the slaves brought with them were arts constituted
by a chain of innovation beginning from the constitution of the first human
community in Africa, extending through the eras, perfecting itself, as a
mode of reason that was and is essentially social. Since its goal-seeking
activity was the preservation and innovation of the social order in nomadic
conditions, it had developed an elaborate mode of reason based on complex
representation which coded against all possible threats to the social order.
It envisaged the greatest threat as the accumulation of power -- material,
intellectual, social -- by any one men or group who could then use this social
power to dominate the social order, to impose a rigid and unbending pattern
on the society.

These early societies culturally innovated the principle of reversibility
seen in Nature -- where all that lives dies, and dying, feeds the earth, that
then gives birth to new forms of life; where all that lives defines itself
by and through its forms of reciprocal exchange with each other, and created
cultural codes that guarded against the principle of irreversibility, refused
Because of this these cultures refused permanent symbolic structures
,(including that
of writing, as Dennis Duerdon argues. In African non-industrial societies,
an "ideographic language of symbols" is universal.

"In speaking of an ideographic language of the symbols, I mean that
the symbols have a well-understood significance which is common to all
the societies I describe and that these symbols together constitute a
language which can be used elliptically to discuss actual states of affairs
which it is prudent not to refer to by precise locations or as precise
events. In terms of the phrase used in the title of this book, they keep
the present invisible. I have suggested that this ideographic language
is actually opposed to any permanent code of symbolism...that it is this
aversion to permanently and universally translatable symbols for the
structure of the present, for what exists now and which is expressed in
the ideographic language, that accounts for African societies' aversion
to the use of writing, to symbols becoming recorded signs." (595)

I would like to suggest that this aversion is the effect of a far
deeper aversion -- since initiation ceremonies do have permanent symbols --
an aversion to the category of the irreversible. If as Baudrillard argues,
in the culture of production man is conceived of in his role as producer,
I would like to suggest that in African cultures man is conceived of or is
represented as generator. The "model" of natural life, of generator, has
been accepted and socially constructed as the common ground on which all
figuration/representation finds their origin and source, in the same way
as the model of production constitutes the common ground on which all contem-

porary conceptualization/representation finds its origin and source. It is in the context of the model of generation that the aversion to all that is irreversible -- for example, the too permanent "shade" of rigid structures of power -- is to be found; as it is in the model of production that the aversion to the reversible is to be located.

Sepúlveda "read" the culture of the Indians through the prism of his own. But he also read the culture of the Indians as a non-culture through the prism of the interrelationships between Spaniard and Indian. Thus, he privileged the irreversibility of writing, of monuments to Spanish history. What he fixed in this description was the boundary between the Spaniards and the Indians, an irreversible boundary represented as constituted by God, divinely ordained. Some souls were more equal than others. The Spaniards became the universal of Man, the Indians, the now thinkable inhuman; the bearers of the lack of the human. But in doing so, he also constituted a category Indian, as a group of people who would recognize each other by and through their common experience of outsidership, through their participation in the experience of being stigmatized as outcasts.

This would be the same with the New World slaves. Their heirarchical relations with the masters, only the more firmly fixed their reciprocal relations to each other -- especially as field niggers, with each other. Roger Bastide has pointed to the fact that in the New World, the African genius has been for fraternal organizations of all types. The principal contribution of the cultures of origin to the New World black cultures was the principle of organization, in which unity expressed the interaction of the diverse, and the interaction of the diverse expressed unity, rather than the homogenization/atomization dichotomy of the dominant order.

This principle of organization was ritualized in the Jonkunnu procession, in the later Carnival variants, in the cults, in the black churches, in slave revolts, and in the modern mass movements of blacks extending from

Garveyism to the new forms of social movements that surfaced in the larger society in the Sixties.

The principle of organization cannot be detached from the complex of values which it expressed. Man as generator fulfilled a part of his destiny by generating children as Nature generated life forms. The representation then constituted the social imperative. The opposed pole to the man who generated children was the childless man. But the childless man is not constituted as the non-norm, so that the generating of children should itself become a fixed and irreversible ethic. The generating of children is itself but the sign that a man has made his social contribution and is worthy of ancestral status.

The attainment of ancestral status will depend on how the children in their turn, act toward him, whether or not they give him another form of life in exchange for the life he gave them:

"An elder who has been successful while he was alive will behave well as a ghost if he is given the burial he deserves...Some men who do not have children or who have not left their children the wherewithall to give them proper burials become hostile spirits. Those men who acquire ancestral status are those who have benefited their families and their societies while they have been alive, and those who become hostile spirits are those who have made no contribution. However, the latter may not be held to blame for their behaviour while alive, for it may be that they had luck as a result of their arranged destiny. When they become spirits, they must be avoided, if possible...if not, placated." (𝓕6)

In attempting to deal with the problem of differing abilities. with respect to the goal-seeking activity of the society, with the problem of the unevenness of self-realization in a given social order, the social whole ,incorporates the expression of the hostility, of the excluded, of the "failures" through ritual enactment. They institutionalize this hostility as logical, enact it as a social fact.

Thus, in funeral rites, some age-groups enact the hostility of the childless --
the non-generator -- during the funeral procession of the ancestral elders of
the normative generators. The fact that some men failed to achieve
the goal of the society does not cast them into an excluded place. Rather,
they, too, have a place, a role. The extreme of a good/evil binary opposition
is avoided. It is represented as logical for the one who does not fulfill
the norm to be resentful and he is given a role in which this resentment
can be legitimated. Even the norm of man as generator is represented as
ambivalent. He generates children and receives social honours, but
also generates resentments, hostility. He benefits the social order and
also harms the social order. His actions must then be ritually hedged.
There is no good that does not have the potentiality of evil -- and
vice versa.

His own ancestral status is not assured. It will depend on whether
or not his children carry out their obligations towards him. They can
choose not to, even though this would mean breaking the chain of exchange.
But the point is that the ancestral status of the elder is quite different
from the irreversible Western concept of immortality.

Baudrillard points out that the concept of immortality -- a concept
which would make possible the idea of death as the irreversible human con-
dition, did not arise until late., and was part of the political rationalism,
of the caste of priests and of the Churches, who institutionalized death
and founded their power on the binary opposition between this life and
an after-life. The church itself was founded on this split. The opposed
view of African cultures is related to the centrality of the analogy of
the Earth.

Dennis Duerdon points to the duality of the sky and the Earth in the
figural representation of African cultures. He writes:

"The fundamental thing about kinship, however, seems to be that the

king is identified with the sky, and in the sky with the sun...however... there
is no rule that can be applied universally to associate particular symbols
with particular roles in African societies...some African rulers are more
aptly associated with the moon." (50)

What there does seem to be, however, is a fixed differentiation between
the sphere of the Earth and that of the ruler. For example, the Onitsha Eze
or King "is the seat of a spirit from the sky and is associated with tall
trees, such as the Kapok of Iroko tree, because he sits in a position where
he can survey the widest circle or configuration...Tall trees express the
power of the chief because they emphasize his remoteness from the earth
in his chiefly office, and yet, the fact that his public reappearances
reenact his installation and a funeral at the same time emphasizes that
his spirit is remote from the growth and development of the kin groups,
who do not die because they are regenerated by the earth." (518)

The concept of regeneration is opposed to the Western concept of
immortality. It is the King, the representative of power, who dies,
who exchanges his death for tne burden of power. His death is ritually reenacted
each year:

"The king dies every time he goes back to the sky, and his mortality,
his link with the sky, must be reenacted each year to emphasize how transient
is the rigidity of his control, his destiny with its source in the sky." (519)

Thus, in the Ionkunnu plays, as in the Maracatu, the old king was
always killed by the young challenger, even though at the end he would
be regenerated as they all danced. Duerdon conjectures that law and order
were regarded as unfortunate necessities, and had to be imposed within rigid
limits.

I would suggest the concept of power, rather than of law and order.
When the slaves came to the New World, they would confront an absolute

power uncoded, unhedged. The element of the sky tended to disappear from the figural representation. The Sky had become detached, separate, the realm of plantation power. The slaves were powerless to control this new mode of hegemonic domination. But the institutionalization of the Jonkunnu still symbolically reenacted the reversibility of power. The description of "Lection Day", election day, in the United States, was clearly a fusion of the two concepts of the reversibility of power -- that of the black popular forces, and that of the parliamentary system of the bourgeoisie.

Duerdon discusses the reluctance that people felt at being chosen king:

"Kings may be chosen from the members of the royal lineages or clans who have disassociated personalities. Kings are often reluctant to assume office, and their lineages are often outside the established power structure of the society which is controlled by the lineages of commoners. If they obtain a great deal of power whilst in office, it is regarded as a misfortune. The dangers of the powers from the sky, which is working through the king, is expressed by the fact that the king is not allowed to visit plantations in case his dynamic power would burn the crops." (600)

Social power is represented on the analogy of Nature's power and the need to code, to hedge it around with ritual. Precautions are emphasized. There is a determined coding against abstract unlimited power.

Power is represented as opposed to the Earth, which is the source of the regeneration of the community. Power can kill what the Earth gives birth to, if the proper ritual precautions are not taken.

Opposed to the reversibility of the Earth is the rigidity of the Sky, the realm of power. All power is based on the rigid patterns, patterns that cannot be reversed. Because of this,

"Art is hidden away, or destroyed, made invisible in African society so

long as it is lineage art, because members of lineages are afraid of permanent

constants. They have understood that the fear of dominating, powerful

and lasting constants is a permanent fear of the individual living in

groups." (50))

I would argue here that the cultures which were the expression of

individuals living in groups which constituted communities by and through

participation and interaction, coded against their own negation by coding

out the domination of permanent constants, coding against the

"rigid pattern...the Gestalt, which is supported by wealth and political

power and imposed on him by other individuals." (552)

This was, of course, precisely the situation that the African would

encounter on the plantation. But the transplantation of the concepts

can be seen in the significant cultural contribution which grew out of

the interaction of the transplanted cultures with the pressures of the new

circumstances. This cultural contribution was, of course, jazz. It

was a musical form, which like all African art strove to avoid permanent

constants. As Nat Hentoff writes:

"While the whole European tradition strives for regularity -- of

pitch, of time, of timbre and of vibrato -- the African tradition strives

precisely for the negation of these elements. In language, the African

traditions aim at circomlocution rather than at exact definition. The

direct statement is considered crude and unimaginative; the veiling of

all content in ever-changing paraphrases is considered the criterion of

intelligence and personality. In music, the same tendency towards obliquity

and ellipsis is noticeable; no note is attacked straight; the voice or

instrument always approaches it from above or below, plays around the implied

pitch without ever remaining on it for any length of time, and departs

from it without ever having committed itself to a single meaning. The

timbre is veiled and paraphrased by constantly changing vibrato, tremolo
and overtone effects. The timing and accentuation finally are not stated,
but implied or suggested. The musician challenges himself to find and hold
his orientation while denying or withholding all signposts." (69)

As Francis Bebey has pointed out, African music is an imperatively
popular art, as African cultures are imperatively popular cultures. It
is this fear of permanent constants that distinguishes all popular cultures,
the cultural expression of peoples for whom rigid divisions do not exist
amongst themselves. Thus, their cultural compulsives are opposed to that of
official ruling groups. But they are not the inversion of these ruling
groups. Rather, they are of a higher logical typing and can contain the expression
of all groups, since they express no class or caste perspective, and are
thus protean, shifting, accentuating the principle of reversibility, even
of their own.

The transplantation of the technique of black music was accompanied
by the translation of its world view. In the social matrix of the plan-
tation system, the principle of reversibility related to the earth in
the figural representation, took on even greater emphasis. The Jonkunnu
reversal of role became the imposition of an old complex, which had coded
and enacted the limitations of power, into a new situation. The description
that Duerdon gives of the king's enactment of his own funeral, before the
new yam festival, makes it clear that the earliest descriptions of the
Jonkunnu described patterns of this same ritual.

"To show that they possess the power from the sky, Jukun kings are
not seen to eat, sleep or die. That is, they are not subject to the laws
of organic matter derived from the earth. We have seen that the Onitsha
king is regarded as dead or a ghost, has a similar status to a "cult slave"
and every year enacts his own funeral. He does this before the "new yam
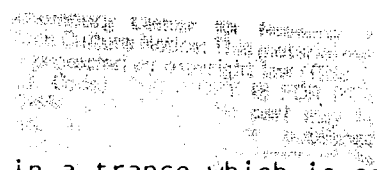
festival" by going into seclusion in a trance which is called his "dreaming"

when he is smeared with a white chalk and dressed in nothing but a loincloth.

He mourns all the people who have died during the previous year, and communes

with his gods and ancestors for four days. When the king emerges from his

"dreaming" he has proved himself guiltless of the deaths of those who

died during the year and shows that he and his community have been filled with

strength, fullness and richness of "life" by emerging from the palace

wearing his great headdress and performing a joyful dance." (604)

The popular carnival's crowning and uncrowning of the carnival

king is a reenactment of the ritual humiliation that the king must undergo

before he leaves his seclusion:

"At their installation, the kings were disrobed and clothed in women's

loincloths. The Ewi of Aodo was dressed in rags and beaten before being

dressed in white cloths. Such rituals show that the king's existence

is separate and distinct from the earth but is in no way a superior one.

His tallness does not indicate that his tallness and apartness make him

in any way superior to beings who live in and on the earth. He is the represen-

tation of unalterable laws, but these laws are an unfortunate imposition

of the sky and the seasons. It is because he is a being "apart", forced

to live with the attributes of the sky, that he may not leave his "dirt"

(excrement) on the earth. Consequently, he is usually confined to his

own compound, and may not leave it except at the New Years' ceremonies." (605)

The determinism of Nature is coded as reversible in the person of the king,

who must expiate the unalterable Nature of the laws to which he must give

effect. The determinism of the natural seasons is not used to bolster the

domination of a group or a people, as has been the case with the West.

It has recently been pointed out how the very opposite paradigm, that of

Social Darwinism, was a paradigm born out of the relation of domination

between the Western peoples and the Non-Western peoples. W. Thompson writes in The Edge of History:

> "Five hundred thousand years ago, Pithecanthropus 'evolved' with an explosion of brain size and frontal development. Since there are more primitive man-apes farther back, in the few remains of bones we have, it is tempting to connect the dots in a line that cuts across all the dimensions of plentiful space. It is all the more tempting to connect the dots in this way if one is living in an empire that places the white race at the end of a long line of progress in which the darker races are but bestial prefigurings of the Englishman. And if one lives in an economic system in which the market is red in tooth and claw, it is tempting to think that laissez faire and survival of the fittest are part of nature's way." (616)

The constitution of Nature as the source of deterministic "natural" laws reflects the determinism of social relations in Western society. Nigger breaking was designed to actualize this representation of natural determinism, to reduce the black to one of his aspects -- that of natural biological being. But the conceptualization of the Earth carried the very negation of determinism. In this world-view, the unalterable is coded as the non-human, and the king represented as a ghost. Power is seen as necessary, social power gained through knowledge of the natural laws, through knowledge of a larger configuration of the whole, a knowledge coded as abstract knowledge. Knowledge which the king "sees" but does not participate in, knowledge that would be termed in the Western system "objective knowledge".

This is a mode of thought opposed not only to contemporary Western experimental reason, but to the political mode of reason of the Greeks. The Greeks had a society divided between citizens and slaves. Out of this demarcation, a binary opposition was constituted between <u>logos</u> to which was reserved "a realm of Being purged of inconstancy and uncertainty," leaving to <u>doxa</u> "the realm of the mutable and the perishable. [667] Thus, a value judgement is set up. Stability, the preservation of the order of the city state, i.e. of the heirarchical order of citizens and slaves, is assigned absolute value. Stability, rather than regeneration, is constituted as the desired ideal. Stability of the social order was the presupposition underlying the self-conscious concept of theory as it was first developed in Greece.

At first, the meaning of theory in Greece was parallel to the mode of knowledge; knowledge through participation in experience, that was central to African cultures. As Habermas writes,

"The word 'theory' has religious origins. The <u>theoros</u> was the representative sent by Greek cities to public celebrations. Through <u>theoria</u>, that is, through looking on, he abandoned himself to the sacred events. In philosophical language, <u>theoria</u> was transferred to the contemplation of the cosmos. In this form, theory already presupposed the demarcation between Being and Time that is the foundation of ontology...It reserves to logos a realm of being purged of inconstancy and uncertainty, and leaves to <u>doxa</u> the realm of the mutable and perishable. When the philosopher views the immortal order, he cannot help bringing himself into accord with the proportions of the cosmos and reproducing them internally...Through the soul's likening itself to the ordered motions of the cosmos, theory enters the conduct of life." (p.8)

But this disinterested contemplation of the philosopher took as its unexamined presupposition the stability of the cosmos, and "saw" from his perspective, not the pattern that the cosmos imposed on him, but the pattern that he

imposed on the cosmos.

In African cultures, the sky, the cosmos, is regarded with suspicion. What the Greek philosopher would see as the imperative purging of human interest, and of the passions by and through his will, through theory, African cultures would regard as supremely dangerous. The differing perspectives have to do with the different social relations, the different concepts of the relation of the individual to the whole. As Habermas points out:

"In the communication structure of the polis, individuation had progressed to the point where the identity of the individual ego as a stable identity can only be developed through identification with abstract laws of the cosmic order. Cousciousness emancipated from archaic powers, now anchors itself in the unity of a stable cosmos and the identity of immutable Beings." (609)

The constitution of the self as a separate and stable ego, its object-like nature -- based on the model of the product of the artisan -- was central to the constitution of the order of the city-state. (612) It reflects a transgression from the point of view of the forms of social relations contained in the African groups. For the construction of an immutable stable being, far from being the reflection of objective knowledge is based on the pre-supposition of the need to constitute separate identities, the prescribed ego identities needed for the functioning of the polis. The particular human interest of the "citizens" thus underlay the apparently universal and objective theory. The interests of the slaves had to be discarded or ignored. At the end of antiquity, the "interest" of the slaves would issue in the gnosist cult, with an opposed epistemology in which "knowledge" as Jonas points out, comes to be the very opposite of Greek rational theory. The new epistemology would be central to the structuring of the underlife that was to result in the emergence of Christianity as a counter order,

and to the transformation of the normative. psyche and the established order.

Against the fixity of the cosmos, African and non-industrial non-polis cultures in general, oppose the reversibility of the Earth. Duerdon points to the fear and the aversion that African art has to the permanent symbol:

"A form may become a symbol in this society in our sense when it has a static permanent existence, but at that point it may be found necessary to destroy it, to "pull it down". (411)

Meaning then is not sanctified as the immutable Logos fixed in writing or even in constant oral repetition. Abstract, apparently objective knowledge is not allowed to rule the group. Yet, there is a need for some constants, and Duerdon makes the point that "the act of destroying permanent symbols does produce its own symbolism in this society, a meta语language for the society's symbolic cosmology which remains more or less permanent and seems to be universal in Africa." (612)

Whilst highly developed in African cultures, the principle of the reversibility of the symbols is central to all popular cultures. The carnival complex carries on the memory of this in the crowning and uncrowning of the Carnival King. What is enacted here is the principle of reversibility, the necessity of exchange.

The opposition between the sky and earth, or rather, their opposed complementarity, points to the need for order, yet also to the need for order to be reversible, impermanent.

"For example, the opposition between sky and earth, expressing the idea that anything which rises too far into the air must be pulled down before it becomes dangerous...seems to underlie all thinking about the nature of man in society. It explains the distrust of literacy, the fear of figures made of bronze, the institutions for ensuring that no one family rules for too

long and the personalizations of all innovations in the community in the

forms of spirits so that they can be limited by a human type of personality."

(613)

The control of permanency seems to have been carried out by the repre-

sentation of the Earth. The transshipment of the Earth, completed by

and through funeral rites, and the Jonkunnu processions, points to a

principle of selection, a gradual highlighting of cultural aspects that would

be meaningful in the new reality. We would like to argue that the domin-

ation of the Earth over the sky is central to all decentralized societies, and

to the Jonkunnu principle of organization of unity by and through mul-

ticiplicity.

Duerdon points to the fact that Western society sees African society

from the perspective of its own ideal -- strong central organizations and

unified structures. Indeed, Hegel was to ∧ represent Africa∧as the "gold land of night,

the land of childhood because it was presumed not to have founded States.

It was part of the imposition of the axiomatic that it was not even

considered in the West until recently   'that other cultures could have

made other choices and guarded precisely against the nightmare we face,

the nightmare, as Berry puts it, of living under bureaucratic control without

any independent access to the staples of life, with our desires manipulated

and our needs prescribed.

Duerdon argues for the possibility that the deity is regarded ambivalently.

Rather than the deity being the symbol of purity as has been claimed, he may

be a force of pollution in certain circumstances.

"It is possible, then, to regard the infinite as polluting, the whiteness

of the sky as a symbol of impurity, and deity as a destructive force to

be kept isolated and guarded, hidden away except when its use is absolutely

necessary. The initiates have to be exposed to its power in order to accept

some of the limitations of structure, but structure is not regarded as

a desirable characteristic or state." (414)

Baudrillard argues that the aversion to cannibalism that Western society instills is related to the aversion to our own bodies that is similarly coded. [615] I would like to argue that in the case of African non-industrial cultures, what is being coded is a double attitude to power, the recognition of its necessity, at the same time as the recognition of the need for social action to reverse and control power. Using the "natural" model by and through which the cultures conceptualize themselves, the model of unleashed natural power becomes the figuration of the dangers and potentialities of unleashed human, social power. Nature exists as a stable and unquestioned referent. The deity then comes to symbolize this dual attitude to power. The Lo Dagaa argue that the "affairs of God bring great suffering", the Akans speak of the "burden of the gods" in a literal and figurative sense. Knowledge, too, is related to the deity as power. And even the power of the deity must be seen to be controllable by rites, reversible.

"It is as if God is a power which must be left remote and distant. If he comes near at hand as in the person of a demigod, then his power can be used to harm men, and using that power must be appeased..." God (or divine power) is therefore a source of limitations on men of law and order. "This power in the sky which is somehow imposed on earth by beings superior to man by virtue of their knowledge of it, but nevertheless corrupted by the power it gives them, and for that reason, often to be regarded as hostile and malevolent, is a concept we find in many African societies south of the Sahara." (616)

That which Western industrial cultures of production sanctify as unalterable natural laws and constitutes as the philosophical principle of necessity, African non-industrial cultures conceptualize in such a manner as to be able to socialize these laws and to deal with them. Natural law becomes a social fact. The interposition of lesser spirits as the ones responsible

for misfortune makes it easier for the social whole to deal with these than with the diety. They become the causal explanation not only of misfortunes but of the unsanctioned and harsh occasional exercise of power on the part of the king.

As Duerdon writes:

"Such beings can possess men in trances during masquerades and other ceremonies, and their behaviour can be controlled, observed, and the means by which social groups can meet the threats they pose." (617)

Thus, man is never conceptualized as helpless in the face of cosmic threat. There can be no accumulation of lack, of fear, of anxiety. Anti-social behaviour can be attributed to possession by a spirit. It is the task of the group to deal with this anti-social behaviour. Paradoxically, if they fail, the reason is known in advance. The failure, too, had been destined, but this destiny can only become clear after every effort has been made. There can be no accumulation of a sense of failure, no unexpressed accumulation of guilt.

Resentment against the social order by those who may lose out in the present structuring is expressed, and explained away. At the same time, their complaints against the social order are legitimated:

"Persecuted minorities...can be possessed by these beings and a ready excuse offered for their nonconforming behaviour. Priests and Kings can be possessed by them in what Lewis calls: "central possession cults" and excuse the unpopular regulations or ruthless sanctions which they have to impose on the poeple...some of the most unpopular regulations, or ruthless sanctions that have to be imposed, are caused by a farming community's need to observe the seasons, by the need to regulate time." (618)

What we note here is a cultural innovative mechanism which both legitimates the need for law and order, and at once presents this need as accidental and temporary, refusing to institutionalize it. This allows us to see

to what extent the western principle of necessity, of deterministic laws, of social Darwinism and its related complex of the behavioural sciences, are the foundation of the legitimization and institutionalization of power and control.

In non-industrial cultures, if the king and the diety are the bearers of power and control, the Earth is the complementary and opposed force. The Earth is on the side of man who is her creature. Through the mechanism of the Earth, he escapes necessity, determinism. She is <u>represented</u> as the principle of <u>regeneration</u> and therefore of reversibility. As the principle of regeneration, a series of representations then follow. Central to the series is the representation of the Earth as the <u>source</u> of man's creativity. This creativity encompasses the production of material life -- i.e., what Western culture defines as the <u>economic</u> as one of its aspects. That is to say, the category of the economic defined by Marxism as the <u>infrastructure</u> which <u>determines</u> the forms of the <u>superstructure</u>, i.e., man's laws, art, etc., is represented in the <u>figuration of African cultures</u> as an aspect of the social whole. It is the social form that is generated and regenerated. This, and not the economic, is its reality principle.

Man's creativity is the <u>expression</u> of the creative dynamism, the constituting principle of the social whole. The collective creativity depends on the creativity, the right to self-expression of each age group, each individual who expresses the unique aspect of his soul by and through this creativity. The Earth is the source both of the material and the non-material creativity, to use a distinction which would not be conceivable in the conceptual mode of non-industrial cultures.

Because of this, as Duerdon argues, the male initiation house, the center of creativity is "shielded from the deity...in the same way that crops are sheilded from the King, regarded as the bearer of deity among

some West African peoples, lest he harm them with fire. The initiates are protected by the Earth in all those societies because the earth is the symbol of man's creativity, and the sky is the symbol of rigidity, of fate and of death. Structure, stable states are something which have to be accepted, but they represent a kind of entropy. They are an unfortunate necessity of man's existence, which he will escape from in the grave. But the grave does not mean death; the grave means continued living, avoiding stability and entropy." (6/9)

Brought to the new world in this figuration/representation of the Earth are the complex of attitudes that will provide the common ground for the creativity of the black popular masses. The concept of man as generator, both of his material and of his social life, would remain dynamically viable in the underlife of the slave's life, in that underlife where they gave expression to that unique aspect of the soul, at the same time as they conformed to their role as piezas in the superordinate system of the plantation.

Dance and song and music, like all art in the culture of origin, were represented as the result of man's self-expression, his unique fulfillment of the Earth's generative powers working through him, as she, the Earth, fulfilled herself in giving birth to the crop and therefore, to man. For the earth -- like the sea for fishing tribes --was the "material" basis of man's existence, of his environment, was represented as the generator of life. And the supreme ethic that arose from this representation was the commandment to generate life as man's life was itself generated. Evil was the absence of life. But the absence of life was not death. Rather, death was the ground of the regeneration of life. Evil was anything that halted or broke the exchange of life and death.

Among the field slaves, and later among the lower classes of blacks, a counter self was constituted, one responding to this alternative figuration. As we note in Douglas' narrative, Sandy Jerkin, moved and lived in this counter-world. It would be different for Douglas. The "root" helps in *his*. initial rebellion, but later, it will be literacy *with its enabling of* access to the rebellious thought of the dominant system itself that will enable his resistance to be waged. (62)

The Abolitionist's insistence on the uniqueness of man's Christian soul would provide for Douglas, allies, and a conceptualization within the dominant mainstream that itself struggled against the homogenization and standardization which reduced man to his <u>pieza</u> -- status. The Abolitionists, as the challenges of official Christianity which defended the *racial* norm, the *social* status quo, were able to join forces at that point in time, with the black struggle for physical freedom -- and for freedom of self-expression. But there would be limits to the abolitionist's struggle, limits placed by the middle class rationality which they also served. (61)

For the Abolitionists, too, would share in the body/soul division of the dominant conceptualization. Whilst they struggled for the physical freedom of the slaves, they, too, accepted that the freed slave's destiny was to be a producer on the model of free wage labour, and that this earthly destiny was separate from the heavenly destiny, to be experienced in the long-delayed eternity. (62) Thus, they, too, tended to accept the series of heirarchies that were conjoined to the body/soul split, amongst them the division expressed by Long between "inert matter" and the "intellectual faculty ." The later clash between Garrison and Douglas would attest to the extent to which the Abolitionists saw themselves as the intellectual representatives of the "brawn" of the blacks. (63)

The concept of the self which the New World African transposed, was a concept of the self which moved outside the soul/body division. Rather, the

self was represented, according to Parrinder, as constituted of four parts,
i.e., the body-essence, the spirit, the soul and the oversoul.

These divisions corresponded to the goal-seeking activity of the social
whole which sought to preserve unity in multiplicity, multiplicity in unity.
In the plantation system, on the other hand, the principle was reduced
to the binary opposition of equality and inequality. Equality became
the ideal Norm and axiomatic of the dominant system. Thus, Edward Long
fought to assert equal rights of all Englishmen, born in the colonies, to the
rights and privileges that the homeborn Englishman enjoyed, whilst at the
same time, proving "scientifically" the naturally ordained inequality
of the black. Equality is paradoxically only conceivable in the context
of unequal social relations and unequal social relations begin to exist
only where reciprocal social relations have been banished. Feudal society
was not unequal. It was heirarchical. It would be under the aegis of the
absolute state that the transition from heirarchy to inequality would be
effected. Under the bourgeoisie, the concept of equality as ideal would
express relations that were unequally constituted by and through the structural
law of value. Thus, all members of the bourgeoisie would be equal in relation
to the proletariat, as all whites would be equal in relation to blacks,
all men in relation to women, all members of the dominant nation in relation
to the dominated nation, all orthodox members of the Party in relation to
the non-orthodox. Every equal group therefore needed its metaphysical
excluded other -- needed its nigger. Equality for the metaphysical excluded
other, then shattered the very basis of the experience of equality by
the Norm.

In societies not knowing equality or inequality, the constitution
of the self in several parts responded to the multiple relationships which
each individual maintained with the other members of his group and his
school. Duerdon paraphrases the interpretation given by Durkheim:

"...many African societies describe the individual's psychology in terms of his membership in various social organizations and differentiate his various forms of consciousness in terms of these social organizations." (62¢)

The "oversoul" is the expression of the individuals belonging "to a world or universe of people who speak his particular language and may be organized in the form of a State. His patrilineal soul responds to his relationships with his particular lineage. His body-essence comes to him from his matrilineal lineage. His unique or spiritual soul responds to "his spiritual existence, which corresponds to his own uniquely defined character; his existenz contrasted with his dasein .. It is this existential self which is supposed to be seated in his right hand and forearm..." (625)

In the post-Middle Passage circumstances, the destiny of the four souls or elements would take on specific meaning. After death, the over-soul is represented as going back to his god, whilst his patrilineal soul joins his ancestors in the land of the dead. In the New World, Africa became the land of the dead. The doleful songs which the slaves sang, asking the dead to tell their ancestors of their present condition of slavery, was related to the return of the patrilineal soul.

But the essence is not represented, as in Western culture, as that inferior part, belonging to the realm of the perishable. Rather, the body-essence goes back to the earth, to rejoin its regenerative force. The architecture of value, the ethics of repression that Western society would construct on the basis of this division between the valued soul and the devalued body, is absent. The production of the sense of lack, of insufficiency are absent here.

The spirit gives the unique irreplaceable personality. At death, this spirit either becomes a ghost, or is "planted" in the house of the

family. The concept of "planting" the spirit, which leads to the ritual of the second burial -- a burial referred to in Jamaica as "tombing" -- was to be a central ritual in the new conditions. The relation to the new land as the homeland was carried out by these symbolizations in which the living "planted" themselves in a new relation at the same time that they ritually planted the dead.

If Africa became the land of the dead, the space of the gods was constituted in the New World. The gods had been transshipped and brought their space with them. But the sky now had to be underground. They themselves were displaced gods, gods as Bastide says in a fine phrase, in exile. They were kept hidden now not only because their power was feared as polluting, but because they had to avoid the terrible counter-power of the plantation gods. Knowing exile, they lost their complacency, the complacency of the norm, and became contingent gods.

Duerdon suggests that the four souls can be simplified to a dual configuration. He suggests a conflict and complementarity between the demands of community and the demands of uniqueness, of self-definition. I would like to suggest that problem being resolved here is the central problem of unity and multiciplicity. What has been negatively seen as the problem of the myriad division into tribal groupings in Africa, was not the result of a lack or an incapacity, but rather, the result of choices made by a cultural dynamic to code against the problem of power, once the social order ceases to be based on the small group. Yet the small groups had to interact within the context of unifying principles.

If unity is to exist in the context of multiplicity, multiplicity in the context of unity, then the problem must be solved at the level of the individual himself. How is the individual to experience his identity as a group identity without his own unique self-expression being stifled? How is he to experience his own unique self-expression and yet do so as a member of the group?

In the non-industrial African cultures of origin, the problem was solved through being represented as a conflict expressed in the individual self itself between the desire for group-stability, and the desire for individual innovation. As Duerdon interprets it,

"...an individual's consciousness is seen as belonging to the souls of groups which already exist and which try to perpetuate themselves, and that part of him which belongs to the earth, which is striving for new expression and form, which we might describe as his spirit." (126)

This spirit cannot be standardized, homogenized, represented. No one expresses this spirit in the name of the spirit, fulfils this spirit by proxy. Yet, this spirit which tends to self-expression, individuation, innovation and change, is allied to other areas of the self which link the self to his clan and to his lineage, to the stable grouping to which he also belongs. The personality is itself constituted of two elements -- the individuating element, and the group-identifying element:

"The former supports the preservation and repetition of social groups and of individual lives, the latter supports their breakdown and aids the restructuring of new social groups and new personalities, and it is this principle which causes the time and space of African society to be a plural-istic time and space." (624)

This pluralistic time and space of the culture of origin facilitated the restructuring of new social groups that were to be constituted in the Middle Passage and the post-Middle Passage circumstances.

In particular, the imperative and the pattern of the non-conforming, rebellious cults of the New World, would have already been a constitutive principle of the culture of origin. The plantation system would have repre-sented a group whose powerful "shade", whatever benefits it provided, yet nevertheless had to be resisted, for the simple reason that it was only through resistance that the dominated groups could find the form of their own
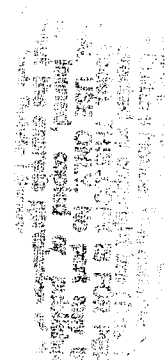
self-expression. The slave, in the Heg.lian model, had to differentiate

himself from the master's imposed identity of slave, since that identity

responded to the master's project and not to his own.

In the non-industrial cultures of origin, as Duerdon points out,

"Each individual, each group tries to assert its time and space from

the viewpoint of its own existence; tries to create for itself and per-

petuate its own unique personality, rather than attempting to fit into

any group's framework, and it derives its impulses towards this end from

the desire of the earth of which it is made to differentiate itself."

(628)

Over against the pluralistic time and space of the African cultures of

origin, the dominant culture of production imposed a single time-labour-

time -- a single space and viewpoint -- that of the bourgeoisie.

Within this Single Time/Space, man's destiny was monolithic -- to be

the producer of surplus-value. This destiny was imposed by the plantation

system on a group whose cultures of origin had innovated social mechanisms

designed to express the need and desire for escape from the too-stifling

shade of any one group; which had provided mechanisms by the bearers of

innovation and change who could express their rebellion against the too rigid

stability and authority of the elders.

In the cultures of origin, the need for individual self-expression for

innovation and change within the context of stability and order, had lead to

the cultural innovation of non-conforming cults. With a total realism

and a sophisticated social knowledge, it was recognized that the laudable

quest for self-expression on the part of one group or of one individual

can lead to the stifling of the possibility of other groups and of other in-

dividuals to express themselves. The monolithic hegemony of one group, the

Western Bourgeoisie, would therefore have been approved on the one hand -- all groups must strive for self-expression -- but the need for its "shade" to be limited by the social order would have been equally recognized. Again, the "natural" model provides the ambivalent ethic, ambivalent in its creative sense, of not being a digital yes of no, but an analog more or less. Good and evil are not binary oppositions, but potential nuances of each other.

What we have referred to as the underlife, as the process of indigenization,, responds to the constitution of the non-conforming cults of the cultures of origin. Blacks coming to the New World, came from cultures of origin whose social imperative was the expression of the self as the bearer of a unique manisfestation of the life force. Coming to the New World as slaves, they would come to a system which found no socially defined space for slaves -- as the original cultures had done -- and would therefore find in the dominant order no room for self-expression, for self-definition. Rather, they would find themselves confronting in total form a possibility which the original social order had envisaged, where it could come about that:

"...a life force which demands a unique expression from every form to which it gives birth can use that form of its expression to try to impose itself on every other form in its immediate vicinity. In groups, it seeks the perpetuation of the group by means of repetition and order. In individuals, it seeks the expression of the individual's unique personality, which can ultimately be transformed into the persisting order of the group." (629)

The power and effectiveness of the bourgeois order was that ultimately, it allowed for the self-expression of no other group except on the condition that that group expressed itself in bourgeois forms. Its guaranteed freedom of expression was limited to the freedom of bourgeois expression. That is to say, it imposed the form of its expression on every other form in its vicinity.

The mechanism of secret non-conforming cults, which the blacks brought

from the cultures of origin, were precisely suited to the survival and

possibility of forms of counter-expression in the monolithically dominant

plantation system.

Duerdon discusses the differentiation in African Art between the pattern

of the king's -- authority -- art and the pattern of the art's of the non-

conforming cults. The king by the nature of his role demands that individuals

should conform. His art therefore, expressed a rigid pattern "Nonconforming

individuals require a secretive art, the art of the cults or the secret

societies, and diviners need a secretive art to understand chiefs and their

relations with such individuals."   ., (630)

The diviner can therefore be said to be the technician of the social order,

an order which must not be so much imposed as lived. The hunter is the leader

of the young adults' society. It is these societies which are the bearers

of rebellion, the complementary side to conformity.

These are the societies who enact the masquerades and put on the plays.

It is this masquerade and these plays that were transposed into Jankunnu,

the maracatu, the calypso tradition, the reggae today. It was these plays

that would be "syncretized" into the tradition of Black minstrelsy, giving

                    popular
birth to the form of the American musical.

In the "indigenized" forms of these plays -- as in the Calypso, the high-

life play, the reggae, the political implications have been overtly

maintained. They provide a medium, as they did in the culture of origin,

by and through which the status quo can be challenged, critiqued by the popular

forces. This was their function in the cultures of origin.

"Plays criticize elders...and are a means of equalization in the society,

attempting to make sure that no one becomes more powerful and richer than

anyone else. The young and mature adults who take part in them can therefore

make criticisms wearing the masks which they would not be allowed to

make without them because of their junior position in the system..." (63f)

The masks allow for the reversal of roles, of authority, for the expression

of opinion, for the self-expression of the ruled. There, the, ruled and

the rulers belonged to the same group -- the divisions were between age

groups. In the new world circumstances of class and race domination, the former

mechanisms would become mechanisms for the expression of the popular world-view.

Today's reggae and calypso would come to constitute the articulation of

a counter-politics which was not separate from .. aesthetic expression.

When Bob Marley sings:

"If you are a big tree,

We are the small axe,

Sharpened to cut you down

(Well sharp!)

Waiting to cut you down."

the politics is not confined to the verbal threat -- rather, it embraces

the constitution of a counter figuration, or an alternative space, of a non-conforming space, a non-conforming destiny, to that of the hegemonic bourgeoisie.

In the cultures of origin, the possibility of groups expressing themselves with an opposed will to those of the established groups is given expression in the cultural forms of the non-conforming cults. It is these cultural forms that in the New World would be reconstituted in revolutionary cults, from Myal Voodoo to Nat Turner.

Duerdon describes these mechanisms in their original form:

"There is an ambivalence in the forms of expression allowed to the latter, and it is institutionalized in secret societies...initiation lodges and hunter's cults." (632)

Duerdon also compares the forms of these secret cults which bear the possibility of change and innovation, to the Dionysiac cult which "was feared and resisted all over the Greek world in the Aegean islands in the Mediterranean" and he points out that secret cults have played their part in Africa in the struggle for independence (the most obvious example is the part played by the cult of Mau Mau in Kenya). Since C.L.R. James' classic Black Jacobins, no comparable studies on anti-colonial struggles have attempted to investigate the syncretic forms in which the rebellious impulse of the subjugated emerged to find expression. It has been too often assumed that the anti-colonial revolte were carried out entirely on the basis of Western revolutionary ideology rather than, as was clear in the case of Haiti, through a syncretism between Western revolutionary forms and the cultural mechanisms which existed in the underlife of the popular cultures.

Maya Deren has shown, in the case of Haiti, how the new experience of the plantation system lead to the elaboration of the Petro cult, the cult which was the central organizational form of the Haitian Revolution. In her description of the modern Haitian cults, we observe that the tension between

conformity and change is expressed by the complementary existence of
opposed cults.

In Haitian Voodoo, the Rada rites continue the basic African tradition.
As such, these rites represent order, conformity:

"They reflect, furthermore, the emotional tone of their place of
origin. For Dahomey was an absolute and well-organized monarchy, based on
agriculture, with the development of cooperative work systems. It was
as well-stabilized, heirarchical nation, and within it the dieties played
a protective role. They were the guardians of that integration, that sta-
bility, against whatever might threaten it..." (633)

These gods were benevolent, and only aroused when they needed to defend
the moral principles for which they stood. But the Middle Passage rupture
created a situation in which all the old patterns were broken violently.

"The traditional defensive protective attitude could not suffice where
there was no longer anything fixed or solid to defend. It was a moment
of specific and urgent need; the need for action. In the new world, there
arose a new nation of loa, the loa of the Caribbean, the Petro nation."
(634)

In the Rada and Petro rites, their respective music, their dances, and the behaviour
of thet possessing gods represent once again the tension between stability
and the need for change. The Petro gods are more hard, more stern, less
tolerant and forgiving, more practical and demanding: in other words, the
gods of guerillas, hard-headed revolutionaries.

"If the Rada loa represent the protective guardian powers, the Petro
loa are the patrons of aggressive change." (635)

But the presence of the Rada gods shows that neither must usurp the
place of the other, that the gods of change must not seek to permanently
enslave themselves in a new conformity, and embody the rigidity that they seek
to combat. The revolutionary task is not the whole of the social task. The
stabilizing task is not the whole of the social task. The stabilizer cannot

bring needed change -- the change-bringer may not be the one to stabilize the social order on new foundations.

The music, the dances, the rhythms, emphasize the difference. "Whereas most of the Rada drumming and dancing is on the beat, the Petro drumming and dancing is off the beat,...whereas Erzulie, the Rada goddess of love, who is the epitome of the feminine principle, is concerned with love, beauty, flowers, jewelry, feminities and coquetries, liking to dance and to be dressed in fine clothes, weeping in a most feminine fashion for not being loved enough, the figure of Erzulie-ge-Rouge, on the Petro side is awesome in her poignancy. When she possesses a person, her entire body contracts into the terrible paralysis of frustration: every muscle is tense, the kneew are drawn up, the fists are clenched so tightly that the fingernails draw blood from the palm. The neck is rigid and the tears stream from the tightly shut eyes while through the elocked jaw and the grinding teeth there issues a sound that is half a groan, half a scream, the inarticulate song of inturned cosmic rage." (p.36)

The blocked self-definition, the corralled self-expression, the cribbed experience of the cultists find a form to express their exp ience, their resistence, their time and space, and being. The total social repression of the dominant order, its unrelenting pressures, are mechanisms designed to occasion the psychic nigger-breaking that is the real purpose of the physical nigger-breaking. The blocked resistance here finds its channel. The stored-up resentment, its power and its danger, are expressed. Maya Deren, in a note, points out that wherever cultural repression has lead to the suppression of Voodoo by the Catholic Church, it is the Petro rites that have become dominant. "Supression always destroys first what is gentle and benevolent, it inspires rage and reaction, encourages malevolence and magic, and so creates the very thing which theoretically it would destroy." ( )

Blacks on the plantation archipelagoes experienced total social repression.

The Petro rites express and enact the rage felt at this suppression.

Anger is acted out, so that it lodges in the memory, but in the context

of the cults, find its expression, so that the rage, as Baldwin warns, will

not destroy the ⟶ *cultists.* The Petro cult was born of rage, a rage new to the

African experience in the quality of its intensity. "It is not evil; it

is the rage against the evil fate which the African suffered from the

brutality of his displacement and his enslavement. It is the violence that

rose, out of that rage to protest against it. It is the crack of the

slave whip sounding, a never to be forgotten ghost, in the Petro rites.

It is the raging revolt of the slaves against the Napoleonic forces, the

delirium of their triumph. For it was the Petro cult, born in the hills,

nurtured in secret, which gave both the moral force and the actual organi-

zation to the excaped slaves who plotted and trained, swooped down upon

the plantations and led the rest of the slaves in the revolt that by 1804, had

made of Haiti the second free colony in the Western hemisphere following the

United States. Even today, the songs of revolt, of "Vive la liberte" occur

in the Petro ritual as a dominant theme." (638)

The Haitian revolution began after a cult ceremony held on August

14th, 1791. In the turns and vicissitudes of that revolution, great leaders

like L'Oeverture, Dessalines and Christophe were thrown up. The French

thought that once they were imprisoned, killed or bought off, the revolution

was at an end. But they had overseen the multiciplicity of hungans, of

priests, the multiciplicity of small leaders who were unified in the collective

ceremony of revolt.

Each small group focused around a hungan and fought the revolution

as if it were the enactment of a cult ceremony in which each individual could

not fall below the collective. As each performed his role and fell, the

other was there to perform his. Its paradigm of revolution was one of

total popular participation. This paradigm was to be repeated in a different context with its multiciplicity of group movements, all linked together in a collective enterprise -- the humanization of the American social frontier. The Sixties, as Cruse points out, were to usher in a form of social movement that was new to the Western experience. The underlife had emerged as it did at the time of the Haitian revolt, to syncretize with the overtly political movements and to impose its participatory mode of organization on the mainstream movements. The underlife had emerged to begin its labour of transforming the dominant system -- and in the words of Fanon, to demand human behaviour from the other. So that the angry Erzulie of the Petro cult and the raging deities could give pride of place to the Erzulie of the Rada deity, the dance of rage to the dance of love.

The relation of several of the cults of the culture of origin to the masquerade which was to become the Jonkunnu in the New World is obvious. The structuring of African non-industrial societies about age-groups, with authority in the side of the elders -- and therefore, of power -- lead to the need to institutionalize potential conflict between the young, impatient to succeed to power and authority in their turn, and the elders who could be tempted to attempt to transform their temporary power into a permanent and irreversible one.

Through the mechanisms of the masquerade and of the satirical plays, the age groups of the young adults were able to criticise the elders and by doing so, to suggest the reversibility of their power and authority. At the same time, because they wore masks, criticism was depersonalized. The plays and the masquerade processions then, provide "the balance between the established pattern of the older generations, and the impatient demand for change of the new generation exemplified in the satirical plays of the masquerades related to social groups which were constantly exploring new territories and adapting themselves to new techniques..." (63) These plays, as part of the social structure, are to be found all over Africa -- in Bamako, groups regularly put on the Koteba, farces similar to the high-life plays of Ghana. These plays lead to the minstrel farces, which gave birth to the American musical. These plays and masquerades are essentially popular forms and are at once cultural and political forms; there is no separation.

If, through the mechanism of the masquerades and the plays, "politics" in the cultures of origin could be said to have been literally enacted, mimed, sung, danced, equally the theology of African religions could be said to have been conceptualized in the dance.

African religions are not separated from secular activity. The joyful

dance that the king executes on coming out of seclusion on New Years Day is at once religious and secular. Both his former seclusion and his emergence are related to the annual fertility ceremonies in which the King was killed, followed by "the purification or washing away of everything associated with his old regime, and then his rebirth with the help of the Queen." (640)

The plays that the Jonkunnu groups presented, the plays put on by the Afro-Brazilians in the Maracatu, are reenactments of this death and rebirth theme, common to all popular cultures. The dances that Sloane "saw" as bawdy took place within a cultural framework to which Sloane is illiterate. The dances patterned and reenacted the life principle, represented as the fertility of the Earth. Because of this, the dances carry with them the representation of a world view and an aesthetic that was opposed to the burgeoning world view and aesthetic of the culture of production which Sloane embodied. Thus, the dances that Sloane saw in seventeenth century Jamaican and described as "bawdy" were directly subversive of the structuring principles of the bourgeois order. If bourgeois rationality after its first creative phase went to take on the rigidity of the sky, the dance carries the vital dynamics of the regenerative powers of the Earth. Thus, in African cultures, the earth is represented as black, the sky as white, and the earth is conceptualized as the source from which man originates. The 'bawdy' dance and song, against the representation of the machine model of life, and the mechanization of an assembly line existence, contrasts the representation of life burgeoning, protean, reversible, changing. It deconstructs the dominant psyche.

Black music and dance have provided the psychic seed bed of revolt not only for blacks, but increasingly for the young age groups of modern Western societies and non-western societies incorporated into the Western universe.

Ben Sidran pointed out that the generations of young people who went

out into the streets to protest the Vietnam War had been formed and fashioned

by black music, carried, by the technological achievements of Western civili-

zation, into every home. Black music carried the contingent irreverent,

gods become jesters, carried the nonconforming beat of the nonconforming

deities, structured the psyche of American young, reactivated ·· the popular

creativity of the lower class whites -- the Beatles, Elvis Presley -- a

creativity long-suppressed by the hegemonic middle class world.

Eldridge Cleaver perceptively saw what the Twist had done for the larger

society where the rigidity of white bodies reflected the rigid standardization

of being carried out by the larger society. Through the Twist, the heirarchical

white "mind" began to grope its way back to a relation with its body. [641]

The underlife flowed out into the mainstream and joined forces with the

subversive elements of the intellectual life -- as Sandy's "root's" "the

spirituals", and the "Columbian Orator" joined forces in Douglas' self-liberation -

and helped to set in motion the revolt of the young generation, black and white,

which the Sixties represented. As a historian describes it, the Sixties

represented "the first major rebellions of generation against generation in

United States history." (642)

Overnight, non-conforming cults sprang up everywhere. The revolution

they bore was new and different. They opened the space of a new revolution,

a cultural mutation, a second great transformation.

The young white generation was in a revolt against the order of their

parents, an order which had rigidified itself into the desperate inanities

of the fifties. It was an order that had enhanced the bourgeois principle

of utilitarianism, pushing an instrumental rationality to what then seemed

to be its limits.

It is the "enthusiasm" -- in the religious meaning of the term ('43) --

secularized by black music and dance that most profoundly undermines

bourgeois utilitarianism, and the instrumental rationality of the dominant

order.

It was not what M. L. King said in his Washington speech --
the words later by themselves. were almost banal -- it was the
way that he said them. Coming out of the oratorical tradition of the
black church, he infused the English language with the intonations of
original African languages and made music out of words. (644) It was
this music that conveyed, secularized, the religious enthusiasm that challenged
the utilitarianism, the instrumental rationality of the dominant order.
One can say without metaphor, in King's speech, words dance. (645

The dance is central to the epistemology of non-industrial African
cultures of origin. The dance communicated above all a mode of social knowledge.
The medium was its message. The dance as knowledge was a knowledge which
could be gained only through praxis, dancing. No one could dance by
proxy. This knowledge is the very negation of abstract knowledge, that knowledge
which the tall tree that was King "saw"; that abstract knowledge that would
be related to the irreversibility of writing, and even more, of the printing
press.

Dennis Duerdon refers to Plato's warning against writing, "because
he regards knowledge as a kind of divine madness which can be passed on
by means of oral discussion, by means of the dialectic." (646 This
implies a certain relation to knowledge. One must be possessed by knowledge
as by a god, one must participate in knowing. Knowledge is not an accu-
mulation of fixed and permanent truths. Indeed,
such truths which pretend to be of permanent validity should be
"guarded against.

For Plato, too, dance was a means of passing down knowledge. Duerdon
describes the coding of information through the medium of the dance in non-indus-
trial African societies. "...the members of these societies do not reject
everything that has been remembered in a visible and repeatable form and often
a visual repetition of learned behaviour is provided in the dance....the dance
enables individual members of a group to learn to behave as part of a group

without hampering their own innate dispositions. Various cults with various dances exist and when an individual does not fit into a particular group cult, cannot dance its dance, he is advised to join a cult more suitable to his disposition, with a god his particular soul remembers." Each individual "dances" his uniqueness. (647)

The cults translated to the New World would include in their ritual services, different dances of different gods, and each participant fulfilled his portion, danced his dance in the overall ceremony. Thus, individual creation was realized in the framework of the collective, and collective creation resulted from the interactions of individuals fulfilling their respective portions.

Maya Deren's description of "The Collective as Creative Artist" in her book on Haitian Voodoo, suggests that the achieved artistic form is also the political form by which New World blacks can find a form of self-expression for their particular genius -- a social organization, a form which may well provide a pattern of social organization for the wider American world.

"A collective religion cannot depend upon the vagaries of individual aptitudes and persuasion; on the contrary, it must stabilize these vagaries and protect the participants against their own vagaries, weaknesses, failures and inade- quacies. It must provide the generally uncreative, often distracted individuals with a prescribed movement, the very performance of which gradually involves and perhaps inspires him. It must provide the drummer with a beat which will properly unite and pace the proceedings. Whether or not as an individual, he might even have been capable of inventing the beat. The tradition must support the individuals, give them security beyond personal indecision, lift them beyond their own individual creative powers. Thus, the collective functions at a level superior to the creative capacities of the individuals which make it up. It does not rise from their grace, their power, their

knowledge. It confers these upon them. In this sense, It blesses them. It brings out the best in them and serves as a floor below which the collective cannot drop...The individual participates in the accumulated genius of the collective, something more than himself. His exaltation results from his participation, it does not precede and compel it." (648)

The principle of participation is central. The individual cannot express himself except by and through the collective, but the collective cannot express itself except by and through the self-expression of the individual. The individual cannot be expressed by proxy, by welfare policies, or by vanguard bearers of revolution. "Thus, whilst the collective elevates, it must do so by means accessible to the diverse capacities of the individuals. And this is, perhaps, the most astonishing achievement of the forms of Vaudun, both in song and in dance. The steps of the dances, for example, require no special training other than that of gradual familiarity; they can be performed by children of ten and women of sixty...they can be maintained for six or eight hours by persons of normal energy. Yet, they engage and elevate both the individuals for whom all this represents an effort, and those who might otherwise be capable of much more." (649

The knowledge acquired through the dance is the type of knowledge of which Plato spoke. Maya Deren points out that many dancers who show wonderful virtuosity in secular dances never experience the exaltation that they feel in the "performance of the simple anonymous movement of the ritual dance.'" This exaltation, as she points out, comes from the loss of self, or rather, from the participation in and experience of the unbounded self, where the self widens out into the whole, and yet realizes its selfness. Great artists achieve this when they perform well. Lorca calls it "duende." Blacks call it soul. It is an experience of exalt:..., of enthusiasm, in which artist and audience experience both the profound irreducible I -- the I-man of the Rastafarians, -- and the social whole. It is

of course quite different from the fabricated pseudo-unity of the "nation", the "race", the "class" except where these mutate into a genuine experience of unity through participation, collective action that parallels the movement of the ritual. Unity is not if it merely is. Unity is because it is danced. Because it is lived, participated in, experienced.

Enthusiasm and exaltation are the uncolonized flow of desire that expresses liberation from societal codings, from its ordering of ego-identities. It is the loss of the public self, this return to the profound interior self and to the experience of the unity of these selves that the truly religious, ritual worshippers or the Carnival revellers, experience. It is a form of knowledge, the gnosist form of knowledge opposed yet complemented to the rational objective knowledge of the dominant order.

Maya Deren points out that objective skill in the dance expressed as technical virtuosity cannot be related to this form of exaltation.

"For the exaltation of ritual dance derives from a sense of dedication, the denial of that very self which is the source of all virtuosity...To be a virtuouso is to assert the self and this would contradict the sense of dedication." (150) Rather than a denial, I would suggest the experience of the interior self and of unity. This experience provides knowledge of a higher logical typing, knowledge which can move outside the codes of knowledge, prescribed and determined by the dominant mode of social relations, by the kosmos of the status quo.

Technical virtuosity, skill has its value; they are the results of the expression of the separate public self which one asserts. But the exaltation of the collective ceremony, the ecstasy, open onto a higher order of knowledge that the ancestors "planted" in the earth, represent. It is this higher order of knowledge, a knowledge gained through an experience of the social whole in which the thrall of prescribed roles is dissolved, that can judge the value or non-value of the technical achievement. Thus, technological

rationality is not negated. Rather, it is incorporated but subjected to the social mode of reason, determinant in the last instance.

Yet, this mode of reason can only be constituted in the context of a mode of social relations in which the mutual reciprocal recognition of which Hegel spoke, is realized. Thus, this mode of reason exists on the fringes of societies as their horizon Beyond, their mas allá. Because of this, it cannot be known "rationally" as an "objective" fact. Rather, it exists as the Utopian goal, but as a Utopia which constitutes value judgements against which the dominant rationality of the kosmos, the positivistic status quo, Babylon, can be judged.

In the religious cults, or m genuine religious experience, in Carnival, in literature, art, creative intellectual conceptualization and scientific speculation, this Utopia is _experienced_, and _known_ through this participation. But this "knowing", this experience cannot be institutionalized. To institutionalize Utopia   is to deny it. And a dead Utopia, a Utopia institutionalized   is as dangerous as technological rationality raised to a touchstone of human value. Both forms of reason —Utopian or technological— then realize themselves as that unreason that now pervades all our lives.

The "rationality" of the two bourgeoisies, the property bourgeoisie of monopoly capitalism and the State bourgeoisie of State capitalism are related to a central model -- the model of production. Baudrillard's perceptive deconstruction of this model relates the determinism of Western thought, Liberal and Marxist, to this central model. The model reflects and expresses in varying forms the mode of social relations in which in one form or the other the technocratic castes increasingly extend their "shade" to incorporate and suppress any alternative modes of being. Their hegemony is rationally legitimated by the growth and complexity of contem-

porary society, by the widespread and central role of technology itself in the shaping of modern existence. Technological rationality is the expression of the new technocratic hegemony. The code of knowledge of the dominant order arises from this hegemony, and from the social relations, the mode of rational domination which their hegemony entails.

The culture of origins, like all non-industrial cultures, took as its model the perceived natural process of generation and regeneration. The central analogy relates to the birth of all creation from the union of Earth and Sky. Because of this, the fertility principle constitutes the central ethical principle of these cultures. Hence, the centrality of Death, and the centrality of dances that enact the ethics of this code of knowledge. As Maya Deren explains:

"No man has ever witnessed the moment when life begins; it is in the moment of its ending that the limits of life, hence of life itself, are manifest. Death, as the edge beyond which life does not extend, delineates a first boundary of being -- the condition of his first consciousness of self as living. Death is life's first and final definition." (65)

She tells of Ghede, Lord of Life and Death, in Haitian Vaudour; and describes his dance:

"His dance is the dance of copulation in the chamber dedicated to his worship. The sculptured phallus may lie side by side with the diggers' tools. He is the protector of children and the greatest of the divine healers. He is the final appeal against Death. He is the cosmic corpse which informs man of life. The cross is his symbol, for he is the axis both of the physical cycle of generation and the metaphysical cycle of resurrection. He is the beginning and the end..." (152)

The opposed attitudes to death between the African cultures of origin and the Plantation culture of production, marks a central point of difference. As Baudrillard notes, a significant aspect of the culture of production

is its attitude to death, its biologization of death, reducing death from
social death to an irreversible fact which it represents as natural.

The logic of this was that, as the culture of production more and
more reduced man to the status of producer, time became labour time. Whereas
in the representation of man as generator, death regenerates the forces
of life, regenerates man, in the model of man as producer, he ceases to be
a man when his productive years are over, and enters what Baudrillard terms
the Third World of old age. Just as Death was successively banished from
the social sphere, privatized and then exiled to the ghettoes of funeral
homes, so do the old, as they draw near to what is-represented as a state of
non-being, become the marked excluded term. This could have been foretold
from the plantation model of social relations. An indentured servant was
worked to death and then buried without any ceremony, as mere refuse, a
waste to be discarded.

In the books of the slave-trader, a slave over 45 was listed as "refuse"
and sold as at cut-price rates. Once the production process was over,
he existed as his negation. This fate imposed on the black slave and on the
white indentured labourer, then rediffused back from the periphery to the
core with the expansion of contemporary forms of plantation relations.

As the end process of the accumulation of "dead" labour at the core, -- in the form of
capital, of machinery, of technology, of automation -- ·   e expels
more and more people from the production process, these new "refuse" begin
to constitute the Western contemporary form of the Soviet Gulag archipelagoes --
the marginal archipelagos, the new reservations, on which the system's growing
number of expendables are now .   · confined.

Robert MacNamara drew attention to these marginal archipelagos in
a speech to the World Banks' Board of Governors in 1970. "The marginal
men, the wretched strugglers for survival on the fringes of farm and city,

may already number half a billion. By 1980, they will surpass a billion,
by 1990 two billion. Can we imagine any human order surviving with
so gross a mass of misery piling up at its pase?"

The marginal archipelago of the U.S. ghettoes, the prisons, the
barriadas, the shanty-towns of the Third World, the favelas, the quarters
of migrant workers in the affluent Western World, the oriental Jews in
European Israel, the excluded Arabs, the blacks of Soweh, constitute the
central historical fact/event of contemporary times. The "lumpen"
are no longer a minority. Rather, they constitute the new revolutionary
place of the excluded norm. As the political prisoners labeled as deviant
in the Soviet system and herded onto Gulag archepelagos, these billions
are labelled as deviants -- non-producers -- by the Western system, and herded
on to the Western equivalent of Gulag.   To be
a non-producer is to fall into the ultimate deviance, the ultimate heresy.

Yet, as Fanon saw, it would be out of these archipelagoes that the
new cults of rebellion, the new movements of social, cultural and economic
revolution, would come. The Rastafarian Cult is one such, and Bob Marley
sings and enacts its rites.

The claim that Marley makes is the claim to the right of self-expression,
of social being. In the societies related to the code of knowledge based
on generation, both the formidable achievements and the formidable destructive-
ness of human life related to the Western culture of production would have
been impossible. Whilst the childless man in that original system was
constituted as the non-norm, the form of exclusion was also an incorporation.

In the culture of production, the reality principle is production,
and the non-producer is condemned to inherit the world of non-being, to
occupy a space of living-death. For freedom and legitimation depend on
production and consumption.

Just as in the culture of generation, man was free to express his

uniqueness, but only that uniqueness coded as "natural" and permissable

by the culture, so in the culture of production, man is free, but free

only to be a producer. The non-generator and the non-producer therefore

threaten the very basis of each system. The incorporation of the non-

generator through the cults of the age-groups was an attempt to placate the

marked excluded term whose attempt to move out of his place could deconstruct

the place of the norm.

The culture of production, on the contrary, within the core countries,

incorporates the ghetto dwellers, the lumpen, the expendable by and through

a form which is a new form of exclusion. By giving welfare benefits, the

system "inscribes" ghetto gwellers as the non-producer, the non-exchanger,

those who accept a gift without a counter-gift. The welfare recipient

becomes the new Sambo of the system -- the scape-goat carrier of the subversive

desire to be cut in on consumption withoug taking part in production.

(453) Overwhelmed with its own material abundance, the system must nevertheless

create a continuing sense of scarcity, of lack, if its mode of domination

is to continue. It needs the fiction of equivalence -- its ideological motto

of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. But as Baudrillard points out,

work itself has become one of the scarce benefits to be distributed, one

of the central inscriptions that differentiates the norm from the non-norm, the

men from the expendables.

The significance of Rastafarianism is its insistence on a mode of

life, not based on production, in which man is no longer producer, object-being,

but the heir of Jah whose destiny is to generate and regenerate his unique

sonship -- his I-manity. The sonship to Jah, the relations between sons

and daughters, replace the model of production with a new form of the model

of generation. The explosion of music and painting, coming out of the

Restafarian cult, relates to _   _ the central analogy. Man

generates his life, his art as he is generated by Jah. The ethical distinction

is between the fertile Zion of the father's land, and the "sterile" Babylon

of the status quo, the established order, the order that must be reversed.

    This counter-conceptualization has been carried in different forms

by the slaves and their descendants during and after the Middle Passage

experience. Thus, what Sir Hans Sloane heard as the "bawdy songs" of

seventeenth century Jamaica was in fact the coding of . sexuality as

fertility, of fertility as the supreme ethical principle.

    In the Marassa rites of the Haitian cult, the Marassa twins are represented

as two halves "which rest partly in the physical and partly in the meta-

physical world. This is the segmentation of the first androgynous cosmic

whole which yielded the differentiation; male and female. Thus, the Marassa

are the parents of the ace, and this progenitive function gives them in

fact their major importance. They are feasted at Harvest time ... and the

mange Marassa as their feast is called, is part of a general fertility

ritual." (654)

    Death is the ground of fertility, the ground of life in the figuration

of the cultures of origin. As Maya Deren writes of the Marassa:

    "Yet, if they are the first humans, they are also the first, the original

Dead. The Dead and the Marassa are indeed celebrated on the same occasion...

and if they are the first Dead, they are also by logical extension, the first

ancestors, hence, the first ancestral loa...In a certain sense they are considered

stronger than the Loa.....They are also specially invoked at childbirth,

to aid in making the delivery easy. At the canzo ceremony, which marks the

spiritual birth of the initiate, a little boy and girl are called to

baptize and name the one newlyborn, filling here the role of the Marassa

as parents...As the source of all mankind, they are the ancestors of

every family line: 'Papa Marassa, who represents the four races.'" (655)

As the Petro cult was to be a New World cult, incorporating, as Maya
Deren tells us, even American Indian elements, so the Junkunnu was to be a
New World fertility ritual. In this ritual, the historical figure of
John Konny, Cabocero, African merchant prince and partner in the slave
trading enterprises of the Prussians, was to be drawn in as an ancestral
loa, a Lord too, of Life and Death. That he helped the Prussians to
buy and sell slaves is not seen as an ethical minus. No more than that the
rage of the Petro cult is seen as an ethical plus or minus. For Africans
caught in the European slave trading adventure, it was either to slave
or to be enslaved. Nor was slave-trading per se seen as ethically wrong.
John Konny is celebrated because he fought for his own stake and fought off
the Dutch. Even though he was defeated in the end, he expressed his life
force -- at the expense of numberless others. In his ambivalence, he can
be assimilated to Ghede, the Lord of Life and Death, or to the terrible
Baron Samedi whose possessed dancers are noted for their obscure gestures,
for their breaking of every taboo, but who heals and cures "with his
life-giving sperm." One enters here a totally different frame of reference. [156]

Black English, and the use of language amongst Afro-Americans, has
carried on this ethic. Thus, one can say that John Konny was a bad ancestor,
bad like Ghede Lord of Life and Death, because he tramples on societal taboos
as he affirms his strength, fulfills his destiny, by breaking societal
codes. Speaking of John Henry and Joe Louis, Levine writes:

"In Black parlance, the adjective bad does not invariably have
negative connotations. The term can be one of approbation, especially
when the a is prolonged and the word changed into something approaching baad.
Thus transformed, the term has been used to describe those who were admired
because they had strength, courage and ability to flout the limitations
imposed by white society. In this form, the word could and frequently

did apply to black bandits. But it was used to describe another figure
as well: the moral hard man. The morality of these heroes did not stem
from their necessary acceptance of the society's official moral code.
They defeated white society on its own territory and by its own rules." (657)

Like the King in African societies who often could be a criminal or
disassociated personality, such a person was able when necessary to break
the society's own taboos to commit incest and break all the other prohibitions,
reverse the order of the society as he sought to define, to express himself.
Dennis Duerdon points out the extent to which the hunters' cults had become
important in the expanding society of Africa as groups moved into new
territory. The social characteristics of the hunter made him the perfect
leader into these new territories, the innovator of new social institutions.
Such a man had to be able to break the accepted code of morality in order
to bring the innovation and change that was needed. The continued use
of the term _bad_ for approbation shows that black popular culture moves outside
the framework of the dominant bourgeois ethics, which constitutes a
binary opposition between good/evil, life/death, male/female, country/Town,
and black/white, bourgeois/proletariat. It is on this opposition, accepted as
naturally ordained, on which its power rests.

Because of this, the dominant culture is illiterate to the opposed
conceptualizations of the counter-culture. It remains illiterate to the
significance of the fact that the new ethic and the new morality of the
twenty-first century began to come out of its prisons, of its own underworld.
Nor has it been able to grasp the extraordinary significance of _bad_ heroes
like Malcolm X., George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver.

x   x   x   x   x

The reenactment of fertility rites are obvious in the early descriptions of Jonkunnu. The fear inspired by the oxehead mask points to his reincarnation as the Lord of Life and Death. As he danced, he made present the other world, constituted the other space of the mas alla in the here and now, materialized the Beyond and spiritualized the secular world.

As Maya Deren writes:

"For the Haitians, the metaphysical world of Les Invisibles is not a vague mystical notion. It is a world within a cosmic mirror, peopled by the immortal reflections of all those who had ever confronted it. "...the loa are addresed as mirror images, and summoned by references to mirrored surfaces. Sometimes they sing that the mirror breaks through rocks for the mirror is an X-ray and its vision can penetrate matter. The vevers -- the sacred symbols drawn during ceremonies -- are frequently designed in mirrored symmetry to both sides of an horizon...They (the Loas) are served in inverted mirror terms: Papa Damballa, Mistress Erzulie, Miss Aida I give you to eat with the left hand. In is with the left hand because you are the Invisibles." (p. 9)

The "bawdy" songs, the dances that Sloane saw evoked the world of the Invisibles. The pervasive quality of the transplantation of the dance from the culture of origin to the New World is the index to which the original conceptualizations were transplanted, as invisible as the Gods whom they expressed. For dance was the formal elaborated language of the cultures of origin. As Sheila Walker comments:

"The dance for Africans and their New World descendants puts their whole bodies into play, and gets close to the source of emotion, expressing it in dramatic language. The ecstatic dance of the possessed is full of significance. It contains information and has semantic structure. Its vocabulary is the mythological character of the deities, its syntax the rapport

between them; their genealogies, marriages and disputes. The individual

ecstasies, dialogue among themselves, forming language written in choreographed

gestures." (654

Linda Wharton and Jack Daniel give a table of parallelisms between

African dance patterns and their United States equivalents (660).

The Jamaica ska had been patterned on the cult dance, on the movements of the

dancer who "danced" the "train" that took the worshippers on their spiritual

"journey." The parallels between the popular cultures of the black

diaspora and their source of origin in Africa are startling, many and

complex. Years of research by many scholars will be needed before the

clear outline of what is a submerged mass can be revealed.

What all this indicates is that another cultural space, pervasive and

tenacious, has inhabited an under-life, mapping patterns of behaviour and

attitudes, forming unique personalities who have been able to survive

a most hard-pressed existence, and sending out into the mainstream world

great currents of dance and music, freighted with emotional life, to repair

some of the psychic devastation created by a system whose brilliant

technological achievements were only matched by a total ignorance of the complex

: , social needs of man himself; and which forgot that the status of

"human" is a precarious status won and to be won again, at the cost of a

tenacious cultural preservation and innovation.

The stigmatization of black and African cultures had been for a

long while, a central arsenal in that Western intellectual and cultural terrorism

which had attempted to constitute the axiomatic of a single culture, a single

class, a single race.

The Post-Sixties extension of the former limited code of knowledge

has lead to a revaluation and examination of the African cultures of origin

in their own terms rather than as embryonic prefigurations of contemporary

society. By studying non-industrial societies, the advanced bearers of

Western scholarship have been able to obtain a perspective outside their own code of knowledge to critique their own culture not as capitalist or communist, but rather as the culture based on the model of production which is intrinsic to both variants of the same bourgeois rationality.

As this fundamental critique begins to shatter the Norm, to deconstruct the axiomatic, the contemporary world enters into a "liminal" period, a period of chaos like the chaos which always followed upon the death of a King in the African social systems.

In this period of chaos, as we move into the twenty-first century, under-going another great transformation of human existence, the nomadic traveling gods of the black underlife, have seated themselves in the technology that diffuses the music which celebrates the act of exchange between themselves and men into every area of the globe. There they will meet with other submerged gods, the contingent laughing gods of the popular tradition, the reversible gods discardable and replaceable by the new Gods, new cults when and where. Like jazz musicians, like hunters, they are accustomed to find their footing in an un-sign-posted world. And they specialize in nativizing exile. They are above all the gods of the social arts. And if ever a social order had broken down, and was in need of being reinvented again, it is the order in which we now find ourselves.

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4.

THE SINGLE CULTURE AND ITS LACK: THE ALL-WHITE IDEAL

AND THE INVISIBILITY OF BLACK CULTURE

"There is certain acoustical deadness in my hole, and when I hear

music I want to _feel_ its vibration, not only with my ear but my whole

body. I'd like to hear five recordings of Louis Armstrong playing and singing

'What did I do to be so Black and Blue' -- all at the same time. Sometimes

now I listen ... as Louis bends that military instrument into a beam of

lyrical light. Perhaps I like Louis Armstrong because he's made poetry out

of being invisible." (F. LISON)

"...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted

with second sight in this American world -- a world which yields him no true

self-consciousness but only lets him see himself through the valuation of

the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness,

this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of

measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt

and pity. One never feels his twoness -- an American, a Negro; two souls,

two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark

body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."

(W.E. Dubois) (1903) [540]

"We can understand a good deal of our history...by thinking of our-

selves as divided into conquerors and victims...we would do well to shift

the terms slightly and say that we are divided between exploitation and

nurture...The terms exploitation and nurture...describe a division not only

between persons, but also within persons. We are all to some extent,

products of an exploitive society, and it would be foolish and self-

defeating to pretend that we do not bear its stamp." (Wendell Berry) (1976) [543]

The double consciousness that Dubois perceptively explored some half

a century ago, is recognized by a white American, Wendell Berry, today as

an American phenomenon. The modalitites are different. If the white American

descendants of the Mayflower and its later models experience the duality

of being both settler and settled, colonizer and colonized, exploiter and

exploited, the black descendant of the Middle Passage voyages has been by

and large confined to one role only -- that of victim.

In the same essay quoted above, Dubois lists the ways in which the Black

comes upon what Hegel would call the resistance of Life. Desiring in his

striving to be, "a coworker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death

and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius,

the Negro finds that his powers of body and mind have been wasted, blocked.

Above all, he has been paralysed by the contradiction of double aims."

(541)

Thus, the scholar, for example, found that the kind of knowledge which

was a twice told tale to whites was Greek to his own people -- the stra-

tification of education was carried out with precision. On the other hand,

"The innate love of harmony and beauty that set the ruder souls of his people,

a-dancing and a-singing raised but confusion and doubt in the soul of the black

artist, for the beauty revealed to him was the soul beauty of a race which

his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of

another people." (541)

The black artist found that his creative desire to express the culture

of his people, to develop on its site, out of its ground, is blocked by the

fact that it is not only the black that is stigmatized, but anything pertaining

to him, including his culture. Not only was his culture stigmatized, it

was said not to exist as "culture", being only conceded now and then, the

half-way name of folklore. In fact, he would have to encounter both the

stigmatization of and the general invisibility of the black cultural

presence in the American reality, as it is defined by the hegemonic culture.

This invisibility is related to the concept of the cultural void that

we formulated earlier. The idea of the black as inhabiting a cultural

void, of Africa as being the negation of culture, the entire scholarly system

of which Long forms an integral part, are part of that complex that we have

called the "negrofication" of the black. The invisibility of black culture, the

long refusal to acknowledge to extent of the radical difference which this culture

represents, the dimensions of its contribution to all that is creatively human

in American society is not accidental. The invisibility of black culture

is related to a central process that itself demands to be concealed, since

its aim was to appear to be a natural, rather than a socially instituted

fact. This process is the parallel and conjoined process that accompanies

the negrofication of the black, the blancification of people with white

skins, in order that "whiteness" could be constituted as a category. The invi-

sibility of black culture and of the processes of negrofication and blancifica-

tion is an invisibility set in motion by the social machine that is set and sus-

tained in motion by the ruling consciousness of the bourgeoisie; yet, a machine

that has now detached itself from its original bearers to work apart from

its original bearers, crushing them, too, under its remorseless weight.

This invisibility has been central to the ideology with which the

still culturally immigrant North America codes its self-perception as a

nation. This self perception is culturally monolithic as Harold Cruse

points out:

"Culturally speaking, America is a European-African-Indian racial

amalgam -- an imperfect and incompletely realized amalgam. Therefore, the

American racial problem...is essentially a cultural problem of a type that
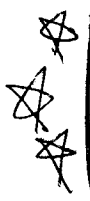
is new in modern history. Until this is intellectually admitted, and socio-

logically practised, chaotic and retrograde racial practises and conflicts will continue in American society. This is why the concept of Cultural Revolution becomes an intellectual means of introducing a new set of ideas into American social theory. A basic reason why the cultural aspect of Negro reality has been overlooked, dismissed and neglected is that most articulate and intellectually-inclined Negroes are beguiled to think of culture solely in terms of the white Anglo-Saxon ideal, which is the cultural image that America attempts to project to the world. The American national psychology prefers to be regarded as an all-white nation, and the American cultural arts are, therefore, cultivated to preserve and reflect this all-white ideal. Any other artistic expression is regarded as an exotic curiosity."
(548)   (Cruse op. cit. p. 113)

This all-white ideal is central to the constitution of the national psychology of the United States in what we would like to term its settler modality. This settler modality refers to what Wendell Berry sees as the exploitive aspect of the duality of the American psyche. This settler modality is constituted about and around the axiomatic of a single Race, the Pure White, a single Culture, Western culture; a single sex , the Male sex; a single class, the bourgeois or the middle class. All of these figural concepts are constituted on the common ground of what I would like to term the frontier complex.

This frontier, with its monolithic definitions, had its definitive qualitative origins in the discovery of the New World. Europe ceased to exist and was mutated into a conjoined entity, the West in relation to its frontier, Western man in relation to those who were not Western Men, who became the ground of Western man, the negation of all that he was. With Sepúlveda, we see the formulation of the imposition of the Single culture. With Long, we see the formulation, the writing of the Single Race, the Pure Race. Implicit in these formulations was the other notion,

the notion of a single class, the class who embodied the intellectual faculties and were the agents of writing, of the written; in other words, the bourgeois class. It would be through "writing" *as* irreversible inscription, that they would control the means of socialization.

Deleuze and Guattari analyse the implications of the institution of the Single Sex. Their insights are germane to our thesis. They argue that Marx had pointed to the "anthropomorphic representation of sex". They then argue that biological research shows the "statutory independence of sexuality with regards to generation..." (545) That is to say, the primacy of sexuality over procreation, the independence of sexuality with regard to reproduction.

The Phallus, they maintain, is therefore not one sex but sexuality in general. Marx had argued that the true difference is not the difference between the two sexes, but that between human and non-human sex. With this statement, he was not referring to an animal sexuality; he pointed to the anthropomorphic representation of sex. Deleuze and Guattari explain further:

"What we call the anthropomorphic is just as much the idea that there are two sexes as the idea that there is only one. We know how Freudianism is permeated by this bizarre notion that there is finally only one sex, the masculine, in relation to which the woman, the feminine, is defined as a lack, an absence." (545)

The Phallus which represents sexuality in general comes in Western culture to represent a single sex, the PURE MALE.

"For if the woman is defined as a lack in relation to the man, the man in his turn lacks what is lacking in the woman, simply in another fashion; the idea of a single sex necessarily leads to the erection of a phallus as an object on high which distributes lack as two non-super-imposable ideas, and makes the two sexes communicate in a common absence -- castration." (545)

The anthromorphic representation of sex, in which the Phallus represents sexuality, is transformed, in the specificity of Western culture, to a social representation of sex, in which sexuality is represented as the male sex, the single sex. Maleness is then constituted as a category, which can become lacking in a man. Woman is stigmatized as absolute lack in this respect.

The representation of castration as a lack is then central to the functioning of the mechanism which produces the prescribed ego identities. Maleness is detached from its concrete bearers and made into an abstract category, the mark of the real sex, the male sex. Femaleness is detached from its real bearers and made into the mark of the absolute lack of maleness. The Symbolic male exists as the place of the Norm, the axiomatic identity which constitutes the reality principle. Femaleness becomes Playboy Bunnies, the female version of Sambo. Castration itself as Lack operates on two levels, the fear of physical castration, and the fear of social castration.

The latter fear goes beyond the physical, since the fear of physical castration is itself but a signifier for the fear of social castration. Social castration occurs when the real Male fails to act up to the requirements of that complex of attitudes necessary to prove that he is the "bearer of maleness." Spaniards define this complex of altitudes as lo varonil. The same complex of attitudes are widespread in Latin America as machismo. The most brilliant expositions of the fear of social castration - a fear that would be central to the modern world - are to be found in the plays of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, the so-called "honor" plays. In these plays, husbands murder their wives, secretly or openly, on the basis of the slightest suspicion. They do this to win social approval, to prove that they can live up to the obligations of their honour --|being the Pure Male. It is not by accident that these plays coincided with the mutation period from feudalism to capitalism, where carryovers from feudalism and the

absolute State met and encountered and mingled with the new figurations of the

bourgeois world.

    The fictional husbands who killed their wives did so because they were

representative of a new social group. The feudal aristocracy did not have

to _prove_ honour. It was represented as born in their blood, as an index,

not as a sign. Peasants were not nobles because they lacked noble blood. But

this lack was represented as divinely ordained. The caste inscription was

the sign of   irreversible social status. But as the newly rich,

made wealthy in the economic reversals resulting from the riches of the

Indies began to buy into the aristocracy on a large scale, honour ceased

to be an index and became a sign. (548

    Unlike an index which was irreversible and constant, a sign has to

be revalued, its value realized by and through one's actions, which could prove

that one had honour. But this honour could be put in doubt with the next

breath of gossip, of doubt. One then tried to fill the lack ceaselessly

and by the very filling of the lack, re-engendered a new sense of lack.

The bourgeois principle of lack began to penetrate the figural representation

of the feudal world under the aegis and interregnum of the absolute State.

    Thus, a Sepulveda is able to translate the idea of a Single Culture, inscribing

the Indians as the total lack of this culture, as women were inscribed as the

lack of maleness, and blacks as the lack of whiteness. Thus, the oral cultures

represented the lack of writing. And writing is the central attribute of the

bourgeoisie. The other of the bourgeoisie is thereby represented as lacking writing,

as the peasant had been represented as lacking military prowess, honor and chivalry

by the feudal aristocracy. Thus, the eye that sees the Indians is a Bourgeois

Eye, the eye that constitutes the idea of a Single culture. This idea

carries with it, the idea of a Single class, the class constituted by its

obras, its _acts_, acts based on writing, on intellectual prowess, _letras_

rather than armas, letters rather than arms. Intellectual labour as a category

detaches itself from its bearers to become Symbolic High Labour. Western culture detaches itself from its bearers to become SYMBOLIC CULTURE.

As can be seen in Long's history of Jamaica, with the social representation of culture, of class, the bourgeoisie legitimates the category of labour as intellectual labour and imposes its model, Man, as Producer, as the agent of obras, of acts, which legitimates him not as the son of someone -- hijo d'algo, hidalgo, and feudally noble -- but rather as the son of his own acts, his "labour", then "producing" him. This class representation is paralled by the social representation of race. Under the bourgeoisie, the biological variations of human gene pools are socially coded as irreversible racial differences. Race -- rather than culture -- is constituted as the lines of demarcation. Differences in culture are represented as indices of nature's coding of a hierarchy of mankind. The anthropomorphic representation of Nature then anchors the social and cultural coding of "race", to legitimate these as naturally determined.

Thus, the negrofication of the black -- its long, scandalous history -- cannot be comprehended outside the need of the bourgeois ruling consciousness to deterritorialize and decode all previous codings, then to reterritorialize these in large molar -- as distinct from molecular -- aggretates -- i.e., from Yoruba, Ibo, to "negro" - from German, Italian, to "white."

The creation of the "negro" was the social code necessary to the homogenization of labour-power, which resulted from the bourgeois's constitution of a single activity, PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY, in relation to which all other activity was to be constituted as a lack. The creation of the concept of the proletariat as a homogenous class would come later. Both operations included a decoding of former cultural characteristics, former psychic mechanisms. In the case of the negro, this was to be carried out

directly by the mechanism of "nigger-breaking". In the case of the proletariat, the mechanisms employed would be more subtle, indirect and multiple. The constitution of both the "negro", the proletariat and the "woman", were central strategies in the constitution of the AXIOMATIC NORMATIVE MAN AS BOURGEOIS. And therefore white, male, and pure intellect.

Whiteness, maleness and pure intellect were the attributes, imaginary social significations which, as the concept blue blood had done for the feudal class, legitimated the bourgeoisie's right to the control of - ownership was only a form of control - the means of socialization. communication and of production. The negrofication of the black, the femalization of the woman, the proletarianization of the popular classes were central processes in the bourgeois strategy of power.

In the same manner, as the feudal nobles in a time of violence and social chaos had accumulated the means of war and defense, so the bourgeoisie had in a time of social disruption, accumulated the means of production and of socialization. In the same manner as the feudal nobles had imposed their particular ideology of lack -- lack of defensive capacities -- on the peasant who was forbidden to wear arms, so the bourgeoisie, having monopolized the means of production, imposed their ideology of lack, lack of productive capacity, on the vast numbers that it would bring under its control, homogenizing them into large aggregate masses, subjugating them with its ruling consciousness, even more than with its organized might. Unlike the feudal nobles, the bourgeoisie would pay others to do their fighting.

In the bourgeois system of signification, man became the value of his labour capacity. This capacity could be intellectual labour or non-intellectual labour, the latter being the lack of the former, the female to the male, black to white. Intellectual labour was represented as the organizing capacity

that lead to

; the accumulation of grace -- of capital. It was then able to provide

"jobs" for the proletariat, who lacking all productive capacity, must give

the <u>tribute</u> of their labour freely in exchange not so much for the wage --

the wage is only a sign -- but for the job, for a role in the productive process,

represented as the truly human process. It is the job that inscribes man

as truly human in the bourgeois figuration. The Work ethic thereby comes

to be internalized. The worker, validating his human status, comes to

love and desire the repression that the work ethic entails. The work ethic

then expels from consciousness any activity that does not lead to productive

finality, colonizes any subversive desires that speak of sensual happiness,

of creative activity or living for living's sake. The work ethic guides and

channels life for the sake of productive finality. Man's destiny activity

becomes the production of surplus value, his identity that of Producer.

Man freely becomes a Producer, welcomes his bourgeois assigned

goal. In the figural representation of the culture of Production that is what

makes him human. As a responsible agent, he freely drives himself to productive

labour, freely represses all subversive desire, self-colonizes himself.

Frederick Douglass' portrait of Mr. Covey, the nigger breaker, is the classic

example. [549]
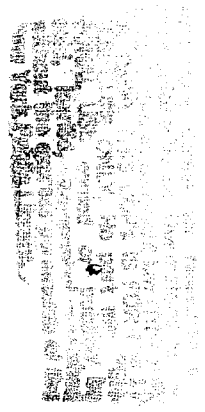
Faced with black slaves, not only with their concrete presence, but ;, *with* their figuration in the Symbolic Order, Mr. Covey envisaged the possibility of his own lack, of his possible inability to attain human status, which consisted precisely in driving oneself freely to work, God's grace then seen to be working in one's *heart*. That the blacks have to be driven to work, and that he is the agent of this driving, becomes translated into the moral mission of work as salvation; the blacks' having to be forcibly saved from their own subversive and heretical instincts. The *rationalization* that is at work in the interaction, means that the libido invests the productive field, with all the force and affectivity of religious desire. The black slaves who do not work freely become the Symbolic negation; the principle of Sin, of Original evil. Nigger-breaking them Mr. Covey constituted himself into the productive machine that the system requires. (55) With his nigger-breaking, Mr. Covey draws a line of demarcation between himself and the black. He is not what they are.

When Douglas faces up to him, wearing the "root" Sandy Jenkins had provided him with, two opposing figural representations meet. The "root" comes out of the complex of African cultures constituted about what I would like to term the model of generation, a model in which productive activity has no end of its own, has only a social finality. Above all, whether Douglas believes in the efficacy of the root or not, its very existence, as an alternative system of signification, breaks the monolithic code of the plantation system which posits only one reality principle -- the economic. Its central strategy is precisely this monolithic exclusion of all other alternative possibilities. The root would give the young Douglas the intimation and the intuition of other modalities, of other sources of power, other possibilities. It is this intuition that initiates the psychological breakout from the imposed socio-cultural coding. Learning to read, will do the same. And hearing the sorrow songs sung by the slaves will also awaken in him the

aesthetic awareness of the stifling of human creativity that the system

represented. The spirituals were the powerful expression of uncolonized

desire, of absolute longing, a longing which subverted the monolithic desire --

the desire to be always and only producer.

The Spirituals, black culture in general, was the creation of the popular

forces. This culture was stigmatized as black. But the stigmatization used

the negro as the representation of its repression of all alternative popular

expression. Its colonization of the popular masses enclosed them in the being

of proletariat -- as the black was enclosed in the being of Negro. This

enclosure of both was part of the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie introjects

its ruling consciousness into all areas of work, and increasingly, of play. The bourgeois

ruling consciousness has always been totalitarian in its central intention

even when it uses strategies of decentralization. Some of its strategies,

liberalism for one, would sometimes escape its coding, take on a life on its own,

and partly become vehicles which the proletariat and the blacks and women

could use in their struggle for liberation; that members of the bourgeoisie

themselves could use in their struggle against a ruling consciousness that

had detached itself from its bearers and now had turned against them,

stifling all creativity.

What Cruse refers to as all white ideal is therefore intricately

intertwined with the idea of a Single Culture, Western culture, a culture

which the American bourgeoisie attempts to appropriate, using it as the

ikon which established its spiritual superiority. Culture thereby comes

to be defined in the bourgeois figural representation as that which lies

outside the economic, outside therefore, the reality principle. The definition

is itself part of the strategy of marginalizing all other activity which

could express alternative forms of desire. Thus, the strategy is to

transform culture from process to artifact, and to label culture as those

spiritualized activities whose <u>possession</u> functions as a sign of superior human being. Culture was a product to be enjoyed by the educated mind, to be passed on by humanists, the guardians of the cultural Grail, as it had been received direct from the Greeks. The lower classes lived and moved outside this culture, but they accepted their exclusion as they accepted their own self-contempt. Western culture stamped them too with a higher value, but the experience of this culture belonged to the rich or to the "pointy heads." They, the lower classes, were well content with work, leisure, spectator sports, fabricated leisure, packaged in do-it-yourself kits.

The culture of production in which the working class lived and moved, pro-vides it with a prescribed mode of thought -- hard-had thought with its prescribed reactions -- ~~Archie Bunker reactions~~. All other .... alternative reactions, activities are discouraged. Culture is canned, mass-produced. pre-cooked Aspects of culture as process, i.e., literary activity, painting, concert music, which survives because they have become minor industries, are thereby inscribed and coded so that they speak only to the bourgeoisie itself, and to their children who go as students to the universities. Entrance to knowledge is as strictly prescribed for the lower classes as it was for Douglas. At the university, the business of marginalizing, defusing the power of the subversive desire contained in poetry and fiction, is carried out by the academic apparatus, whose purpose and task is a constant decoding and recoding of the heresies contained in art and literature. But over against the high priests who maintain orthodoxy are creative scholars who extend the subversive elements of knowledge, conceptual and imaginative. Hence, the phenomenon of rebellious student activity, especially in the Humanities.

But the purpose of all cultural interpretation is to reduce all non-productive activity to a productive finality; and to a role in the reproduction of the hierarchics of the system. Thus, cultural creation itself, interpreted, becomes one more inscription, one more marking that constitutes the axiomatic,

the Norm of Being.   In/bourgeois imposition of the structural law of value,
a marked excluded category over against which the value of the Norm can be
realized must also be constituted. As Dubois points out, the stigmatized
black culture, rich in creativity, confronted the artist who wanted to employ
its resources as the new ground of his creation, to extend its possibilities,
to break new paths, open new areas, : with
. . . the fact ot its
stigmatization; with the fact that he, too, will be stigmaed as artist if his
work moves within the space of that culture. To do this is to move outside
the Norm. Yet, is is by moving outside the Norm that black musicians have
created a counter-representation to that of the bourgeoisie, one that assaults
its central code.

The paradox of black culture is that, stigmatized as the negation of the norm,
it was left alone and allowed to develop alternative possibilities; to provide
the ground, the basis for the subversion of the dominant values of the
hegemonic culture. Ben Sidran, in his book, <u>Black Talk</u>, argues precisely
this:

"The fact that the African cultures had an oral rather than a literate
base and the instance of cultural isolation within the United States make
it possible to suggest a new method for examining the Afro-American experience
as a continuum. If the American Negro managed to preserve his oral culture
and to extend its base into the greater American society, then there exists
in America even today a "subculture" or "counter culture" with its own
social and value structures and a mode of perceptual orientation capable
of supporting such structures. The retention of oral culture means the
survival of the necessary perceptual attributes." [57]

It is the oral nature of this counter culture that moves it outside the
axiomatic of western culture in its bourgeois modality. We have shown how
Sepulveda constituted the culture of the Indian as a non-culture precisely because
it was oral. Michel De Certeau shows how in the fateful encounter between the

West and the New World, Western man was to code other cultures as exotic compared
to the <u>real</u> nature of his own. The coding of the self as central and of
the other as exotic was   central to the appropriation of all other cultural
realities. The expropriation of cultural reality of the other was the condition
of possibility of the expropriation of his labour power. Cultural colonialism
lays the groundwork for all other forms of colonialism.

De Certeau traces this process of cultural expropriation. He points
to the importance of the writing/oral distinction and comments:

"...one could never consider word and writing as stable elements whose
conjunctions and divorces are all that need to be analysed. It is a question
of those categories which make up a system within successive ensembles. The
respective positions of the written and the oral are mutually determined. Their
combinations, whose terms change as much as their relationships, are recorded
in a succession of historical configurations. Recent research reveals the
importance of the displacement which took place in Western Europe from the
sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The discovery of the new World,
the breaking up of Christianity, the social cleavages which accompany the birth
of new politics and a new rationality begot another functioning of writing and
the word..." (55)

The category of writing versus orality is central to the binary opposition
of intellectual/manual labour which underpins the culture of production.
Orality, in Sepúlveda, comes to be the sign of the stigmaed other, the not-
quite-man. It is this sign that marks him as the partner in the symbolic
and actual exchange, who must exchange his labour power for the investiture of
Christian human being. Christian human being is no longer a free gift
accorded by the grace of Christ; rather, it must be part of the exchange between
the self and the Other, that exchange which legitimates both the self-certainty
of the self in relation to the Other, and the terms of the exchange itself. In

Sepúlveda, orality is designated, as an insufficiency, a lack of human being; orality is stigmatized and the stigma is the sign of devaluation. The devalued being must then exchange its labour for "full" being. What is also being constituted is the mechanism by which the "proletariat" will be induced to accept itself_/inherently devalued *as* , human being, so as to exchange its labour for the civilizing, modernising investiture of being accorded it by intellectual labour.

Orality, *represented* as insufficiency over-values writing (in the Western sense), constitutes intellectual labour in general as fullness, the gold standard of being. The more one acquires writing and graduates into intellectual labour, the nearer one approaches the fullness of being.

Hence, in Goffman's listing of the attributes that constitute the normative model of the American male, whiteness is accompanied by "college-educated" i.e., the modern possessors of "writing", the skilled, trained intellectual labour vis a vis the relative "orality" of the manual worker or the less skilled "proletariat". [553]

What we note is the constitution of a scale, a set, a series leading from absolute orality to absolute writing. De Certeau, in his analysis of the travel narrative of the French Calvinist Jean de Lery, who wrote of his visit to Brazil in the Sixteenth century, and of his encounter with the Tupi Indians, makes an important point. De Certeau comments:

"Globally, a series of stable oppositions maintain, all through the text, the distinction between savage and civilized men -- savage/civilized, nudity/clothing, decoration/trimming, festival/work, skill/job, cohesion/ division, pleasure/ethics." [554] The "writing" of the other leads to a reflection on and a 'writing' of the self. But this writing of self and other rather than being objective, responds to the imperatives of Lerv's own self-legitimation. He can see the other only through the prism of judgement of the values which

code him; can know the Other only through the process of translating the Other into his own familiar terms. Lery can see the Tupi Indians in a certain way, a certain mode:

"Jumping about, drinking is just about their normal occupation." For the artisan that Lery is, just what do they "produce"? They celebrate, a pure expression out of time, excess. In the Tupi mirror, this appears the upside down reflection of the worker. ...A character in the show, the savage is, however, by reason of this role, the representative of an economy other than that of work. He reintroduces it into the scheme. Let us say hypothetically, that it is the return, in an aesthetic and erotic mode, of what the economy of production had to repress in order to constitute itself." (555)

De Certeau then points out that Lery, confronted with the Tupi festival in Brazil, finds himself enchanted and repelled. For he confronts an exiled part of his own past. "In the tradition of what the carnival of yesteryear became, progressively driven out of cities by the development of bourgeois towns, exiled to the countryside, the forest and the night. The world of the beyond, festive, condemned, threatening, reappear at the ends of the universe, on the very edges of the conquering enterprise." (555)

The exile of Carnival, concomitant with the rise of the bourgeoisie, points to the extent of all that the "economy of production had to repress" in order to constitute itself. The constitution of the savage (even as Noble Savage, and as such allowed an idyllic freedom not permitted to real men --) is his inscritpion inside a sacred circle. This sacred circle is the site of those tabooed, repressed alternatives that the economy of production had to repress in order to constitute itself. These are all the marked tabooed places, the cultural units marked with a sign in that Symbolic order which sets the parameters within which the "real" individual self constitutes itself, as normative.

The "all-white ideal" of which Cruse speaks is therefore not incidental. Whiteness is a central characteristic that marks the real self from the non-real exotic others, being from non-being. The "real" self must model itself on the normative model, must imitate his desire.   To be an American is to desire what the real normative model desires, i.e., whiteness, being male, being protestant, being college-educated, etc. The national psychology of America does not code the indigenous being through its relation to a place, to a land with which it lives in a relation of symbolic exchanges. Rather, an authentic American being is coded as a social norm in relation to a series of non-norms. This other is the negro, the black in secular America -- In Christian America, it had been the savage, the heathen Indian. The constitution of both as earlier / r and later stages of the non-norm would be central to constituting imperialism of the norm.

A perceptive article by Wendell Berry in <u>The Nation</u> (February 7th, 1976), <u>The Unsettling of America, Part I</u> discusses the white race's presence in America, and identifies what he sees as two opposing tendencies that have marked its presence here. In one of these tendencies, which he defines as the "dominant tendency of our history", the exploitive tendency,

"the industrial market place became the new frontier, and we continued, with largely the same motives, i.e., the quest for gold -- and with increasing haste and anxiety to displace ourselves...In our own time we have invaded foreign lands and the moon with a light-toned patriotism of Cortes in Mexico, and with the same mixture of fantasy and avarice." Berry then goes on to identify the second, weaker, but nevertheless persistent tendency, "The tendency to stay put, to say: No farther. This is the place." [557]

He labels this tendency of <u>nurture</u> and points out that, "...this has been the weaker tendency, less glamorous, certainly less successful. It is also the older of these tendencies, having been the dominant one among the Indians." [558.]

He goes on to imply that the two different tendencies are essentially based on two different relations to the land:

"The Indians did of course experience movements of population, but in general, their relation to place was based upon old usage and association, upon inherited memory, tradition, veneration. <u>The land was their homeland</u>." (59)

The relation to the land as their homeland was not natural. It was a culturally defined, a conceptualized relation, complexly coded in myth, ritual, social and economic relations. As a Haitian scholar pointed out, the pilgrims saw the new World as virgin territory; they were unable to see it, not as a virgin, but as the "ecological" relation between man and Nature, coded by an alternative culture for whom productive finality was unthinkable. (560)

The relation to the land as a homeland is itself based on a relation between the self and other, on the production of social relations of a certain type.

In contradistinction to the Indians, Berry writes "the first and greatest American Revolution -- which has never been superseded, was the coming of a people who did not look upon the land as their homeland." [561]

This perception of the Land, of Nature as alien, was perception made possible by the contingency of the existence of the New World; by its transformation from its own cultural reality into the Other of Europe, its frontier. Central to the frontier complex, to its figural representation, was the representation of Nature as a frontier to be tamed:

"Americans of the Jacksonian era aggressively informed foreign visitors that they and their nation were "born to whip universal nature." The concomitant whipping of human nature was taken for granted." (562) Equally was the whipping of one's own human nature. The attainment of the full identity as the Symbolic Male came to depend on the capacity to split Mind, the central attribute of the Syomolic Male, the Symbolic White, away from
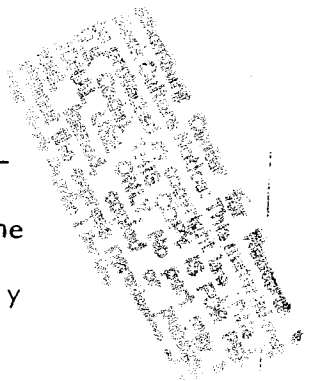
the body, attribute of the symbolic Female, of the Symbolic Negro, of Symbolic

Nature. Once the initial split is made, then these two dualities are arranged

heirarchically. The Social machine works in and through the psychic machine

which ensures the colonization of Nature by Man, of the Body by the Mind.

Here, too, the structural Law of Value is at work. The relatively valued

Mind believes that its development has to be at the expense of the relatively

devalued body. If not, the reverse could be true, and then there would be chaos.

As one scholar suggests: "...this Psychological bifurcation, and its geographical

expression, had a particular significance for American men...the relation

between the sexes corresponded to the same split." (563)

The racial and sexual heirarchy that came to characterise the American

reality, paralleled the psychic heirarchy: These then reflected the central

heirarchy in which Man became Master, and Tamer of external Nature. The

figuration of Mother Earth which had been central to the Indian cultures,

was replaced by the figuration of object/Earth Object/Body, Object/Man.

What Heidegger distinguishes as the time of man as object/being had come into

its own.

The central transformation, the settler-relation to the land, a land

not seen, not coded, marked, inscribed as "homeland" but rather as raw material

for production, set in train a revolution which as Berry argues did not

stop,

"with the subjugation of the Indians, but went to impose substantially the

same catastrophe upon the small farms and the small communities, upon the

shops of small local tradesmen of all sorts, upon the workshops of independent

craftsmen, and upon the household of citizens. It is a revolution that is

still going on...by now the revolution has derived the mass of consumers

of any independent access to the staples of life: clothing, shelter,

food, water." (544)

This was of course the relation of the slave on the plantation. Like

today's consumer, he was deprived of any decision-making power over his relation
to Nature or to the social whole. But at that time, he was the marked
excluded term, the negation of the normative others who did. What Berry's
argument proves is that the marked excluded term is a PLACE, as the Norm
is a Place, and that the one who occupies the place of the Norm today can
occupy the place of the excluded tomorrow. Those white Americans who had for
a long time occupied the place of the Norm :· adhered to the exploitive
side of their identity. The opposite was also true.

⌐⌐ If there is any law that has been consistently operative in American history,
it is that members of any established group of people of group or community
sooner or later become redskins -- that is, they become the designated
victims of an utterly ruthless, officially sanctioned and subsidized
exploitation. The colonists who drive off the Indians came to be intolerably
exploited by their imperial givernments. And that alien imperialism was thrown
off only to be succeeded by a domestic version of these things; the class
of independent small farmers who manned the way of independence had been
exploited by and recruited by the industrial society Until it is almost
extinct. » ⌐ 565 ⌐

The exploiter changed places and became the victim, to rather, those
who saw the land as a homeland were sooner or later to be designated
as victims. The tendency of nurture has been carried primarily and necessarily
by those who have been victims; in other words, those who have been the
slaves, the non-masters, the Non-Norms, and who have experienced the place
of exclusion. The revolutionary tendency in the U.S. has been borne not
by a revolutionary subject, but by the marked excluded place; by all those
who have experienced the pain of exclusion; those who have been constituted
as the subjugated other.

But it is the black group who by the nature of their historical

circumstance in the U.S.A., and by the nature of their culture of origin, who was able to constitute an Other space, a consistent counter-culture. Coming from a culture whose codings constituted the land as a homeland, they also came from a culture whose principle had been one of migration on the African continent itself. It was a culture therefore that had mechanisms for domesticating change, for nativizing exile. The gods of that culture, like the Afro-American bluesman, kept their travelling shoes nearby. Transshipped across the Middle Passage, disrupted from their place of origin, the former African cultures lost those characteristics that tied them to a local place, and universalized those traits as they were transplanted in a new reality. The figural representation of the former African cultures came to occupy the under-grounds, the catacombs of new reality. It constituted an underlife, a guerrila culture, adapting itself to new terrain, waging cultural war against the plantation system that also constituted a radical break with all previous societies.

Although Berry does not mention this -- again, the invisibility is at work here -- black culture came to represent the counter-culture of nurture of which he speaks. But it has been, and has had to be, an imperatively popular culture, one that could move outside the parameters of class; and therefore of the axiomatic. It is because of this that it has come to constitute not only the Negro subculture, as the dominant culture defines it, but the alternative neo-native culture of the U.S.A. For the process of indigenization was the opposite of the process of exploitation. The _root_ that Sandy gave to Douglas represented the natural forces, not as the object of man, but as his ally. It worked with him against a social order   which needed to be resisted and transformed.

The wearing of the roots gave Douglas the power to withstand the social-ization of the dominant order, to refuse the prescribed ego identity of mindless

Sambo, to move out of his excluded place. He refused to be homogenized into a pieza, a man defined only by his labor capacity. Having refused, he begins to act autonomously upon the world. Learning to read, then, became the transgression of the inscription of the social order which, in prohibiting the slave from reading, created an absolute zero point against which its provision for merely functional education to prepare the lower classes to be the proletariat and nothing else, would be taken as a relative privilege rather than as the excluding mechanism that it was.

As Harold Cruse writes, "If we examine this cultural side of the race question in America very closely, we will find that, historically and culturally speaking, the white American, Anglo-Saxon cultural ideal of artistic and aesthetic practices is false, predicated as it is on the myth of Western superiority in cultural traditions and conceals the true facts of native American cultural development. What the white American creative artist or cultural critic is upholding as 'superior' is the Western tradition of cultural creativity stemming from European sources. The statement often heard that 'America has no real culture' is not far from the truth.

But to say that white America has not been culturally creative or original does not mean that America as a racial or cultural amalgam has not been culturally or artistically original. The historical truth is that it was the Afro-American cultural ingredient in music, dance and theatrical forms, the three forms of art in which America has innovated, that has been the basis for whatever is culturally new and unique that has come out of America... the Afro-American ingredients formed the basis of all popular cultures as opposed to 'classical culture' in America..." (Cruse, op.cit., p. 114) [565]

The refusal to recognize black culture as the central American culture related to the tendency of nurture -- is symptomatic, and is linked to the im-position of a Single Culture, the Single Race. The master complex wants

a master culture as his attribute and the only indigenous American culture is the culture of the slave. This culture is popular and as such subversively non-bourgeois.

Yet, in that immigrant paradigm which underlies much of American scholarship, the black still exists as the excluded term, his culture marginalized, said to barely exist. And in the immigrant <u>conceptualization</u> of the American national identity, the blacks prove a theoretical stumbling block.

In John F. Kennedy's book, which extols America as a "nation of immigrants", except for a few uneasy references here and there, the black is the forgotten man in Kennedy's concept of the American nation. (567) In the description of the different contributions of the several ethnic strains, and in the summing up of the different foods that the immigrants Americanized, the black's contribution exists in silence. This is but one example of that negation of existence, that wiping out of the blacks from the general consciousness that "write-out" which James Baldwin has pointed out as the categorical imperative of white America.

In Kennedy's version of America, a picture of a slaveship is shown, and Kennedy admits that in 1619, "the first shipload of twenty Negro slaves arrived at Jamestown." (568) The entry before, dated 1607, tells of the founding of Virginia by English colonists, to "fetch treasure" and enjoy "religious and happy government". It is here that the contradiction lies, a contradiction which Kennedy must overlook. The treasure to be fetched would include the black men; therefore, this government would exclude the blacks from happiness. The dominant religion would convert the blacks into its antithesis, off-load guilt by creating the myth of nigger-devil, nigger-minstrel, making him an opposed cultural unit in the system of signification. The melting pot couldn't melt when it came to the blacks. It was his exclusion

that constituted the national identity. Social mobility wasn't mobile

enough. Kennedy wrote:

"Only in the case of the Negro has the melting pot failed to bring

a minority into the full stream of American life. Today we are belatedly,

but resolutely, engaged in ending this condition of national exclusion and

shame and abolishing forever the concept of second class citizenship in

the United States." (569)

But the Sixties and the movement of the blacks out of their place

called into question the entire melting pot representation, the glorious

scheme by which a collective of differing emigrants had come to form a we.

By moving out of his place, the black called the national identity into question.

If its all-white ideal was not displaced, it was at least made the object of

anxious scrutiny.

Two scholars, Moynihan and Glazer, representatives of the immigrant

paradigm in scholarship, were to continue the negrofication of the black,

anxiously searching for ways and means to reproduce in modern conditions the

"place" of the black, to explain his presence away in the context of con-

temporary America. Like Shockley and Jensen, they became the new Sepúlvedas,

the new Longs.

In so far as the melting pot had appeared to melt, it had done so only to

the extent that the category of excluded black had made possible the category

of whiteness as Norm, under whose rubric the majority of the immigrant

gorups could be homogenized. Since whiteness is the basis of their social

and psychic unity -- there is no "white" culture as such -- the all-white

ideal of America needs to be the more carefully sheltered from confrontation

with reality. It is not only the all-white ideal that must be protected,

but the values that correspond to this ideal. Taking both the ideal and

the values as normative presuppositions, much of white scholarship has been able to analyse the Negro, reconstituting the object of analysis before carrying out the analysis. Thus, the Negro is constituted as the "problem" of white America and all other ethnic groups as non-problem normative models. The immigrant success story replaced the Horatio Alger syndrome as the central frontier rags-to-riches representation. The reason for the, Negro's not having moved from rags to riches must therefore be sought in the Negro world. As Moynihan and Glazer write:

"It is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic groups viewed themselves because -- and this is the key to much in the Negro world -- the Negro is only an American and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect. He insists that the white world deal with his problems because he is so much the product of America..." [570]

It is, of course, the <u>white</u> world that is the blacks' problem. The culture that the blacks had was a living culture, not an ikon that had to be protected. The syndrome of accumulation is for white America, the dominant metaphor. Culture is possession. That the ethnics guarding their culture can do so only because these cultures are frozen and static whilst black culture exists through dynamic transformation, and has therefore come to provide the only common culture that Americans share, would be difficult for Moynihan and Glazer to see.

Trapped in their view of themselves and of their own experience as normative, they are blinded to the social reality of the world in which they live, unaware that their blindness constitutes the central problem both for blacks and for the future of a possible truly national America. Using the pattern of the different ethnic groups as the Norm, they judge the blacks as "lacking" the strong organization and characteristics of the white ethnic groups.

However, in the second edition (1970) Glazer explains that he was wrong: blacks do have "values and culture"

"...Negro values and culture were so completely American in _origin_, that Negroes, as against other groups of foreign origin, had no strong incentives to create schools to preserve a foreign language, hospitals and old-age homes to give comfort to those raised in a foreign culture, or even to develop retail stores to serve a distinctively foreign market." (57l)

That black culture was not American in origin, and that the original culture of Africa had influenced the modalities of the culture, giving it quite different organizational forms to those of Western culture; that given the harassed encirclement of the blacks by the white world, only this modality of organization could have existed and survived; that the goal of these organizations was not merely to give comfort in a foreign land, but to develop strategies of survival in the face of the most unrelenting hostility, to develop a culture that would domesticate and tame the social frontier which the settler immigrant groups constitute, would be inconceivable to Moynihan and Glazer.

Glazer goes on by saying that the fact that "...Negroes saw themselves as American, did inhibit to some degree the development of a fully-elaborated set of strong organizations along the lines of other groups." But, he argues, a "conscious awareness of foreign origin based on the reality of a foreign culture" is not the only factor in the "establishment of a strong set of social organizations." He concedes that it is "by no means absolutely essential", and point out that the Mormons had been created "out of completely American origins." (57l) The Mormons prove that "foreign language and culture is no requirement for very strong social organization." In fact,

"Out of American origins, one can create a distinctive sub-culture which generates the need for its own organization, to guard and protect it. This has certainly happened as a result of 300 years of Black American history, and could serve as sufficient basis for strong organization, regardless of the contribution of African origins." (513)

But is was precisely these African origins that, in contact with the new American circumstances, mutated into a universality that was to provide the matrix of the new   counter-culture. It was from these origins that it would inherit the basis of a new figural representation, central to a new and contemporary mode of social reason.

----ooOOoo----

STRUCTURES OF PRODUCTION: THE COLONIZATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS
AND THE FACTORY MODEL OF EXPLOITATION

"...the economic violence that is inflicted by capital in the non-equivalence of his (i.e., the proletariat's) wages and of his labour power is nothing compared to the symbolic violence which is inflicted on him in his very definition as productive labour power." (Jean Baudrillard) (661)

"...the working class paid a high price for the perhaps inevitable division between intellectual and manual labour within the 19th-century socialist movement. As a consequence, both the theoretical elaboration as well as the movement's leadership were in the hands of radical intellectuals... What these radical intellectuals selected from Marx turned out to be specially fateful: the factory as the model of social relations for the new society." (Feher) (662)

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness." (Marx) (663)

Theoretically, the black experience in the New World, and the implications of the forms of struggle emerging out of its confrontation with the dominant culture of production, has tended, except for marginal efforts, and the latest breakthrough of Harold Cruse, to remain in the world of Les Invisibles. But as Samir Amin rightly points out, the social formations of the periphery cannot be grasped except by and through an analysis of their role in the interrelationships of the world system. (664)

Wallenstein's analysis of capitalism as a world system based on three different modes of labour control, when linked to the Sepúlvéda and Long tabulation/valuation of the Pure White/Pure Spaniard in relation to the

devalued non-norm of black and Indian supports Baudrillard's definition

of capitalism as a mode of domination which uses production as its central

strategy. It is in the context of this definition that the contradictions

of Marxist theory -- a theory which could not account for the radically

different quality of the black experience even in those areas where the parallels

between the condition of the proletariat and the conditions of the Negro were

clear -- can be resolved. What is true of the black is true also of other

aspects such as Women's liberation, for example.

In an early formulation, Marx, in 1845, had written that "Life is

not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life." This statement

would be central to the later development by Orthodox marxists, of a materialist

theory of the mind. If the central strategy of African cultures was the

socialization of the biological, the central strategy of the culture of

production -- a culture which Marxism at once critiques and extends -- is the

biologization of the social. Marx, unlike some orthodox Marxists, was later

to contradict his earlier formulation.

In this earlier formulation, the distinction that is later made between

biological life and social life is not made. It is the assertion of this

monograph that consciousness as self-consciousness as we know it only emerges

from the interrelationships that constitute social life. If social life constitutes

the condition of possibility for both a social and an individual consciousness,

then what this monograph has attempted to define as "culture" exists as the

expression both of these interrelationships and of their possible negation.

That is to say, it is the social interrelationships between men that constitute

what Foucaualt calls the archaeology of knowledge of a given society,

the archaeology of knowledge which both expresses and is constituted by

the consciousness which arises from these relations. It is therefore the

transformation of these relations which exists as the principle of change

in all human society and the preservation of these social relations which
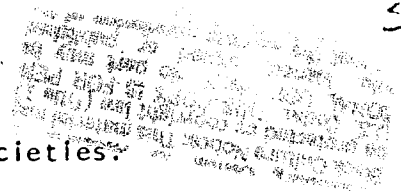
exist as the principle of stability in all human societies.

Capitalism as a world system -- rather than capitalist enclaves and tendencies within European society -- was made possible by the sudden acquisition by European countries of a new frontier which psychologically transformed all Europeans into actual or potential settlers. Sartre glimpsed this when, in his Introduction to Fanon's Wretched of the Earth, he wrote:

"But you will say we live in the mother country, and we disapprove of her excesses. It is true you are not settlers, but you are no better. For the pioneers belonged to you; you sent them overseas and it was you they enriched...You, who are so liberal and so humane, who have such an exaggerated adoration of culture that it verges on affectation, you pretend to forget that you own colonies and that in them men are massacred in your name."
(465)

Had the frontier been empty of human habitation and the Europeans settled it themselves, had there been no coerced and captive labor force to transport from Africa, the processes of change would have been counteracted by the processes of stability, by the dominant mode of interrelationships that the immigrants carried with them on board the Mayflower and its later models. It was the existence of the Indian as metaphysical Other (Lévi-Strauss) which unified the Europeans into a "we" that was no longer autonomous -- but constituted out of a relation.

The Spanish cultural nationalism of Sepúlveda, the white cultural nationalism of a Long, were the expressions of this new mode of relations. This particular cultural nationalism was to be assumed inscribed as the universal Norm of Man. In the secularization of religion and the theologization of the secular that followed, the bourgeois concept of Man replaced the religious concept of Christian as Norm. Inequality of exchange between the Norm and the non-Norm, was constituted by and through the relative

overvaluation of the Pure Spaniard and the Pure white compared to the homunculi and the Negro, the man allegedly at a lower stage between ape and man. The Inscription in a s.ired circle of the Other, as the principle of deviance to the Norm, then reflected back and influenced the social relationships of the European cultures themselves.

Externally in the world system, and internally in each unit, a process of homogenization was accompanied by a process of heirarchization which accorded relative degrees of privilege to all categories. As Long's table shows us, what can be called the structures of production on the model of the concept of the structures of kinship, developed as the expression of the mode of relations/domination of the global capitalist system.

It is in the context of these structures of production that the "negrofication" of the black -- to not call us negros, call us prietos, the Congolese had warned -- is to be understood. Attitudes and social responses labelled as racism, nationalism and even class consciousness, .   . are mechanisms for the perpetuation of structures of production. It is the contention of this monograph that the Post-Middle Passage culture of the blacks constituted a mode of assault on the psychological dimension of the interrelationships necessary to these structures of production.

Racial consciousness and class consciousness in the modern world system is not determined by one's relationship to the means of production, but rather, by one's relative placing in the global structures of production. It is the institution of a mode of social relations that marks, inscribes, the groups that are to be exploited by different attributes, attributes which then become the condition. of possibility of the varying forms of exploitation. I argue therefore that the factory model of exploitation as given my Marx in Capital is an analysis   only of the CORE FORM of exploitation; that to understand the mechanism by which the labor power of the worker is

exchanged for a smaller value than the value he has produced, one must first explain the social, political and ideological processes of the society that "produced" the worker as a man marked by the non-ownership of the means of production, as a man with the prescribed ego identity to enable him to accept the wage contract -- except in moments of upheaval -- as a just exchange for the subordination of his right to self expression, self definition, to that of the bourgeoisie's right to self expression, self definition.

In other words, one must first explore and understand the processes of socialization at work in the larger society that makes the factory model of exploitation possible -- that sends the "free" worker, freely to exchange his labour power, believing, except for the interrupted moments of strike action, that the exchange is a just and equal one; even welcoming the exchange.

Leach has pointed out that any given society is based on two systems, the system of production and the system of communication (661). These two systems constitute the system of socialization, and together they constitute and are constituted by the mode of social interrelationships in any given group. In a class-divided society, the control of the means of socialization -- control can take the form of ownership -- allows the ruling class not only to legitimate its hegemony, but to appropriate the right to self-definition, and to self-expression by all other groups in the society, as well as to subordinate these groups to the purpose of its own self-expression and definition. The control that this class exercises over the means of production would therefore be a central factor, but only one factor, in its strategy of socialization. Whilst the factory model of exploitation reveals the mechanism of one of the forms of exploitation, it cannot extend into a revelation of the mode of socialization by and which the ruling class -- in this case, the bourgeoisie -- carries out its strategy of domination.

The nigger-breaking model which established and caused the slave to accept as permanent and legitimate a relationship of subordination in all aspects of his life, is the more universal model. As a model, it gives, insights into what we can call the ideological nigger-breaking mechanisms that produce the worker as always and eternally proletariat, the woman as eternally female, the black as negro, the white as norm. Nigger-breaking goes beyond the physical breaking of the black into being mindless mechanical labour. Nigger-breaking operates symbolically to fix the black into his inscribed place. The popular phrase "to keep the Negro in his place" is the expression of this symbolic constant of the American national identity; and of the structures of production. Long's table, which places the blacks of all peoples, groups, at the very bottom of humanity, Hegel's analysis of history, which denies history, a state and any reality to Africa are both expressions and inscriptions of the global structures of production, that were and are, the condition of possibility of capitalist . "egalitarianism".

Jean Baudrillard points out that Saussure gave two dimensions to language, assimilating it to the model of money. A piece of money can be exchanged for a real commodity of a determinate value, or it can be put in a relationship with all the other terms of the monetary system. Saussure would more and more come to reserve the term of value for this relativity, internal to the system, and made up of the distinctive oppositions of all the terms between themselves. In the same manner, to accompany the world system of production, structures of interrelationships, which constituted a relative valuation of being, was to be central to the egalitarian ideology which proclaimed equality of exchange whilst concealing that this equal exchange, based on the law of equivalence, took place between people who had been socially, politically and culturally produced and inscribed as relatively unequal; socialized into accepting the relative devaluation of their social being.

Because the factory model of exploitation could not extend into these other areas, to reveal the extent of the qualitative social and symbolic exploitation, Marx's theory of alienation has been used to explain qualitative rather than merely quantitative exploitation. Andrew Gamble, reacting against the Althusserian attempt to separate the concept of alienation from the "scientific" approach of <u>Capital</u>, insists on the logical conjuncture of the two theories. The gap that does exist between the two theories, the fact that they do not quite logically imply each other, is to be found in the limitations of the factory model of exploitation itself. Had Marx been able to follow up his insight into the plantation system as the model of the world that the bourgeois makes in his own image when he is free to do so, the factory model of exploitation which explained only the mechanism of exploitation of free wage labour, would have been incorporated into a more universal model of capitalist exploitation. The "nigger-breaking model" of exploitation both contains the factory model, and goes beyond it, showing that the quantitative (economic) exploitation of the workers has as its condition of possibility, the social qualitative exploitation of his human being, of his life.

If, as Marx later proposes, it is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being but their social being that determines their consciousness, then it is clear that the control of the pattern and of the shaping of this social being by any one group who controls the means of socialization, implies nothing less than the colonization of consciousness by this group. This control over the means of socialization is the central strategy of capitalism as a mode of domination. It is this control that produces the prescribed consciousness, the prescribed ego identities that capitalism needs for its functioning. The nigger-breaking model of exploitation reveals this strategy, lays bare the mechanism of domination.

Because Marx limited his analysis in capital to the factory model of

exploitation, Orthodox Marxists have tended to reduce his earlier concepts of alienation to the state of consciousness which induced a man to sell his labour power to the capitalist. The emphasis has been on the <u>sale</u> of labour-power, and on its quantitative exploitation.

This would be ideologically useful to those members of the new job-bourgeoisie, the state bourgeoisie who wanted primarily to delegitimate the property-bourgeoisie, whose hegemony they contested and sought to displace. They substitute the buying and selling of labour power, and the quantitative rip-off that ensues, for the far more radical hypothesis (Baudrillard) that the worker is exploited precisely by being inscribed and confined in the rigidly-defined/ *social* being of being nothing else but the producer of surplus value. Their proposed solution, the conversion of private and corporate property into state property, whilst calling for the abolition of the buying and selling of labour power nevertheless depends on the continuation of the proletariat in the class being of proletariat.

Because of this, Marxism, *with its* complex areas of contradiction must be homogenized and standardized to legitimate the *state-bourgeoisie's* even more total control of the means of production and of communication. That *they tend to* innovate a more rational system of distribution, even, in many aspects, of production, and thereby break the cycle of peripheral poverty and misery, does not obscure the fact that they have replaced one ruling consciousness with another, that they are the new and even more total colonizers of consciousness.

It is this process of the colonization of consciousness by and through both the labour process and the social processes that the nigger-breaking model makes possible to be theoretically grasped. This model gives insights into the mechanisms of social repression, by and through which the internal mechanism of self-repression is carried out, in order that the psyche can come to desire its own repression. The colonization of consciousness is essentially the colonization -- and the constitution -- of desire.
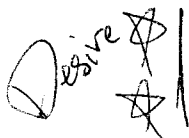
Goux analysed three main modes of symbolization: the economy, signifying practices (writing, law, inscription, art, etc.), and sexuality. (167) The bourgeoisie would usher in a system whereby, through its unlimited accumulation of the means of symbolization in all three areas -- i.e., through its control of communication and production, and therefore of social-ization -- it would be able to totalitarianly symbolize the unfreedom of other groups as their very freedom. (168)

Positing freedom as its own goal, it made this goal universal at the same time as it employed its mode of symbolization to ensure that the concept of freedom internalized by all other groups was its own, the bourgeois concept of freedom. Hence, the dual liberating/repressive aspects of bourgeois hegemony. Freeing the popular classes and women from feudal and monarchical restrictions it at once enclosed them in prescribed roles by its mode of symbolization: of "woman", her place   in the home, the complex symbolism of cosy domesticity; of "proletariat", a man is a man when he gives a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. That the day of the "writing" class was always valued higher than the day of the non-writing classes was discreetly left in the dark. Since this made it clear that the life of one was worth less than the   of the other.

The family and the factory were to be the sites of the symbolization process by which the women and (the children) and the proletariat were inscribed into their respective roles. The Phallus and skilled intellectual labour (i.e., writing) as the norm of Male and Worker value constituted parallel terms in the structural law of value.

The plantation -- incorporating both family and factory -- constituted the Pure White to Pure Black binary relation which undergirded the entire architecture of symbolization. These three mechanisms were central to the bourgeois strategy of universalizing its own particular self-expression as the goal of mankind. It is here that the clue to the totalitarian nature

of bourgeois hegemony, under its most apparently liberal forms, it is to be found. Like the plantation system, modern monopoly capitalism--the Free World--and its concomitant State capitalism, the "Socialist" World, are not aberrations but the maximum realizations of the bourgeois potential--the widest and most total extension of its shade.

Marx argues that it is the nature of man to realize his teleological or purposive consciousness, but that, as Walton and Gamble paraphrase him, "...man in class society is not free to realize his own purpose. He only realizes the purposes of the ruling group. But many people within class society fail to realize that purposes other than present purposes could be realized. Marx argues that the comprehension of the social world under alienation is reified. For when human products are alien facts independent of the control of most members of the society, there arises a corresponding structure of consciousness, alienation." (669)

I propose that we substitute the concept of colonization of consciousness for alienation, a concept which is made clear in the nigger breaking model. It is not that comprehension is passively reified. The non-ownership of the means of production, or of non-comprehension of the social world, is only the effect of the social system which depends for its functioning on the exclusion of the non-bourgeoisi from any participation in its own autonomous socialization. The expropriation of the means of production by the bourgeoisie is only a means of its more total purpose-- the expropriation of the means of symbolization, and thereby, of the expropriation of the means of the constitution of social reality. The empiricism of the property bourgeoisie, its appeal to the "facts," the "scientificity" of the State bourgeoisie, its appeal to objective reality, to Nature/History as absolute referent, is an ideological appeal. Both the "facts" and "objective reality" have been "represented" and "constituted" as factual and "scientific" by the bourgeois control of the means of socialization. The long scandalous history of the "negrofication" of the prieto -- his being nigger-broken into the necessary "empirical" fact of "negroness" reveals the central strategy. The black who accepted himself as a Negro was not alienated. He was colonized. Equally, the woman who accepts herself in hegemony bourgeois --"little woman"-- roles. Equally the popular classes who

accept their destiny as being eternally that of the proletariat -- and welcomes

their own repression in wanting to be, either a "model hard hat" or a Stahhovenite

Hero of .. Soviet ..... Labour.

normatively

If the feudal classes legitimated their right to power by their

accumulation of military defensive capacity, the bourgeoisie were to justify

theirs by their accumulation of the means of symbolization. The ideologues,

par excellance, *they* came into their own when they no longer produced ideologies

to legitimate the rule of the other groups -- the feudal groups -- the court

aristocracy and absolute monarchy, -- but produced ideologies to legitimate

their own right to rule.

Under the property-bourgeoisie, production and communication were controlled

by different groups of the bourgeoisie. Under the state-bourgeoisie,

production and communication are controlled by a single group -- the Party.

What the bourgeoisie does, is that from the perspective of its own time, space

and perception of reality, in the context of the intentionality of its

own goal-seeking activity, .. impose this perception on reality, marking the

world with its patterns and symbols, inscribing the globe with its own model,

the model of production. It usurps the space of others, presenting its own

perspective as axiomatic, as the NORM. Its nigger-breaking mechanisms are

designed to see that no other alternative self expression, no other alter-

native goals are allowed to express themselves except in so far as they can

be incorporated into the bourgeois mode of social relation and cultural

expression. Within production, everything -- outside production, nothing. (573)

Thus, it incorporates all popular expression, taking elements from the popula

. culture -- cricket was originally a popular game, taken up and coded

by the middle class as C.L.R. James brilliantly shows -- into a gentleman's game. (b)

into a bourgeois cultural continuum.

Equally, it incorporates the feudal class, the aristocracy, causing them

in the essentials

social

to pattern themselves on the bourgeois model of being. By its nature,

the bourgeoisie must be culturally totalitarian or cease to exist. As its central strategy is to present itself as the universal class, the universal model of man, its ideal of humanism was one with its ideology. As Althusser comments, _human_ implies the existence of the _inhuman_, as the _equal_ implies the imperative existence of the _unequal_.   (672)

Through its postulation of its particular _ological purpose as the universal, the bourgeoisie marginalized all other cultures that expressed alternative purposes, alternative models of social being. Its physical genocide of the American Indian was accompanied by a cultural genocide that left the Indians on the reservations psychologically shipwrecked in a world whose physical configuration no longer matched the symbolic landmards that had formerly constituted their social being. This cultural genocide began with the apparently simple act of trade, of allegedly equal exchange. Wendell Berry quotes Bernard De Voto:

> "The New World ... was a constantly expanding market ... Its value in gold was enormous, but it had still greater value in that it expanded and integrated the industrial systems of Europe."

And he continues:

> "The first belt knife given by a European to an Indian was a portent as great as the cloud that mushroomed over Hiroshima ... Instantly the man of 6000 B.C. was bound fast to a way of life that had developed seven and a half millenia beyond his own. He began to live better and he began to die."   (...)

The social Darwinist implication is so much a part of the bourgeois world view that the real point is obscured. Western society is technologically more developed, but as Sahlins has pointed out, the social arts of the Indian mode of life were infinitely _more_ developed.   Hunting cultures were the first societies of affluence, affluence based on the principle of non-accumulation. (The real point is that the settler culture of production had made a choice that no other culture in

much faster than change could be adjusted to. All corruptions of culture

produce breakdowns of morale, of communal integrity, and of personality,

and this force was as strong as any other in the white man's subjugation of the

red man.'" (675)

I would like to refer *once again* to the Ounces trade that the Western bour-

geoisie instituted between itself and Dahomey. In the early part of the

monograph, where ideas were formulated within the framework of the factory

model of exploitation, and attention focused on the quantitative surplus

that was extracted through the mechanism of the 100 percent markup of the

Ounces trade, I was unable to recognize that what was in fact at work

was a relation of exchange between two different cultures, with entirely

differing concepts of exchange, within the context of different goals.

The exchange system of Dahomey in the: early stages, functioned in a

context different . . .   of social relations from the *of the* mode of social relations of the

culture of production. My earlier formulation that Dahomey operated in a

use-value world, where needs were socially defined, whilst the culture of

the West brought the exchange value world of the market system of production,

was an imposition of the Marxist interpretation on !.. a *quite* different society

and culture: The attempt to impose the factory model of exploitation on

all other societies that have previously existed is an ideological strategy of *the*

ew the new State bourgeoisie, and is no less an imposition of a particularistic

perspective than was the imposition of the *interpretation from* perspective of the property-bourgeoisie

the social reality of,
on all previous societies.

Baudrillard calls this the "ethnocentrism" of the code, and quotes Castoriadis:

"The idea that in all societies the relations of production and conse-

quently, politics, law, religion, etc., *exist,* presupposes that in all societies,

the same articulation of human activities exists, that technology, law,

politics and religion are always necessarily separated and separable; it is

to extrapolate to the totality of history the structuration of our own

society, which is inevitable meaningless outside of it." ( )

As Baudrillard comments, "historical materialism does not know how to grasp earlier societies in their symbolic articulation. It only finds in them what it could find under its own light, that is, its artifical mode of production." (77)

It was this reading of the culture and society of Dahomey through the code of production that made me impose the definition of a use-value world in an effort to explain why the mode of exchange between the West and the Dahomeans would lead to the enrichment of the one and the impoverishment of the other. Reading Dahomean society in the context of its own world view, of its own imaginary social significations, makes it clear those .... that the mode of exchange carried out in Dahomey was based on a totally different concept of exchange. .... Esteban Montejo's explanation that the blacks in Africa had been trapped by the Europeans because of their inordinate love of scarlet handkerchiefs, which caused them to run down to the ships in order to trade (676) gives an important clue.

For one, his own explanation of the disaster fallen on blacks is a <u>symbolic</u> explanation. Yet, it shows that as with the Indians, it is trade with the West that will introduce the Trojan horse into both non-capitalist cultures. Yet, to say that the scarlet handkerchief satisfied a use-value need is to fall into the the .retical trap of assuming, as Baudrillard ..., that there is a constant of needs in all societies, whereas of course each society codes and constitutes through representation, its own system of needs. Thus, in Dahomian society, "symbolic" needs and "use-value" needs were inextricably linked.

Western trade, and Western technological superiority -- Hawkins capturing Africans by force in the slave coast, sailed to the New World and also used force to compel the Spanish settler to trade and buy slaves -- sought first of all to create a system of needs or "use-values" among its Dahomean trading partners.

As It created the "use-value" of alcohol amongst the demoralized Indians,
so It created the use-value of the gun amongst the demoralized African
groups who had to become associate slaves *traders* or find themselves *in turn* enslaved.

Thus, the inscription of utility in the gun, in alcohol and the
selling of his ⸱   ⸱   ⸱ ⸱ to the Indians, *to* the Dahomeans, ⸱   ⸱ ⸱
central *trading* strategy of the Western bourgeoisie. The scarlet handkerchief -- an
object of exchange in the Dahomean system whose purpose was to create
exchange for exchange sake, to symbolize exchange is, in the Western
system, a commodity, produced in order to have both "use-value" and
"exchange-value:. [67🏿]

Thus, the use-value/exchange-value structure of the Western culture
of production is exchanged for the symbolic value of the Dahomean culture.
The Dahomean sorting system -- the one to one ratio, responds to a concept
of exchange intended to cement and establish alliances, establish relations.
This mode of exchange could not conceptualize the ounces trade. For the
purpose of its exchange was directed, like all else to the stab lization
of its social order, by and through the stabilization of its internal and
external relations. Like all such cultures, it had to guard against
mechanisms of unilimted accumulation of wealth or power, which could
destabilize these relations, destroy the delicate mechanisms of the social
order. In the Dahomean system -- in the early states -- exchange was
undertaken for exchange' sake.

The purpose of exchange in the culture of production is the unlimited
accumulation of surplus value and the unlimited development of production
for production's sake. Thus, it could not conceptualize a one-to one
exchange or a one-to-one relationship. For the ideal of reciprocity central
to the Dahomean mode of exchange, it substituted the ideal of equivalence
based on the relation between norm *and non-* norm. What was important was
that there should be a formal equal exchange, the *apparent* equality stabilizing the

law of value, ~~the~~ law of equivalence. But for surplus value to be accumulated, 'equal' exchange had to take place, in the context of unequal relations. That is to say, Western goods were to be inscribed at double the value of Dahomean goods, and the latter inscribed at half the value of Western goods. Western goods were then constituted as the Norm, the axiomatic. Dahomean goods are thereby constituted as non-Norm. The money price would be calculated on the basis of the inscription -- the prices of production would only serve as the basis on which to calculate the relative inscriptions placed on both sortings of goods. The labour-time embodied in Western goods was inscribed as superior; double-value labour time. Equal exchange then took place between ~~one quantity of~~ Western goods to ~~two~~ quantities of Dahomean goods. The specificity of the two sortings was homogenized under the 2-to-1 ratio.

As Dahomean society was drawn into the Western mode of exchange, of accumulation of wealth and power, its former codes were distorted, its society shaken. Horrors and excesses ~~took place~~ as the race for the White man's guns and for imitation of bourgeois power began. The quantitative robbery was only a part of the cultural destruction, of the symbolic violence that was wreaked on the Dahomean society by the imposition of the bourgeois norm. Western trade ... produced a stunned distorted society, which Western civilization would later attempt to save from itself.

The Ounces trade and its relative inscription of value was a variant of the form of exploitation practised by the bourgeoisie on its own industrial proletariat. Its social mechanisms, its strategy of domination were all directed to "producing" the worker as "proletariat", as some one who would accept as legitimate that he had to work in order to provide for his "needs", as someone who was lucky enough that the "bourgeoisie" would provide him with a "job". The history of the cultural colonization, of the nigger-breaking of the Western proletariat, still remains to be written. It will be a complex and difficult history to write. For the nigger-breaking of free wage labour in the core countries was carried out through what I would like to term

the stra_t_egy of vicarious identification. [140]

Fanon had pointed out, as I quoted earlier, that the Negro, far from
turning away from the master, wanted to be like the master. Frederick
Douglas, in h   narrative of his life, writes of the slaves who were
proud to be identified with the wealthier masters (171). Fanon's Black Skins,
White Masks, which argued that the Negro had a right to be anti-Negro since
his unconscious was structured by the same fantasies that structured the white
unconscious, opened theory to the exploration of the central strategy
of bourgeois domination -- its stra_t_egy of the imitation of desire.

In Black Skins, White Masks, Fanon explored the mechanism by which blacks
came to imitate the desires of whites, to model themselves on whites.
What he had analysed was, in fact, the mechanism by which the bourgeoisie
extends its models of desire throughout the society. Eldridge Cleaver
in Soul on Ice gives a   insight into his own colonization _by_ desire _of the Othe_
(162).

The bourgeoisification of the proletariat has not received that kind
of treatment. Whilst many boo s are written about the impact and effect
on blacks of black slavery, nothing of value has been written about
the equally powerful impact of black slavery on whites. Because _of_ this
the real strategy of racism, the functionality of its purpose, is still _remains_ to
be explored. As is _that of_ the parallel concept of nationalism. I would like to
suggest that the strategy of the bourgeoisie _in its social incorporation of_ . .   its working class,
was to symbolize a Western and white cultural nationalism, through which it could
provide a common ground of _equally_ valued-identity, valued in a structural relation
to the devalued identity of other groups. It translated this mechanism
into racial and national terms so that the English proletariat, for example _--_
whom Sarmiento, praised as one who lives, works and consumes with dignity -- _(163)_
experienced a dual consciousness. As an English national, he was structurally

valued, and it was in expressing himself as an <u>English</u> worker, that he willingly accepted his role of proletariat. As the bourgeoise took the power of his country to unrivalled heights, he vicariously identified with that power. Britannia ruled the waves and through identification with the bourgeois Britannia, he too ruled.

But this would tend to be later, after the first half of the nineteenth century, after his struggles against being socially annihilated, his culture his song, his life style wiped out. by the bourgeosie who treated him with a colonizer's contempt had been forgotten, and as he began to share in the *expanding* relative *material* prosperity, ' . (. ....ry.

In the earlier part of the century it was his identity as "worker" versus his bourgeosie that was foremost. Marx formulated his model of exploitation when the English proletariat was undergoing that process of industrial colonization whose horrors matched the process of external colonization that that same bourgeosie would carry out abroad. This model of exploitation revealed the form in which apparently 'free' labour was exploited under the guise of equal exchange. By examining the capitalist system in its unit form - England- *Marx* came to define capitalism as a mode of production based on free wage labour, rather than as Wallerstein would later formulate it, *as a global system* based on an interrelationship between labour, controlled in different forms. It is this *earlier* model that I term the factory model that Orthodox Marxists would then impose on all other areas, including the area of *the* black experience. *(?su)*

The factory theory of exploitation privileged the form of exploitation, that applied to free wage labour, universalizing this form and marginalizing all other forms of exploitation that were necessary to the production and reproduction of capitalism as a mode of domination. Because of this, the plantation proletariat and the Black experience in general could find no

theoretical explanation in Orthodox Marxism. Instead scholars stood on their heads to argue that the plantation system, the very model of the capitalist enterprise was not capitalist at all, but rather a "slave mode of production." Wage labour was taken as the sole distinguishing characteristic of capitalism as the wage-labor form was constituted as the axiomatic of exploitation. The myriad other forms of exploitation that put the varying hierarchical layers into play in capitalist society, were either not seen at all, or explained away. The multiple forms of exploitation that took place in the periphery formations, in the case of cash-crop labour, or on the plantation in the case of slave labour, or of unequal terms of trade in the case of Third World countries, or in the case of internal colonialism between urban and rural areas, between Party bureaucrats and peasants, were all obscured. Equally the form of family exploitation where the unpaid domestic labour of the wife was explained away as "unproductive labour" in distinction to the "productive labour" of the husband in the factory was overseen, distorted, marginalized. Because of this theoretical blindness, the myriad movements would erupt in the Sixties <u>outside</u> the aegis of the Marxist theoretical framework, in fact, even against it.

Most of these forms of exploitation could not be explained or conceptualized on the basis of the essentially quantitative factory model of exploitation. Rather, these forms of exploitation pointed not so much to unequal exchange as to UNEQUAL <u>RELATIONS</u> OF EXCHANGE.

The relations of social exchange between male and female, for example in a society, based on formal equality but in which the axiomatic, the Norm was <u>male</u>, as the norm of labour was free wage labour, meant that the exchange itself produced the female as the Non-Norm. Units of social power was attributed to the category of <u>maleness</u> as units of social power were attributed to the category of Pure White, and to the category of intellectual labour. The more units of social power that one had, the more relative possibility one had to express oneself, to find room for the development of one's capacities within the parameters of the

hegemonic system.

Just as skilled labour was able to be paid at a higher wage because that labour was represented as having more units of dead labour embodied in the attribute of skill--that is say, because more of the total social product-- had been apportioned to providing skilled labour with its skill, so "male" power could relatively express its potentiality to a greate/extent because of the inbuilt mechanisms which provided for the actualization of male power, and the relative blockage of female self-expression. We use the make/female case, but of course the pivotal and absolute paradigm of the unequal social exchange is to be found between the whites--constituted in this case as a dominant establishment, and the blacks. The Black/white code is the central inscription and division that generates all the other heirarchies. The secret of capitalism is to be found not in the factory but in the plantation. It is there that it becomes clear that intellectual labour, the Phallus and Whiteness, are constituted as gold standards of value in the factory, the family and in the social world.

The nigger breaking model, which, we propose, incorporates the factory model and goes beyond it comes out of the experience of the plantation archipelago of the New World.

INSCRIPTION AND COUNTER-INSCRIPTION: FREDERICK DOUGLAS, MR. COVEY

AND THE NIGGER-BREAKING MODEL OF EXPLOITATION.

"The circumstances leading to the change in Mr. Covey's course towards me, form an epoch in my humble history. You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man." [xx]

FREDERICK DOUGLAS

Instead of imposing the concept of the proletariat and of exploitation onto the reality of racial and sexual oppression, one should ask if it is not, in fact, the other way round. And to ask if the worker is not from the very first, if his fundamental status is not, like that of the dead, of Nature, animals, children, blacks, women -- not a status of exploitation, but a status of ex-communication -- not a status of spoliation and of exploitation, but a status of branding, of inscription."

JEAN BAUDRILLARD (xx)

Earlier on in this monograph, I referred to Frederick Douglas's experience of nigger-breaking at the hands of the expert, Mr. Covey. I shall discuss here a few other aspects taken from his narrative which bear on the contemporary implications of the black, neo-native popular culture of the Americas. I hope to show that it is out of the New World black experience -- the earliest and most sustained experience of the culture of production as a mode of domination -- that a more universal mode of exploitation can be theoretically constructed. I hope to argue, too, that the model of cultural revolt embodied in the black counter-culture is a model which directs itself against the dominant system, aiming at its central strategy -- the code of production which it has ideologically diffused throughout the contemporary world, both in the so-called Free World and in the so-called Socialist world. For this reason, because it aims at the code, a revolutionary theory founded on the insights gained from the black experience must incor-

porate some liberal and Marxist insights, negate others, and go beyond them both. I hope to argue also that it is only out of the theoretical insights gained from the perspective of the black experience that a theory of revolutionary transformation adequate to deal with the complexity of the American experience can emerge.

It is important to note that the eventual escape of Douglas to the North does not only liberate him from being a slave. It liberates him also from the branded status of a proletariat. It cannot, however, liberate him from being a "negro", another branded status. Rather, he has to live,from that moment on, a dual existence. On the one hand, as a member of the middle class, he belonged to the only class, the universal class, the norm of manhood. On the other hand, he was to be inscribed as Negro, and therefore, a kind of second-class American, a kind of second-class man. In terms of class, however, compared to the proletariat, white and black, he would exist in a relation of relative privilege. In terms of the white middle class, he was to exist in terms of relative underprivilege, as his later clash with the abolitionist W.L. Garrison, proved that clash foreshadowing the later clashes of Wright, Ellison, and Cruse with the white bureaucrats of the Communist Party. (57)

The point we want to make for the moment, however, is that Douglas's self-liberation was based on two factors. One is based on the fact that at a crucial moment he is taken to the forest by Sandy Jenkins, a man whose African-retained religion gives him the perspective of an opposed world view, a world view which enables an ideological resistance to the dominant system. That Sandy gives him both solidarity and the "root", itself a symbol of an alternative cultural complex, an alternative conceptuali- zation of the self and other, of social being and existence, means that Douglas no longer faces Covey as the atomized homogenized unit that he had been

previously. The intuition of a counter-mode of existence had been strengthened

by the second fact, the fact that he had learned to read, and had there-

by instituted his first rebellious act, his deliberate breaking of a

taboo, of a prohibition.

A central reason for the masters not wanting the slaves to learn

to read or write had to do with the direct practical consequences that the

slaves' ability to read and write could help in their escape attempts --

they could forge their own passes. The acquisition of writing, a power

retained to the master class, the master race, could allow the slave to

manipulate this power as the masters did. Even more centrally, the slaves

learning to read and write, would mean that the irreversible gap that the

social mechanisms of the system were designed to produce between black

and white, in the dominant coding, would begin to be bridged. In the context

of an officially egalitarian society, the non-equality of the black , had

to be continually constituted by and through the production of the gap

which inscribed black and white as separate, empirical categories,

ordained by "Nature." If all men were created equal by God and Nature, then

blacks had to be produced by the coding of the system as not-quite-men.

And whites had to be produced by the social mechanisms of the system as

a category which equalled Man.

There was no such thing as a "white" population, no such thing

as homogenous white grouping based on a homogenous "white Culture", as

Moynihan and Glazer recently found out when they examined the melting

pot myth. (l) There was one factor, however, that served as a homo-

genizing mechanism for the disparate unmelted ethnicities, who shared only

one thing in common, the fact that the colour of their skins was non-black.

This was the coding-mechanism that produced "black Skin" as the index of

an inferior group, as the zero reference point of the social system.

A complex of prohibitions functioned to sustain the black-white
Inscription. In Haley's Roots, Fiddler, the Creole slave, gives Kunta
Kinte, the newly-arrived African slave, a run-down of all the laws that had
been passed to constitute the black as "nigger", and the white-skinned as
"non-nigger." In addition, as the slave's testimony shows, the masters intern-
alized it as their duty as whites to socialize the black into being a nigger
as they socialized their children into being "white." Thus, when Frederick
Douglas enters the family household of one of his masters, the family
situation is seen as the micro-factory, the micro-plantation, where the
prescribed ego-identities of masters and slaves are fashioned. At first,
the master's wife, who is a weaver, does not know how to be "white." (371)

Douglas experiences his first human relation with someone whose
skin is white. When her husband finds out, however, that she is teaching
Douglas to read, he at once begins her socialization. He violently forbids
her to teach Douglas to read. She internalizes the lesson, and becomes trans-
formed into a shrew and a termageat in her relations with Douglas. Learning
how to be white, she becomes the vigilante of the system, flying to take
any book or newspaper out of his hand if she catches him reading. (372)

But for Douglas, the incident initiated his self-liberation.
He learnt that the thing his master most feared was that he should learn
to read. He comes to understand that the deepest desire of the master was
that the slave should not learn to read, and to relate his slavery to this
desire of his master -- and to initiate a revolution against the colonization
of desire, implied in seasoning and nigger-breaking.

"I now understood what had been to me a most perplexing difficulty --
to wit, the whiteman's power to enslave the black. It was a grand achievement,
and I prized it highly. From that moment, I understood the pathway from
slavery to freedom...I was gladdened by the invaluable instruction which,

by the merest accident, I had gotten from my master. Though conscious of the difficulty of learning without a teacher, I set out with high hope and a fixed purpose, at whatever cost of trouble, to learn how to read. The very decided manner with which he spoke, and strove to impress his wife with the evil consequences of giving me instruction, served to convince me that...I might rely with the utmost confidence on the results which, he said, would flow from teaching me to read. What he most dreaded, that I most desired." (71)

The master revealed to Douglas, unwittingly, the importance of this central prohibition, its centrality to the survival of the order of domination. Reading was the key to the knowledge accumulated along with the accumulation of wealth and power. This accumulated knowledge was a formidable weapon, the Achilles heel, the Trojan horse, the greatest threat to the continued hegemony of the system itself. This knowledge, this prohibited information, held the key to the understanding of the processes of socialization of nigger-breaking, held the key to the liberation of the self from the socially prescribed ego identity, from the socially prescribed actions and reactions upon the world.

By learning to read, Douglas breaches the inscription, crosses the Maginot line, disrupts the racial code. But he also disrupts the invisible class code. Had Douglas been white, he would have been a member of the lower classes. Like some of the little white boys who taught him to read -- before they had been completely indoctrinated into "whiteness" -- Douglas would have been satisfied with the functional literacy which he would have received, the functional literacy designed to socialize him as indelibly proletariat. Nigger-broken by subtle mechanisms, he would have stayed in his proletariat place, and not aspired to break out of it into the middle-class Norm. He would, like Pease and Reynolds, have

accepted whiteness as the category which allowed him the illusion of equal mastery, would have seen this illusion reflected in the mirror of the nigger-broken black who reflected back his relative mastery, and would have been allowed no true knowledge of the world and of the forms of his own servitude. He would have had no suspicion that it is through the control of information that the middle-class . . . institutes its hegemony. He would have accepted the colonization of desire which caused him not to desire the information that middle-class education could provide him with; and to accept that he was naturally "gifted" with a lower intellectual faculty and so could not aspire to this information. The fact that . . he had been white, his acquisition of information would not have been forbidden, but only subtly discouraged, would have made it next to impossible for him to decode the strategy by which he came to acquiesce in, even to welcome his own oppression.

Through his master, Douglas comes to learn that reading is a prohibition for the black, a taboo which takes on the force of the prohibition of incest. Deleuze and Gualtari have recently argued that incest is impossible, since it is the prohibition of incest that codes and constitutes the identity of mother/son, brother/sister, i.e., the social identity, the act of incest itself wipes out the inscriptions of the identities. Once the relation is no longer socially coded through the very prohibition as that of mother/son , brother/sister, there is no incest.

Equally, without the new work of prohibitions, and, as John Ogbu has recently shown ( ), without the social production of the economic and educational gap between black and white, the ideals of integration and equal educational opportunity are impossible -- since it is the production of the gap that produces the social identity of black and white. As it is the social production of the gap that creates and constitutes

the social Identity of the middle and lower classes.

Martin Luther King was to point out that the society has been doing things against the Negro ever since he was brought here. Equally, it can be said of the Lower classes. These things against both are carried through by the mechanisms of socialization, that we refer to as nigger-breaking mechanisms. Whilst the illusion of whiteness blinds the lower classes, as the illusion of being middle class blinds some blacks to the ongoing nigger-breaking, Douglas found himself in a situation where, like the slave in the Hegelian model, in order to have his identity affirmed, he must attain to a knowledge of the world which resists his affirmation.

His experience as slave criticized the ideology of freedom of the larger society. ( ) When the experiential consciousness and knowledge of his situation meets with the parallel situation presented him in the dialogue between the master and the slave in the book, The Columbian Orator, the hypothetical situation provides him with a language for the verbalization of his own situation. Against the coding, the verbalization of the hegemonic order, Douglas is now able to constitute a counter-coding, a counter-verbalization. He has described the inscription, disrupted the code, refused the prescribed identity allocated to him in the system.

Earlier on in this monograph, I had accepted the Marxist autonomization and privileging of the economic, and had argued that the different mechanisms were set up in order to devalue labour and thereby to extract more surplus value. But that was to take a central effect for a cause. The plantation system reveals that nigger-breaking is not an exercise undertaken only for an economic purpose. Whilst force was used to get the black to work, as hunger was initially used in the case of the white proletariat, —— nigger-breaking was directed towards an essentially social purpose the same purpose that lynching and Jim Crow laws would later serve.

It is clear that the nigger-breaking mechanism had an aim that went further than merely getting the slave to work, getting him accustomed to mechanical labour. Getting him accustomed to mechanical labour was a means to an end -- to get him to accept his prescribed ego-identity, and therefore getting him, freely, to stay in his place. Nigger-breaking reveals itself as an initiation rite in which the task of <u>social inscription</u> was at least as important as the task of <u>economic extraction.</u> This is the rationale that underlies the brutal mutilation of slaves who, according to a strictly economic rationale, were valuable property -- when they rebelled. The description that Taylor gives of the ritual castrations and mutilations reveals that these carried out essentially a task of social inscription.

It is this task of social inscription which is central to capitalism as a mode of domination. The factory model of exploitation reveals only the code of production which it uses as its strategy of control.

The limitations of the factory model of exploitation is that it takes the central strategy of capitalism, its autonomization of the economic, as a given. Because of this, it reduces the social whole to the factory, the whole to the part, thereby privatizing the social, as Freudian analysis would privatize the social using the model of the family, thereby autonomizing the psychological.

Baudrillard analyses this strategy of autonomization. "Against subversion by the symbolic which to some degree arises under the label 'cultural revolution,' the capitalist system has every interest in diverting it through 'closeting' the contradiction within the economic realm. Autonomizing the economic is an ideological strategy. Bourdieu describes the same phenomenon in relation to the scholarly and cultural systems... ideology always proceeds by the autonomization of a partial totality. All autonomized partial totalities immediately have an ideological value.

This is the way Bourdieu treats the scholarly system. But all partial fields, in particular, the economic, can, for the same reason, act as ideological fields once erected as an autonomous instance (and even determinant). But the autonomization of the economic sphere is common to capitalism and to Marxism." (b95)

The black experience reveals also that the autonomization of the unit of analysis, whether in the core or in the periphery, in the factory or in the plantation, leads to ideology. The capitalist system can only be seized by and through its inter-relationships. The taking of the factory unit as a given and as the normative model to be imposed on all other varieties of experience under capitalism has resulted in the incapacity of Marxist theory to deal with the black experience, the woman's experience, and all the other assorted experiences that are forms of the generalized exploitation that results from the mode of domination legitimated by the culture of production.

The nigger-breaking model, coming out of the plantation experience, is a model which is itself only graspable by and through its relations with other forms. Both the insights of the factory model of exploitation (Marx) and the family model of exploitation (Freud) are themselves incorporated in the plantation experience which was at once factory, family, and a social site on which the multi-layered levels of identities of core and periphery, white and black, confronted each other over against what Cleaver calls, the racial Maginot line. [b92] The plantation and the nigger-breaking model of exploitation reveals that the social order of production, in order to function, needs to establish fixed coefficients of social exchange, and that the strategy of the economic is a central means of establishing these fixed coefficients of exchange.

The mechanism of the Ounces Trade showed that in the act of exchange, the unit of abstract labour embodied in the goods of Europe was retrospectively

inscribed at a higher value, whilst the unit of abstract labour embodied in the Dahomean goods was retrospectively inscribed at a lower value; that out of this inscription, the "value" of the respective goods, and of the respective beings, was fixed. Once this value was inscribed as structural relative value, then goods would continue to be exchanged at equal rates of exchange, two Dahomean units equalling one European.

It is this social inscription of relative value by and through an interrelationship (imposed by force in the last instance), that reveals that the labour and _{social} being of the West was inscribed as an <u>elite</u> commodity, whilst that of the non-West, of the periphery, was inscribed as a non-elite commodity. If we see the plantation archipelago and the ghetto archipelago in the United States as <u>interior peripheries</u> we see how the relation of elite/non-elite-being was _{and is} expressed in the categories of <u>white</u> and <u>black</u>. But the same strategy is then transferred to the other social categories of middle-class versus lower-class. . The social exchange between <u>white and black</u> is the condition of possibility of the reproduction of the social exchange between middle and lower classes.

The mechanisms that nigger-break blacks into being the zero reference point of the total system, internal and external, are the same mechanisms that nigger-break lower-class whites like Pease and Reynolds, into being the zero reference point of the internal social system. Thus, when Frederick Douglas and Wright escape to the North as middle-class Americans, they enjoy a relative social privilege with respect to Pease and Reynolds. As "Negroes", however, they remain at the mercy of Pease and Reynolds, in their capacity as white Americans.

As Lower class, Pease and Reynolds are victims, the natives,

the new Redskins. As white Americans, they are exploiters, the new settlers. As middle class, Douglas and Wright could be tempted into being settlers, the exploiters. As "Negroes", their existence as actual and symbolic victims constantly criticizes their middle-class consciousness. Their "work", like that of the Hegelian slave, will be a sustained and consistent decyphering of the hegemonic and dominant codes that constitute their reality. (617.

If, as Baldwin was to write to his nephew on the two-hundredth anniversary of emancipation, the symbols of his life were deliberately constructed to make him believe what whites said about him, then the symbols of Pease and Reynolds are deliberately constructed to make them believe what they "say" about the "Negro." What they "say" about the "Negro" is the mirror which inscribes them with what the system intends them to say about themselves. Their Samboization of Wright is their attempt to fill that lack of being which the normative model of Being -- a middle class model -- imposes on them. It is in the prisons, the very site of the marked excluded terms that, as George Jackson shows, each group brandishes the stereotype of the other in order to assure its own group of the experience of relative self worth." (676

The inscription of the self, the interpellation of the self as "free subject" in.relation to the normative model set by the Symbolic Order of the society, is carried out by and through the socialization processes of the society. (699 These socialization processes are all variants of what we have termed the nigger-breaking mechanism, the cultural and social processes that constitute capitalism as a mode of domination.

As Baudrillard suggests, the insight into this mode of domination can be obtained not by imposing the wage-labour form of exploitation on all other areas, but by using other models of exploitation to look again at the wage labour form; not by imposing the model of production, the economic model, on the social whole of non-industrial societies, but by using their

models to look again at the social reality of the capitalist system.

Polanyi, in his book on the Dahomean archaic system, analyses the monetary systems of non-industrial societies. He writes:

"In general terms, money is a semantic system similar to speech-writing or weights and measures. This holds good for all three money uses -- i.e., for payment, as a standard and as a means of exchange. Now, archaic money has the singular effect of solidifying the social structure. Institutions tend to be strengthened by the quantitative identification of obligations and rights resulting from the introduction of numerals. Sociological features to which institutions attach are mainly status and state building. Archaic economic institutions were, as a rule, mediated through their links to these two. Status is confirmed, and the state is consolidated in the course of the development of such institutions which, on the other hand, rely for support on interests benefitting groups and classes." (

If we see the market as the central economic institution of the property-bourgeoisie, we can perhaps begin to see it as an economic institution that functioned to institute primarily social acts of exchange. As Polanyi continues:

"Specifically societal functions attach therefore to archaic institutions apart from their strictly economic role." Ibn Batuta (1 8) is to be credited with the discovery of the use of thin and thick copper 'wires as status money in the fourteenth-century Niger empires. Thin wires in which wages were paid, bought only firewood and coarse millet, while the thick ones bought anything, not excluding elite goods. Limitations of consumptions were thus set up for the poor, while the higher standard of life of the leisure classes was automatically safeguarded." (

The thin and thick wires also inscribed the poor, and as an economic device, circumscribed the poor in their poor-being. The act of social exchange between those who had thin and those who had thick wires

would then be determined by the intrinsic superiority ascribed to thick wires. The accumulation of wealth would then only be an inscription of the social heirarchy whose structure was the condition of possibility of the state. Yet, the codes were fixed; accumulation of wealth was only sufficient to produce and reproduce the social heirarchy; to marginalize change.

Polyani discusses also the elite circulation of goods in West Africa. A qualitative division was made between elite goods and non-elite goods. "In West Africa, elite circulation was a principle of trade. Horses, ivory, skilled slaves (italics mine) precious metals, jewelry and treasure objects could be acquired only in exchange for items of the series of elite goods. In the Near East, status differentiation attaching to archaic money may serve as the key to some cuneiform economic riddles. According to the code of Hammurabid, loans repaid in silver carried an interest of twenty percent, while if the loan was repaid in barley, the rate was thirty-three and one third percent. Yet, the mode of repayment was apparently left to the free choice of the debtor. If, however, as there is reason to assume, silver loans were accorded only to nobles while the common man could expect only a barley loan, status would account for the apparent absurdity. It is evident that archaic money was in various ways connected with status, creating powerful invisible linkages in the social tissue." (702)

The plantation model of social relations suggest that the global system of capitalism was a system constituted by heirarchical relations based on a structural law of value. In this law of value, quantitative differences -- the two to one ration of the ounces trade -- expressed and constituted qualitative social differentiation. Internally, class distinction was the expression of this structural law of value. Externally, in between the units, forms of colonialism, political or economic, cultural of racism and of nationalism, sustained this heirarchy. In the United States,

In whose national borders both core and periphery areas were located, racism became the psycho-social mechanism by which status differentiation -- in the context of an egalitarian ideology -- could be sustained.

'It is in the context of the act of exchange as a social act ratio of the of exchange which is intended to establish once and for all the thin-wire-being of the black to the thick-wire being of the white that the implications of the confrontation between Douglas and Mr. Covey can be grasped. In Mr. Covey, the two functions of what Althusser calls the Ideological State Apparatus and the Repressive State Apparatus are conjoined. Althusser argues that the system reproduces itself through both its production of ideology and its organization of the forces of repression, which can, where and if necessary, impose ideology. Mr. Covey as a nigger-breaker is the ultimate socializer -- the "expert" who forcibly imposes the internalization of the society's prescribed ego-identities.

The mechanisms of the plantation system were designed to fit the slave into his place. For various reasons, Douglas had not quite fitted into his place:

"My master and myself had quite a number of differences. He found me unsuitable to his purposes. My city life, he said, had a very pernicious effect upon me. It had almost ruined me for every good purpose and fitted me for everything that was bad." ( )

Douglas then had not sufficiently internalized the master's purpose, his desires had not been sufficiently colonized so that he could come to see the master's desire as his desire; could self-suppress in himself any alternative subversive desire:

"Master Thomas at length said he would stand it no longer. I had lived with him nine months, during which he had given me severe whippings, all to no good purpose. He resolved to put me out, as he said, to be broken; and, for this purpose, he let me for one year to a man named

Edward Covey." (7ṯ4

Mr. Covey was the "technician", the expert of the social order.

He was the direct agent of the colonization of Douglas' desire -- as such, he

had himself to be thoroughly self-broken, self-repressed, self-colonized,

"freely" choosing his own subjection.

Douglas begins his description of Covey:

"Mr. Covey was a poor man, a farm-renter. He rented the place

upon which he lived, as also the hands with which he tilled it. Mr. Covey

had acquired a very high reputation for breaking young slaves, and his

reputation was of immense value to him. It enabled him to get his farm

tilled with much less expense to himself than he could have had it

done without such a reputation. Some slave-owners thought it not much

loss to allow Mr. Covey to have their slaves one year for the sake of

the training to which they were subjected, without any other compensation.

Added to the natural good qualities of Mr. Covey, he was a professor of

religion, a pious soul -- a member and a class-leader in the Methodist

church. All of this added weight to his 'reputation' as a nigger-breaker."

(7c⑤

Yet, Douglas tells us he made the change gladly from his master

to Mr. Covey. At his master's house, he was always hungry. At Mr. Covey's

he had been told he would always get enough to eat. Once again, we note

that material needs such as food -- i.e., the needs that are useful to

the system are, in the case of Mr. Covey, who needs his slaves as field

hands, plentifully provided. Other needs, such as the need for leisure,

are defined as unnecessary needs in the overall scheme of Mr. Covey's

purpose.

"Mr. Covey gave us enough to eat, but scarce time to eat it. We

were often less than five minutes taking our meals. We were often in the

field from the first approach of day till its last lingering ray had left

us; and at saving-fodder time, midnight often caught us in the field binding

blades." (74)

To drive the blacks, Mr. Covey had to be self-driving. It was

to the extent that he drove himself that he could drive them, that he broke

himself into the purposes of the dominant order, that he could break them:

For what he inscribed on himself as he drove them to work was his own self-

driving as the highest ethical value. This free-self driving constitutes

him as belonging to the Single Normative Class -- the bourgeoisie -- and

constitutes those he drives as, to borrow a term from Deleuze and Guatarri,

-- the les hors-classe -- the lumpen, the outlyers, the maroons -- marron,

w ld, undomesticated -- the hors-caste -- outcaste, the hors-la-loi --

outlaws. As he drives and inscribes them, he self-drives, self-inscribes

himself:

"Covey would be out with us (till midnight). The way he used

to stand it was this. He would spend the most of his afternoons in bed. He

would then come out fresh in the evenings, ready to urge us on with his

words, example and frequently with the whip. Mr. Covey was one of the

few slaveholders who could and did work with his hands. He was a hard-

working man." (74)

"Work" as labour-capacity, is the central inscription, the sign

that proves one's belonging to the universal class -- to the symbolically-

saved. But this work must be undertaken "freely" by the individual's

"free will." By his "free choice" of work, he thereby legitimates and

sanctifies work as the sign of man's redemption. And secular redemption

-- to belong to the freely self-driving-to-work class -- is itself the

index of the man predestined for salvation in the deferred due date of

eternity. Lifetime must be accumulated here and now as labour-time so

that the goal of the accumulation of eternal time in Heaven can be attained. Heaven itself ceases to be a place of paradisaical enjoyment, and becomes an eternal extension, an accumulation of time. Heaven is the supreme symbol of an endless accumulation of capital. The "enjoyment" of this accumulated time will be reserved for those who refused to "waste" a single minute of time here on earth -- who did not waste time on living but decoded and resisted all the cultural representations that tempted with the Satanic suggestion that salvation could be had for free without the exacting payment of one's life, without a lifetime converted into labour time. Salvation -- in the representation of the culture of production, depends on this conversion; on this self-sentencing to hard labour in exchange for the heaven of accumulated time -- i.e., of capital. Capital is above all else the accumulation of life-times converted into labour time. This is the central social exchange of capitalism as a system. The struggle against its hegemony is finally the struggle between two groups -- those who freely or unfreely accept this conversion -- or those who refuse -- the outlaws, outlyers, lumpen, outcasts. The "roots" of Sandy, the "reading" of Douglas, the underlife of black culture and the counter-life of some aspects of Western art, literature, poetry, and some aspects of its intellectual thought as well as the myriad forms of counter-inscriptions of all the marginal life to the system, are the signs, symbols and actualizing forms of the Great Refusal. Labour time is not life-time.

It is through the extension of its creed-lifetime i· labour time -- that the bourgeoisie constitutes itself as the single universal class by interjecting the good as labour-time and the negation of the good as its lack. Hence, the irresponsible Sambo and the lazy "native" stereotype -- the disfigured representation of what Mr. Covey could be if he were to let up for one minute from the grim task of the repression of all alternative desires except that of redemption through work. He becomes his own police, his own vigilante, the settler to his .

negative self. This self-inscription, this self-mutilation, is the mark

of his own manhood. He is the State to his own citizen.

Deleuze and Guattari point out:

"That the State is entirely in the service of the so-called ruling

class, is an obvious practical fact, but a fact that does not reveal its theore-

tical foundation. The latter is simple to explain: from the viewpoint of

the capitalist axiomatic, there is only one class, a class with a univer-

salist variation, the bourgeoisie...And in point of fact, something new

occurs with the rise of the bourgeoisie: the disappearance of enjoyment

as an end, the new conception of the conjunction according to which the sole

end is abstract wealth and its realization in forms other-than consumption...

The bourgeois field of immanence...institutes an unrivaled slavery, an

unprecedented subjugation: there are no longer ever any masters, but

only slaves commanding other slaves; there is no longer any need to burden

the animal from the outside, it shoulders its own burden. Not that

man is ever the slave of technical machines; he is, rather, the slave of

the social machine. The bourgeois sets the example, he absorbs surplus value

for ends that, taken as a whole, have nothing to do with his own enjoyment;

more utterly enslaved that the lowest of slaves, he is the first servant

of the ravenous machine, the beast of the proroduction of capital, internalizing

the infinite debt. 'I too am a slave ' -- these are the new words spoken

by the master." (7:?)

Douglas' description of Mr. Covey actualizes the theoretical

definition of Deleuze and Guattari. Mr. Corey's self-nigger-breaking is carried

out together with his nigger-breaking of blacks. He has experienced and

taken the measure of his own psychic self-repression, of his own conversion

of a life-time into labour time. He has a reference point from which to

judge the extent to which those who have to be driven, to be broken into

doing the ame, are carrying out the conversion: His rational knowledge

of nigger- breaking is obtained through the experience of

being self- broken

"He knew by himself just what a man or boy could do. There was no deceiving him. His work went on in his absence almost as well as in his presence; and he had the faculty of making us feel that he was ever-present with us." (7.9)

What Foucault was to analyse as the institution of the carceral complex -- was to be intimately linked with the self-scrutiny -- one no longer confessed one's sins to a priest who acted as the judge of sinfulness, one internalized the measure of sin, judged and sentenced oneself by the introjection of guilt and a bad conscience -- essential to the "free" material and spiritual labour of the individual subject. The self-vigilante exercise then becomes the conditioning possibility of the settler-vigilante -- the supervisor-relation, the over-seer relation to others. Each manages his self as he manages others. Covey seems to be always there, even when he is absent -- as the eye of the God of Production is always there in Mr. Covey's interior self-presence.

"This he did by surprising us. He seldom approached the spot where we were at work openly, if he could do it secretly. He always aimed at taking us by surprise. Such was his cunning that we used to call him among ourselves 'the snake.' When we were at work in the corn field, he would sometimes crawl on his hands and knees to avoid detection, and all at once, he would rise nearly in our midst, and scream out, 'Ha, ha! Come, come! Dash on! Dash on!' " [7/9]

The counter-inscription of Mr. Covey, his counter-signification, is not one that he will ever know. Like all masters, he can only "see" the recognition of his own reality that he imposes, his mirror reflection. And what he wants is this mirror-reflection. This mirror-reflection of himself as master, as nigger-breaker expert, constitutes his own identity as freely self-driving, and "values" this identity in relation to what the system poses ɔ as the only alternatives -- either freely self-driving or driven by others. The existence of forced labour is the condition of possibility

of the unquestioned acceptance of self -- imposed labour.

That forced labour is reluctant to drive itself is taken for granted. Indeed, this is "proof" that only the saved are self-driving. To catch them slacking is to confirm this empirical fact. Mr. Covey's rule as over-seer and nigger-breaker comes to depend on the ruses he can use to surprise the slaves in the committing of original sin -- the slackening off of Work.

"This being his mode of attack, it was never safe to stop a single minute. His comings were like a thief in the night. He appeared to us as being ever at hand. He was under every tree, behind every stump, in every bush, and at every window on the plantation. He would sometimes mount his horse, as if bound to St. Michael's, a distance of seven miles, and in half an hour afterwards, you would see him coiled up in a corner of the wood-fence, watching every motion of the slaves. He would, for this purpose, leave his horse tied up in the woods..." (71)

Mr. Covey has come to find his self-expression as the servant of the social machine of the plantation. His actions go beyond the rational extraction of surplus-value. The extraction of work for work's sake, an extraction that he also operates on himself, becomes the driving passion, the hegemonic desire. The social field of work is invested with the desire that formerly supported the religious life. As work becomes theologized, becomes religion, religion becomes secularized. The rationality of production is displaced to religion as the enthusiasm of religion is now attached to work.

The religious ethic is replaced by the productive ethic, as in later times the revolutionary ethic was to be displaced by the productive ethic. Both displacements would call for the theory and praxis of a sustained

self-deception.

"Mr. Covey's forte consisted in his power to deceive. His life was devoted to planning and perpetuating the grossest deceptions. Everything he possessed in the shape of learning or religion, he made conform to his disposition to deceive. He seemed to think himself equal to deceiving the Almighty. He would make a short prayer in the morning, and a long prayer at night; and, strange as it may seem, few men would at times, appear more devotional than he." (712)

Douglas goes on to recount how Covey had "family devotions" in the mornings. Douglas was included in these devotions. It was his job to "raise the hymns" as Covey was "a poor singer himself."

Douglas would sometimes choose to refuse to sing. Covey could not compel him to since the fiction was that religion was a free choice. Covey would have to overlook this non-compliance, but would pray with "more than ordinary spirit."

But he does not compel Douglas' acquiescence. He has rationalized his religion to serve productive ends. Douglas' singing can be left unconstrained. Singing was neither functional nor dysfunctional to the productive end.

But work and the "generative belly" were essential. The economic motive displaced the religious motive. Mr. Covey saw no contradiction between the Christian prohibition of adultery and his "breeding" of potential slaves, his production of labour-power.

"...Mr. Covey was a poor man; he was just commencing his life. He was only able to buy one slave; and...he bought her, as he said, for a breeder. The woman...was a large, able-bodied woman, about twenty years old. She had already given birth to one child, which proved her to be just what he wanted. After buying her, he hired a married man of Mr. Samuel

Harrison to live with him one year; and him he used to fasten up with her every night...at the end of the year, the miserable woman gave birth to twins...Mr. Covey seemed to be highly pleased, both with the man and the wretched woman. Such was his joy , and that of his wife, that nothing they would do for Caroline during her confinement was too good, or too hard, to be done. The children were regarded as being quite an addition to his wealth." (713)

||Extra-marital generation had been rationalized into the context of production. Both slaves had fulfilled the prescribed rules of producing the means -- children -- by which more surplus-value, more labour-time could be accumulated. No material reward was too much for the slaves. They had been allowed whatever sexual pleasure that could have accrued to them, because in this case, sexual pleasure could itself be a good investment. Sexual desire was prescribed for the slaves, as long as that desire augmented Covey's wealth and status. [714]

It is not sexual desire -- as long as this desire finds its prescribed object among themselves -- but any desire that flows outside the permitted channels   that is prohibited to the slave, considered subversive. Nigger-breaking in the case of the slave was expressly designed to crush desire for any knowledge that did not serve the ends of the system. Slaves like free-wage labour were encouraged by a system of rewards and punishments, not to desire anything else but that which the system prescribed as necessary to its purpose. Douglas also gives us an insight into the way in which the plantation used consumption patterns as strategies of control.

At the same time, whilst Douglas reveals the manipulation of leisure by the slave owners, he also reveals his own internalization of the bourgeois work ethic. At the same time, however, it is this work ethic that provides a critique of the "managed consumption" of both corporate and state capitalism. Once again, it becomes clear that in the plantation system, the West could have seen the image of its own future -- that future which

as the Honeywell ad tells it -- is today.

As John Alt points out: "One of the great social and cultural transformations of the twentieth century is the historical shift from the primacy of labour to that of consumption -- the mediation of social relations and consciousness by consumer goods. This relatively recent phenomenon eclipses the class experience of wage-labour, and raises commodity-fetishism to a new form of domination...Given its centrality in the reproduction of the economy, the culture of daily existence, and political legitimation, consumerism has become the major form of domination and reification." (7/5)

As the plantation model shows, it was always an alternative strategy. Douglas writes:

"The days between Christmas and New Year's Day are allowed as holidays; and, accordingly, we were not required to perform any labour, more than to feed and take care of the stock. This time, we regarded as our own by the grace of our masters; and we therefore used or abused it nearly as we pleased...The staid, sober, thinking and industrious ones of our number would employ themselves in making corn-brooms, horse collars and baskets...But they for the larger part engaged in such sports and merriments as playing ball, wrestling, running foot races, fiddling, dancing, and drinking whiskey; and this latter mode of spending the time was by for the most agreeable to the feelings of our masters. A slave who would work during the holidays was considered by our masters as scarcely deserving of them. He was regarded as one who rejected the "favour"of his master. It was deemed a disgrace not to get drunk at Christmas..." (71b)

The inscription of master and slave, of that which divides them, is nowhere as clearly marked as in the representation of holidays as a "gift" of time which the master makes to the slave. The counter-gift expected from the slave is that he should use it in leisure activities

which prove exactly how he would behave -- if he were not driven by the master. For the slave to use this time to _freely_ work in his own account, means that he disrupts the code which separates him from the master. By freely working on his own account, he usurps the role allocated to the master; by moving outside the permitted activities of the system, he threatens its rationale. The paradox is that by freely working in his own account he too begins to internalize the work ethic of his master.

On the other hand, by giving way to the subversive desire of enjoyment, the slaves act as the vicarious substitutes for their masters' own suppressed enjoyment. The drunk slave, the merry-making slave, not only sustains the master's superiority, he provides vicarious enjoyment for the master, who can permit himself only the pleasures of the voyeur.

In a psycho-social sense, the explosion of the slaves helps to relieve the tension of hard mechanical work, and according to Douglas, helps to suppress the spirit of insurrections. Douglas very penetratingly argues that by shaping the way the slaves spend their leisure, the masters suggest to the slaves, a disfigured concept of freedom. (71) Yet, in spite of this, were the masters to abandon the practice of giving holidays, "I have not the slightest doubt it would lead to an immediate insurrection among the slaves. These holidays serve as conductors, or safety-valves, to carry off the rebellious spirit of enslaved humanity. But for these, the slave would be forced up to the wildest desparation; and woe betide the slaveholder, the day He ventures to remove or hinder the operation of those conductors." (72)

It would have been difficult for Douglas' later Christian middle class ideology to have suspected that the slaves' defense of his leisure time might have pointed to a defense of that other space which the slaves had created, a space in which the rationale of productivity was absent. Yet, the fact that this other space was incorporated within the plantation

rationale, encouraged and sustained by it, points to the double nature that we
see too in the contemporary dissemination of black music -- black music
as commercial anodyne, but with its Janus face of subversive desire.
It is this second face that wages the counter-cultural struggle against
the dominant order.

        ⌣ Yet, the power of its anodyne mask must also not be underestimated.
It is this mask that converts subversive desire into manipulated desire.

The plantation system reveals the ideology of the fulfillment
of consumer needs, with its postulate of independent "natural needs" on
the part of the consumer, and therefore, of his free choice, of his demand --which
then finds its   supply in the free market, central to the strategy
of control. For the so-called natural needs -- i.e., use values -- are
.   . · socially produced, by and through the nigger-breaking mechanisms which
punish the expression of certain "needs" and reward and promote the expression
of others. In the case of the slaves on the plantation, certain material
needs are encouraged, even to excess; other "needs", like the need to read, to
inform oneself about the world, and to communicate this information, are
blocked. We give the people what the people want.

The nigger-breaking that Douglas endures at the hands of Mr. Covey
is essentially an exercise that uses a rigorous method of physical exhaustion
to fulfill the process that the everyday methods have failed to accomplish --
to break Douglas into an acceptance and realization that his needs are to
be limited to those socially prescribed by the system. Douglas describes
the state of consciousness that Covey's breaking achieves:

"If at any one time of my life, more than another, I was made to
drink the bitterest dregs of slavery, that time was during the first six
months of my stay with Mr. Covey. We were worked in all weathers. It
was never too hot or too cold; it could never rain, blow, hail or snow, too
hard for us to work in the field. Work, work, work was scarcely more the

order of the day than of the night. The longest days were too short for him, and the shortest nights too long for him. I was somewhat unmanageable when I first went there, but a few months of this discipline tamed me." (719)

Douglas is domesticated by the work process itself, as today's proletariat is domesticated and tamed.

The mechanical work mechanizes the mind, actively encourages the torpor of the intellectual faculty. Stupidity, lack of intellectual curiousity, was as "produced" in the slave as it is "produced" in "free labour". Free time is reduced to a process of recuperation of the physical energy expended.

"Sunday was my only leisure time. I spent this in a sort of beast-like stupor, between sleep and wake, under some large tree. At times, I would rise up, a flash of energetic freedom would dart through my soul, accompanied with a faint beam of hope, that flickered for a moment, and then vanished. I sank down again, mourning over my wretched conditions. I was sometimes prompted to take my life and that of Mr. Covey but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear." (729)

The mechanical exhausting work rhythms had been accompanied by physical violence. His awkwardness as a field hand leads to several beatings:

"I had been at my new home but one week before Mr. Covey gave me a very severe whipping, cutting my back, causing the blood to run, and raising the ridges on my flesh as large as my little finger..."

Douglas, driving a team of unbroken oxen for the first time, had been unable to control the oxen. They smashed the cart, nearly killed Douglas, and destroyed a gate. Covey prepared three large switches and,

"...ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with my clothes on. He repeated his order. I still made him no answer, nor did I move to strip myself...Upon this, he rushed at me with the fierceness

of a tiger, tore off my clothes, and lashed me till he had worn out his switches,

cutting me so savagely as to leave the marks visible for a long time. This whipping

was the first of a number just like it..." (721)

The showdown came when Douglas was already partly broken. Together

with the other slaves, he was engaged in an assembly line chore, fanning wheat:

"Hughes was clearing the fanned wheat from before the fan,

Eli was turning, Smith was feeding, and I was carrying wheat to the farm."

, The work required strength -- Douglas was unused to it. He begins to

collapse -- it was one of the hottest days in August -- but he staggers

to carry on,

"...I nerved myself up, feeling it would never do to stop work...

When I could stand it no longer, I fell and felt as if held down by an immense

weight. The fan of course stopped; everyone had his own work to do; and

no one could do the work of the other and have his own go on at the same

time." (722)

Covey comes out, and kicks and beats Douglas to get up. The

latter tries to but can't. A large wound has been opened on his forehead.

When he can, he goes to his master -- who had hired him to Covey -- to complain,

but the latter sends him back. On the way, he meets Sandy Jenkins, who takes

him home with him. He gives Douglas a certain root which he digs up from a part

of the forest, telling him to wear it on his right side, and so reverse the

power of any white man who tried to whip him.

Douglas' Christian ambivalence in feeling about the root comes through.

His Christian Abolitionist audience would have been shocked had he not disclaimed

belief in the root's powers. In addition, as it was clear that he did not, in the context of its representation syst

like Jenkins, move in the counter-world of the underlife, its beliefs could

not have a material force for him. The Christian symbolization would later

take the place of the roots' symbolization for Jenkins. Nevertheless, the

"root" introduces a new element, strengthened by Sandy Jenkins' solidarity.

  "I at first rejected the idea that the simple carrying of a root in my pocket would have any such effect as he had said, and was not disposed to take it...To please him, I at length took the root, and, according to his direction, carried it upon my right side." (713)

  He returns home on Sunday morning, Covey speaks to him loudly and leaves him alone until Monday morning.

  "On this morning, the virtue of the root was fully tested." 4

  He is told to take care of the horses. Mr. Covey comes in and attempts to tie his legs with a rope.

  "As soon as I found what he was up to, I gave a sudden spring, and as I did so, he holding to my legs, I was brought sprawling on to the stable floor. Mr. Covey seemed now to think he had me, and could do what he pleased; but at this moment -- from whence came the spirit I don't know -- I resolved to fight; and, suiting my action to the resolution, I seized Covey hard by the throat; and as I did so, I rose. He held on to me, and I to him. My resistance was so entirely unexpected, that Covey seemed taken all aback. He trembled like a leaf. This gave me assurance, and I held him uneasy, causing the blood to run where I touched him with my fingers." (725)

  Covey is compelled to call for help to one of the other slaves, but Douglas kicks the slave and hurts him badly. The other slave -- who is a hired slave, refuses to help Covey. Douglas and Covey fight for two hours. Covey saves face by saying that had Douglas not resisted, he would not have whipped him so much.

  "The truth was that he had not whipped me at all...This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning point in my career as a slave. It rekindled the few expiring embers of freedom and revived within me a sense of my own manhood. It recalled the departed self-confidence, and inspired me

again with a determination to be free. The gratification afforded by the

triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even

death itself. He only can understand the deep satisfaction which I exper-

ienced who has himself repelled by force the bloody arm of slavery. I

felt as I never felt before. It was a glorious resurrection from the tomb

of slavery to the heaven of freedom." (14)

The battle marks Douglas' counter-inscription of the self,

his counter-coding of identity:

"My long-crushed spirit rose, cowardice departed, bold defiance

took its place, and I now resolved that however long I might remain a

slave in form, the day had forever passed when I could be a slave in fact." (127)

Douglas, in the four years after that he was a slave, although

he had fights with those in charge, was never whipped again. His reputation

as a "bad" nigger put an end to that.

"I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man

who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me."

_ (728

The question of identity and reputation affects Mr. Covey, too.

He could have had Douglas publicly whipped "for the crime of raising my

hand against a white man in defense of myself." (724

He did not do this. For Mr. Covey's identity was dual -- as

a white man, he would have sent Douglas at once to be whipped. The inability

of the black to legally defend himself constituted Mr. Covey as "white". But

Mr. Covey had another identity -- that of expert nigger-breaker. Douglas

conjectures that in this case, the preservation of the second identity became

paramount -- his identity as "expert".

"Mr. Covey enjoyed the most unbounded reputation for being a

first-rate overseer and negro-breaker. It was of considerable importance

to him. That reputation was at stake; and had he sent me -- a boy about

sixteen years old -- to the public whipping post, his reputation would have been lost; so, to save his reputation, he suffered me to go unpunished."

(130)

The nigger-breaking by Mr. Covey of Douglas had been a sustained act of symbolic violence -- we would call this brainwashing today, proving how much the plantation model has been diffused out into the larger society -- and this symbolic violence was central to the psychic inscription that the system of production needs. It needs, above all, the constant reproduction of relative relations that can fix the coefficients of social exchange between the multiple groups that constitute its reality. In and through his nigger-breaking, Mr. Covey not only fixes the slave's role, and the non-elite value of his labour and of his being, he fixes the relative value of his own labour and ⌃social being, vis a vis Douglas, on the one hand, and the planters on the other. In his nigger-breaking, he constitutes the zero reference point of the social code, and puts the structural law of value into play. The symbolic violence attached to the nigger-breaking is the model of the violence of other variants of societal mechanisms which work to inscribe and enclose each particular group into the prescribed roles that the overall system needs in order to reproduce its relative heirarchies. Its hegemony rests on these shifting heirarchies which "freely" constitute themselves through the structural law of value. Racism and certain forms of nationalism, as well as middle-class consciousness, are the psycho-social expressions of the structuration of relative heirarchies.

Hence, the duality of the victim/exploiter syndrome. Each continually accepts his relative role of victim in exchange for his relative role of exploiter. This is the central social exchange of capitalism.

When Douglas seizes Mr. Covey by the throat and uses physical counter-violence to put a stop to the institutionalized symbolic violence, which inscribes him as "negro", what he does is to redefine the relationship between Mr. Covey and himself, the coefficients of the social exchange.

Discussing the relations of value, Marx has an illuminating note:

"Such expressions of relations in general, called by Hegel reflex categories form a very curious case. For instance, one man is a king, only because other men stand in the relation of subject to him. They, on the contrary, imagine they are subjects because he is king." (731)

The Hegelian master model is shown here to be not one master, but a series of masters or rather, a master-series. Mr. Covey's relative experience of mastery over Douglas and his slaves is exchanged for the experience of the slave vis a vis the planters. But whiteness is coded as absolute value in relation to the slaves. Mr. Covey participates in equal whiteness with the planters. This means that Mr. Covey will defend white supremacy even more vigorously than the planters since this is the category through which he realizes his equality. It is this experience of both mastery and equality that Douglas challenges, in his physical attack on Covey. He challenges the central code of the system, when he no longer thinks of himself as a slave. His actions, later, to escape both from the South and from being inscribed and enclosed in the being of either slave or "working class" are the logical results of his transformation in identity, of self-perception and of based on the experience of the transformation of a relation.

That Mr. Covey does not touch him after that and treats him with caution is related to the fact that it is important that the fixed coefficient of relations be not seen to have changed. By keeping quiet, no one would know that the social coefficients had been challenged.

By not putting Douglas to the test again, he could preserve the law of

value <u>outwardly</u> intact. With Pease and Reynolds, too, in their interaction

with Wright, what they want is public recognition of his acknowledgement

of his inferior place so that their superior place can be confirmed. It

is the act of social exchange, the subservience on the part of the <u>Negro</u>,

that constitutes the empirical fact of their white mastery. Sambo is the

inscribed lower value of being that actualizes the relatively higher value

of white being. As is the "subject" to the King, so is the "negro" to

the white.

The negrofication of the black, the femalization of the woman, the

proletarianization of workers, are therefore central strategies of inscription

of the /order *Social* necessary to the culture of production. The social order

depends above all on fixed coefficients of exchange. Here, we may see that

the profits of the bourgeoisie are above all the expression of the relatively

higher value that he inscribes On his "labour" of organizing production,

keeping the books, organizing conditions for the realization of surplus

value. The bourgeois is above all the inscriber of value, through his

control of the society's hegemonic code. Profits are the tribute, the relatively

massive value of his labour time, of his life. The property he accumulates is

the index of his relative value, as the highest bureaucratic post in the

Party *is also* the index of his relatively higher value. The nigger-breaking model

reveals that as Baudrillard argues, bourgeois domination is based primarily

on its control of the means of inscription, which apportions and sustains

relative values of *varieties of* labour-power and of *social* being. The secret of bourgeois domina-

tion is therefore to be located in its monopoly and control of the conceptual/

cultural apparatus, or the means of communication and production which

together constitute the means of socialization. In successfully challenging

Mr. Covey, Douglas challenges and defeats the *determinism of* the socialization process,

the central code of the system.

In his later version of his life, Douglas was to be more explicit about the role of Sandy Jenkins and about his counter-system of belief, his counter-signification system. The counter-symbolization of the "root" "worked" for Douglas to the extent that wearing it, he finds the access of resolve to successfully challenge Mr. Covey, if only through the suspicion that the code of the dominant order was not as monolithic as it seemed. In deconstructing Mr. Covey's symbolized "natural superiority" he deconstructed the symbolization -- which he himself had came to internalize during the nigger-breaking process, of his own "natural" inferiority.

The "underlife" from which the symbol of the "root" emerged, sustained a counter-culture which expressed itself through a counter-symbolization to the symbolization/inscription of the dominant code. The black revolt, Baudrillard argues, is the most radical of all revolts since it aims at the code. (732) The nigger-breaking model reveals that the mode of domination based on the accumulation of capital -- whether in corporate property or State property form -- depends primarily on the inscriptions carried out by the socialization mechanisms.

This monograph sees the black "underlife" culture as a form of sustained resistance to the dominant code, sees the rebellious movements from Myal to Marley, from Nat Turner to Garvey to Martin Luther King to Malcolm X, as attempts to put into play a counter-violence, symbolic or actual, to the institutionalized violence of the hegemonic system. Attempts not only to seize Mr. Covey by the throat, but to delegitimate the code that sanctifies the symbolic order of the system which enslaves and dominates the Mr. Coveys as much as they dominate and enslave the slaves. For the slaves, in order to free themselves, must imperatively also set in train the self-liberation of Covey. [733]

Black culture in its innumerable transformations from the symbolic power of Sandy's roots, to the symbolic power of Garveyism of the Montgomery

Bus Boycott, of Black is Beautiful, of Black power, the Black Panthers, the

Black Muslims has functioned to counteract the dominant symbolization

of the system, in order to sustain and defend the basic right that, negated

In the long black agony, now becomes its vital creed. Labour time is <u>not</u>

a man's lifetime. Man's vital demand is the demand to participate in

the constitution of a sense of self-worth by and through his creative

action upon the world. It is not true, insists Cesaire, that the task of

man is finished.[73] The task of the twenty-first century is a task for which

the social imperative of black culture -- the neo-native culture of the U.S.A. is

Supremely fitted — the task of inventing a social order

based on reciprocal recognition, on the reciprocal conferring of human value. [35]

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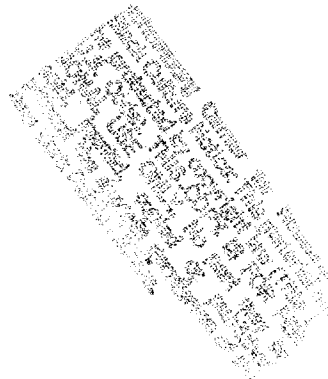
THE FACTORY MODEL/THE NIGGERBREAKING MODEL AND THE AMERICAN (U.S.A.)
EXPERIENCE.

"It took me about eight years to finally decide that the Communists had no program for the American blacks. The Communist influence on Negro writers was retarding and stifling. Communist social theory left no room for the critical Negro theorists to deal with Marxist inadequacies on the fact of Negro existence which were many and glaring. I was forced to quit the Left in order to reorient myself on my own reality in America, which for me is an indictment of the Communist Party for its grave mishandling of the Negro question in this country. This is not to say that I did not profit from my exposure to Marxism." HAROLD CRUSE (36)
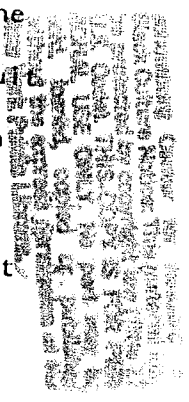
"There is a strong and broad American radical tradition older than Marxism; subjugated men and women have often raised the cry for justice in the United States. Wishing to break the yoke of the ruling class, the white race, or the male sex, Americans have joined movements aimed at completing the unfinished revolution of 1776...It is indeed not finished from the standpoint cf the principal egalitarian movements. There have been four of these: the labour movement -- made up of unions, cooperatives and worker's parties -- and the farmer's, women's, and Negro movements...These movements are literally, inescapably, movements of insubordination." DAVID HERRESHOFF (37)

"The two regions may share much the same culture and language, but they have different versions of it, the center defining its own culture and dialect as "high" and the periphery's as "low"...Peasants in Russia were often seen by the Center as unenlightened, backward, suspicious of outsiders and of constituted authority, unruly, undisciplined and anarchic. This was a contempt which the Bolsheviks shared and expressed by characterizing peasant as petty bourgeois, individualistic, narrow, venal,

property-obsessed, much as Marx himself had earlier condemned "rural idiocy." ALVIN GOULDNER (738

David Herreshoff's discussion of the origins of American Marxism, and his insistence on the plurality of radical social movements in the United States, gives us insights into what I see as a theoretical conflict between the Marxist paradigm based on the factory model of exploitation, and the nigger-breaking paradigm which extends the factory model into what can be called the social life-world. The latter model does not have to make a split between the economic and the social forms of exploitation, thereby having to have recourse to the concept of alienation, to explain other aspects.

Earlier in this monograph, I had used the Marxian concept of alienation in relation to the position of the slave -- newly-arrived from Africa, on the plantation. The use of the concept of alienation seemed to fit in even more aptly and precisely with the slave experience than it does with that of free labour, if one accepts the central factor of exploitation as the quantitative spoliation of labour. Later on, I suggested that this alienation of the slave was directly produced by the socializing mechanism which, in seasoning and in nigger-breaking the black, effected his interior colonization. It is this colonization of desire, by and through the introjection of the society's dominant code, that, we argue, produces alienation: in other words, that psychologically, intellectually and culturally colonizes not only the slave, but free wage labour as well. The paradigm of this process of cultural colonization -- of _alienation_ -- is the nigger-breaking process.

Walton and Gamble trace the relation in Marx between his theories of alienation and his theories of the extraction of surplus value. They argue that it is only in capitalism that:

"labour for the first time becomes a commodity; its consumption by the capitalists is the creation and reproduction of capital. For the first time, private property depends on the continual alienation of labour, on the sale by the worker of his labour power. This sale is the means by which the productivity of labour is developed, and the domination of labour over Nature finally established. But at the same time, it is the universal alienation of man, because it is the life activity of man that is alienated and not merely the means of labour. The mode of extracting surplus labour becomes economic in character, because it is rooted in the conditions of the labour process itself, and not in the personal bondage that the feudal lords exercise over the labourers." (739)

The insights are cancelled out by the oversights, by the fact that the factory-model of exploitation, which reveals the quantitative extraction of surplus-value under the guise of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, but which is only a part of the process, is made the paradigm of the whole. Thus, the "sale" of labour-power, which is only one form of the inscription of labour as a commodity, is made into the determinant instance. The logic of this will be that revolutionary theory from the perspective of the technocratic state-bourgeoisie can be constituted as a mere inversion -- the "sale" of labour-power will be stopped. But the more radical hypothesis -- that it is the inscription of labour as a commodity, whether this "labour" is sold by its bearer -- free wage labour -- or is sold by others who "own" this labour -- labour is its slave form -- or is not apparently even sold at all -- household labour, labour in its female domestic form, labour in its cash crop or farmer's form, is overseen by the factory model of exploitation.

David Herreschoff's analysis of the plural form of insubordination in American history points to the existence of plural forms of exploitation. Herreschoff's insight that all these radical indigenous movements aimed at insubordination are important for the thesis that we have tried

to develop. It is clear that these movements of insubordination were directed above all else towards actions that could move them out of their assigned places and roles in the social order, that could disrupt the code, scramble the inscription.

As Herreshoff argues, it is the "persistance of subordination" in different forms, that "keeps their protest alive." Thus, while:

"White supremacy exists, the Negro freedom movement will not die. Feminism and the farmer and labor movements, in one form or another, will rise and fall again, to rise again, while male supremacy, rural poverty, and the alienation of labour continue to outrage their objects." (740)

The nigger-breaking model which reveals capitalism as a mode of domination can be used to explain the different forms of subordination -- including the form of subordination that is implied in the quantitative extraction of surplus value revealed by the factory model of exploitation.

What the plantation paradigm makes clear is that it is not only labour that is inscribed as a commodity -- the buying and selling of the slave as a pieza is the power model of this inscription -- but that it is all life-activity that is inscribed as labour which is then inscribed as a productive commodity.

Thus, the reproductive labour of the woman slave of Mr. Covey and the generative labour of the male slave whom he hires are, within the form of rationality that is central to the culture of production, logically inscribed as commodities for the production of producers of surplus value in the form of children. It is Mr. Covey who is logical in his delight, and Frederick Douglas whose Christian and black outrage is illogical within the dominant form of rationality central to the system. As sexuality had been coded as serving a generative function in the African culture of origin, so the black generative belly is coded as serving a purely productive function in the culture of production.

Mr. Covey's consciousness is "reified" only to the extent that he acts logically within the context of the prevailing form of rationality. For his life activity within the dominant conceptualization is inscribed as that of producer of surplus-value. His intense self-driving and his driving of others is intended to constitute him as a subject-producer. The accumulation of wealth will enable him, not to enjoy its fruits, but to produce even more surplus-value.

This woman-slave is inscribed as the producer of labour-power. Because of this, the ethics of productive activity overshadow the Christian ethics of marriage -- of not committing adultery. The male slave is married, but what matters is his stud capacity -- as what matters with the woman slave is her "breeding" capacity. As Mr. Covey will be rewarded with wealth as the sign of his fulfilling the role of producer of surplus value, so the men and woman slave are rewarded for their production of labour-power, who can in 'im produce more surplus-value for Mr. Covey. Also, by reducing blacks to mere producers of labour power, in refusing to admit them to Christian morality, to Christian being, Mr. Covey at the same time inscribes a relative white Christian superiority to a black inferiority. (741)
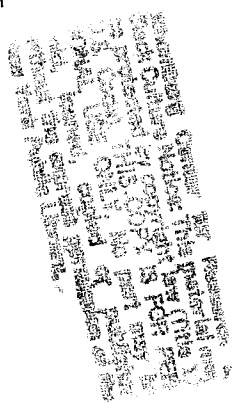
But the system at this time needed the schizoid split in Covey's consciousness -- a split between the excessive moralism where he and his family were concerned -- his sexual repression acting as the enabler of his suppression of alternative desires -- and the "morality" of productive ethics. It is this contradiction that Douglas notes when he argues that Christian slaveowners were the worst slaveowners. (742)

Mr. Covey would, after slavery, become the type of farmer that would consistently see himself despoiled by the terms of exchange under which he sold his goods on the "free market." Inscribed as a small independent farmer, he would find his product retrospectively inscribed as of lower-value, his labour-time retrospectively determined as a labour time of inferior

value to the labour time embodied on the other products which he must buy in order to continue his role as producer. He would have been an activist in the farmer's movements.

The man-slave, after emancipation, would have become "Negro" labour, on the free market. Inscribed as such, he would have found his labour time inscribed as the lowest possible value on the Free Market, during the same process of exchange which determined the different valuations of different modes of labour. Rather than an abstract unit of labour which expressed an equal value for all abstract labour time, there was a Normative Unit of labour and a Non-Norm-zero reference point. As Long's table reveals, it is intellectual labour -- those who are responsible for the conception and organization of the project, that establishes a norm of labour.

Non-intellectual labour, i.e., the proletariat, establishes its own normative series. In the American experience these norms centered about the possession or the non-possession of skills -- the craft unions versus the industrial unions -- and of whiteness -- white versus black. Hence, the struggles in the labour movement between the craft unions and the industrial unions, and the sustained exclusion of blacks from the white unions, which lead to the black struggle as a separate struggle.

Mr. Covey's daughters and the freed daughters of the women generative slave-breeder would have found themselves inscribed as the producers of labour power to provide "white" and Negro workers for "white" and Negro jobs. They would have been unpaid for this essential production, and in addition, if they remained at home as wives, unpaid for the household chores which they performed in order to maintain their husbands psychically and physically, for their productive role in the factory.

The black women, due to the insecure nature of jobs offered to their men, would have entered the work force early. As domestic help,

they would have served as the lowest-paid help, inscribed as the most

negative of negative reference points. The white female descendants

of Mr. Covey would have found themselves in the most menial of white jobs compared

to their brothers -- each would have been fitted into her respective place

in the heirarchy.

The different forms of revolt against subordination, are the expression

of the different forms of exploitation. Yet, the distinction between the

different forms cannot be dissolved, they cannot be altogether equated as

Herreshoff seems to do. There is heirarchy even here. And structural

divisions.

Herreschoff points to the fact that the four social radical movements

have never been able to work together, and argues:

"Egalitarian movements, to their own undoing, tend to be self-

centered. Seldom in good rapport with one another, they frequently begrudge

one another's right to exist. The Labour radical who is anti-Negro, the

abolitionist or the Negro leader who is pro-capitalist, the feminist who

is for open shop, and the agrarian who is against women's rights, are

C743

recurring figures in American history." He then points to the consequences of

this division, a division which we hope to show is structural.

"The movements therefore find it difficult to make alliances among

themselves, and much of the momentum of social discontent is dissipated by

their rivalries. If two or more of them make a common cause they would likely

be a shaping force in American politics. On a large scale, this has

never happened. If it did, the United States would no longer be the

exceptionally stable, conservative society it continues to be." *(744)*

Whilst the nigger-breaking model can give insight into the root

causes for the inability of these four forms of revolt to form an alliance,

the factory model of exploitation helped to prolong the disunity between

these groups, by and through its theoretical privileging of the wage labour form of exploitation, its "production" of the wage labour form of exploitation as somehow more "real". It does this by a pars pro tota strategy, by its autonomization of the economic, its production of the economic as the sole reality principle.

Thus, the privileging of the labour struggle has lead to the marginalization of other areas of struggle. The single concept of quantitative exploitation in the factory has been imposed on all other areas of social reality, of social exploitation. Even where Marx himself was to suggest a far more comprehensive setting for the factory model, his disciples have narrowed it down, going as far, as in the Althusserian reading, to cutting away the concept of alienation with which Marx had placed economic exploitation in the wider context of social exploitation. Baudrillard makes a comparison between the pretended autonomy of the scholarly system which is then all the more able to produce a class structure at the core of its functioning, and the pretended autonomy of the economic, or political economy. It is this pretended autonomy which permits the mode of domination of capital to present political economy as its alibi.

The anatomy of the concepts of "development" and "growth" will someday be performed, and their theological component dissected. No myth, since the myth of the possible accumulation of good works and faith as the religious machinery for the eventual salvation of souls has been as effective as these two. More crimes have been committed in the names of development and growth than were ever carried out by Inquisitions in their concern for the purity of faith. At least they burnt their bodies openly and openly declared their actions to be taken in the name of religion. Political economy in our times has been produced as the reality principle of our society and as Baudrillard points out, words like profit, surplus value, class struggle, have been strung together to form a discourse of reference. This discourse of

reference now serves both as the legitimation of the new totalitarian tech-

nocratic classes in the state-capitalisms of the Third World, and as a

critique of corporate monopoly capitalism which serves the system as stimulus

and feed-back; and finally, also legitimates it. (74/5)

For this discourse of reference concealed as much as it revealed.
All areas of social reality which could not be explained by and through one of
the legitimating terms was marginalized and excluded. Thus, the insights
that the plantation experience could provide for the revolutionary struggle
for change on the American continent were suppressed. Equally, the in-
sights that could be gained from the farmer's movements and the women's
movements were marginalized.

Yet, the central insight of all these movements is that capitalism
functions as a mode of domination in which the experience both of dominater
and of dominated is generalized; in which the large majority of people
are both the exploiter and the victims.

Thus, in the labour struggle, the capitalists, the property-owning
classes are the clear exploiters and beneficiaries. The power of Marxian
analysis was based on the way in which it stripped away the fiction of equivalence,
revealing the reality of exploitation. If the concept of alienation is con-
joined to the quantitative model of exploitation, then it becomes clear
that all those who are inscribed as owning only their own labour capacity --
as distinct from the stored-up dead labour of others embodied in capital and
in machinery are continually compelled to pay the tribute of their own labour to those who own
capital.

For the act of exchange that takes place in the factory is
essentially an act which values the labour-time of the worker in relation
to the relative value of the dead labour accumulated in the machinery, in
the raw material, and in relation to the other forms of labour power

required to set the entire productive operation in motion. But to accept the relative valuation of his labour power, the worker must have been socialized into accepting the form of rationality that legitimates the act of exchange as a "fair exchange."

Labour struggles between labour -- the "owners" of their labour capacity and capitalists -- the owners of their own labour-capacity plus accumulated labour-time, expressed in constant capital -- were therefore social struggles over exactly what constituted a fair exchange. How was the unit of abstract labour to be valued?

As we saw in the Ounces Trade, the first requirement was that the rate of profit to be realized in the act of exchange should be regularized. Once the rate of profit is established, then the valuation of the unit of abstract labour is itself fixed in relation to the rate of profit. But the unit of abstract labour has to be produced and reproduced. The "historical" basket of goods needed to produce and reproduce the objects of exchange then constitutes another determinant. How is the historical basket of goods determined? It is here that labour struggles play their central role, not only as the mechanism by which the historical basket of goods is enlarged, but the mechanism by which the labour movement opposes a labour rationale to the capitalist rationale of the owner. The labour movement struggled to revindicate a larger historical basket of goods for the working classes. Craft and later industrial unions were the expressions of this struggle. But whereas in Europe, where there was a homogenous working class, the historical basket of goods could be roughly equal for all male workers -- the female worker remaining as the zero reference point from which the male took his relatively higher value, in the United States Negro labour functioned as this zero-reference point.

Black labour power was to be exploited not only functionally as

was free-wage labour. Rather, he was the negative term over against which the value of white labour power, of the white historical basket of goods could both be determined, and take its SYMBOLIC VALUE.

In a recent article in The Black Scholar, William Sales, Jr. argues that:

"Historically, the heterogeneity of the working class racially and culturally in the United States has resulted in no single concept of the subsistence wage, but several subsistence wages depending on the position of different racial and cultural groups in the status heirarchy of the country." (248) This is an important insight. But by imposing the factory model of exploitation, Sales oversees a central aspect: the mode of domination -- whether in its private/corporate property form or in its state property form -- is sustained.

Thus, the long and sustained agony of the black experience in the U.S. is rationally explained in this interpretation -- as in my own interpretation in the earlier stages of the monograph -- as a mere mechanism for the cheapening of labour power. As Sales writes,

"Another method by which the value of labour power is cheapened is through the super-exploitation of a portion of the labour force. This is based not on reducing the labour force to a homogenous mass. Marx noted that there enters into the determination of the value of labour power 'a historical and moral element' based on the fact that the workers' necessary wants, themselves and the means of satisfying them, are a product of historical development. This 'historical and moral element' refers specifically to the 'habits and degree of comfort' associated with the formation of the working class.'" (242)

This explanation links with the concept we have already discussed of the double action of the homogenization of labour power and its differen-tiation/heirarchization. The difference here lies in that, whilst Sales

explains this as a "natural" distinction which is then exploited, we argue that a constant relative difference is produced by different social, political and economic mechanisms, between the several forms of labour power, core periphery, semi-periphery, factory and household, skilled/unskilled, intellectual/manual. This "difference" is represented as "naturally" ordained, by the cultural signification system which is then imposed on the society by and through the control of the means of the communication, of socialization.

Thus, a Sepúlveda takes hold of the cultural differences between the Spaniard and the Indian, and represents these differences within the context of the new relations of power that have been established. As the new relations of power   - produce concrete differences, these differences are legitimated as naturally ordained, as due to Indian inferiority, its cultural lack in relation to the Spanish culture and being. A structural law of value is thereby constituted between the positive term, Spaniard, and the negative term, Indian. It is this structural law of value which then determines and legitimates the mode of social relations. Long does the same for the black. The femalization of the woman is also the parallel of the negrofication of the black. The expression of this structural law of value can be seen in the ounces trade. The ounces trade would not only extract surplus value, materially, it would inscribe, during each act of exchange, the black (female/unskilled, manual) labour power as inferior and white (skilled/male, intellectual) labour power as superior. The constitution of the West as norm and of the non-west as non-norm was both the condition of possibility and the effect of the new relationships. Racism, cultural racism, sexism, urbanism, were the expressions of the new social inscriptions. Hence, the centrality of the

expressions: "Keep the nigger in his place"; "A woman's place is in the home"; and the rigid binary opposition in the colonial experience of the settler and the native town as described by Faron. Hence, the logic of Jim Crow, of Apartheid, of the ghettoes.

The urban/rural split, and the internal colonialism of which Latin American writers have written, in which all urban dwellers, including the proletariat, reap benefits from the exploitation occasioned by the unequal exchange between town and country is another conjoined form of the inscription of the structural law of value. It is this structural law of value which underlies the "colonialized relationships , central to the culture of production." (748)

Alvin Gouldner analyses the special form of internal colonialism which developed in Stalinist Russia -- a form of internal colonialism central to all forms of state capitalism. He stresses the influence on the development of this form of internal colonialism, not of Marxist theory in general, but of the special reading of Marxism to which the Bolsheviks were -prone.

It is this special "reading" which then comes to constitute the ruling ideology of the technocratic bourgeoisie, that I have labelled the factory model of exploitation.

Gouldner begins his analysis with a quote from the Communist Manifesto:

"But whatever form they have taken, one fact is common to all ages, viz, the exploitation of one part of society by the other." (Fld)

He then goes on to define Stalinism as "a systematic regime of terror aimed at...bringing about a property transfer, where private property (used for productive purposes) is supplanted by state property." (750

The regime of terror aimed at "the collectivization of property where the surrogate of the collective group to whom the property is transferred

Is the state." (751)

This regime of terror, a crash terror, effected the kind of
property transfer that U.S. settler extermination of the American Indians
effected in their "conquest of the West." In the Soviet Union, the
bulk of the New Indians were to be the Soviet peasants, although the
dispossessed would include members of all classes.

The Soviet Union's collectivization of agriculture, expressed
in modern times the U.S.A. transfer of property, : land from the Indians
and the transfer of labor capacity from Africans -- the Negro slaves.
As Gouldner writes:

"Between 1929, the year when the forced collectivization of Soviet
agriculture began, and 1939, a year after the last Moscow Purge Trial, about
twenty-million Soviet Citizens were killed. They were shot or died of
famine, disease or exposure directly resulting from the primitive actions
of the Soviet government." (752).

What was effected in the collectivization of agriculture was a
massive expropriation and redistribution of social power. It was this
exercise that laid the basis for the accelerated development of Soviet society
over the last fifty years.

Above all, it was a repeal in a new form, of the parallel "expropria-
tion and redistribution of social power" that had begun in the West with
the discovery of the New World.

Whilst the core property-bourgeoisie of the West was able to
lay the conditions of their development by the initial despoliation of other
peoples, by the expropriation of their land and labour, only thereafter
submitting their own people to the large-scale horrors of industrial colonization,
the new bourgeoisie of the periphery has had to lay the basis of their
own development by the rigorous exploitation of elements of their own
society.

Thus, the "peasant" was scheduled to become the marked excluded term; the "nigger" of the Soviet system. The Gulag archipelagos replaced the plantation archipelagos. The inscription between exploiter and exploited replaced "white"/"Negro" with "proletariat"/"kulak".

As Gouldner points out, according to the census of 1897, there were some 100 million peasants to 2.5 million industrial workers, and one million bureaucrats in pre-revolutionary Russia.

As Gouldner then comments:

"...when the C.P.S.U. seized state power, it could only have been the rule of a tiny isolated elite, a "substitute" proletariat, dedicated ideologically to a real but slim proletariat in a society overwhelmingly peasant." [753] The concept of proletariat was to be constituted as a Normative category, as the Single Norm. The "peasant" was to be constituted as its "lack".

The parallels with the constitution in the United States of the white/black categories are obvious.

The constitution of the Norm as proletariat was carried out by forms of political representation and non-representation as the United States. Gouldner quotes Preobrazhensy and Bukharin in The A.B.C. of Communism:

"The electoral arrangements of the Congress of Soviets are of such a nature, that proportionately, the urban workers have more delegates than the peasants...These constitutionally specified privileges merely give expression to what actually exists, namely, that the solidly organized urban proletariat leads the disorganized rural masses." (754)

What is being legitimated is the principle of organization. What was being legitimated in Edward Long's table was the principle of the intellectual faculty, i.e., of intellectual labour, the labour that

constitutes the bourgeoisie as the hegemonic class. Whilst the private intellect of an Edward Long responded to the legitimation of the private property bourgeoisie, the "collective intellect" expressed in organizing ability, legitimates the State-bourgeoisie who alone can effect the bourgeois revolution in the non-core countries of the world, even where they do so under an anti-capitalist label.

As Gouldner points out, if the hegemony of the proletariat was at all times insisted upon, the proletariat "was to be 'led' by 'its' vanguard, the C.P.S.U. itself." (755) Equally, if the hegemony of the "white" was insisted upon, those whites were always to be lead by its "vanguard", the white property-bourgeoisie.

But in the Soviet Union, as far as the majority of the rural masses were concerned, they were to be the new natives of the system of internal colonialism:

"What had been brought into being was an urban-centered power elite that had set out to dominate a largely rural society, to which they related as an alien colonial power; it was an internal colonialism mobilizing its state power against colonial tributaries in rural territories.

Here, internal colonialism refers to the use of state power by one section of society (the Control Center) to impose unfavorable rates of exchange on another part of the same society (e.g., the Subordinate Remotes), each being ecologically differentiated from the other. The control center governs by using the state to impose unequal exchange through decisions governing capital allocations investments, prices and price controls...tax exemptions and deductions, credit, loans, labour drafts, military conscription, rates of interest, wages, tariffs, custom duties, access to education, passports and visas, and electoral representation. Where these routine mechanisms fail, the control center uses force and violence against the remote subordinates." (756)

I have underlined some of the mechanisms which were used to con-
stitute the black as the marked excluded term, and the whites as the
hegemonic term. Under property-capitalism, the distribution of jobs came
to be another mechanism by which white workers were constituted as a privileged
category vis a vis the blacks. The "Kulakization" of the peasant in
Soviet ideology corresponds to the negrofication of the black in American
and Western ideology. The consequent legitimation of the white and the
proletariat as privileged categories then leads to the constitution of
a mass aristocracy, a mass-settler class who comes to see themselves as
a superior, an elite group. Hence, the prisoners, escaping from the Gulag,
like the slaves escaping from the plantation, would meet short shrift
from the surrounding majority. (757) This majority had been socialized into
accepting the dominant rationality, and therefore, to see the prisoners and
the slaves as the very negation of their normative being.

Rather than the "revolutionary people", the escaping slaves and
the Gulag zeks would have to depend for help on people whose religious
or political beliefs had allowed them to somewhat escape the ideological
rationality of the system -- to counterpose another form of rationality
to that of the system's.

Yet, as the magnificent history of labour struggles show, it is
not that the people are not revolutionary, but rather, that they are
constituted dually. Confronting their exploiters, they are revolutionary;
confronting their own exploited, they are the exploiters. Once the
"people" are represented as the Norm, they are the exploiters of the non-Norm.

Herreshoff's equation of the four radical movements in the United
States, oversees an important distinction: Black subordination, differently
from the others, was the most intense in degree, the most generalized.
All American whites were and are socialized to take part in the national endeavor

of keeping the nigger in his place. In the context of the symbolic order

of the United States, it is this keeping of the nigger in his place that

keeps the entire order stable between the contradictory impulses of heirarchy

and of egalitarianism. The "Negro" -- like the "Kulak" in Russia --

would serve as the zero reference point of systems whose heirarchies are

constituted indirectly by a structural law of value. Whilst there is an

equal measurement of labour-time, there are different values accorded to

different labour-times. Since labour-time is life, there are differently,

and unequally, valued lives. In the U.S.S.R., value is related to "pro-

letarian origin" -- limpieza of birth and political orthodoxy. In the

United States, value is accorded to whiteness, non-value to blackness of skin.

Racism -- the orthodoxy of skin -- and political purity -- orthodoxy of

birth and belief -- are variants of the same mechanism of inscription.

In both systems, all other divisions take their point of origin from the

central division into Norm and non-Norm. What both legitimates and makes

it possible is the constituting series of Norms and non-Norms.

Irving Goffman's portrait of the Normative American makes this

clear:

"...while some of these norms, such as sightedness and literacy, may

be commonly sustained with complete adequacy by most persons in the society,

there are other norms, such as those associated with physical comeliness,

which take the form of ideals and constitute standards against which

almost everyone falls short at some stage in his life. And even where

widely attained norms are involved, their multiciplicity has the effect

of disqualifying many persons. For example, in an important sense, there

is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white,

urban, northern heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully

employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in

sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this

perspective, this constituting one sense in which one can speak of a common value system in America. Any male who fails to qualify in any of these ways is likely to view himself -- during moments at least -- as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior; at times he is likely to pass and at times he is likely to find himself being apologetic or aggressive concerning known-about aspects of himself he knows are probably seen as undesirable. The general identity-values of a society may be fully entrenched nowhere, and yet they can cast some kind of shadow on the encounters encountered everywhere in daily living." (128)

The complexity of this model, its institutionalization of a series of variables which constitute the axiomatic, extends Edward Long's original table. Whilst the central polarization still remains, that of the Pure White to the purest non-white, the purest lack of whiteness, the Black, what this central polarization does is to put into play the lacks of the other series.

Both Herreshfff and Goffman equate the inequatable by listing the polarization without seeing that even here there is heirarchy. It is not that the variable of white is more important than the variable of male, but rather, that the white/black opposition is the symbolic structuring division which then exists as the condition of possibility of all the others in the American reality.

At the beginning, in the earliest times of the New America, the central division was Christian/civilized vs. savage/heathen, the control center versus the remote subordinates. This division constituted the condition of possibility of the Transfer of Land from the Indians to the settlers. The constitution of the "savage Indian" -- the Indianization of the Indian, is still carried out in the innumerable cowboy/Indian rituals on the screen and in children's games.

The Indianization of the Indians constituted the "settlers" as the new legitimate owners of the new land, permitted the large-scale genocide, of the former, and enabled the betrayals and expropriation of the Indians, in good conscience. (149) As the majority of the people of the Soviet Union today also accept the existence of the Gulag Archipelagos in good conscience; as the majority of us in the Free World accept in good conscience the spiritual and material genocide of the millions who inhabit the marginal Archipelagos. This acceptance of the expendability of millions of others, who are not us, who are no longer inscribed with social utility, with productive use-value -- materially productive in the Free World, ideologically productive in the Soviet Union -- is as structurally logical as was Mr. Covey's delight in the generative capacities of his male stallion slave and his woman "breeder" slave. As Joseph Gabel points out, ideology is essentially a morbid form of rationality. (150)

The same legitimation of the transfer of land from the Indians would legitimate the transfer of land from the Mr. Coveys at a later date. The former exploiters would soon be inscribed as the new redskins. Having taken part in this primary legitimation, remaining in relation to the Indian an accomplice in his cultural and material expropriation and exploitation, the farmers who begin to suffer from the domination of the financial institutions can fight only a limited battle, and not a sustained war -- since they cannot attack the root cause, the mechanism for the transfer of property from the remote subordinates to the Control Center, from the new victims to the new exploiters.

Once the Indians had been wholly expropriated and inscribed as socially useless, penned up in reservations, the Symbolic Place of the non-Norm was taken over by the blacks -- the Negro.

The plantation system and the negrofication of the black legitimated

the transfer of labour-power, legitimated this as a founding and central principle. The discourse of reference in relation to the Indians had been founded on the series -- savages, unable to utilize Natures-non-Christians -- primitive -- infesting the environs of civilized men -- to be "cleaned out" so that the productive enterprises could begin -- the frontier tamed. This discourse of reference had constituted the genocidal act as a legitimate act of civilizing forces. The central struggle between civilization and barbarism was represented in heroic terms. Sarmiento, the Argentine patriot would later use the same representation, for the same purpose.

The settlers had been constituted as the category civilized. Orthodoxy, Americanes came to be inscribed as civilized. This representation worked in a parallel fashion with the black/white division. A discourse of reference was constituted about the two poles of near-animality versus reason -- the rational faculties. The central constituting category came to be that of free-unfree. Whites were constituted as legally free, blacks as legally unfree. From here on, the savage Indians would exist to communicate to non-Indian Christians what being civilized meant -- enabling the experience of being civilized.

The black existed in the same relation -- to communicate to the white about the experience of being free. Michael Foucault's analysis of the role of the Leper in European society gives a parallel example. Foucault points out that in the Middle Ages, the leper functioned as the negative Other -- to use my own terminology -- to the normative being of society. But at the end of the Middle Ages, Foucault writes,

"Leprosy withdrew, leaving derelict these places and these rites which were intended, not to suppress it, but to keep it at a sacred distance, to fix it in an inverse exaltation. What doubtless remained longer than leprosy, and would persist when the lazar houses had been empty for years,

were the values and images attached to the figure of the leper as well as the meaning of his exclusion, the social importance of that insistent and fearful figure which was not driven off without first being inscribed within a sacred circle." (161.)

The leper, then, functioned as the negation of what the normative self perceived itself to be in its socio-cultural coding. In inscribing the leper, "within a sacred circle" the self is constituted as a bundle of semantic units, in which the leper functions symbolically as the Other, as the Not-I."

In his introduciton to Foucault's book, José Barchilon writes that,

"As leprosy vanished...a void was created and then moral values attached to the leper had to find another scapegoat. Mental illness and unreason attracted that stigma to themselves..." (1b2) As the Western self came to constitute itself about the Cartesian cogito -- I think therefore I am -- reason, the intellectual faculty became the property of Western being as defined by the ascendant bourgeoisie. That is, the secular self constitutes itself in bourgeois categories of reason as the private property through which the self authenticated its existence. The madman, losing this property of reason, was seen as the Other who, having no self, marked the limits of the being of the normative society. Foucault observes that madmen became the Not-I, the Other, in relation not only to a Reason, but to the work ethic which was to become central to bourgeois morality. Seventeenth-century texts inveigh against the sin of sloth; labor and idleness replaced the former distinction of non-leper/leper, and,

"The asylum was substituted for the lazar house in the geography of haunted places, as in the landscape of the moral universe, the old rites of excommunication were revived, but in the world of production and commerce."

(703)

In this world, like the poor and the idle, madmen were subject to forced labour. What constituted them as the Negative Other was that,

"In the workshops in which they wereinterned, they distinguished themselves by their inability to work and to follow the rhythms of collective life... In the classical age, for the first time, madness was perceived through a condemnation of idleness and in a social immanence guaranteed by the community of labour. This community acquired an ethical power of segregation, which permitted it to eject, as into another world, all forms of social uselessness. It was in this other world, encircled by the sacred powers of labour, that madness would assume the status we now attribute to it. If there is, in classical madness, something which refers elsewhere and to other things, it is no longer because the madman comes from the world of the irrational and bears its stigmata; rather, it is because he crosses the the frontier of bourgeois order of his own accord, and alienates himself outside the sacred limits of its ethic." (?64)

I have quoted Foucault at length because one must first grasp the coordinates of the culture of production if one is to grasp the central role that the black plays in its symbolic order. The genocide of the American Indian cannot be understood outside the ethic of this order, an ethic which was essentially the work ethic perceived as a moral end.

Because the American Indian was coded by another culture, a traditional culture of "nurture", the capitalist work ethic, was entirely alien. Not that he did not work. But in his society, work was coded in order to preserve the social order; the cohesion of the community dominated the economic motive. (7.5)

As Deleuze and Guattari argue, capitalism was to be constituted on the basis of the destruction of all codes, substituting instead a single code, based on abstract quanitities, in the form of money. They

point out that in a certain manner, capitalism haunted all former societies,

"...but it haunts them like a terrifying nightmare, the panic fear that they have of a flux whichwill destroy all their codes." (7/5)

With the destruction of the codes of traditional society, labour power, and the self itself, came to be coded as a commodity -- a mental commodity exploiting the property of reason, a manual commodity exploiting the property of manual labour. To validate the code, it became the moral duty of man to exploit, both his labour power, his property, and himself, to self-colonize himself.

The Leper did not only communicate about what "health" was, it communicated about the kind of "health" that the society required, health as political, social and cultural orthodoxy. The Leper was constituted as the Outcast, the outlyer, the Symbol and disfigured representative, of what one could be if one moved outside the normative boundary lines that the society imposed. One came to welcome this incarceration between the walls of orthodoxy, since "freedom" outside the walls was stigmatized by the disfigured representation of the Leper.

The "savage" Indian and the "Negro" came to constitute the role of Leper in the American reality. By their symbolic existence, they legitimated the domination of the Single Religion -- Christian; the Single Culture -- Western; the Single Race -- White.

As the productive capacity of the continent developed, a Single Reality was imposed, that of the Economic; a single capacity, that of labour -- and of accumulated labour in the form of capital. But the ideal Norm of this was rational, intellectual labour. The non-norm was "negro" labour. Rational intellectual labour was moved by ambition and drove itself freely. Negative "animal" labour had to be driven to work, goaded by the whip, by hunger. As the "negro" was constituted as symbolic animal labour, so a heirarchy was instituted between the two poles of intellectual and

manual labour; intellectual labour was inscribed as the Control Center, manual labour, as the Subordinate Remotes.

The labour struggle in the United States was to center about this polarity. With the black/white coding as the central division, the problem of ethnic diversity that beset the U.S. labour movement tended to set up a polarization between the more "advanced" and the more "backward" sections of the labour movement.

Thus, the German immigrants who brought more skills and training from their country of origin looked down on the Irish immigrants who came from the poverty-striken rural areas of Ireland. The Germans saw themselves as participants in "superior" European culture, and looked down on both the Irish and the "native-born" Americans. (75) This ethnic diversity was translated into a new heirarchy. The struggle between the craft unions of the skilled and the more comprehensive forms of unionisms of the unskilled would be a central factor leading to the relatively defficult passage of the emergence of American Unions as a national force.

But the category of "whiteness" would make their eventual union possible; and this category was created by the exclusion of the blacks. The displacement of black labour would be carried out by the Irish. In 1863, the Irish riots in New York against emancipation pointed to the centrality of the black/white coding with regard to the heirarchy of labour. The Irish would accept their place only as long as the Negro kept to his. Jobs were a sign of relative status as well as the material source of existence. The clash between the Irish and the blacks would be chronicled in the black jokes about the Irish. (76)

Hereshoff points to the conflict between the wage and slave systems in the American tradition of radicalism. He shows how the American radical Orestes Brownson was caught in the conflict between slave or wage labour:

"He resisted the abolitionists out of loyalty to the Northern wage worker who, he was convinced, could make no headway against their employees, without the powerful aid of the planters." (754)

From the beginning, then, in the labour movement there was a conflict of priority. Which came first, the improvement of the terrible working conditions of free wage labour? Or the liberation of slave labour from enslavement? From the perspective of the interests of labour, there was no dispute. Free wage labour was privileged as the Norm of labour, in spite of its miserable working conditions.

The labour struggle versus the black struggle split American whites. It would be the abolitionists rather than the labour radicals who were to champion the black cause. The "materialist" attack on exploitation, which argued that the slaves were always assured of a meal whilst free labour was not, could not transcend its own form of rationality. The Christian enthusiasm of the Abolitionists moved outside the rational productivist code, and because of his Christian passion, John Brown was able to transgress the racial code of whiteness of the society.

But the racial code of whiteness was central to the labour movement. Brownson pointed out that few of the working men were abolitionists, and insisted that,

"You will never make the mass of the white people look upon the black people as their equal." ( )

Marx was to argue that labour with a white skin could never be liberated where labour with a black skin was branded. But the situation was more complex. It was the branding of labour with a black skin that gave value, economic, social and psychological to labour with a white skin. Labour with a white skin would fight to emancipate white-skineed labour and to subjugate labour with a black skin.

American trade unions were therefore founded on the principle

of the exclusion of black labour. Later, Gompers and others would argue for the formation of Jim Crow Unions. The exclusion of blacks from the Union meant increasingly the displacement and exclusion of blacks from jobs and from the more desirable jobs. The exclusion of blacks would be paralleled to a lesser extent, with the exclusion of women. That they were excluded from the suffrage, and inscribed as labour of a lower value, constituted the feminist struggle, like that of the blacks, as an independent struggle.

The normative variables of <u>Male and White</u> caused white labour to participate in the experience of being the Control Center with respect to the Remote Subordinates. Rather than a fixed exploiter and a fixed exploited, what are constituted are the places of the Norm and of the non-Norm. The experience of power and of control is diffused. With blacks, the whites, with the lower classes, the middle classes, with the rural conglomeration, the urban conglomeration, with black labour, white labour, with women, men. Each group constituted in its turn the relation of <u>privileged Norm</u> to <u>deviant</u>.

It is in this context that the factory model of exploitation, by privileging and centralizing the labour struggle, leads to a situation where, as Herreshoff points out, workers could be <u>racists</u> and <u>sexists</u> in good conscience. The factory model imposes a <u>Single Struggle</u>, the labour struggle, on the different forms of struggle against the hegemonic system. By analysing capitalism as a mode of production based on the sale of labour as a commodity, therefore on free wage labour, by auto-nomizing the part, they exclude the more total view of capitalism as a mode of domination based on the interrelationship of different forms of exploitation.

Herreshoff analyses the way in which DeLeonist Marxism -- Marxism as developed by Daniel DeLeon "the first American Marxist who tried to

cope with labour conservatism, analysed the "plight of the Negro as essentially a class issue." This interpretation then tended to marginalize the deep problem of white supremacy and the central role it played amidst the workers themselves. Rather than the dual relation of unity/division, DeLeon insisted on the "proletarian character" of both white workers and Negroes.

He was to come face to face with the deeply-rooted,white/western supremacy/racism at the Amsterdam Congress, called by the American Socialist Party and the Dutch and Australian socialists.

"The proposed resolution was a bad omen for the future of the International. It opposed immigration into developed countries of "working men of inferior races" (Chinese Negroes, etc.) "and charged that such "cheap labour" was a "willing object of exploitation." [ibid]

The "value of the normative labour was set by its inscription as the labour of a "superior race". DeLeon attacked vigorously the concept of inferior/superior race." (ibid)

As Herreshoff comments,

"This attack produced a verbal change of dubious value. The proponents of the resolution dropped "inferior" from the text, replacing it with "backward." But they persisted in their opposition to the immigration of "Chinese, Negroes, etc." [ibid]

The change of the inscription did not change its purpose, the constitution of the prerequisite ego-identities who, in claiming their right to be superior, advanced to belong to the Control Center, colonized themselves into accepting the governing rationality of the system.

In addition, by accepting the central thesis of the culture of production that the destiny of man was to be a producer, labour as the producer of surplus-value was privileged as the "real" moment of human life activity. The struggle for liberation in American Marxism, a la Browder, became equated with the level of wages as an indicator of well-being. The

Negro struggle, the women's struggle, the farmer's struggle, the struggle of the unemployed, only came to have reality in so far as they can be subsumed under labour. Qualitative exploitation is subsumed under quantitative exploitation. Marx'x concept of .ation is marginalized. (ɪɪ́)

The plural development of all different movements was therefore held back by a monolithic Marxist theory. (?ʔ!) The Sixties would see the definitive rupture of this axiomatic as the black movement moved outside the parameters of prescribed revolutionary thought, opening the way for a proliferation of other movements, excluding the Women's movements.

As Herrshoff writes:

"But even while Browder was recommending all deliberate speed in social evolution, a new generation of Americans was getting ready to demand "freedom now" and to explain Why We Can't Wait. The Negro upsurge, however, has not yet had a leavening effect on the labour movement. Will it ever?"

The Post-Sixties development, shows clear reactionary tendencies emerging in America, including in the labour movement, which is now an incorporated part of the Control Center. Redneck racism in the South has been replaced by a generalized indirect racism whose ideolog.es are now formerly "liberal" academics. The Women's Movement, in its middle class form, began to displace and marginalize the black movement, as large numbers of white middle class women, gradually, are incorporated into the Control Center. The struggle for E.R.A., has, however, met with opposition in the general rightist turnaround of the country and this has kept alive elements of feminine radica But the Bakke case was aimed far more at the black than at the Women's movement. For it is the black challenge -- in the last resort -- that challenges the code.

After innumerable changes from emancipation to the Sixties, the black remains as the negro, the marked man, subject to the terrorism of the code. The code produces him as the zero reference point in relation

to the white as the code produces the proletariat as the marked term in
relation to the property bourgeoisie and the job-bourgeosie (i.e. the
technocrats); and the woman as the marked term in relation to the white male.
But whilst there is parallelism there is no equation here. The black exists
as the absolute term. Because of this, as Baldwin points out, when the
black moves out of his place the entire universe of identity is shaken.

The central role that the constitution of identity plays is excluded
by the factory model of exploitation. Lacan points out that when the proletariat
comes to perceive himself as a proletariat, he acts upon thw world to validate
this identlty. Yet it is also this 'proletarian' identity that allows him to
accept the limits of his struggle.

Herrshoff argues that in America the proletarian struggle has
consistently been to individually leave the ranks of the proletariat, to
become middle class, to aspire to the middle class norm. This aspiration
is linked to the fact that as 'white' and as free wage labour, the majority
labour movement experiences some of its life activity as a constitutive part
of the Norm.

And the theorectical implications of the factory model of exploitation
themselves help to extend labour's experience of participating in the
axiomatic, in the Norm; of being the Single Revolutionary Subject.

The theory of revolution based on the factory model of exploitation
not only privileges and autonomizes the free wage labour form of exploitation,
but also autonomizes production. Baudrillard argues that we should analyse
production as a code. In the context of such an analysis, he argues it
becomes clear that labour power is not so much a fact, as a definition, an
axiom.

In the context of an analysis of production as a code, the
"negrofication" of the prieto, also takes on certain implications. For unlike
free wage labour, it could not be argued as the Marxist discourse of reference
that slave labour was alienated through its   sale of its own labour
power. Nor does the lack of equivalence between what slave labour power
produces and what it gets account for more than one aspect of the terrorism
exercised against the black. Rather the nigger breaking model shows the black
as being "negrofied" through various social mechanisms, through varying strategies
of the social technology of power.

Baudrillard shows that the same analysis applies to free wage labour.
He argues that the mechanism of capitalism (rather than its law) acts by and
through the extradion of surplus value; that is, through the lack of equivalAnce

between the wages paid and the value produced. But he argues, even were the

inequivalence to cease, even if and where the working class no longer <u>sells</u>

its labour, the man who works will still find himself "marked by the axiom, by

the destiny of production by that sacrament of labour which marks him like a

sex," [774]

     The worker ⸴   ⸴   ⸴ is coded as the

different sexes are coded; the particular sex which defines him is his destiny

as labour power. Baudrillard goes on to draw an important parallel:

> "He is as marked by this (his destiny as labour power) as
>
> the woman is marked by her destiny (her sexual definition),
>
> as the Black is marked by the colour of his skin--all of them
>
> signs and nothing but signs." [739]
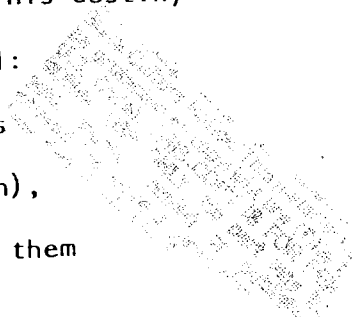
     Before the worker goes to the factory accepting himself as worker

he is socialized into accepting his role and destiny as worker, as the

'negro' was nigger broken on the plantation into accepting his role as 'negro'

and his destiny, As Baudrillard suggests, the 'real' operation at the factory

is a reduplication of the indirect forces of socialization--the nigger-breaking

model makes these forces direct--which already initiated the process of

<u>proletarianization.</u> These processes lead him to accept himself as labour

power to be sold, so that he puts into play and sustains the code of production

which in turn produces him as proletariat, as woman or as 'negro.'

     The proletariat's struggle for equivalence--a fair day's pay for a

fair day's pay--like the black's struggle for integration and the feminists'

struggle for equal rights--is itself part of the strategy of his socialization.

It is the lack of equivalence, the relative lack of integration, the relatively

unequal rights that <u>produces</u> the categories proletariat/negro/woman.

Equivalence, integration, equal rights--like incest--is impossible. Like

incest they sustain the system by the Tantalus nature of the quest.

     Thus the nigger-breaking carried out by Mr. Covey and the plantation

system is parelleled by the 'proletariat-breaking' carried out, for example, by George Pullman. As a biographer Eugne V. Debs, writes in chronicling the showdown between Pullman and the American Railway Union:

> "George Pullman was certain that he alone knew how to
> build sleeping cars. He was certain that he alone knew
> how to organize the lives of men. The town of Pullman, a
> Chicago suburb, was widely advertised as a 'model
> community' but it was run like a feudal manor. Conductors
> on the Pullman cars were treated like workers in the
> Pullman shops. They drew $75 per month wages from which
> they paid $20 for meals and $4 for uniforms. There were
> subject to a system of fines which took an average toll of
> $6 a month from each man. George Pullman hired spies to
> ride in his cars and report the slightest infraction of
> rules by any conductor. The conductor was fired for each
> violation reported, and was given no chance to defend
> himself." [7]

The surviellance of Mr. Covey and of the Pullman spy system are central to that diffused 'technology of power' which Michel Foucault has analysed. What both Covey and Pullman aim for is the normalization of surviellance, of the supervisory activity over others, and through this mechanism, of the supervisory activity over the self. The system functions through a total expropriation of social power, and then a hierarchical redistribtuion of power of control which draws in the entire society--except for the marked excluded terms--to participate in relative degrees of control.

All are accomplices except the total outcast to the system. The middle class Negro, to the extent that he is middle-class, is an accomplice; the white feminist, to the extent that she is white, the white proletariat to the extent he/she is white. These terms are inscriptions

which when internalized determine a mode of activity upon the world; and upon others.

Thus whites in lynching the black, physically or psychologically, as In the Pease Reynolds/Wright episode, are participating in what Foucault calls the "new power to punish." Mark Seem paraphrases Foucault's formulation:

> "...he refuses to limit his discussion of punishment to its repressive negative effects--repressing, penalizing. Instead he takes punishment as a complex social function having many positive effects--maintaining order, restoring calm, Improving mankind...Next, he does not view penal methods as answering to legal statutes, but he deals with techniques of power in complicity with other agencies of authority; punishment as a political tactic." [1 ?]

In lynching the deviant black, the white majority at once constitutes Itself as an agent of authority and normalizes the legitimacy of whiteness and the Illegitimacy of blackness. The sexual exploitation of the woman normalizes the legitimacy of maleness. Rape was to become the expression of the prohibition of miscegenation,o   of sexual relations between the black man and the white woman. The Single Sex was the Male but the black male's maleness had to be ruled out as illegitimate. He was forbidden to take part in the male control and authority exercised over the white female. The White Phallus claimed authority over white and black women, forbidding such exercise of authority to the black. Rape became for black and white the expression of a transgression of the black male's claim to equal authority. Such a claim disrupted the axiomatic of the Single Sex, the Single Race, the Single Phallus.

The breaking of the taboo--actual   sexual relations between the black male and the white woman--did not in fact destroy the prohibition. Miscegenation had not, in fact, taken place. It was the prohibition which,

creating black and white as separate categories, created the concept of
miscegenation. Like incest--miscegenation also was impossible. It was the
prohibition of itself that mattered. The white woman's claim to sexual
enjoyment was represented as her wanting to have 'animal' relations with the
'ngero.' The blacks' claim to equality was represented as his wanting to
'rape' the white woman; his "wanting to marry your sister," to cross the
forbidden limit of alliance.
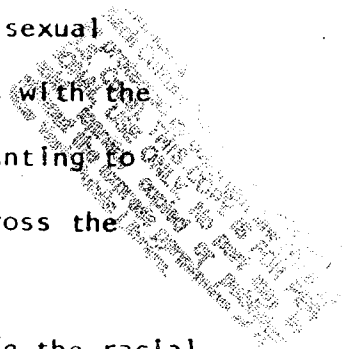
White males constitut ed themselves as whites by manning the racial
frontier, the racial Maginot Line. In manning this frontier, in
mobilizing itself as a settler psyche, the white group participated in the diffused
technology of power; of which Foucault speaks. In the symbolic order the
black--and to a lesser extent, the woman, unskilled labour, the rural farmer--
is related to the Body. And the body is represented as the force of chaos
eternally threatening the rational control of the mind. Within the code of
production the 'body' is viewed by society as useful only if it is at the same
time domesticated labour-power and the subjugated body. [72]

Baudrillard sees as the central feature of capitialisms: domination.
Its disruption of Nature and of man from indetermination to submit them to
the determination of value. Thus it can not leave no corner of the earth
unmarked, undefined, unproductive. All must be marked by the countersign of
production, iven where there is no hope of development. Production exists in
order to mark, to inscribe, to reproduce the marked, the inscribed man; and the
marked inscribed body of the inscribed man.

The lynching of the black 'body' that moves out of its prescribed
role is the collective lynching of the Body of the lynchers itself--the
repressing of the body back into its place. What Foucault analyses as the
"political technology of discipline" is ritually enacted by the white's
putting of the black in his place, the male's of the woman, the middle class
of the proletariat. The surplus value of expropriated social power is shared.

Each can be a small master in relation to someone else.

This generalized model of the experience of the relative surplus value of power which spread throughout the society is seen in the account we quoted of those poor whites who were determined to let the recently freed slave know that they had equal power over him as did the 'aristocrats'. Unlike the aristocrats whose power is based on the control of ownership, theirs must be activated through direct interaction, must be experienced by and through a concrete relation of power to powerlessness. We are here in the horizons of the Nazi experience, of South Africa today, in which material considerations are secondary to psychic gratification. The mode of social relations in societies where groups are stratified is determined by the social and cultural system which legitimate the control of power by those groups who benefit materially and psychically from the mode of stratification. In his recent article in the New York Review of Books, Robert Heilbronner poses the question of power as one curiously unaddressed in the Marxist theory:

> "...in one critical aspect I find that his (Marx's) insight
> is lacking...This is Marx's failure to ground the central
> element of political life, power in...the human personality
> as it develops in different historical epochs" [7.]

Heilbronner argues that there is no Marxist answer to the Acton thesis that all power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, whilst every other 'organizing mode of thought' has given an answer to that problem.

> "The answer is yes. and the yes...comes from recognition
> that thus far in human history authority and subordination,
> with all their terrible effects on the human character, have
> existed everywhere--between men and women; between masters and
> slaves; between warriors and peaceful peoples; between priests
> and believers; between Chairman Mao and the Party and again
> between the Party and the common folk; between old and young;
> between parents and children.
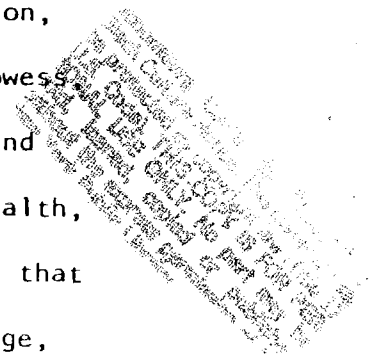
It is this irrepressible reassertion of domination, exercised in the names of sex, religion, military prowess, virtue, birth, intelligence, dialectical foresight, and bureaucratic efficiency, as well as in the name of wealth, that gives force and credence to the terrible sayings that 'All power tends to corrupt...' or that "Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.' This spectacle of domination is not at all the continuing class struggle that Marx saw as the great political theme of history. For the spectacle poses two problems of political life to which Marx paid no heed. One is why power exerts such a temptation for mankind--a question that must be answered at the personal as well as at the social level. The other is why power has adduced such acquiescence, such rationalization, even such welcome, from those over whom it has been exercised. This too must be resolved through the understanding of personality as well as of social class.
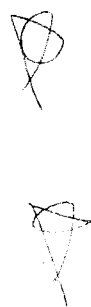
Perhaps one day this fatal attraction of power and the equally fatal submission to power will no longer character- ize the political life of humankind. But the conditions for achieving a society without harmful domination assuredly go far beyond the simple revolutionary prescriptions of Marx's political theory. Even if a proletarian revolution is the necessary first step toward ultimate human emancipation, there seems not the slightest hope that such a revolution will abolish the present degree of domination, although it may change its character, and there is indeed reason to fear that it may increase it.

Why is Marx silent before, or blind to, this sobering

aspect of political life? I believe the answer lies in his Enlightenment view of the human psyche, rich with potential and free from all vestiges of 'orginal sin' or, as we might more easily express it, in his pre-Freudian innocence toward the wellsprings of human behavior."
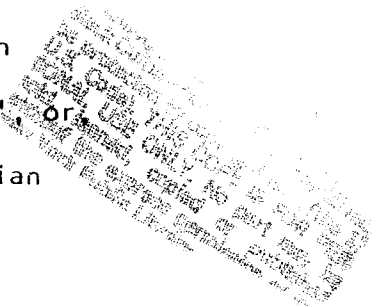
[774]

The insights of Freud who would deal essentially with what we might call the "family model of socialization" would extend the insights of the factory model of exploitation. Both (Marx and Freud) in a sense autonomized the part. It is precisely the question of power and domination that the plantation model of exploitation must address., From the slave narratives to Douglas, Wright, George Jackson, the black has had to deal with the sustained and varied modes of domination directed against him by all whites.

As Douglas shows, as Fanon was later to explore, the black more than most knows that he has been socialized into negating himself, into accepting a prescribed identity, into wearing a white mask.

The factory model of exploitation, to the contrary, by the nature of its autoₗ.zation, can say nothing of the forms of social repression which causes the proletariat to accept his identity as a proletariat and to freely sell his labour power to the capitalist. What was, in the context of the United States where everyone was supposed to be beginning anew that compelled the proletariat to see himself as always and only a proletariat, and to confine his revindication and his claims to at times pitiable demands for an increase in wages?" [77]

What are the social mechanisms that limit his demands, his expectations upon the world? That gets him to accept his marked place? It is . said, that the early slave traders, taking advantage of the fact that the African cultures used facial scars as a language signifying forms of recognition and honour, told the slaves as they branded them with branding irons that these scars were new marks of honour, new tests of courage. They unflinchingly and willingly withstood the

pain. The mechanism by which the hard hat is made to glory in his identity
as hard-hat, is a mechanism of social repression similar to the branding process.
Recognition is prescribed, alternative desire subverted.

In the encounter between Mr. Covey and Douglas it is important to
note that what is taking place is a mutual and intersubjective .-breaking -in,
seasoning. Mr. Covey nigger-breaks himself as white lower-class planter as
surely as he nigger-breaks young black slaves. What he does by nigger breaking
in slaves is to participate in the mechanisms of social repression, in his
prescribed relative privilege of power.

Mark Seem comments on Foucault's concept of power:
"But what does Foucault mean by power? He takes his
distance from the currently 'brandished notions that power is
"held" by those who are in positions of power.' Rather than
speak of power and authority as a thing that, like a commodity,
can be owned, Foucault views power as an exercise that
extends far beyond the mere reaches of privilege or
class. Power is not utilized on those who don't have
it; it invades them, penetrates their bodies and
their newly acquired 'souls.' Dominant power relations go to
every individual's root and guards his step. Finally,
Foucault states, power is never acquired once and for
all, but is instead the object of a constant battle, and
open to other forces which threaten its reign. In this
sense we are all part of the ruling class since it is the
dominant classes power relations and the mechanisms of
authority which shape people from all classes. Struggles
against dominant systems of power therefore fail
miserably if they are not directed at the way power
pervades individual's bodies at home, in the schools, in
the military and in the marketplace." [7]
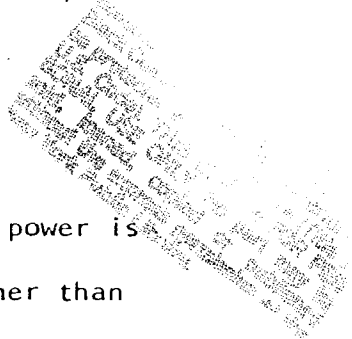
The plantation was at once home, workplace, school and military. The insights to be gained from this perspective enabled Douglas to analyse how the slaves were shaped by the dominant power relations of the master, how they come to identify themselves with the power of their master, enjoying power vicariously through identification. Yet the duality continued for the field slave. Whilst delighted to be identified with the Great House Farm he nevertheless sang wild sad songs that gave Douglas his first conception of freedom and of the loss of freedom. That is to say, the limits of identification for the black slave were very narrow. Where those limits ended, the counter-symbolization of identity as the longing for absolute freedom began--and the constitution of a counter-rationality with the creation of a counter-culture.

The nigger-breaking was designed to institute the black's place as the Symbolic Place of non-power, non-control, as the leper's place was the Symbolic Place of non-health; as the Jew's place in 17th Century Spain was the Symbolic Place of heresy.

The nigger breaking model reveals that the material exploitation of the black is only one of the mechanisms by which any decision-making power or control over the real conditions of his life are expropriated from him; and that the accumulation of power that lead Wendell Berry to point to the new redskins, to men and women totally deprived of any independent access to water, air, to the staples of life. Modern man, as consumer/producer finds himself in the same relation as the slave on the plantation.

The plantation, as we have argued in this paper, was the first form of the later industrial mass-factory. Baudrillard argues, ... the manufacturing confinements (in the factory) were but fantastic enlargements of the forms of confinement (leper, madman) described by Foucault in the seventeenth century. And he asks, "Is not the status of the proletariat, he asks, that of a concentration (camp) experience, of social exclusion?" He traces the later factory model of

Industrial work to the first large General Hospitals [17]. His oversight
of the birth of large-scale institution, of the plantation system in the seventeenth
century and the effects this plantation system would in turn have upon the
West, deprives him of a more central model.

Stanley Elkin's comparison of the plantation to the Nazi concentration
camp suggests that the plantation was the initial model of industrial
colonization. C.L.R. James has always insisted on this [ ] and Fogel and
Engerman's Time on the Cross has been a good corrective to the slave labour-
bad-plantation system inefficient-school [ ]. Reading American historians'
celebratory accounts of the beginnings of mass-production in the North, one is
always struck by the fact that the innovation of the production of
interchangeable units for guns, etc. [ ] had been preceded by the innovation
of interchangeable units of labour on the plantation. The mass-production of
piezas--black and white--one thinks here of the indentured servants--
preceded the mass production of objects. That New England's accumulation of
capital was to be due to their mass-sale of slaves and of salted cod to feed
these slaves--salted cod becoming the 'national' dish of an ex-plantation
society like Jamaica and the emblem of prosperity of New England [ ]--suggests
that the cultural and social impact of the plantation model on the development
of global capitalist society is extensive [ ].

Baudrillard links the growing rationalization of Western society to
the expanding process of the confinement and supervision--in other words to the
Covey syndrome. Vagrants, the mad, all those defined as deviants were confined
whilst 'nigger-breaking', that imposition of 'ational' labour central to the
activity of production was imposed on them. The process of standardization of
the negro/pieza unit, and the encomenda and plantation system which were the
overseas variants of the confinement of the inscribed deviant-Other was to
export its model back to the European countries themselves. The massive
coercion and confinement that both systems involved--the 'horrors' of the

encomienda system have been chronicled by Las Casas onwards, the extirpation of the Arawak Indians being the earliest result; on the African coast, Africans . . . herded into the dungeons of factories then packed in the holds of ships--was to be the condition of possibility of all later large-scale varieties of confinement and exclusion that was to reach its climax in Europe in the Nazi concentration camps and in the Gulag Archipelagos.

The plantation archipelago was to be the skeleton in the cupboard, the hidden secret of the property bourgeosie as the Gulag archipelago was to be the hidden secret of the Communist technocratic bourgeoisie. As the ghettos, prisions, shanty-towns, barrados, favelas, the lumpen marginal archipelagos are the open secret of the corporate multi-national monopoly capital bourgeosie. And ours.

Castoriadis uses the label of 'bureaucratic capitalism' for modern societies. It is clear that in spite of well-defined differences, both West and East operate out of a parallel form of bureaucratic technological rationality [. . .]. Castoriadis argues that the present most extreme forms of this bureaucratic capitalism has been "realized in Russia, China and the other countries presumably masquerading as socialist" [794.] He contrasts the fragmented bureaucratic capitalism in the West to the total bureaucratic capitalism of the East.

I suggest that the plantation system--the example, wrote Marx, of how the bourgeosie creates the world in its own image when it is free to do so--is the micro-model, the original form of bureaucratic capitalism. That the rationalization of the plantation system and the rationalization of both Variants of bureaucratic capitalism hold startling parallels [795.]

Bureaucratic capitalism is essentially sustained by a total mode of rationality, one that leaves no area of life unincorporated in its network of rational organization and exploitation. This rationality constitutues an ethic and an aesthetic, a politics, an economic, a theology, a culture, a truth.

It arranges empirical reality on the Procrustean bed of its rationality, and the foremost police of its social system are its intellectual ideologües. The denial of alternative speech, ideas is not an abberation; nor indeed is the Western version of the denial of free speech--the massive standardization of thought, of belief, the trivialization of the free news; of the free press, an aberration either. If property capitalism was based on the <u>accumulation of the surplus value</u> of labour, bureaucratic capitalism is based on the expropriation of all forms of social power and control. It invades and expropriates all decision-making power over all forms of life- activity, then distributes rationed amounts of control to the orthodox, the faithful. It does this in the name of creating a "new man", in the East, or raising the "standard of living" in the West. As Sepúlveda wanted to Christianize the Indians, and long to "civilize" the <u>Negro</u> [790].

Its power lies in its total representation and communication of a highly interwoven system of rationality, of its production of "empirical" and "objective" truth. . The nigger-breaking that Douglas suffered and Mr. Covey imposed, that the Pullman workers suffered and Mr. Pullman imposed, that the Russian peasant suffered and the party bureaucrats imposed, are essentially mechanisms for the imposition of this total . . l control of the "means" of information and communication.

The revolt against this system has to be total. At the micro-level of the relationship between Douglas and Covey--the micro-model of all relationships between settler and native, colonizer and colonized--the revolu depends as much on the self-liberation of the Native [Fanon] as it does on the negation of the exercise of power by the settler. Thus Douglas through reading and with the aid of Sandy's roots, was able to initiate his phisical revolt against Covey, to redefine the relationship to shatter the dominant rationality.

This was a revolt on the individual level. At the collective level, as we have shown in this monograph, all slave revolts were preceded by the

the constitution of a counter-culture--a counter-reason, a counter symbolization, a counter-identity. If the plantation system was to be the initial model of large-scale exclusion/excommunication from the human, its forms of revolt, both physical and cultural, were also initial models of the *total forms* revolt--a revolt impinging on all areas of the life activity-that are necessary against the contemporary expanded forms of bureaucratic capitalism.

Castoriadis writes of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 that it was:

"The first, and up to now, the only total revolution against total bureaucratic capitalism. As such, it foreshadows the content and orientation of future revolutions in Russia, China, and other bureaucratic capitalist societies. In taking up arms, the Hungarian workers and youth...demonstrated that they would rather die fighting against the workers' state than continue to live as workers under it." [77]
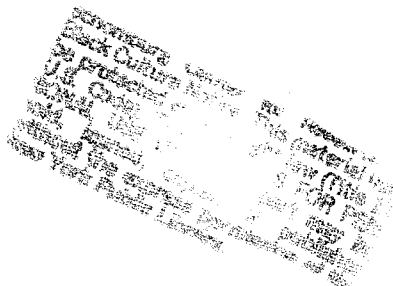
forms of revolt

If we see the plantation as the initial model of bureaucratic capitalism, ", then the forms of the black struggle--from slave revolt to riots, to Garveyism to the Harlem Renaissance to the Sixties, King, the black Muslims, Malcolm X, ghetto burnings--give an insight into <u>forms of struggle</u> that have hitherto been theoretically marginalized. The historical interrelationship of these different forms of struggle needs to be explored. Herreshof shows how women's groups took advantage of the Fourteenth Amendment which was supposed to protect the Negro's right to vote, to initiate testing tactics of this right for women, antedating the Sixties black struggle [776].

The nigger-breaking model can be extended to ... political colonialism. Colonialism needed to break the inhabitants, the indigenous, into being "natives." As Fanon was to argue, the native instituted his national revolt by his own self liberation from this prescribed "native" identity; and this self

liberation was to be intimately linked with a cultural revolution. Could the apparent wage struggle of workers be related to a far deeper and central revolt, that of workers reacting against their own proletariat-breaking? Baudrillard makes the hypothesis that "there has never been any true class struggle except on the basis of this discrimination; the struggle of the submen against their status as beasts, against the abjection of that caste division which condemns them to the subhumanity of labour." [29]

Yet as Baudrillard also points out, European white labour, once the heroic periods of their struggles were over, found themselves incorporated into the discourse of reference of an expanding "standard of living," found themselves incorporated into the axiomatic of the norm. Here in the United States socially inscribed as whites, the workers were always allowed to participate outside the workplace, in a relative experience of social power. The proletariat has been incorporated and represented as the Norm of Labour as earlier, in Longs and Bentham's formulations, the bourgeosie was represented as the Norm of Man. Marxist theory which sights only the factory model, privileging this model of exploitation, actually helps to constitute the proletariat, i.e., core Wage Labour as NORM. As Baudrillard concludes:

"That said, the proletariat is today a normal being, the worker has been fully promoted to the dignity of human being, and moreover in the name of that dignity he takes up all the dominant discriminations in his turn; he is racist, sexist, repressive. In relation to the actual deviants, to the discriminated against of all kinds, he is on the same side as his bourgeosie; on the side of the human, on the side of the normal. So true is it that the fundamental law of that society is not the law of exploitation but the code of normality." [30]

The nigger breaking model reveals to us the constitution of the Normal
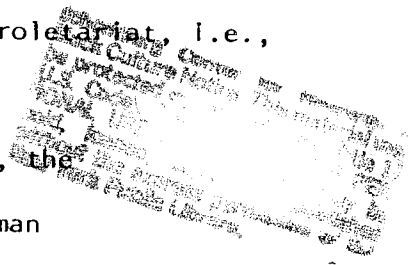
by and through the constitution of the prescribed deviant. The mechanisms which code "white" as the Norm in Western society and black as the non-Norm codes the principle of Norm and non-Norm; the very principle of that "normalization" which Foucault sees as the goal of the entire complex of prisions and other forms of confinement--schools, universities, factories, hospitals, insane asylums, concentration camps--central to the culture of production.

In the United States ownership of the property of whiteness, functioned, as does ownership of the means of production, as a mark which normalizes one group of people to psychologically and materially exploit the group marked either by the absence/lack of whiteness (blacks) by the absence/lack of maleness (women) or by the absence/lack of ownership of the means of production (the proletariat). As the new technocratic class rises to cultural, social, and inevitable political and economic hegemony, the possession of skills and of a high I.Q. becomes the new mark, the new inscription, the new absence/lack. The scholarship spearheaded by Jensin and Shockley which inscribes the Negro in a sacred circle this time, not because of his skin, but because of his alleged I.Q., goes far beyond the black per se [ΫʔΙ]. Rather it seeks to normalize a category of division, High I.Q./Low I.Q., now that with increasing automatom, large numbers of the relatively unskilled--black and non-black-- will have to be delegitimated, inscribed as socially "useless," as "refuse," as "non-value." This accounts for the wide acceptance of this clearly unscientific findings. As with the Sepúlveda/Las Casas controversy, the theory that wins out, wins out because it sanctifies the prevailing rationalization. What the new Sepúlvedas legitmate is the principle of human expendability, determined by the Absolute of expanding production for production's sake. What is measured is not the intellegience quotient but the productivity quotient. The more nigger-broken the child, the better he performs   what are essentially productivity tests. Accepting the theology of production, large masses of people come to acquiese
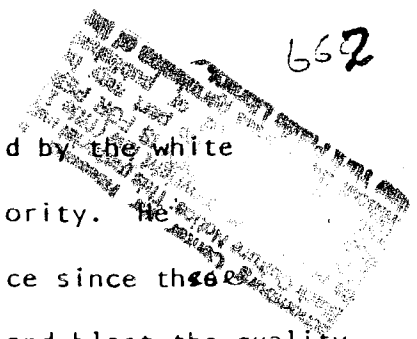
in their own expendability   Allen Chase lists the price paid by the white

masses for their acquiescence in the theories of genetic inferiority. He

statistically shows that it is they who pay the greatest price since these

scholarly theories legitimate social policies which distort and blast the quality

of their own lives [8c2]. The displacement on the black of the negative weight of these

theories, blinds the white majority to the fact that their legitimation of the

expendability of the black--as their previous legitimation of the expendability

of the Indians--lays the condition of possibly of their own expendability.

What they legitimate is the mode of reason that rationalizes the plantation

system, Auchwitz, Gulag, the reservation, the ghettoes; the eternal lower

class status of the lower-class.

As rapid technological development calls for fewer and fewer highly

trained workers, and less and less underskilled workers, a large majority of the

population, white and black, will increasingly come to be inscribed as socially

useless [8c3]. A new Control Center will be instituted by these legitimating

scholars in relation to the Remote Subordinates of the Lumpen, the Marginal

archipelagoes, the sites reserved for the expanding numbers of the excluded.

The Seventies has shown that the majority of blacks, expelled from

the production system are to be inscribed as expendable. The modern ghettoes of

the United States are like the plantation, the initial model of the site of the

new-excluded. The life-in-death existence of the ghettoes--and their extension,

the prisions, the high sucide rates, the inferior hopeless ghetto schools, the

Low I.Q. legitimation that breaks some ghetto dwellers them into accepting their "inferiority"; the

invisible quota systems that allocate them to their place, freely granting them the

highest ratio of jobless places, of the jail places--no Bakke clamours for equal

admission, no Glazer is outraged at this mode of affirmative discrimination--

constitute the new mode of excommunication, of exclusion, of confinement. And

for the first time in its New World history, the black "underlife" that had

constituted the site of marronage, of the alternative cultural system of

counter-symbolization, finds itself totally penetrated by the tentacles of the hegemonic system.

The black church no longer speaks to the black jobless youth; the erosion of the spirit by despair can no longer find support in a counter-culture. The underbrush has been cleared. The gas "chambers" have been replaced by the free market in drugs. Destruction will be legitimated through the high crime rate. The fact that living outside the production process, they no longer internalize the ethics of production, the ethics of property is sufficient to inscribe them as "animals." [7.4] They are "refuse" now, as the slaves were, once their productive days were over. Like the old, and the relatively unskilled, their "use-value" is constituted as nil. Having no "use" they have no exchange-value. Having no exchange-value, they have no purpose, no social place.

One writer asks in the title of his timely book "Who needs the Negro?" [75] As the diffused racism of the Seventies extends out into all areas of the society, an advisor to President Carter can state bluntly that ghetto blacks are the new expendables:

"In a recent New York magazine article, J.B. Fuqua, a prominent Atlanta businessman and friend of the President Carter, made some startling comments about blacks. 'Philosophically,' Fuqua said, 'we will have to face the fact that many people in this country are no longer profitable to employ.' Fuqua goes on to say that blacks are 'least capable of producing in today's society. You park a certain percentage of them--like antiquated machinery (which you depreciate)--and you support them through welfare...which we're doing. [Blacks] say they haven't had the opportunities, but that doesn't change things. The fact is many are not productive...they're just not as skillful as the whites..." [76]

Joel Dreyfuss places the above quotation in his article on the new racism, and relates Fuqua's comment to the present wave of neo-conservatism legitimated by the new Sepulvedas and Longs of the scholarly system. Theirs is the task of a new inscription which *from* the crude binary opposition of black/white--of the Redneck racists--to the genetic inferiority/ superiority of the intellecual racists. As Dreyfuss continues:

"Fuqua's comments could be dismissed as one man's opinion except that they are only a less subtle variation of the points promoted by the neo-conservatives, who would tell us there is no racism in America, that blacks are at the bottom of the heap because they want to be there, that nothing can be done to change the condition of the poor and that any attempt to make changes will only make things worse.

In his influential book, Affirmative Discrimination, Nathan Glazer argues that racial discrimination has been conquered. 'The judges should now stand back and allow the forces of political democracy in a pluralistic society to do their proper work," says Glazer. The same theme is taken up in a New Republic issue on the Bakke case, 'Meritocracy and its Discontents.' Here we see that 'liberals' have closed ranks with 'conservatives on issues of race.' It becomes difficult to find a difference between New Republic editor Martin Peretz' stand on affirmative action and Washington Post columnist George Will's warnings that efforts to integrate the professions will lower professional standards.

We find ourselves fighting a paper tiger because our demands for equality are viewed as a danger to the high standards of society. The implication is that the

white male domination of American institutions is the

result of a merit system that has simply rewarded the

most able." [20]

Baudrillard's insistence that it may well be at the level of the economy that the forces of change are to be found, whilst it is at the level of the cultural, mental, sexual structures that the reactionary forces of the society are to be located, have been clearly substantiated by the Bakke case and the new overt academic racism. Baudrillard writes:

"Autonomizing the economic is an ideological strategy...
The scholarly and cultural systems are permitted to have
formal autonomy...It is through this autonomy effect and behind
this simulacrum of transcendence that the system better
carries out its ideological function and renews most efficaciously
the dominant social relations. One can ask if it serves only to
produce them and if it is not the place of a specific
production of class domination. For this implies a reversal of the
terms of analysis; the economic can appear in our societies
as the most important place of the equalization of opportunity,
of the least conservatism of social relations, etc. And
perhaps it is the scholarly and cultural systems that
play the decisive role in the production of social relations
while the economic only relays and shifts them in their
reproduction." [24]

The Bakke decision, which set in motion the counter-revolution against the social transformation of the Sixties, was initiated and ideologically supported by members of the academic community. The site of the struggle is now obvious. The call for black studies in the Sixties was a call directed at the ideological "nigger breaking" implied in the academic system. The implicit has become explicit. The "superstructure" of the scholarly system

was and is revealed as constituting a "reality principle" no less dominant than the reality principle sustained by the process of economic production.

Yet it is also at the superstructural level that the most important challenge to the hegemonic rationality that legitimates the myriad modes of exploitation, quantitative and qualitative, has emerged. The theoretical deconstruction of the mode of productivist reason, sustained by the official scholarly system, has been impelled by the manifold forms of struggle against bureaucratic capitalism, both in the West and in the East. The deconstruction of what Jacques Derrida calls Western mythology, that mythology constituted from Sepulveda to Long to Lipset, Moynihan and Glazer, have continued the idol-shattering work of Marx, even shattering the new icons of ossified th.ought constructed in his name. The assault on the code and mode of rationalizing knowledge which constitutes the "morbid rationality"

of the culture of production, has opened new horizons for mankind. These new theoretical formulations constitute for the nigger broken majority what "reading" signified for Frederick Douglas, what the root signified for Sandy Jenkins--the constitution of an alternate ground of knowledge, of experience of social relations, of social being. Michel Foucault's analysis of the relation between power and knowledge, Baudrillard's illuminating studies of the role of social "inscription"--carried out by liberal and Marxist thought in maintaining large-scale exploitation, Deleuze and Guattari's expose of the Oedipal mechanism of interior colonization, have begun the subversion of the very bases of the theoretical hegemony of the culture of production.

At the same time, the people who occupy Symbolic Place of the Non-Norm, the people of external periphery, of the Lumpen archipelago(, who move and live, and experience outside the rationale of the system of production, have initiated a counter-symbolization of experience, which continues, in a new form, the cultural compulsives of the "underlife" of the internal peripheries. Just as before, the Middle Passage piezas had reinvented themselves as shipmates,

as Myal rebels, as Voudoun revolutionaries, as the elect children of god symbolizing the place of their true home, as the Jim Crowed harassed post-Reconstruction <u>Negroes</u> constituted themselves as the blues people, so now The Rastafarians and Bob Marley transform themselves from exp, andables to Sons of Jah, whose self-inscribed destiny is to legitimate their sonship here and now. It is this destiny that universalizes the power of their music.

Both these forces, the intellectual and the Symbolic deconstruct the hegemonic codes, at the same time as the plural struggles of plural groups continue the delegitimation of the dominant mode of socialization; and as the system's own technology and new organizational forms themselves disrupt the social order of production calling for its imperative displacement and reinvention.

The indigenous radical tradition of the United States is a tradition that has its origins in the first movements of total insubordination against the new culture of inscription, of legitimation of the division into men and submen. The revolutionary tradition of the United States began with the defensive wars of the American Indians, with the earliest slave revolts, then continued with the myriad movements that have struggled against myriad forms of the expropriation of social and material power; of the expropriation of possibility of self-expression, of creative fullfilment. It is in this tradition that 1776-- the revolt against the "colonial" inscription has universal rather than white bourgeois meaning; that John Brown's raid can be sited; that the labour struggle the black struggle, the women's struggle, the farmer's struggle, all find their place.

It is in the context of this tradition that the implications of the myriad parallel movements of self-liberation and liberation of the Sixties can be understood. Only in this tradition can the scope and significance of the Sixties be reassessed. The revolt of the Sixties was essentially a revolt

against the inscription of the code of *exploitation*.

The anti-Vietnam war movements revolted against the legitimation of the massacre of "natives" by "men." The "men" revolted against themselves. <u>Negroes</u>, in one sudden *rupture* ceased to be <u>Negroes</u>--denegrofied themselves; so did <u>Chicanos</u> who denativized" themselves; white middle class women who moved out of the white middle class "home" as their place, and into the public sphere . It was the revolution against the code, against the imposed ego-identities, that gave to the U.S. Sixties its extraordinary sense of release, of creative energy, of fervour, of a carnival reversal of power and authority. The "people" ceased waiting to be liberated; brushed vanguards aside and did their own overcoming of self and other. Their model of self--revolution, self-liberation--a model initiated by the Montgomery Bus Boycott, by the "non-violent" resisters, by the whole train of movements that on their own sprang up all over the country--introduced a new mode of social movement; and made a revolutionary transformation in certain aspects of the American and global consciousness [*sic*].

That the majority of these movements were located in what orthodox Marxism would define as the secondary site of the superstructure, only reveals the limit of Marxist thinking, in relation to the American experience. <u>Black is Beautiful</u> and <u>Black Power</u> as slogans shook the the system. The leper moved out of his sacred circle. The universe of definition, of inscription, was shaken.

The Beatnik and Hippie movements were not the marginal movements that orthodox Marxist theory defines them as. Their power lay in their challenge to the Symbolic Order of the social system, in their counter-socialization of the self. They attempted to drop out of the prescribed places assigned to them by the system, to disrupt its coding, to define their own space. Their heresy lay in the totally <u>non-material</u> nature of their claim, making a claim that the dominant system could not satisfy.

That the system would later extend its coding so as to inscribe their new place as a place of licensed heresy--much as it had done with the Bohemian revolt of artists from Baudelaire to Greenwich Village--does not negate the symbolic effectiveness of their form of revolt against the socio-cultural order.

In a very real sense they had continued the tradition of the counter-symbolization of the spirituals, the de-normalization of the normal, by defining the normal as "exile," and initiating a quest for a new home, a new mode of existence of being. The utopian longing in its secular form continued the critique, initiated in the utopian longing of the spirituals, blues, jazz.

The Sixties movements of social and cultural revolution extended the earlier labour struggles of the workers from the particular realm of the factory to the total life-world. In doing this, they de-i · i. .. : the economic, negating the superstructure/infrastructural division of orthodox Marxist analysis, initiating the modern shape of the American struggle for a social transformation, and a self-liberation from the hegemonic social code.

The Sixties defined the new space of that transformation of the symbolic and actual order of the present social system; of its present plantation model of social relations; of its diffused and generalized mode of domination.

In the counter-revolutionary context of the Seventies, it is time for a theory based on the black experience, on the nigger breaking model and on the forms of revolt embedded in its "underlife", to provide an alternative mode of reason; a social mode of reason that at present exists diffused in the counter-symbolization of the multiple forms of the radical American tradition of revolt.

_ _ _ oOo _ _ _

"Poetry and the utopian revolt have this radical

presentness in common, this dengation of finalities;

it is this actualization of desire no longer relegated

to a future liberation; but demanded here immediately

even in its death throes, in the extreme situation of

life and death. Such is happiness; such is revolution.

It has nothing to do with the political ledgerbook, of the

Revoluiton...Couderoy, the Luddites, Rimbaud, the

Communards, teh people of the

those of May, 1968--...they are the revolutionist

concepts in transit. Their speed is symbolic and it

does not aim at an essence...But this utopian violence

does not accumulate; at is lost...It does not grasp for

power. Utopia works speech against power..."

JEAN BAUDRILLARD [   ]

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CULTURAL NATIONALISM/MARXISM AND THE UNDERLIFE:

TOWARDS A THEORETIC FRAME

"Actually the revolutionary potential on the American

scene lies within the rebellious capabilities of the Negro.

Hence, American race components become the main clue to

the reason why white intellectuals do not and cannot

transcend what Camus called the rebellion of a 'fruitless'

struggle with facts, of an obscure protest which involves

neither method nor reason. To be sure, even the Negro

struggle has barely begun to approach a revolutionary

intensity. The methodology of this struggle has not

(CRUSE)

even aquired a theore tic frame." [810]

In his book of essays, <u>Rebellion or Revolution</u>, Harold Cruse argues that if blacks are to translate rebellious ideas into revolutionary social action, then there is a great impoerative for what Camus called the need to "fit ideas into a theoretic frame." This monograph argues that this theoretic frame must be constituted as Frazier insists, out of "the religion and culture of the Negro folk." The counter-symbolization of experience and the counter-invention of the self implicit in the underlife, in the indigenization process needs now to be translated into an explicit counter-theory, into a theoretic frame.

The contradictions to be found in the overt black struggle, whether in its liberal (N.A.A.C.P.), in its Marxist-oriented or in its cultural nationalist phases are precisely due to this lack of a theoretic frame. In the absence of this frame, a partial aspect of the struggle has too often been taken as the paradigm for the overall struggle. This caused the black struggle to fall into the trap of autonomizing either the political or the economic or the cultural aspects of a struggle whose meaning only becomes apparent when all these aspects are interrelated.

The deep-seated clash that has always taken place between Marxism and black cultural nationalism is to be found in the clash of "theoretic frames"; the clash between the Marxist's autonomizing of the economic and the cultural nationalists autonomizing of the cultural. Yet the two strategies were not entirely equatable. The "cultural" strategy went beyond and related more intimately to the black experience, because, however confusedly, it related more to the central thrust of the underlife. Its revolt was finally the more radical because it aimed at the social code, at the dominant inscription. Its failure was to be due far more to the fact that it sought not to deconstruct the code but to invert it. The failure of the Marxist paradigm was to be of quite another order. Because it was unable to explain the

. : qualitative forms of exploitation that blacks experienced not only at the workplace but in their entire life activity, it could not offer a theoretic frame, a counter-ideology that could move the black masses into action. Yet all Marxists, black and white, accepted their theory as the new "revealed" truth, revealed because it was "scientific." Their dedication to the revolutionary cause was only matched by their sense of frustration at their failure to "capture" the widespread allegiance of the black masses. Having theologized their own "scientific theory" they made it unquestioned, like dogma. It was not the theory that had to be adjusted to experience but experience that had to be fitted onto theory, in their view.

Yet the "theoretical" clash was not a clash that could be relegated to an autonomous realm of theory. Indeed, the theory based on the nigger-breaking model makes it clear that the division between theory and praxis cannot be sustained. For the clash of theory between Marxists and cultural nationalists, was essentially a classh over identity and the clash over identity, was essentially a clash over priorities; and the clash over priorities was itself related to the clash between a "revolutionary" would-be control center wanting to define and control : new Remote Subordinates.

In this context, the sustained ideological conflict between orthodox Marxist and the many variants of black "cultural nationalism" can be seen as logical. The fierceness of the conflict has been due to the extent to which the Marxist "theoretic frame" did open up a new framework ... e of explanation, one on which the black experience was able to find a a partial theoretical ... explanation. Because of this the relation between orthodox Marxist theory and black cultural nationalism has been dual--occasional alliance and periodic conflicts.

In the context of this dual relation, Marxist theory and praxis as institutionalized by the Communist Party after the widespread popular Russian Revolution of 1917, and black nationalism as an overt and increasingly universalized political force, mutually, for awhile at least in the twenties,

sustained and supported each other. The mass constituency on which black nationalism could always count--at least in times of crisis--provided a recruiting base for Marxist organizers bedevilled by the fact that they remained a sectarian movement in the larger complex American reality.

On the other hand, Marxist theory which defined "blacks" as an oppressed section of the "proletariat" gave a more "material and rational" under-pinning to black nationalism. Marxist blacks adopted the slogan "class first" and the solution to the black problem in the "dictatorship of the proletariat". Hence for a while the varied comings and goings between black nationalist and Communist groupings in the twenties which Harold Cruse has documented [?11]:)

However at this level of mutual support there was also a struggle for power. This struggle was waged between different branches of the newly skilled black classes for control of the burgeoning black movement. The more skilled and incorporated into the dominant structure blacks were, the more they tended to think and operate in the "rational" mode of Western Marxism. The expose that Cruse makes of the paper that W.A. Domingo, a black Jamaican, submitted to a Communist group (white, largely) warning for the radical movement in the United States against negro is a [812] prime example of this kind of Marxist "rationality." The reported hesitation of deviation is a Huey Newton of the Black Panthers to join in the Anti-Bakke coalition on the grounds that Affirmative Action should not use the category of race but should base itself only on economic categories

Against these "rational" blacks were the lumpen-skilled, the newly skilled whose schooling was minimal and paper qualifications non-existent. Because of their lack of overmuch formal schooling they were able--and Garvey would be, of course, the outstanding member of this group--to move in the counter-world of the cultural signifying system of the underlife. They were therefore able, Garvey in particular, to create a global black mass following who were symbol_ically articulated and organized.
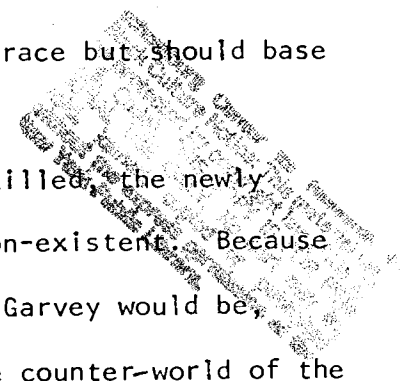
It was precisely because of this symbolic mode of articulation/

organization that Garveyism, after the defeat of Garvey himself, was able to go underground, spreading out in secret subterranean currents all over the black diaspora. There in the underground it hooked into the central cultural tradition that had existed, reinventing itself since the first slave ship reached terra firma. Garveyism itself had sprung from the cultural seedbed of this tradition; from the "politics" of this tradition. This tradition, we argue is itself related to the powerful symbolic counterworld that was reinvented in response to the forced exodus of the Middle Passage, to the enforced diaspora in the plantation archipelago of the Black Americas.

Garveyism itself, was to provide the cultural seedbed for later forms of black revolt including those that took apparently, the most "rational" forms, e.g., independence movements in Black Africa. But in the United States the antagonism between the Garveyite black nationalists and the Marxist Leninist blacks was bitter. Harold Cruse has documented this clash in his landmark book--The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual. Much of the polemical power of the book comes from Cruse's own rejection of the orthodox Marxist formulations of the thirties and of its vanguard bearers at the time, the primarily Jewish intellectual class and their immigrant West Indian counterparts. Much of the critical power of the book too comes from the fact that Cruse's own Marxist formation gave him the methodological tools--Marx's great contribution--to critique Marxism itself as a system. For the cultural nationalists it was not the primacy of the mode of production nor of the black's relation of non-ownership to the mode of production that exploited him materially in his workplace, materially and psychically in his life situation. Rather it was the societal production and reproduction of its own hierarchical social relations in which the black was/is exploited both materially and symbolically as the Negative Other, who negatively ground the general American perception of itself as a "white" nation. Negated in his total life situation as black--his negation as proletariat was only a part of this negation--the black nationalist saw his Slogan as Race First and his program as defined by George Lamming's
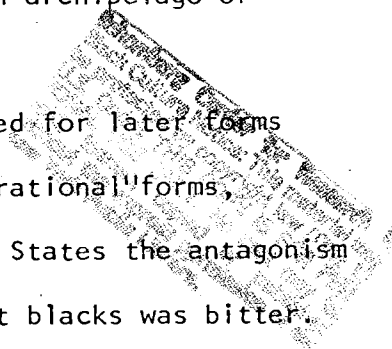
fictional Trumper--a black Barbadian who emigrated to the United States as a worker, and who tries to explain, on his return home, what being black in America meant. Trumper explains, as we quoted earlier on in this monograph, that the inscription attached to blacks in the United States--the fact that the word Negro and nigger is substituted for the concept of the Negro as the black people--determines the form of struggle for blacks. That is to say, as Lacan also argues, the self-perception of identity determines the subject's action upon the world.

Trumper focuses upon the fact of the exclusion of blacks from being "people," an exclusion reveal;ed in the use of language which itself reveals the structure of the hegemonic Symbolic Order. This exclusion, reflects back upon the black's themselves; influencing the self-perception as a group linked together by their collective outcast situation.

> "There aint no man an there aint no people. Just "nigger"
> an "Negro". An' little as that seem 'tis a tremendous difference.
> It makes a tremendous difference not to the whites but to
> the blacks. Tis the blacks who get affected by leaving out
> that word man or people. That's how we learn the race. Tis
> what a word can do." [8/3]
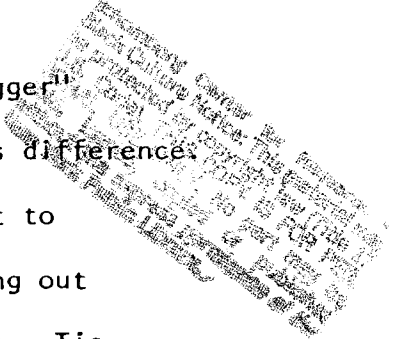
The group's self-perception, as Lacan argues, then determines the mode of action--the praxis--upon the world, whilst the praxis legitimates and grounds the self-perception, transforming it from a merely reactive posture. Self-perception, priorities and program of action are interrelated. As Trumper goes on to explain:

> "We got to see first and foremost 'bout the rights o'
> the Negro 'cause its like any kind of creature to see
> 'bout itself first. If the rights of man and rights of
> the Negro wus the same said thing, 'twould be different but
> they aint 'cause we're a different kind o' creature."
> [8/4]

It is this difference, Negro or Man, Negro and/or Proletariat, a

difference of relative position within the social "whole," and therefore of self-
definition or program for action that Professor Macdonald points to in his account
of the class between the black Trinidadian activist George Padmore and the
Comintern in 1934 [?/5]. Padmore was a communist and occupied a high position in
the Comintern. As Editor of the Negro Worker, he played the role of agitator/
propagandist against the imperial powers, continuing the Leninist strategy of
preparing the "colonial reserves" for action should the imperial democracies
attempt to again attack the Soviet Union.

But by 1934 the growing power of Hitler and the threat of the Nazi menance,
defined a more powerful enemy from the point of view of the Soviet Union's survival.
Padmore who was in Morocco working with the Moroccan liberation movement was
ordered to stop all agitation in the French colonies. This was the price that the
Russians had had to pay in return for a mutual defense pact with France. From the
point of view and priorities of the Soviet Union it was an entirely legitimate
decision, and Padmore recognized it as such.

But Padmore as Macdonald puts it "marched to the cadences of a
different drummer," responded to a different priority. His primary aim was "black
liberation and emancipation from colonial rule." Like Tito before Titoism and Mao
before Maoism he put his own priority first and continued publishing his paper. The
infighting was rough. His funds were cut off and he was expelled from the Party
stigmatized as a petty-bourgeois nationalist deviationist [518].

Padmore's choice was not a simple either/or. For long periods the
program and goal of the porponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat reinforced
and continues to reinforce the program and goal of black liberation and emancipation
from colonial rule. The case of Guinea-Bissau, of Mozambique, of South Africa/
Azania makes that clear, even though the cases of Angora and Ethiopia raises doubts.
But this mutual reinforcement is based on the fact that Capitalism, in its property-
bourgeois form, began as a world system, as a mode of domination, based on the total
social disposability of men, women and children as a labor force. Its legitimating

goal was the development of the productive force and its concept of freedom,
a freedom from all traditional ties which would hinder this goal. As Wallerstein
has pointed out, the global system of capitalism used different forms of labour-
control--wage labour in the core countries, serf and "native" labour in the semi-
periphery and forced slave labour in the periphery. Since its condition of
possibility was its global scope and its central imperative the rationalization
of the use of labour power, it reduced all men, or rather the majority of men, to
a COMMON CONDITION OF ECONOMIC POWERLESSNESS. It is this common experience that
leads the proletariat to its self-perception of itself as such, as the social
. rpowerlessness of blacks leads it to another mode of self-perception. It is
on this basis of this commonality that the proletariat's goal·
and the black goal reinforce and support each other.

But the commonality is one side of the dialectic. Differentiation is
the other. Capitalism's logic of domination based on production not only needed
a global division of labour, it also needed a global hierarchization of labour. The
accumulation of power and of surplus- value on a global scale needed the mechanism of relatively
unequal levels of development, itself produced by a system of social stratification.
Capital's central condition of possibility for self-expansion and the concomitant
bourgeois hegemony, was the institution of national and global relations of
production which produced and reproduced systems in which different groups, races,
sexes, became relatively more or less exploited, materially and psychically. (817)

Colonialism--like Jim Crow legislation in the United States after the
end of slavery--was a form of the imposition of this hierarchization of social
relations. It ensured that the productive system of the colonial countries played
the part necessary to the smooth functioning of the "whole" economic system. And
the whole responded to the "hegemonic needs" of the bourgeoisie of the core countries.
Since the proletariat of these countries were nationally coded, they perceived them-
selves as primarily national, in relation to ther nations. Hence they were able
to share in the relative exploitation of the periphery proletariat at the same time

as they were exploited by their own bourgeoisie.

In the colonies and their respective "Mother" countries the contradiction was expressed as between the normative workers at the centre and colonical or native labour in the periphery. The difference was expressed not only in the relative difference/size of the historical basket of goods that each obtained in return for the expenditure of their labour power. It was also expressed in their relative self-valuation, self-perception as human beings.

In the United States the hierarchy/differentiation expressed itself in the categories of white/black. The social structures of the society, as well as its overall cultural signifying system--those inner eyes, says Ellison with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality [?|?]--made, and continues for now, to make it logical that the primary self-perception of both black and white proletariat is that of being either black or white. Here too is the logic of the institutionalized fascism of South Africa's "white" "proletariat."

Trumper's self-perception, his action in the world, his program--the Where he is going--is necessarily coded in "black" terms. Yet he will also join in a strike with white workers, act together with them and experience himself as proletariat for that time. Here he shares in that dual consciousness so brilliantly analysed by W.E.B. Dubois. It was a conflict between this dual consciousness in Padmore's case, between his consciousness as Communist-proletariat and as Black/Pan African that gave him the choice of either accepting the "hegemonic interest" of the Soviet Union or leaving the party.

Orthodox Marxism sought no theoretical explanation for this dual identity, proposed no line of action that could come to terms with the concrete nature of the reality of the dialectic between commonality and hierarchization. Rather they insisted on the hegemonic nature of the commonality as expressed in their slogan "Black and White unite and fight." That "whites" fought blacks as consistently at least as they fought the employer class, that blacks excluded from the trade unions , who more and more came to monopolize the distribution of jobs,

acted as strike breakers, striking in their turn against the white worker's policy of exclusion was deliberately overseen. That waves of immigrant workers had consistenty used "whiteness" to push blacks out of jobs; and that even the incorporation of large number of the black working class into skilled jobs would take place with the expansion of the white working class into "white-collar" jobs--so that the relative GAP remained--was again deliberatly overseen.

Gunnar Myrdal documents the dual aspects of conflict and alliance relating these aspects to different historical periods. He then criticiaes the total assimilation of the "Negro" problem to the economic factor.

"The assumption that race prejudice and caste conflict have their roots in economic competition and that the whole caste problem is "basically" economic has come to be widespread...Nevertheless,...the very idea that one factor or another is "basic" and "primary" to the caste systme is erroneous. In the cumulative causation of interrelated social factors, none of them is so unimportant that it should be neglected...

The further hypothesis that there exists a "natural" identity of interests between Negro and white workers is about as meaningful or as meaningless a statement as the one that all mankind wants peace. It depends. The term "interest" when applied to a group of people is crude and ambiguous unless it is ascertained how the bonds of psychological identification are fixed (italics mine)."
[819]

Yet the conceptualization of a "natural interest" relates to the orthodox Marxian theory of class which defikes class division as a relation to the owner-ship of the means of production, thus even in this instance continuing the

the autonomization of the economic. Above all it defines "class" passively. The class exists not by and through its class-struggle, realizing itself as a class by its actions--as Trumper realizes his group identity through the "Negro" struggle --but rather, as defined by the dominant tendency in orthodox Marxism, to whether or not it owns the means of production ... The category of "ownership"-- a more limited concept--is substituted for the more universal control; and the partial category of production substituted for production/communication, i.e., for socialization.

Because of this the central relation between individual and group identity which is the basis of action upon the world is not only marginalized but dismissed as "psychologism."

> Yet, as Myrdal points out, and as the black experience reveals:
> "When it is said that all Negro and white workers have a "common
> interest," the assumption must be that they actually care
> about each other's interests, that they all feel as a group...
> If white and black workers do not feel united as a group, there
> is of course no "common interest." "Labor solidarity" is
> not a thing by itself; it exists or does not exist, only
> in the feelings of the worker's for each other. If
> white workers feel a group unity among themselves, from
> which they exclude Negroes, they are likely to try and
> push Negroes out of employment. If in such a situation
> white employers--for whatever reasons--are inclined to
> accept Negro workers, the interest solidarity actually ties
> the Negro workers to the white employers instead of to the
> white workers.
>
> ...A feeling of "common interest" can be promoted
> however by the actual spread of the ideology of class
> solidarity. Of this, there is as yet comparatively little
> in America." [ ]

The world system of capitalism employed not only a technical division of labour--but over and above all, a <u>social division of labour</u>. As we pointed out earlier in Edward Long's ideological schema, a hierarchical social division of labour was legitimated on the principle of the ownership or non-ownership of the intellectual faculty. A technical division of labour based on a division between conception and execution, between drivers and the doers, brain and brawn labour was legitimated by the idea of the "natural" allocation of "the intellectual faculty."

The social division of labour according to "race" then legitimated all other forms of social division, like that according to sex--white women would have less intellectual faculty, be nearer to inert matter than the white male; and white males depending on class would have more or less of the "intellectual faculty."

The "nigger breaking" mechanism was a mechanism of social inscription designed to socialize Douglas into being <u>brawn</u>--in other words to produce him as the empirical "fact" of his own non-endowment of the intellectual faculty. His revolt and escape shatters this code. The <u>forms</u> of his revolt--i.e., physical violence against the domination of Covey, and intellectual subversion of the code by the mere act of <u>reading</u>, and later, by the acquisition of information witheld from the working classes, slave and non-slave--reveals the truth of Braverman's analysis of modern monopoly capitalism's use of the division of labour as a mode of domination.

Russel Jacoby writes in his review of Braverman's book:
"Braverman examines the extent to which the division of labour itself is capitalist, and not simply its utilization...The specifically capitalist form of the division of labour disassociates knowledge and activity: the intention is not to produce more efficiently but to subordinate and mesmerize the laborer...Domination does not begin just outside the technical apparatus--in its

abuse--but in its existence. The separation of intelligence
and activity, in particular, is not a technical requirement of
modern production; it is an element of the domination of
labour. Management strips intelligence from muscle and
coops it up in the office so as to better dominate both."
[§24]

The "nigger-breaking" of Douglas by Covey is an early form of this
stripping of intelligence from muscle. The social mechanisms used to strip
intelligence from muscle in the case of Covey are less overt, but they constitute
a pervasive whole. And the central social mechanisms which is at work to ensure
Covey's subordination is the mechanism which constitutes him as a white subject,
in other words, the mechanisms which "produce" Covey's consciousness as a
"white consciousness."

As Jacoby argues, Braverman's analysis of the labor-process shows that
the process itself excises consciousness. The labour-process itself, with its forms
of social division, ideologically presented as technical divisions--thus an
overseer on the plantation was always a white man, since whites allegedly had the
brain-power for supervisory tasks and increasingly today women workers fill the
lower level clerical jobs, which require no "brain-power," no decision-making--
shapes consciousness. It is this shaping of consciousness that I term "nigger-
breaking." The production process is then, in this interpretation, a central part
of the overall mechanisms of socialization; the economic is only a part of the
levels of social domination.

The social divisions of labour are made using class, race, sex, culture,
religious, urban, rural, nationality criteria. The BRAIN/BRAWN representation is
central and differing criteria can allocate differing groups to a more brain--
more brawn and vice versa hierarchy. As Long's table shows the social construct
of the Pure White was assimilated to the BRAIN category; as to a lesser degree in
the implications of this Table, the Pure female was assimilated to the Body. The

Pure Negro was absolute BODY. This polarization then made possible the hierarchy between degrees of the Pure White itself--the bourgeoise constituting the Pure Intellect, the manual labourer his negation and varying levels constituted inbetween.

The ideology of "whiteness"--rather than the empirical fact of a white skin--became central to the social division of labour on which the capitalist mode of domination is based. The ideology of whiteness carried as its concomitant the ideology of "brain-power." The principle of the inborn intellectual faculty replaced the "blue-blood" of the nobility as the legitimating principle of bourgeois control and domination. "Whiteness' and its negation blackness, because central cultural units in the signification system of the bourgeoisie.

The "white" proletariat experiences a dual identity, is involved in dual action upon the world. His "White" identity makes him an accomplice in bourgeois domination, whilst his proletarian identity makes him the victim, both in an economic sense--the extraction of surplus-value, and in a social sense--his social nigger-breaking to fix him eternally into his proletarian place.

Orthodox Marxist theory, by focussing only on his material exploitation, marginalizes his social exploitation. By focussing only on his proletarian identity, the theory oversees his own complicity as "white"--not as a man with a white skin but as a subject, socially constituted as white--in the social exploitation of the Black; as white male in the social / exploitation of the woman.

Marxist theory attempts to subsume the black experience--under the universal rubric of proletariat. If the black accepts the Single Identity of Proletariat, then he must accept a SINGLE PROGRAM FOR ACTION--the dictatorship of the Proletariat. Since the American proletariat is white--the Black would have to acquiese in the dictatorship of the white proletariat, if he accepts the theoretic frame of othrodox Marxism.

Federick Douglas pointed out how infinitely worse were the Christian slave holders who could use their Christianity to justify slavery. The experience

of blacks in white-dominated communist organizations has revealed how infinitely
worse are "white" Marxists who use their Marxism to justify their domination.

The attempt to assimilate the "Negro" worker under the Single Identity
of Proletariat, has been paralleled by the tendency of white middle class feminists
to assimilate the struggle of the black woman under the Single Identity of Feminist.

An interesting exchange between a black and a white anthropologist--
both women--has recently brought this out. Whilst the black anthropologist insists
on the duality of the forms of exploitation--black women suffer both from sexism
and from racism--the white anthropologist attempts to assimilate the black woman's
struggle to the Single Identity and goal of Feminism and Women's Liberation. As
with labor, Feminism becomes the privileged revolutionary Norm under which the
specificity of differing forms of exploitation need be homogenized. There is a
sustained theoretical imperalism here.

As with labor, the "white" feminist refuses to see that her constitution
as a white subject--the white skin is only a sign of this--shapes her consciousness
as "white", i.e., as Normative. Sexism is essentially the acceptance by males of
their normative male identity. Racism is essentially the acceptance by whites of their
identity as normative. Class consciousness is the acceptance by the middle class
of their identity and consciousness as Normative.

It is clear then that most people--except for the black lower-class
woman--share to some extent in the experience of the Norm. But the degrees are
hierarchical. A black male in a sexist society that perceives itself as white
is negated as the Symbolic male. The Phallus is always white. The greater
egalitarianism between the black male and the black woman springs from the fact
that as blacks they are socially exploited by all whites, male and female. The
white/black coding is the central social inscription.

As Dr. Diane Lewis argues, the separation/exclusion of women from the
public sphere is an exclusion experienced for a long time by both black men and
women. Indeed, as she shows, the social inscription with regards to the black male

had to be even more rigorously enforced.

> "Moreover special means have been needed to reaffirm black male
> inferiority. Since slavery coexisted with male dominance in the
> white society, black men, as men, constituted a potential threat
> to the established order of white superiority. Laws were formu-
> lated that specifically denied black men normal adult prerogatives." 〔92

Lynchings were essentially acts of social inscription--and vis a vis
the black male, the relatively powerless white female did participate in the
experience of power. The sexual exploitation of black women by white men, as
Dr. Lewis points out, intensified the black male's powerlessness.

Dr. Lewis, here argues against the universal applicability of a model
by another anthropologist, Dr. Rosaldo, who had located female inequality
essentially in the "differential participation of men and women in public life."
Again a partial explanation is imposed on a total reality. Dr. Lewis reveals the
non-universality of the Rosaldo thesis:

> "Stringent institutionalized barriers to male participation
> continued for almost 100 years after slavery. These included
> the refusal of membership of national trade unions, which effectively
> barred black men from the job market; prejudical welfare laws,
> which undermined the man's status as husband and father; and vigorous
> tactics to block black participation in the political process. The
> systematic exclusion of black men from the public sphere suggests
> that black sex role relationships cannot be explained by the notion
> of a structural opposition between the domestic and the public spheres
> or the differential participation of men and women in the public
> sphere... Black men and women shared equal exclusion from, rather than
> equal participation in, the public sphere. What the black experience
> suggests is that differential participation in the public sphere is a

symptom rather than a cause of structural inequality. While inequality is <u>manifested</u> in the exclusion of a group from public eye, it is actually <u>generated</u> in the group's unequal access to power and resources in a hierarchically arranged social order.") (623)

Dr. Lewis then argues that black women, with membership in two subordinate groups, are "structurally" in opposition with a dominant racial and sexual group." She point to the fact that black men as men and white women as whites occupy, in relation to the black woman, dominant positions. But a distinction must be made here. It is not the white or the male per se but the <u>Symbolic White</u> and the <u>Symbolic Male</u> that is valued. Black men, because they are not white, do not constitute the Symbolic Male, white women because they are not male do not constitute the Symbolic Male. The white woman lacks the <u>Phallus</u>; the black man lacks the <u>White Phallus</u>. But this aside there are still some degrees of hierarchy.

Dr. Lewis' model of the black woman's dual struggle can be used for that of the black proletariat:

"The interests which bind black women together with

and pull them into opposition against comembers, cross-

cut one another in a manner which often obscures one set

interest another. Historically there interests as blacks

have taken presedence over their interests as women. <u>A</u>

shift in power relations between the races had to come

before changes in the structural relationship between

the sexes." (624)

Dr. Lewis then points to the growing involvement of black women in Feminist groups, and to the way in which the shared experience of racism helps black women groups to transcend class interests. She documents the narrowing of the gap between black and white women's wages, and the relative widening of the gap between the income of women and men in general, including that between black

men and black women.

Alison Bernstein answers Lewis' argument. The main thrust of Bernstein is to refuse the duality that Lewis insists on, so as to refuse to examine the duality of "white" women as both participating in exploitation and as being exploited. She uses the materialist fallacy which relates all exploitation to quantitative exploitation.

> "Black women are just beginning to identify with the women's
> movement, even though a cursory analysis of the incomes
> of white and black women relative to the incomes of black
> and white males might still lead some to wonder why it has
> taken them so long." [825]

The women's movement is taken as NOrm, black women represented as somewhat dumb not to have flocked to its fold. The fact that the Women's ... Movement in the Sixties was activated by the far more deep-seated black movement is overseen. Dr. Bernstein is "white" and refuses to examine the presuppostions of her "white" consciousness. Hence like all whites, all males, all the normative, she constitutes the Non-NOrm as a lack. She challenges Dr. Lewis' explanations of the sequence of black women's involvement--first a shift in the power relations between the races, then a growing interest in sexism--with the "inherent" fallacy central to all control centers who "define" the ingrained inferiority of the Subordinate Remotes.

> "Even then there appeared to be a reluctance to identify
> with women's interests. If the reason was, as the paper
> suggests becuase white women were part of the oppressor
> class, why has this perception changed? Could it be that
> black women's slowness to identify with women's issues
> reflects a particular form of sexism within black culture
> which was subtle and more complex than in the dominant
> culture?" [828]

As Dr. Lewis points out, attitudes like these held by white feminists have been instrumental in discouraging black women from taking part in feminist movements dominated by the white majority.

Both proletariat and feminist movements in the U.S. are dominated by a white majority. And the white identity is constituted by and through the exclusion of the Symbolic Black. Indeed Dr. Bernstein's "formulation" of a lack or deficiency in black culture parallels the orthodox Marxist stigmatization of black cultural struggles as nationalist and chauvinist; parallels the bourgeois scholar's insistence that the black's failure to be mobile is to be found in his culture's fault or in his own lack--of genes, of skills, of ability. Indeed as the factory model of exploitation, by privileging quantitative exploitation marginalized the black experience, so Ms. Bernstein's "feminist" model of exploitation by privileging exclusion from the public sphere, marginalizes the black experience of exploitation and at the same time extends that negrofication of the black and that stigmatization of black culture, so vitally necessary to the constitution and preservation of the white ego identity; and to "white" action upon the world. And all "white" action is based upon the presupposition of the normative quality of "white" centrality.

As Harold Cruse points out, the theoretical impasse of any revolutionary movement in the U.S.A.--which has resulted in a lack of popular support for revolutionary struggle as such--is based on the reluctance of white Americans to accept the central thesis quoted above. Cruse further develops on this point:

> "It is the Negro presence that represents the basic social
> ingredients of the native American theoretical synthesis:
> it is only that the revolutionary Marxists have never understood
> or acknowledged it. They have always attempted to apply a
> European theoretical schema to the United States which has
> been a monumental mistake. America is not Europe. Its
> social, ethnic, cultural, political, economic ingredients

did not coalesce in the European fashion. Therefore...

It is necessary to depart from the dialectical

conclusions that European societies revealed to the

orthodox Marxist social theorists...

American Marxists find it next to impossible to break with

this established European Marxist revolutionary scheme.

One chief reason for this difficulaty is the inability of

Negro radicals themselves to break with it." [828]

This inability is understandable. The "black experience" especially in
the context of the United States is represented as a "racial" experience, and
therefore as a particular experience, non-applicable to other areas of experience.
As such it is not imagined to be able to present the universal paradigm that the
concept of the proletariat presents, providing a theoretic frame that can be
universally applied: and thereby structuring alliances between multiple peoples
who experience economic exploitation under the aegis of the capitalist world
system. Indeed, the power of the European-based schema was that it verbalized
for the peoples of the world their experiences of oppression, as the dialogues
of the Columbian orator verbalized for Douglas his own experience of oppression. By
making a sharp comparison between the property-bourgeosie and the non-propertied
proletariat, Marxism structured a widespread counter-solidarity to the solidarity of
interests showed to differing degrees by the world property-bourgeosie. As Diane Lewis
suggests:

"Ideology...articulates increasing discontent which

emerges as a group's members perceive that their

legitimate expectations are being frustrated.

Frustration arises as they experience a sense of

relative deprivation vis a vis other groups..."

[824]

By revealing the secret of the accumulation of surplus value,

by legitimating labor as sole producer of accumulated capital, Marxism created a

Symbolic Proletariat as the Norm of the productive process which at the same time

it privileged as the only reality principle.

Indeed a central fea ture of European derived Marxism was its division

of social reality into the economic level of infrastructure, the level of the

real, of objective ; ; and the allegedly secondary level or the superstructure

which tended to reflect, or rather to be the effect of the economic cause. There were

to be many refinements of this, notably Althusser who insisted on a relative

autonomy of different levels, with the economic determinant only in the last

instance.

Yet a theoretic frame constituted on the basis of the black experience,

of its form of exploitation--and its form of resistence, points to the inextricability

of the infrastructure and of the superstructure. From the seventeenth century

Congolese who warned--"Call us prieto. Do not call us Negros. Negros are

slaves," to the first age group who reinvented themselves as shipmate to the

Myalmen and the Vaudo'n rebels who reinvented their identity, to Nat Turner who

reinvents himself as the Symbolic Black Christ, to the cry of Black is beautiful,

shattering the Negro definition in the Sixties, the black experience has pointed to

the inextricability of the superstructure which homogenized--all tribal groupings

to Negro, all ethnicities to white--and then re-inscribed and coded the different

social division of labour, the social division which is the basis of the system's

hegemony and of the bourgeois--property or technocratic--mode of domination.

The black revolt, Baudrillard argues, is the most radical because

it aims at the code [730].

x   x   x   oOo   x   x   x

SUPERSTRUCTURE/INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE UNDERLIFE:

CULTURE/IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY

"In the same way it is by and through the concept of a
material infrastructure opposed to a superstructure that
Marxism is able to found something like an objective and
revolutionary analysis of society. The separation founds
the science. It is also from the distinction between
theory and praxis that a rationality of praxis is born...
Science lives from that separation and dies with it."

JEAN BAUDRILLARD [531]

"Black identity has been too often, the projection of
white vision and of white needs...the cultural doubt
of provincials, the fluidity and impermanence of status
in a democracy, the phantom of identity where
institutions and order were always in flux, the anxiety
of an achievement ethic, the possible terror in some
views of change itself, these have been the traumas of
American life. In these contexts identity has been a
desperate issue for white and black Americans. One
view of the white man's Negro is to see him as a
manufactured point of reference in a scene of radical
flux and change, the one permanent and unchanging thing.
The black myth, like that of the old South, was a
created tradition."

NATHAN HUGGINS [234]

"...the category of the subject is only constitutive of
all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function

(which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects...all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects by the functioning of the category of the subject...ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects...or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects...by that very precise operation which I have called 'interpellation' or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there.' ...the hailed individual will turn around. By this mere one hundred and eighty degree physical conversion he becomes subject. Why? Because he has recognized that the 'hail' was really addressed to him and that 'it was really him who was hailed'..."

LOUIS ALTHUSSER [238]

The first part of this monograph still moved within the orthodox Marxian discourse. The attempt to reconcile the black experience and the orthodox Marxist interpretation, which underlies the earlier formulations reaches its climax in the section on the post-slavery passage of identity in the United States. Here I attempt to place Jim Crow laws and the Montgomery Bus Boycott within the theoretical framework of the factory model of exploitation, a model which assumes the goal-seeking activity of the system to be only that of extracting surplus value and hence theoretically postulates capitalism as a mode of production. Thus, whilst I argued for the crucial interrelation of the superstructure and the infrastructure, and identified the parallels between Jim Crow laws in the United States and the colonial mechanism, I interpreted both as essentially mechanisms for the extraction of surplus value. Thus I argued (see page 241) that "Jim Crow Laws...were logical and central to the relations of production which maintained pools of devalued labour, i.e., Native Labour, within the

national borders in the United States."

The nigger-breaking model reveals that the separation/definition of infrastructure/superstructure is itself ideological. It is the dominant ideology which represents the economic as the "reality principle's" confining the "superstructural" politics, ideology, etc.--to a relatively inferior place.

By constituting the Symbolic Proletariat as the Norm of revolutionary identity, the new technocratic bourgeosie, on its rise to global hegemony-- displacing the property bourgeosie--could then constitute a program of action and a priority related to the "proletarian" identity. Thus, instead of the liberation of concrete individual men/women from proletarian status, or "negro" or "female" status, the second contemporary round of the bourgeois revolution, ensured the liberation of the productive forces in the semi-periphery areas of the world: ensuring bourgeois hegemony in a new form.

What would be original and innovative with the technocratic bourgeoisie would be its new mode of distribution, a more rational mode of distribution, a more rational mode of the social product. It is this more rational mode of distribution that legitimates their hegemony as a ruling class. But the fact that the Party bureaucrats and its elite now constituted a ruling class had to be concealed even from the ruling class themselves. By representing the superstructure-- ideas, culture, ideology, laws, etc.--as a mere reflection--or even if autonomous, determined in the last instance by the economic--the implication was that the revolution in the economic site of production was the "real" act of revolution from which, refracted, other forms of social transformation would flow.

Yet its hegemony, like that of the property--bourgeoisie would be carried out through the Party's total control of the means of socialization, including the means of production. By marginalizing the superstructure--as the property bourgeoisie had spiritualized culture, and autonomized the political-- the new technocratic bourgeosie uses the theoretic frome of orthodox Marxism to marginalize the cultural factor. In this way it obscures the role of the cultural

signification system in cementing its mode of domination; and at the same time

marginalizes the question of power which is essentially the issue of social

exploitation. It is this issue that the plantation model, the nigger-breaking

mechanism and the cultural resistence of the underlife clearly reveals.

It is this marginalization of the cultural front, Harold Cruse

also argues, that what he defines as "left-wing integrationist" philosophy,

i.e., the homogenizing program of orthodox Marxism which assimilated all forms

of exploitation under the "labor" rubric--achieved. Because of this, American

Marxism "has left an extremely important front--the cultural front OUT...it was

on the cultural front of this nation that American Marxism was presented with its

only social area for theoretical and programmatic originality in a social

philosophy that is generally European in radical style." [834)

As Cruse also points out, the fact that the United States was

ethnically and culturally, nationally heterogenous whilst Europe had been

nationally and culturally homogenous--there were exceptions, and contradictions but

not as dominant a contradiction as in the U.S.--posed a theoretical problem that,

whilst it could have been overseen in the European framework, could hardly

have been avoided in the American reality.

The very core of that cultural problem is the black/white coding that

constitutes the American social reality. Yet the "desparate issue of identity"

as Nathan Huggins phrases it, a major issue in a new country attempting to construct

a national identity out of disparate peoples and cultures, has been avoided.

This theoretical evasion is common to the liberal and to the Marxist paradigm.

Even the American Negro himself, Cruse argues, "exists under the

dominating persuasion of the Great American Ideal..." [835 This Ideal is,

of course, the melting pot ideal, the homogenized assimilated ideal of a society

"whose legal Constitution recognizes the rights, privileges,

and aspirations of the individuals, but whose political

institutions recognize the reality of ethnic groups only

695

during election contests. Every four years the great

fiction of the assimilated American (white/and or

Protestant) ideal is put aside to deal with the

pluralistic reality of the hypenated American vote,

of which the largest is the Negro-American." [830]

Cruse goes on to discuss the concept of the Great American Ideal.

This ideal is central to the Symbolic Order of the American Social Reality. It is

in relation to this ideal that Americans are "hailed", "interpellated"--to use the

Althusserian term, or recognize each other as Americans. In other words, this

ideal defines and shapes the mode of interrelationships, the mode of social relations

of the society, by and through the mechanism of its constitution of identity.

This Ideal as Cruse points out "idealizes the rights of the individual

above everything else." The contradiction lies in the fact that in reality, the

U.S.A. is

> "a nation dominated by the social power of groups, classes--
>
> in groups and cliques--both ethnic and religious. The individual
>
> in America has few rights that are not backed up by the
>
> political, economic and social power of one group or
>
> another. Hence the individual Negro has, proportionately,
>
> very few rights, indeed because his ethnic group...has very little
>
> political, economic or social power..to wield...those Negroes...
>
> who have accepted the full essence of the Great American ideal
>
> of individualism are in serious trouble, trying to function
>
> in America...these people want to be full-fledged Americans
>
> without regard to race, creed or color...this social animal is
>
> a figment of the American imagination." [837]

represents

The Symbolic American exists only to the extent that he : represents one

Single Race--white, one single creed, Christian, one single color, white. The

others who exist, exist as degrees of lack, just as within the Single Race or

creed or color, some can assimilate more nearly to the most perfect embodiment
of this race, i.e., WASPS.

The oversight of the powerful role that the constitution of the American
identity as "white" plays in preventing and blocking the movements of emancipatory
social transformation in the American reality is linked to the marginalization
of the cultural factor implicit in the infrastructure/superstructure division.
Because of this, the role that hegemonic "white" nationalism plays in preventing
the actualization of America as a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural nation--rather than
as white and Western--has never been confronted.

Yet the question of identity, relegated by orthodox Marxism to a
superstructural problem is central--as Lacan argues--and as the black experience
reveals--to the action upon the world of groups and individuals.

"Nigger-breaking" can be seen in this context as the mechanism by
which the subject is constituted as slave; in the particular instance of Douglas
and others. The initial success of the nigger-breaking of Douglas led him to
accept and to internalize a specific intentionality of consciousness--that of
a slave. Accepting this identity, this intentionality, then his practices,
his actions upon the world would "freely" ground his identity as slave.
Nigger-breaking is then the direct mechanism by which the dominant ideolgoy is not
so much internalized as constituted.

As Althusser argues in the above quote, all ideology constitutes
"concrete individuals" as "subjects," "hails", interpellates, gets them to
"freely," "naturally," "instinctively" accept themselves as this subject who is
hailed. Thus the nigger-breaking of Douglas is the direct attempt to constitute
him as Negro/slave subject WHEN THE NORMATIVE I. DIRECT MECHANISM CONSTITUTED
BY THE SOCIAL SYSTEM, i.e., its "seasoning" has failed.

Nigger-breaking is carried out through physical violence and the
everyday praxis of brute toil and fatiguing labour, imposed to create conditioned

reflexes towards work, and towards his interrelationship with the dominant whites. We note that it this social relationship with his master that the latter had found unsatisfactory. [838)

Douglas, by not quite <u>acting</u> like a slave, becomes dangerous. Athusser reveals the inextricable link between ideas and practices in the functioning of ideology and identity:

"An individual believes in God, or Duty or Justice, etc....

The individual...behaves in such and such a way..participates

in certain regular practises which are those of the ideological

apparatus on which "depend" the ideas which he has in all

consciousness freely chosen as subject..If he believes in

God, he goes to church...If he believes in Duty, he will

have corresponding attitudes, inscribed in ritual practices...

If he believes in Justice, he will submit unconditionally

to the rules of the Law..." [834)

Mr. Covey believes "freely" in the work ethic. His action of a nigger-breaker are morally sanctioned by that belief. Indeed, his action constitutes his identity as <u>Free</u> subject and as the Norm. He nigger-breaks Douglas into accepting himself , as the negation of this Norm, i.e., as someone who must both work and be <u>driven</u> to work. The production and reproduction of this <u>interrelation</u> constitutes the social reality of the plantation.

The liberation of Douglas, his transformation of identity from <u>slave</u> to <u>man</u>, comes from the fact that he re-expropriates the power, ability to constitute his own identity. By refusing to accept his identity as a slave, by "believing" in <u>Freedom</u>, he re-expropriates his intentionality of consciousness, autonomously chooses his self-inscription. His actions upon the world now run counter to the prescribed ritual practices, to the prescribed hegemonic beliefs.

His actions shakes Mr. Covey's identity, but because it is the action of an individual black, Covey and the social order can contain the threat.

Douglas will only be able to escape to the North once his individual self-liberation has been effected. But the symbolic code which constitutes the white subject as normative will not be shaken until the blacks <u>as a group</u> move out of their actual and Symbolic place, thereby disrupting the code of the Axiomatic identity.

For those "negroes" who remain in the South, after slavery, learning to constitute themselves as Negro subjects, as Negro "individuals" invites painful problems in deciphering the social codes [§4], painful initiation rites. For the constitution of the concrete individual with a white skin, as Norm, as <u>the</u> Single Axiomatic subject of the American Ideal, cannot be carried out except by and through ritual practises which are based upon social <u>acts of exchange</u> with the concrete individual with a black skin constituted as <u>Negro</u>. The inscription of the Negro in a sacred circle as Symbolic Other, as the non-axiomatic, the non-norm, the devalued term of the structural law of being is an inscription carried out through the practises of social exchange. It is these practices that constitute the homogeneous "white" America without consideration of creed, race, color, in other words, that constitute the Great American Ideal.

Ralph Ellison's classic novel *Invisible Man* constitutes its central theme about the problematic that Huggins defines as the "desperate issue" of identity.

Early in the novel, the Battle Royal scene reveals the contradiction at the core of the identity mechanism in the national framework of the United States. But as Deleuze and Guattari argue a social order, the social machine, does not die from contradictions but rather lives off and functions by and through these contradictions.

> "The death of a social machine has never been
> heralded by a disharmony or a dysfunction;
> on the contrary, social machines make a
> habit of feeding on the contradictions they
> give rise to, on the crisis they provoke, on

the anxieties they <u>engender</u>, and on the internal operations

they regenerate...No one has ever died from contradictions.

And the more it breaks down, the more it schizophrenizes,

the better it works, the American way." [240]
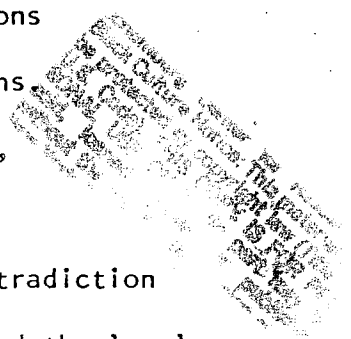
The central contradiction, as Cruse points out, is the contradiction

between the <u>representation</u> of the ideal of the SYMBOLIC INDIVIDUAL--and the legal

coding of this individual--and the reality of the group social power which alone

activates these individual "rights", realizes them.

Yet the legal function of the individual, an abstraction, must be

concretely experienced by the Subject if he is to represent his actions upon the

world as <u>individual</u> actions--the best man <u>wins</u>, the non-best man loses--these

actions too must be <u>represented</u> as "freely" chosen actions, as his apparent "free"

self--constituting himself as an "Individual" is also represented as a "freely"

chosen option. The contradiction is to be found in the fact that the apparently

<u>autonomous</u> individual cannot interpellate (i.e., recognize) himself as such except

<u>by</u> and through his relation to--his social exchange with--an OTHER: that is to say,

the individual can only experience himself as an autonomous I over against an

Other who functions as his NOT-I; and the aggregation of I'S cannot constitute

themselves as a group, as a <u>we</u> (i.e., Americans) without a not-quite American, a

not-quite Individual. If in Israel, the normatively European, Oriental Jew performs this caste function

in the U.S.A., the "Negro" functions symbolically and actually to constitute the

normative individaul at "white".

Ellison reveals the social mechanism of this interrelated constitution

of identity in the Battle Royal scene. The scene is obviously an initiation rite

and Ellison himself tells us so in a recent lecture:

"...the narrator goes through a number of rites of passage,

rites of initiation. And as I tried to tell my story I

began looking at the meaning of certain rituals. No one had

ever told me that the battle royal was a rite but I came

to see that it was. It was a rite which could be used to project

certain racial divisions into the society and reinforce the idea

of white superiority. On the other hand, as a literary person

trying to make up stories out of recognizable experiences, it

was necessary that I see the Battle Royal situation as something

more than a group of white men having sadistic fun with a group

of Negro boys. Indeed I would have to see it for what it was,

beyond the question of the racial identities of the actors

involved: a ritual through which important social values are

projected and reinforced." [842)

The critic, Irving Howe, describes the scene:

"A timid Negro boy comes to a white smoker in a southern town;

he is to be awarded a scholarship. Together with several other

Negro boys he is rushed to the front of the ballroom, where a

sumptuous blond tantalizes and frightens them by dancing in

the nude. Blind-folded the Negro boys stage a "battle royal,"

a free-for-all in which they pummel each other to the drunken

shouts of the whites. Practical jokes, humiliation, terror--and

then the boy delivers a prepared speech of gratitude to his

white benefactors.

At the end of this section the boy dreams that he has

opened the brief case given him together with his scholarship

and that he finds an inscription reading 'To whom it may concern:

Keep the Nigger Boy Running.'" [843]

Amongst the practical jokes are an electrified rug on which there

are gold coins. The boys are made to scramble for the coins. They manage to

get them after unimaginable terror and agony; as the Narrator manages to get

his briefcase and his scholarship. The coins are fake. The point of the

scene is that the Narrator, initiated as a middleclass subject--the briefcase

is the thematic object which "represents" him as middle class, as intellectual labour, is still constituted as a Negro-middle class subject. An American who is American only insofar as he never forgets he is a Negro. Thus the price that he must pay for his constitution as a subject is his subjection, his acceptance of his "Negro" place.

All critics have praised the scene including Irving Howe, who however also accuses Ellison of not being "angry" enough, i.e., not writing like Richard Wright. Yet no scene in American writing is more tragically excoriating of the American reality. Most critics, including Howe, miss the significance of this scene, by seeing the whites only as drunken, as sadistic, i.e., by sighting to oversee. For the initiation rite which constitutes the boys as NEGRO SUBJECTS ACCEPTING THEIR PLACE—Ellison tells in the novel how the newly freed slaves were made to know their place, how they "exulted in it; stayed in their place and worked hard, and brought up my parents to do the same"—like all initiation rites, is a reinforcement of the normative identity of the larger society who witness these rites; and who are confirmed in their own roles, their identity, by the constitution of the identity of the new age groups. But those initiation rites are group initiation rites. The initiation rites that Ellison shows is the initiation rite of a dual class/caste society, one representative of the social order constituted by the world system.
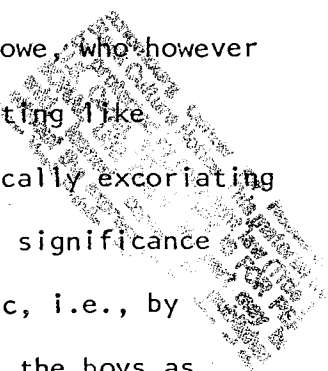
The whites' acceptance of their own degradation in this scene, their willing participation, cannot be understood except we see that the initiation rites which constitutes both the Negro Subject and HIS PLACE, CONCRETELY CONFIRMS THEIRS, CONSTITUTING THEM AS WHITE, FREE AND EQUAL SUBJECTS, THEIR "FREEDOM" AND "EQUALITY" GUARANTEED BY THE NON-EQUALITY, THE NON-FREEDOM OF THE NEGRO SUBJECTS. IN ACCEPTING HIS PLACE, THE "NEGRO" SUBJECT—FULFILLING HIS METAPHYSICAL FUNCTION OF OTHER—CONSTITUTES THEIRS; in accepting their societally defined identities the Negro subjects define, through negation, the reality of the "white."

Hence the "practical" jokes. The whites, through these jokes, initiate

practises, interpellate themselves as all that which the negroes <u>are not</u>. The Negroes fear, terror, humiliation, greed for the coins, sexual erections when they see the nude blonde, sexual impulses which they know must be suppressed if they are not to be lynched--all constitute them as the idea of "<u>nature</u>," raw, crude, animal; and in so constituting them, constitute the whites as the idea of "culture," the idea of civilization.

The blonde too plays her role. As sexual object bought and paid for, her services at the disposition of the smoker males, she validates their male power, their money power. The fact that the blacks lust after her and can't have her reinforces the experienced power of the white males who lusting after her can have her any time they want.

The prohibition on sexual union between the white woman and the Negro works essentially, like the prohibition of incest, in traditional societies, to constitute an unbridgeable indentity system, to code fixed identity. As the <u>prohibition of incest</u> codes the identity of Mother/Father/Son or Brother/Sister, engendering the anxiety of losing one's identity, ones very sense of self-- [844] i.e., ones socially prescribed sense represented as a "natural" sense of self-- so the prohibition on "<u>miscegenation</u>" engenders the anxiety of losing one's "white" sense of self, a socially prescribed identity, represented as "natural" by and through the very mechanism of social exchange with the other coded as "non-white."

The "whites" through the Battle Royal Scene" experience themselves as <u>Subjects</u>, interpellated and recognized as such by the Great Single Phallus, male and white. For their part, the powerless woman and the powerless Negroes reinforce, make concrete, the power of the <u>white males</u>. But this identification of themselves as white male depends on the dependent consciousness of the Other, of the black who can only be constituted as subject, if so permitted by the whites. The black's dependence guarantees to the white his own independence. But paradoxically this indentification is dependent on the relation to the black

Other. IF THE OTHER--THE BLACK MOVES OUT OF HIS PLACE, HE THREATENS THE VERY

IDENTITY, THE VERY BEING OF THE WHITE SUBJECT WHO IS CONSTITUTED AS WHITE ONLY

BY AND THROUGH THE OTHER. FOR THE BLACK IN HIS PLACE MAKES CONCRETE A

WHITE PLACE, WHICH WOULD NOT OTHERWISE EXIST SINCE WHITENESS IS AN INSTITUTIONAL

FACT ONLY SUPPORTED BY A CATEGORY OF BLACKNESS, FORCIBLY CREATED AS INFERIOR

BY THE SYSTEM, BUT IDEOLOGICALLY POSITED AS A GIVEN. FOR IF, NON-WHITES ARE

INHERENTLY INFERIOR AS A GROUP, THEN ALL WHITES, BY NATURE OF THEIR WHITENESS--

HOWEVER DEPRIVED--ARE INHERENTLY Superior AND EQUAL.

Hence the terror of the moment when the Narrator, in giving his

speech, weary, stumbles over the term social responsibility; and replaces it

with the dread term social equality. Social responsibility means that the

Negro is responsible enough to stay in his place and not rock the boat. Social

equality means the direct negation of the being of the white subjects: Ellison

describes the moment when the word is uttered: "the laughter hung smokelike in

the sudden stillness." [845]

The term, coming from the Narrator, is even more dangerous than if

it had been uttered by any of the other boys. For they were working underclass;

their equality was barred by barriers of race and class. But the Narrator

is being initiated as a Negro Middle Class subject, as the kind of middle class

leader who would control the lower classes of blacks. As an educated middle

class subject, he would move in socittal coordinates where social equality

could be possible; worse, rather than encouraging his people to "know their

place" he might with the advantage of prohibited information, incite them to break

out of it.

Hence, in order to get his scholarship, his briefcase and his middle

class-role-identity he must retract humbly, show himself anxious, the slave

dependent on the master's recognition. Only then is he allowed to continue his

speech. As his reward he gets the briefcase, the symbol of his initiation into

the Negro Middle Class--the black rite of Horatio Alger. He pays the price of

being constituted as a subject by his subjection as the "whites" pay *with* their "free" subjection to the hegemonic code. The initiation rite incorporated him as subject in a way which excluded him. Incorporated as Negro he is incorporated as <u>Other</u>--the ten drops of black, which in the novel, validates the whiteness of American white.
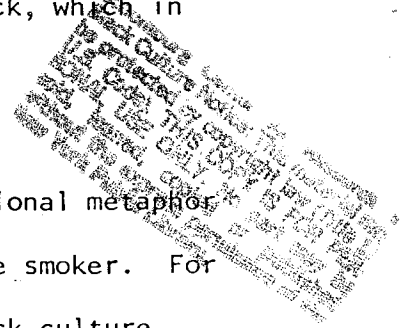
Yet paradoxically, the Negro Narrator is the fiotional metaphor of all middle class Americans, including the whites, at the smoker. For he too has his Other--the black underclass--Trueblood, black culture, Wheatstraw, the slave quarters, the eating of yams, all that constitutes "field niggerism," exist as the negation, the other of his middle class being (Negro). In order to separate himself from them--they are the Absolute Other--in order to make it in the American Dream, he willingly submits to his humiliation; shares the dominant culture's contempt for the stigmatized black underlife, in order to actualize his identity as "junior" Negro executive. He is then the fictional metaphor of the whites who "freely" constitute themselves as subjects only to the extent that they accept the colonizatioñ of their desire, their socially introjected desire to imitate those values which can approximate them to the great middle-class Axiomatic; the great American Ideal, the Symbolic Individual.

Whilst "whiteness" is a central attribute of the middle class code, and indispensable to the full actualization of the Norm, <u>education</u> which transforms the subject into <u>Intellectual Labour</u>--or constitutes the subject as non-intellectual labour--is also a central attribute. Whilst the <u>caste</u> division is affected by the white/black coding, the class division/class stratification is affected by the central mechanism, of the socialization system, of the cultural apparatus--the educational system.

Thus the Narrator, though black--black skins--through the educational system comes to participate in the same <u>socially structured</u> "unconscious" as the "whites" (white masks). The educational system essentially functions as the ideological state apparatus (Althusser) which codes the field of knowledge by and through its introjection of WASP culture--and its extension, Western Culture--as the Single Culture, as the Axiomatic Culture.

This central assumption constitutes the hegemonic Symbolic Order of the Society, the order by and through which both <u>group/caste</u>, <u>sex/forms</u> and <u>class forms</u> of exploitation are made possible. This Symbolic Order is central to cultural imperialism by and through which both the world system and the "national system" of the U.S.A. functions.

Harold Cruse discusses its functioning in the context of the "national system" of the U.S.A.:

> "The fact that what is called American society,
> or American Culture, did not subsequently develop
> into a nation totally made up of WASPS--because of
> Negro culture and immigration--did not prevent the
> white Protestants from perpetuating the group
> attitudes that would maintain the image of the
> whole American nation in terms of WASP cultural
> tradition. These attitudes, as sociologist
> Milton M. Gordon points out 'all have a central
> assumption of the desirability of maintaining
> English institutions (as modified by the American
> Revolution) the English language, and English-
> oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard
> in American life.' " [416]
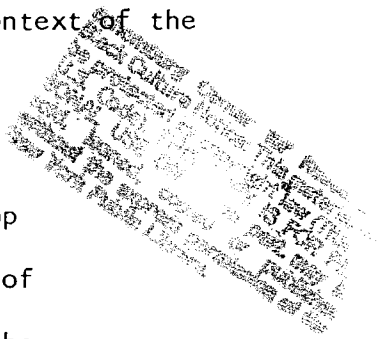
What we have labelled as the process of "creolization", the process by which former patterns are not so much reinvented as imitated would lead to the cultural impoverishment of American life, its cultural and philosophical "underdevel*evelopment*."--to use Cruse's phrase--with respect to European culture.
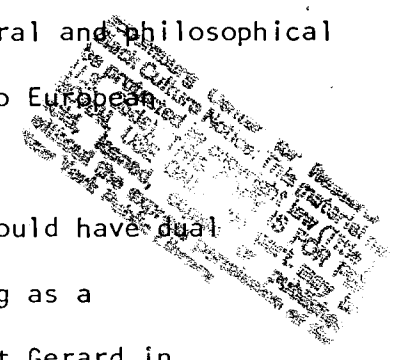
As we pointed out before the "return" to Europe would have dual implications--one liberating and creative, the other acting as a principle of cultural and philosophical stagnation. Albert Gerard in developing what he calls the existential theme in the American novel points out that the image of Europe which the Mayflower settlers brought with them was to undergo a transformation. In the utopian beginning, Europe was represented as the negation of the Promised Land--the site of social inequality, religious intolerance and persecution. However, Gerard argues, as rapid development based on utilitarian philosophy spread in the society, there was a psychological return of the Mayflower. The nostalgia for Europe begins. Europe comes to be represented both as the "native land" -- la terre natale--and as the Chosen Land of culture--la terre d'election de la culture [④].

But the utilitarian philosophy was only a secondary cause. The primary cause was the new mode of social relations which transformed the Mayflower settlers from the persecuted Non-Norm--the marked excluded term of their societies--into the Axiomatic, the Norm of their new society.

Their Non-Norms and Negative Others were now constituted by the American Indians--"heathen savages" and African blacks--"niggers" came to exist not as facts in the logician's sense--what Umberto Eco defines as truth conditions [④]--but as "facts" in the cultural signification system of the new dominant order. The constitution of the Normative American Subject then came to depend on the extent to which he could use social mechanisms, to produce the American Indian as "heathen" and the

black as "nigger" so that he could constitute the self as "white", as "civilized."

European culture as the Chosen Culture, Europe as the native land of origin then became central to the Symbolic order. European culture was an Ikon--which like the jata for the Cuban whites--had to be guarded rather than activated. It was a mark and an inscription which was central to the strategy of power by which white Americans would constitute themselves psychologically as the first mass-aristocracy and mass-ruling class in the history of the world--until Hitler tried the same thing crash with his constitution of the Symbolic Aryan. [24]

Harold Cruse points to the strategy of power that the cultural imperialism of the Symbolic WASP would constitute:

"...the historical priorities and prerogatives established by the...English settlers early in the seventeenth century have been expanded through all the succeeding generations of white Protestants into a well-entrenched social position, characterized by a predominance in economic and social power, buttressed with a strong, cohesive, group solidarity.

"Thus what is usually referred to as 'general American society' turns out in reality, insofar as communal institutions and primary group relations are concerned, to be a white Protestant social world, colored and infused with the implicit assumptions of this particular ethnic group. To be sure, it is the largest ethnic group in the United States and like other ethnic groups in the United States it is divided in major fashion by social class."

[25]

But it was an ethnic group culture that had transformed itself into a class culture as well--it was both the culture of a Single Race/ White--as Cruse points out, the three main power groups, white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, white Catholics and White Jews· subsume themselves under the political and economic leadership of the WASPS--and the culture of a Single Class--the Middle Class. Its class cultural apparatus totalitarianly suppressed the cultural manifestations of its own popular classes; and penned up American Indian culture on cultural reservations.

It was in this context that the black underlife, an "ethnic" culture, came to constitute a popular culture, a non-class culture--the middle class is the Single class--and the cultural alternative to the dominant Symbolic Order and cultural compulsives of both the white and the Western bourgeosie.

It is this brilliant insight of Ellison that suspends the identity of his Narrator, between the prescribed, success-oriented, achievement ethic of the dominant Middle Class Symbolic Order, and the amorphous, underground Symbolic Order of the black counter-culture. The quest for self on the part of the Narrator then patterns itself on an Orphic descent into an Other-World--a world outside of the hegemonic rationality of the bourgeois world. The "mad Veteran" in the novel escapes through madness, Ras, the black cultural nationalist, escapes by "plunging outside history" and by wanting a concrete return to a concrete Africa conflating the symbolic and the empirical. The Narrator, during the novel, will finally "return to the source" by denegrofying himself, "decolonizing" himself and opening himself to the cultural compulsives of a culture whose identity system is unbounded by the deformations of status and of that "rank."

But at the beginning of the novel, as a member of the black middle class, the Narrator frenziedly shares in the assumptions of the

dominant consciousness. Indeed he is kept running by his constant sense of lack, his anxiety to attain to the Symbolic Middle Class Individual ideal: he accepts his own subjection in order to identify with the world of the exploiters. Hence his moment of liberation in the novel comes when he liberates himself from his prescribed identity, and from the prescribed program of action relating to that identity. Liberating himself from that identity he ceases to accept the valuation, the tape measure of the middle class world, its hegemonic intentionality of consciousness. The return to the stigmatized values of the counter-culture, of the black life, functions, like Sandy's roots, as a perspective outside the hegemonic order. He turns towards that which he had negated, the stigmatized underlife. The consciousness of the dominant world had been also his. He, too, had constituted his middle class being by putting distance between himself and the peasant Trueblood become : , his nigger, his native, his dependent Other. To despise Trueblood, he must despise the whole complex of culture--the "field niggerism"--that coded Trueblood. The eating of yams in the street is therefore the first moment of the self-liberation of the Narrator, from his exploiter role; of his quest for a free identity which will have no need of a dependent Other. Eating yams in the street, he begins to assume the popular "ethics"/aesthetic of the subterranean culture. This culture codes the self--as Trueblood and as the Hegelian slave are compelled to code themselves--without the recognition of an inferior as fixed and compelled other. Rather identity, as in the liminal moments of carnival, must be constituted out of that reciprocal recognition which Hegel posited as the ideal. Identity is identity, outside statuses, ranks, roles. Hence the significance of Ellison's Narrator's quip as he breaks the middle class taboo against eating yams in the street: "I am what I yam." [265]

If the dominant American self is coded as "white" .d the
Negative American Other is coded as "black." These are symbolic terms and
in this sense all Americans are both "black" and "white," their "whiteness"
being constituted when they fully attain the Ideal, their "blackness" where
they fail to attain the idea. Hence the power of the Black Muslim movement
came from the accuracy with which its narrative conceptualization of the
origins, history and manifest destiny of the blacks, invert the dominant
belief system, invert the symbols, representing blackness as the symbol
of achieved fulfillment, and "whiteness" as its lack. As Boukman had
counterposed a black god of liberty to the "white god" who causes us only
to weep "so the Black Muslims counterposed a 'black' manifest destiny to
'white' manifest destiny, consttuing "whiteness" as the negative Other of
the "authentic" black self. Its effectiveness in its creative phase, was
based on its power to free blacks from the symbolic burden of accepting
themselves as what George Jackson termed "national scapegraces." Black
prisoners in jails, constituted as the lowest of the low, were freed from
the anxiety engendered by a ceaseless lack which they could never fill,
attained self-certainty and felt a release of creative energy. It was the
Muslim's assault on the dominant symbolic order that was responsible for the
remarkable metamorphosis of Malcolm X.
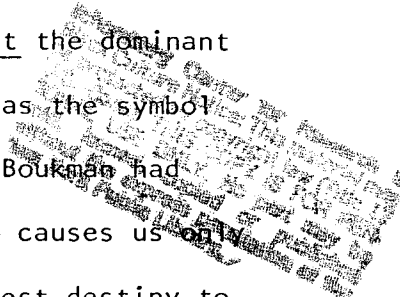
The parallels with the inversion that Marxism accomplishes in the
Symbolic Order, transmuting the manifest destiny of the bourgeosie, a
manifest destiny represented as based on their inherent skill, ability,
thrift, in other words, on a point of origin, into the manifest destiny of
the proletariat, a destiny represented as constituted by a counter-point
of origin are apparent. Indeed the widespread power and effectiveness of
Marxism cannot be grasped except it is related to its delegitimation of
the symbolic order, and therefore of the rationality of the property bourgeosie.

Marx laughs away the pretended "origins" of power, wealth and
hegemony of the property-bourgeoisie. He speaks of the

bourgeoisie's conviction that it owes its accumulation of capital to its own thrift and prudence:

> "Thus primitive accumulation plays in political economy
> about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit
> the apple and hereupon sin fell on the human race. Its
> origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as
> an anecdote of the past. In times long gone there were
> two sort of people; one, the diligent, intelligent and
> above all frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals spending their
> substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of
> theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to
> be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow,
> but the history of economic original sin reveals to us
> that there are people to whom this is by no means
> essential; Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the
> former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort
> had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And
> from this original sin dates the poverty of the great
> majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now
> nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few
> that increases constantly although they have long
> ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is everyday
> preached to us in defense of property." [853]

But the "insipid childishness" was to be central to the delegitimation by the bourgeosie of the hegemonic monarchical/seignurial symbolic order, and the legitimation of its own Symbolic Order vis a vis both the aristocracy and the popular forces. By legitimating labor and the work ethic, thrift and accumulation as the new values of the new morality, it deligitimated the former mechanisms of social distribution related to the Christian Paternalist

Ethic of the former hegemonic system., By privileging the "individual" over the social whole--the Christian "community"--it at one and the same time released creative energies by delegitimatizing the dominant aristocratic coding, and re-colonized these energies into the single channel of work-as-material labour. Work-as-material-labour became the Great Axiomatic. Property was the Sign that inscribed those who had been predestined to economic salvation. But this salvation was not assured. The "sign" of property had to be put into play again and again so as to ceaselessly accumulate and ceaselessly actualize the sign, prove one's election; negate the possibility of lack. One alone "produced" one's salvation or failed to produce it. The Symbolic Individual set in motion his own history, progress, salvation, as the Symbolic West had done; each produced by autogenesis, by an Immaculate Conception.
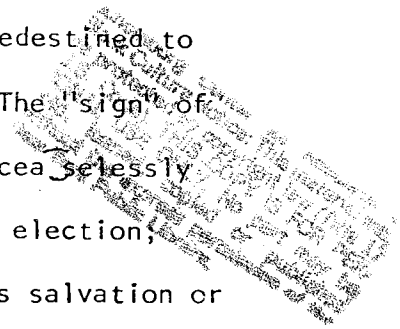
The Bourgeois Individual who had accumulated property and the Bourgeois West who had "developed," found their negative others in those who had simply failed to accumulate property, simply failed to develop. Original virtue and original sin were intrinsic--inherent in those who succeeded and in those who failed.

Orthodox Marxist theory which defined the West's development not through the development of a world system consequent upon the transfer of property from the American Indians to the Western peoples, the transfer of labour power from the Africans to the Western peoples, but by the intrinsic evolutionary development in the womb of Western "feudalism", indulge in the same kind of "insipid childishness" that Marx had scored in the bourgeosie. In this ideological interpretation both Western Marxists and Western Liberals are in accord. Thus the reviewer of Wallerstein's path-breaking book, in the New York Review of Books (April, 1975) repeats the ideology:

> "Many economic historians will go thinking that
>
> the real origins of capitalism were internal to Western

Europe itself; and many students of underdevelopment

will persist in doubting whether the vagaries of

Latin American development, can all be attributed

to Western exploitation. " ( ) ⦣854)

As the "inherent thrift" and foresight of the bourgeoisie becomes the

sole causal factor, so the inherent virtue of the West becomes the sole

causal factor of Western hegemony. It is a bourgeois explanation both

for its own hegemony and for Europe in its bourgeois definition and modality.

Marx inverted the bourgeois explanation and replaced bourgeois

thrift and foresight with the universal faculty of "labor" as the ground

of man's self-invention as human. By the use of this category he is able

to reveal the secret of the property-bourgeoisie's accumulation of surplus

value by and through their expropriation of a part of the product of the

labour of others. Until then, in the dominant symbolic order, Bourgeois

Being had functioned as the achieved Ideal, proletariat being as its

lack. Marx inverted the symbols, and this inversion of the symbols was to

be the driving force of both the Russian and the Chinese Revolutions--as well

as of subsequent revolutions.

Once these Revolutions were institutionalized, the manifest

destiny of the Symbolic Proletariat ostensibly replaced the manifest destiny

of the Bourgeosie. The goal-seeking activity of the property bourgeoisie

had defined man as the accumulator and producer of surplus value ᵢ   ⱼ.ᵢ

The goal-seeking activity of the Symbolic Proletariat--represented in

actuality by the technocratic bourgeosie of the Party--was to be that of

producer, now that the new system had "liberated" the productive forces by

destroying all previous social relations which had acted as _trammels_

on the development of the "productive forces" especially in the non-core

areas.

Under the shelter of this representation, the new technocratic

bourgeosie, whose strategy of power is effected through the Party--and

its extension, the One-Party-State--constitutes its new hegemony. Whilst

it has inverted the symbols, it has retained the bourgeois context and the

bourgeois code.
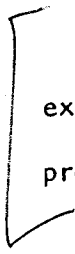
Baudrillard shows how the constitutied "ontology" of labour

expressed in Marxism, *continues* the *property-* bourgeois reduction of man to mere

producer.

He argues that the bourgeois context and code, is essentially

a code of production--as we could argue that the majority of African

traditional societies constituted and were constituted by the code of

generation. *Within* this code the very concept of "mode of

production" plays a central signifying role. As he argues:

"Radical in its <u>logical</u> analysis of capital,

Marxist theory nonetheless maintains an <u>anthropological</u>

consensus with the options of Western rationalism as

its definitive form acquired in eighteenth century

bourgeois thought. Science, technique, progress,

history--in these ideas we have an entire civilization

that comprehends itself as producers of its own

development, and takes its dialectical force towards

completing humanity in terms of totality and

happiness. Nor did Marx invent the concepts of genesis

development and finality. He changed nothing basic; nothing

regarding the <u>idea</u> of man <u>producing</u> himself...

"Marx translated this concept into the logic

of material production, and the historical dialectic of

modes of production." [8])

Thus the factory model of exploitation constitutes the origins

of capitalism in the womb of an allegedly "feudal mode of production,"

as the plantation system was to be inscribed and marginalized in Marxist

thought as a "slave mode of production." The strategy was to

retrospectively impose a mode of production as the determinant factor on

all other societies--in other words to universalize the code of bourgeois

society, and at the same time to inscribe bourgeois society-in its

property bourgeois and technocratic bourgeois forms--as the supreme

culmination of all human history. Thus bourgeois society becomes the

SINGLE ACHIEVED HUMAN SOCIETY, one whose totalitarian form encompasses all

previous societies. Above all by legitimating "the economic" as the

determinant instance it legitimates the class whose hegemonic strategy

is based on the privileging of the economic--the bourgeoise, old and new.

"But differentiating modes of production renders

unchallengeable the evidence of production as

determinant instance. It generalizes the economic

mode of rationality over the expanse of human

history as the generic mode of man's becoming.

It circumscribes tne entire history of man in a

gigantic simulation model." [851.]

All previous societies, all alternative cultures, are thereby

produced as embryonic forms, are as <u>lacks</u> of the Single Human form of society.

All alternative goal-seeking activities, alternative to the activity of

labour/production, all alternative discourses of reference to that of

"development and growth" are thereby delegitimated as but imperfect "modes

of production" awaiting their human incarnation in the "capitalist" or

"socialist" modes of production.

"If one hypothesizes that there has never been

and will never be anything but the Single mode

of production ruled by capitalist political

economy--a concept that makes sense only in

relation to the economic formation that produced

(indeed, to the theory that analyses this

economic formation)--then even the 'dialectical'

generalization of this concept is merely the

ideological universalization of this system's

postulates." [851])

The Single Mode of Production functioned by and through the

constitution of a Single goal-seeking activity--that of material labour.

This goal-seeking activity represented as the "Work Ethic, of the

Symbolic Individual--i.e., of a Mr. Covey--a work ethic still related to

a theological system of representation--i.e., the individual's quest for

salvation/redemption--is represented in a secular collective form by the

Symbolic Order of the new technocratic bourgeosie who find their legitimation/

justification in Marxist thought, especially in the Marxist "ontology" of

labour.

Baudrillard shows how the "ethic of labour" is constituted

within the code of production--as the ethic of procreation was and is

constituted by the code of generation of African traditional societies.

Baudrillard quotes Marx's definition of labour as the ground of human

existence:

"So far therefore as labor is a creator of use-

value, it is a necessary condition, independent of

all forms of society, for the existence of the

human race; it is an external nature-imposed

necessity, without which there can be no material

exchanges between amn and nature, and therefore

no life." [25])

In this conceptualization Nature is represented as Other, and
Edward Long's representation of the relation between Man/Nature as a
relation of MASTERY is repeated by Marx if in less nakedly dominant terms:

"Labor is, in the first place, a process in
which both man and Nature participate, and in
which man of his own accord starts, regulates, and
controls the material re-actions between himself and
nature. He opposes himself to nature one of his own
forces setting in motion, arms and legs, heads and
hands, the natural forces of his body, in order to
appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted
to his own work." [751])

What we note here is that the analysis is itself a representation,
and one only conceivable within the code of production. The representation
of the relation to nature in African traditional cultures is quite different--
it is a representation conceivable only within the code of generation.
Nature, far from being represented as other, is represented as that
generative principle which generates human beings and in alliance with which
human beings generate their social forms, their art, the total necessities
of their life, including material necessities, which are represented as a
minor part of man's life-activity   .

It is the code of production which will represent material needs
as the realm of necessity, privileging material production, producing it as
the reality principle, producing "materialism" and its binary opposition, of
the spirit. Within this code of production, what Baudrillard calls the
"ethics" of labour and an esthetic of non-labour, are logical.

"The former traverses all bourgeois and socialist
ideology. It exalts labor as value, as end in

itself, as categorical imperative. Labor loses its

negativity and is raised to an absolute value."

[860]

To the "thrift" and "accumulation" of the property-bourgeosie,

Marxist orthodoxy responds with the "production" of labour. It is not

bourgeois "thrift" which founds society but labor's productivity. The

privileged subject is no longer the Symbolic Individual, saving, accumulating,

but the Symbolic Proletariat, incessantly producing. It is the latter who

therefore produces "concrete objective reality" in and by its "material"

production of "material wants." All that is not material labour (not

infrastructure) is therefore secondary, refracted from the reality principle

of labour. Yet this is itself not <u>objective reality</u>, but rather the

<u>representation</u> of "objective reality" that the code of production needs for

the coherence of its own logic--not responding to Truth conditions but rather

to conditions of signification [861].

Baudrillard asks, "But is the 'materialist' thesis of man's

generic productivity very far from the 'idealist' sanctification of

labor?"

The separation of "material" labor from other forms of life-

activity and its privileging is continued even by Herbert Mercuse--who

has developed a critique of the economic concept of labor [863]. Marcuse

defines "play" as a "breaking off from labour and a 'recuperation'for

labour."

Baudrillard comments:

"Thus, labor alone founds the world as objective

and man as historical. In short, labor alone

founds a real dialectic of transcendence and

fulfillment. Even metaphysically it justifies

the painful character of labor." [864]

The law of equivalence which underlies Christian redemption is

smuggled in secular form into labor. Baudrillard quotes Marcuse:

"...the burdensome character of labor expresses nothing

other than a negativity rooted in the essence of man's

existence; man can achieve his *own* self only by passing

through *otherness*   ; by passing through externalization

and 'alienation.' " [863]

The nigger-breaking of Douglas reveals the very opposite of

fulfillment. It is by revolting against a deadening form of material

labour that Douglas finds fulfillment.

As Baudrillard points out, the "aberrant santification of work

has *been* /the secret vice of Marxist political and economic strategy from the

beginning." [749]

The sanctification of work and the theologization of production

has been central to the bourgeois strategy of power. But the strategy of

the property-bourgeosie was to represent their activity--of managing,

directing, accumulating, of freely driving themselves to intellectual

labour, as the "real" movement of human activity. By representing the

"proletariat" and their productive activity as marginal, they kept the

proletariat "grateful" for the subsistence wages they were paid; ashamed

of their lack of thrift, foresight, intellect.

The deconstruction of the property-bourgeois code, through its

inversion--it was not thrift and foresight but the productive labour of the

proletariat that produced the reality principle of society's "material"

wealth, represented *by the bourgeosie* /as the ground of possibility of social being,

biologizing the social--was the revolutionary achievement of Marx's theories.
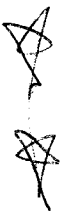
This theoretical deconstruction was to lead to widespread and profound

historical transformations. It would lead to the release of the creative

energies of large masses of the people as the property bourgeosie's

deconstruction of the code of "social order" of .Absolute

monarchy lead to the release of the creative energies. Marx was to

achieve for the technocratic bourgeosie what the Enlightenment philosophies

had achieved for the property-bourgeosie, i.e., a particular world-view

represented as universal.

The release of creative energy, leading to a heightening of

the sense of self, of the possibility of self-expression and self-fulfillment

was central to the revolutionary transformation of the Soviet Union, China,

Cuba [West]. The recoding of these released energies, their rechannelling

as the new ruling classes constituted themselves,as the Symbolic Proletariat

because the new Axiomatic, lead to the constitution of the Plantation and

Gulag systems and above all to their sanctification and justification.

Whilst the liberation of the Productive forces was effected the self-

liberation of the people was marginalized, their lives materially improved
only in the context of bureacratic goal's.
The "cause" detached itself from its bearers, the new manifest

destiny exercised a cultural dictatorship over those who embodied this

destiny.

The remarkable series of metamorphoses undergone by Malcolm X

in his transformation from pimp/hustler, convict to Black Muslim minister,

and from that to a rapidly evolving series of positions, each more and

universally--yet concretely particular--revolutionary, reflect the

recognition on his part that to invert a context and a code constitutes

an initial release that only leads to a new form of self-imprisonment;

to the substitution of one Symbolic Order by another.

The rise of the Black Muslims, and its powerful appeal amongst

the lumpen also reveals that the coding of men's generic activity as

labour, and of his identity as producer lead directly to the constitution

in the West of a category of the Inhuman--those who were represented as

deviating from man's total "materialist" destiny. In the "Free World" it
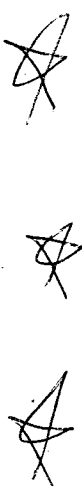
lead to the constitution first of the "negro"--the deviant who instead of freely choosing to labour had to be nigger-broken into labour--and secondly to the category of the lumpen --the non-producer. The Gulag Archipelagoes and the lumpen, marginal archipelagoes are therefore mirror-images of each other--the sacred circle in which the Symbolic Others of the Systems are inscribed.

The extension of welfare benefits to the ghetto dwellers in the United States inscribe them as deviants even more than the branding irons had inscribed them as non-free in the land of the free. In "accepting" welfare without doing a job--jobs are even "scarcer" than money and the mode of distribtuion of jobs must create a pool of jobless so as to inscribe the jobholders as the Norm--the ghetto lumpen "break" the implicit moral code of equivalence--men shall eat bread by the sweat of his brow. He does not "do a fair day's work" for a fair day's pay-- and the fact that the society's mechanisms distribute "pay" but refuse to distribute work, and in this way inscribes him as lumpen is overseen.

AT the same time, as the production system increasingly needs to discard more and more of the unskilled as expendable, it needs to moraliy justify this production of human obsolescence. By prolonging the moral constitution of productive/non-productive as the supreme ethical distinction, it makes possible the widespread acceptance of Fuqua's comparison of blacks in the ghettos to "depreciated" machinery. The systematic destruction of ghetto blacks is then legitimated.

Whilst Marxist orthodox theory constituted about the same ethic ignored the marginal archipelago as the site of the lumpen, privileging only productive labour, the Black Muslims partly founded their base amongst the lumpen as Garveyism had also partly done.

The insight of both movements was that--as the nigger-breaking mechanism shows--what bourgeois society expropriates from the popular

forces is first of all, their self-worth, condemning them to a perpetual sense of shame, a continual lack which can never be filled. It does this above all through the Symbolic Order of its cultural apparatus, through the complex of symbolization carried out by and through its societal forms.

Both Garveyism and the Black Muslims fabricated counter-systems of symbolization which inverted the system of the dominant order, delegitimating its hegemony. The initial release of energy gave the power and force to both movements. But the inversion meant the institutionalization of the context and the code of the bourgeois hegemony, and lead to the distortions, to the fragilities of both movements. As Malcolm X filled by his new sense of self-worth, began to push further and further, following the logical consequences of his revolt against the dominant symbolic order, his break with the Black Muslims became inevitable. He could not accept the narrow imprisoning recoding that the institutionalized Black Muslim movement demanded of him. As he "betrayed" the cause in order to help occasion the self-liberation of the people, his positions became fluid, multiple . As he self-transformed himself in rapid succession he embodied the praxis/theory of that revolutionary transformation which must be based above all on the deconstitution of the Symbolic Order, on the hegemonic consciousness; on the subversion of the self.

The Black Muslims had found the mechanism to "de-nigger-break" the lumpen--the outcasts of the society--to free them from the sense of shame, of anxiety, of lack, by constituting them as a new Norm. But the fascist temptation which resides in any system of exclusivity based on a Single Norm, its totalitarian nature which calls for subjection to the hegemonic cause, lead Malcolm X to break with the Muslims, as Ellison's fictional Narrator would break with the fictional representation of the Communist Party, the Brotherhood, for whom history had replaced manifest destiny; and for

whom the destiny of the Symbolic Proletariat had replaced the destiny
of the Great/White and Single Race.

But if Orthodox Marxism -- the ideology of the new bourgeoisie -- was
to constitute the Proletariat as the Single Norm. Orthodox Cultural National-
ism - the ideology of another wing of the new bourgeoisie -- constituted
the "Black Race" as the Counter-Norm. Both factions, Marxist and
cultural Nationalist in inverting, one, the Economic Norm, the other the
Racial Norm of the hegemonic bourgeoisie, began to deligitimatize
economic and social power of the ruling group. At the same time, however,
by inverting the Norm -- rather than deconstructing the category of the Norm
they translated the bourgeois , law of value, only changing the social
grouping who was to occupy the place of the norm.

Thus Orthodox Marxists failed to see that there was no such thing as
working class, but rather that the single class , the bourgeoisie, had
produced a social group who it represented as the 'working class', i.e. as
an inferior 'class'. Because of this, the revolt of the social group would
call for the abolition of the concept of class, a concept which served as
an inscription, which produced rigid boundaries in the social body, legitima -
izing the devaluation of their social being. They were socially inferior
because they were working class, they were working class because they
were socially inferior. By accepting their class status, the
non-bourgeoise groups legitimatized the social order which inscribed them
as inferior.

If the bourgeoisie had produced the working class as an inferior
class, it produced "negroes" as an inferior "race". If its delegitimation
of the first group was carried out through the representation of Class, its
delegitimization of the second group was carried out through the represent-
ation of "race". The representation "race" was accepted by cultural
nationalists as the representation "class" by orthodox Marxists. What
was overlooked was the fact that blacks constituted a social group, whose
exploitation had been legitimatized in racial terms. They therefore constituted
a social group, whose lives have been shaped by a common experience of social
oppression, as the working class had shared a common experience of economic

oppression.

Out of the common experience of social oppression allied to a common tradition, blacks had come to constitute an "ethnic" group that differed from all others in America in that it's <u>otherness</u>, had also been deliberately socially produced. It's cultural expression was the expression of it's experience of oppression, of it's sustained counter-invention of it's identity. The revindication of the black 'race', of it's claim to social value, could not therefore be accomplished without a transformation of the societal order which had used multiple mechanisms to produce blacks as an inferieor "race", thereby legitimat_ ing and reproducing it's social oppression. The Black Revolution initiated in the Sixties was over and above all -- as the Black Cultural underlife had always been -- a Social Revolution against the categories of Racial Norm and Non-Norm.

For the Black had been socially produced as the Negative Other in the symbolic Order of the American social system in it's bourgeoise modality. American society, Martin Luther King wrote:

"has been doing something special against the Negro for hundreds of years" [860]

As the negative term on which the American system of relative social value was based, the Negroe had been "produced" by the socializing mechanisms of system the society as the place of relative non-value. As the world economic pro- duced uneven levels of development between core periphery and semiperiphery so the American national system functioned to produce a relative gap between which and black. It was the gap that constituted both the terms and their value.

x   x   x   oOo   x   x   x

THE RELATIVE GAP: THE UNDERLIFE, THE STRUCTURAL LAW OF VALUE AND THE CULTURAL IDENTITY CRISIS OF THE U.S.A.

"Would you say that the search for identity is primarily

an American theme:

ELLISON: It is the American theme. The nature of

our society is such that we are prevented from

knowing what we are." [?]

"Last but not least, the major enemy, the strategic

adversary...is fascism...the fascism in us all, in

our heads and in our everyday behavior, the fascism

that causes us to love power, to desire the very thing

that dominates and exploits us...How does one keep

from being a fascist, even (especially) when one

believes oneself to be a revolutionary militant?

How do we rid our speech and our acts, our hearts and

our pleasures, of fascism? How do we ferret out the

fascism that is ingrained in our behavior?"

MICHEL FOUCAULT [?]

"The principal causes of black academic retardation...

are that the schools translate the inferior social

and technoeconomic status of blacks into inferior

education, that caste barriers do not permit blacks

to translate their academic skills into good jobs,

income and other benefits; and that both conditions

result in blacks developing attitudes and skills

less favorable to white middle class type of school

success." JOHN OGBU [?]

1976 marked two hundred years since the United States of America constitued itself politically as a non-colonial and as a nation. Yet, as the black movement of the Sixties, and the pervasive white neo-racism of the Seventies prove, its <u>cultural identity</u> still remains in doubt. It is not accidental that it is black American literature that is obsessed by the theme of identity; that it is the black writer who must grapple with this as his compulsive theme. Without a common identity there can be no common program of action upon the world, there can be no realized nation, one that experiences itself as a multi-ethnic, rather than as a "white" nation. The confining of the <u>universal American Identity</u> to that of the WASPS, or as now, to that of <u>white Americans</u>, will no longer be possible. The Sixties was the first opening towards a social trans-formation centered about the representation--and actualization of the American--as distinct from the white American--national identity.

The U.S.A. is the first country in the world whose constitution of itself as a nation also entails its constitution as a global civilization. The realization of its global national identity will depend upon the resolution of the dual identity and dual consciousness of the average American.

This double consciousness of Ellison's fictional Narrator is one common to American society. The normative coding of the self which all are initiated into accepting is <u>white/middle-class/Western</u>. Hence the double consciousness, the dual identity of the White American worker. As worker he is in a dependent relation vis a vis the middle class, normatively white, but with some non-white members. As a by and large skilled proletariat, he exists in a superior relation to the unskilled worker, a large majority of whom are non-white. In relation to the external proletariat, Third World, "native" workers who contribute to the wealth of the United States, he exists like the non-white U.S. worker, in a marginally exploitative relation.

As worker, although materially better off, he shares at least a formal identity with "negro" and native workers; as <u>white</u>, in the overall ideological order of the society he shares an identity--a psychological bond of solidarity with those who own the society and exploit both himself and "negro" and native labour. It is in this complex context that the ideological power of the coding of the American identity as <u>white</u> is to be understood. His self-perception as "white" makes it impossible for the American worker to experience himself, in a sustained manner--as non-middle class, as the negative other to his own bourgeosie. In conceiving of himself as "white labour" he constitutes an alliance with the ruling classes, since to be "white" is itself, in the semantic system of social hieroglyph of value, the equivalent term of being <u>middle class</u>.

To borrow Saussure's distinction "<u>white</u>" and "<u>black</u>" <u>middle class</u> and <u>working class</u> are terms which have their meaning only in the context of the social system of which they form a part.

> "The arbitrary nature of the sign explains in turn
> why the social fact alone can create a linguistic
> system. The community is necessary if values that
> owe their existence solely to usage and general
> acceptance are to be set up. By himself the
> individual is incapable of fixing a single value."
> [?]

The social fact which differentiates the bourgeosie who owns or controls the means of production, and the working classes who neither own or control the means of production, is paralleled by another social fact, the "<u>white</u>" caste whose attainment of the Norm of "<u>whiteness</u>" is differentiated from the <u>non-white</u> who cannot attain this Norm. The two terms "<u>middle class</u>" and "<u>white</u>" denote a fullness whilst the two opposed terms, <u>working class</u> and <u>negro</u> (non-white) constitute a lack--or rather varying

degrees of lack (the Japanese/Chinese are less non-white than the Negro;
the middle class black is less non-white than the ghetto black.)

The similarity between (middle class) <u>bourgeosie</u> and <u>white</u> is a
similarity of <u>relation</u>. <u>Middle class is to working class</u> as <u>white is to</u>
<u>black</u> as <u>feudal noble is to peasant.</u> These are essentially social relations
constituted by a social system, based on a relative valuation of being as
Edward Long's table so clearly shows.

The value and the signification of the terms "<u>white</u>" and "<u>black</u>"
as of "<u>middle class</u>" and "<u>working class</u> are values and significations
determined by the overall social system which determines and inscribes
social ratios of exchange. As Sausure write:

> "...even outside language all values are always comprised:
>
> 1) of a <u>dissimilar</u> thing that can be <u>exchanged</u> for
> the <u>thing</u> of which the value is to be determined; and
>
> 2) of <u>similar</u> things that can be <u>compared</u> with the
> thing of which the value is to be determined.
>
> Both factors are necessary for the existence
> of a value. To determine what a five franc piece is
> worth we must therefore know: (1) that it can be
> exchanged for a fixed quantity of a different thing,
> e.g., bread; and (2) that it can be compared with a
> similar value of the same system, e.g., a one-franc
> piece, or with coins of another system (a dollar,
> etc.). In the same way a word can be exchanged for
> something dissimilar, an idea; besides, it can be
> compared with something of the same nature, another
> word: Its value is therefore not fixed so long as one
> simply states that it can be exchanged for a given

concept, i.e., that it has this or that signification: one must also compare it with similar values, with other words that stand in opposition to it." [p. 113-115]

The cultural apparatus of the American social formation works to produce social "things" as "empirical" facts. These social things are "white" beings and "negro" beings; and the dissimilar thing that is to be exchanged is a "portion" of the social product, "material" and "cultural". The fiction of equivalence, of a functional law of value in which a value is exchanged for an equal value, calls for the constitution of social beings whose portion of the social product will be represented as exactly equal in "value" to the "value" of their social being.

For the feudal nobles, "blue blood" constituted such a value. For the property-bourgeosie, the ownership of property was the index of their superior intellectual faculty, their thought, foresight and intellectual labour. For the technocratic bourgeosie their superior intellectual ability-- by itself constitutes such a value. For Hitler and his followers, Aryan blood. In the United States and in the Western world the possession of a white skin--and of Western "culture"--constitutes the representation of such an inherent and intrinsic value.

What we note is that the constitution of the "value" of the term is done by and through the hegemonic signification system of the ruling group--the group whose "social being" is represented as the most valued. What Louis Althusser calls the ideological state apparatus then comprises all areas and levels of the society--including the level of production-- so that these can produce and reproduce the apparently concrete fact of the most valued social being, theirs making possible the functional law of value--the exchange of the social product--material wealth, accumulated social power, control--for its "value" in "social being." The mode of social relations--and not the mode of production--then determines the "functional

value" of differentiated social beings. This functional value--a dissimilar thing exchanged for a thing of apparent equivalent value-- is then the ground of possibility of the value relations between the terms. How is the initial functional value--say of "blue blood" or of "intellectual faculty" determined and legitimated?

Jeanne Parain-Vial argues that feudal power, the power of the landed nobility, constituted itself about the alibi and strategy of protection. The period of invasions in the European's middle ages made it necessary for the peasant producers to accept relations of subordination to the medieval knights who organized military capability in exchange for protection. The category of protection which legitimated this power continued to exist even when the actual need was no longer there. Parain-Vial is here arguing against Althusser's and Balibar's formulation that it was essentially the economic relations between the peasant and the landed nobility which engendered feudal political forms.

This is of course the Marxist reading of former societies in the light of what Baudrillard critiques as the theoretically imperialist mirror of production. Faced with the hegemony of the political--and cultural-- factor in feudal society, yet wanting to insist on the economic factor as determinant in the last instance--and to thereby preserve Marxist orthodoxy-- Althusser and Balibar explain that the political factor appears dominant, because it was necessary for the landed nobility to compel the peasant producers to do the work of production for the proprietor's profit.

But, they argue, in the last instance, this relation between lord and peasant, are relations of production; and it is this relation which then engenders the political forms of feudalism. In other words the economic is the ultimate causal principle of all forms of society. Rather than an analysis of feudalism, they are reconstituting the feudal object of analysis in order to legitimate the economic as causal principle. Whether under

corporate capitalism or the new forms of State/Capitalism of the Soviet Union

and China, the emerging power of the new technocratic bourgeoisie--for whom

the Althusseran reading of Marx could ultimately constitute a Summa theologica--

is based as absolutely on the primacy and autonomization of the economic

factor as was the earlier form of the bourgeosie--the property-bourgeosie.

The insistence on the economic causal principle displaces the

primacy of the political factor and conceals the strategy of the many

variants of capitalism as varying modes of domination. By reducing all

forms of oppression to a single cause of material exploitation, Parain-Vial

points out, the insight into the will to power, and the consequent psychic

exploitation and oppression of the Other is overseen. She refers to

Simone Weil's insight, that in all forms of society there is a tendency

to abuse all forms of superiority--that of physical force, magical power,

money in purely capitalist societies, science and technique in industrial

society, capitalist or socialist.

The organized military might of the feudal nobles was the

superiority on the basis of which they installed and legitimated their

power, 'naturalizing" their dominance through the imaginary social

signification of "noble blood", blue blood. They represented themselves

as being as naturally called to their role as the peasant with his peasant

blood was called to his. The entire system of laws, and customs and political

forms would then be constituted around the relati   self perception of the

feudal noble of himself as protector and of the peasant as the protected.

[732] That is to say, it is the principle of exchange--protection in

exchange for social subordination and the material expression of this

subordination, on the basis of which the lord/peasant relation is founded,

that provides the central strategy for the political forms which legitimate

the accidental superiority of the lords into a "natural" theory of feudal

society. To the extent that the peasant comes to accept this principle of
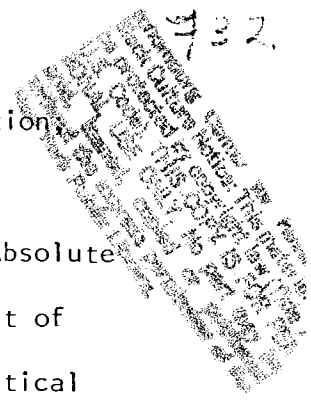
exchange   : he accepts his subordination and material exploitation

and accepts it as legitimate.

The replacement of feudal social formation by that of Absolute

Monarchy--Wallerstein called this form of power Statism-- came out of

the inability of the decentralized feudal power to solve the political

problems of the relations between themselves, at the same time as material

changes in the society posed problems of production which could not be solved

within the context of the feudal social formation. Absolute Monarchy was to

legitimate itself by and through the principle of centralized order, that of

a centralized state,   which could impose this order transforming the

feudal nobles from an independent nobility to a Court nobility, powerful,

but having their power legitimated by royal power rather than as before by their

own might. Above all, the cultural signification system of the feudal

nobility as a group for itself was delegitimated and replaced by the

cultural signification system of absolute monarchy.

The rise of the centralized State coincided with the rise of

capitalism as a world system--rather than as before as capitalist enclaves

and tendencies. The homogenization that was necessary to the principle of

centralized Order that legitimated the Absolute State helped to institute

the cultural social, economic and political bases that was the condition of

possibility of the bourgeosie as a hegemonic group, of capitalism as a

world system. Far from capitalism being born out of feudalism it was the

political form of the Absolute State which provided the transition, and the

crucible for the rise of the bourgeois axiomatic mode of domination. The

case of Spain, the centre of the initial world system makes this clear.

The rise of the Absolute Monarchy in Spain took the form of

a theological nationalism, i.e., a nationalism which was linked to a missionary

Christianity--one sword, one faith, one God--that was to inhibit the growth of

the productive bourgeoisie as a dominant class in that country. But the

centralization of the State and of the administration of the affairs of the

suddenly acquired New World Empire was to lead to the rise of a bureaucratic

bourgeois stratum, a stratum , created by the centralization of the State.
This stratum
it became the official ideologues of statism, and spearheaded the

constitution of a centralized cultural signification system that was

based on a structural law of value between Norm and non-Norm.
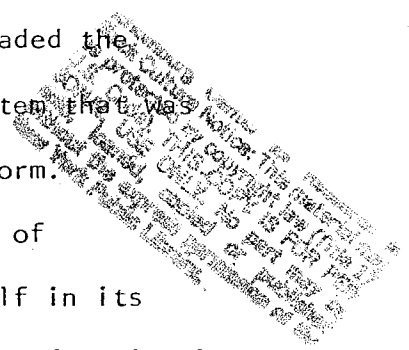
J.H. Elliot explains this well. The imposition of

religious orthodoxy as the Absolute State solidified itself in its

imperial form in Spain was coterminous with the imposition of national

State Orthodoxy. Unchristian acitivities could be stigmatized as politically

Unspanish activities and vice versa. Spain before 1492 had been a
country in which three castes, Christians, Muslims and Jews, with some
strain, coexisted. The expulsion of the Jews, the capture of Granada
and the overturn of the last bastion of the former occupying Muslim
power coincided with Columbus' discovery and expropriation of the
New World from its legitimate inhabitants in the name of Spain. The
birth of the Absolute State in Spain would therefore coincide with
the beginnings of its New World Empire.

As the State centralized power, it homogenized its citizens
by the constitution of an absolute symbolic Norm--that of the "cleanliness,"
i.e., the orthodoxy of the Christian Faith. To constitute this centralized
Norm, it delegitimated the former Jewish caste, making Judaism its
absolute   : deviant norm. It was able to do this because of the
complex conflict of power relations that existed. When the Jews had been
expelled in 1492 , many had chosen to remain, aceepting conversion to the
Christian Faith. This group came to be known as the <u>conversos</u> or
marranos, and in many cases, they constituted a powerful social group.

The need of the New State for a bureaucratic corps helped to
extend the custom of the Catholic Church, that of providing opportunity
for social mobility to men of humble birth who, rising through Church
and State, were/most loyal adherents, an incipient Church and State
bourgeoisie. The clash between these two groups, the <u>converso</u> group and
the plebeianborn Spaniards would lead to the organization of society
around the imaginary social signification "<u>limpieza de sangre</u>"--<u>cleanliness</u>
<u>of blood</u>. Indeed, the increasing institution of the Inquisition as the
guardian of orthodoxy, cannot be separated from the power of this central
social symbol, around which the new stratification system came to be
constituted; around which the conflict between the <u>conversos</u> and the
socially mobile lower class Spaniard raged. Elliot points out that the
Inquisition was not the only source of constraint in sixteenth century
Spain,

> "Indeed it may have taken such firm hold in Spanish society
> precisely because it gave official sanction to already
> existing practices. Suspicion of those who deviated
> from the common norm was deeply rooted in a country where
> deviation was itself more common than elsewhere--and
> a man could be suspect for his race as well as for his
> faith. It is no coincidence that the rise of a

tribunal intended to impose religious orthodoxy
was accompanied by the growth of certain practices
designed to secure racial purity. For religious
and racial purity were easily equated in the popular
mind. Indeed, alongside the obsessive concern with
purity of faith there flourished a no less obsessive
concern with purity of blood..." [8]

It was not only in the popular mind that the equation was
made. The equation was central to the definition of the norm and the
deviant norm around and about which the symbolic order of the Absolute
State came to be constituted. Under feudal decentralization, the
noble had his norm of behavior, the peasant had his: they were separate
castes, and there was no way in which the two norms could be equated
since the principle of reciprocal obligations and duties called for
distinct entities. The noble being and the peasant being shared no
common secular social meeting ground in feudal representation. Both
were Christians and equal sons of God, but outside that religious
ground, each occupied his own distinct site in a hierarchy of being.
There was no mobility between the two strata.

With the beginning of the modern world system and the thrust
of new strata into prominence, the commercial bourgeoisie, as well as
the State and Church bourgeoisie, the rise of the rich peasants in
Spain, plus the new wealth poured in from the Indies, and the subsequent
ruin of the lower nobility or hidalgo class through inflation, the social
patterns began to change. Absolute Monarchy held the balance between
differing groups whilst still upholding the social primacy of the
nobility in exchange for its political deligitimation. To do this,
the state had to make use of a principle which could at once homogenize
i.e., making all experience themselves as members of a totality, the

clash over the promotion to a canonry of one of Castillós protegees it was

revealed that the candidate was the son of a converso who had fled the

country after inquiries into allegations that he continued secretly

the rites of Judaism. Siliceo seized on this to refuse the appointment

and to force through the chapter,

> "a status of limpieza making purity of ancestry an
>
> essential condition for all future appointments to
>
> dignities and prebends." [ ]

The statute was soon imitated by other ecclesiastical and secular

corporations. Royal ratification was obtained in 1556. In the contest

for relative group valuation and therefore for a sponsored mobility

system, Siliceo had won, but as Elliot explains, he was as much a victim

as a villain of the piece.

> "Siliceo himself, while the villain of the
>
> piece, was also a victim, the victim of a system
>
> which placed an exceptionally high value on birth
>
> and rank...The watchword of the society was honor,
>
> which implied to a Spaniard something external to
>
> his person--his worth as evaluated by the other
>
> people. Honor was essentially an attribute of
>
> nobility, the exclusive preserve of the high-born.
>
> It was natural enough that this code of aristocratic
>
> behavior should be at once aped and resented by the
>
> more humble members of society, and especially
>
> by those who had risen to positions of eminence
>
> and yet saw themselves regarded as intruders in the
>
> world of privilege.
>
> The doctrine of limpieza provided men like
>
> Siliceo with a compensatory code of their own,

and one indeed which might effectively challenge
the code of the aristocracy. Was it not
preferable to be born of humble, but pure
Christian parentage, than to be a caballero
of suspicious racial antecedents ? Pure
ancestry thus became for the lower ranks of
Spanish society the equivalent of noble ancestry
for the upper ranks since it determined a man's
status amongst his fellow men. His honor
depended on his ability to prove the purity of
his ancestry...from time immemorial. Once this
was established, he was equal to all comers ,
irrespective of his rank, and this no doubt
helped to give him that sense of equality which
is at first sight, one of the most paradoxical
characteristics of the intensely hierarchical
society of sixteenth century Spain." [???]
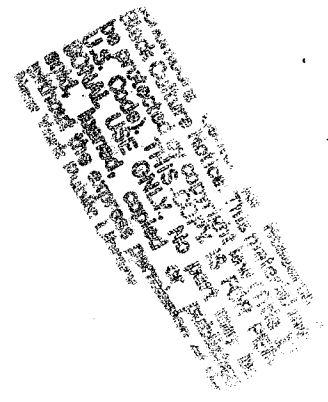
What we note here is a struggle being waged in the context
of social relations. The "norm" of noble blood which had enabled the
aristocracy to enjoy a sponsored mobility situation is being changed
to a new norm--that of limpieza of blood represented as an index to
limpieza, in other words to a Norm of monarchial orthodoxy. Since the
State and the Faith were interrelated, religious orthodoxy meant
political orthodoxy. The Nobility still kept their power but they
had to pay allegiance to and respect the new norm of orthodoxy. In
addition, they stood to lose since it was they--and not the lowly-
born, who had intermarried with the Jews. As Elliot writes,

"As soon as purity of blood was made essential
for office in the Inquisition and for entry into
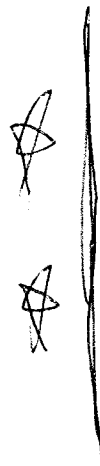
a religious community or secular corporation,
there was no escape from long and expensive
investigations which might at any moment
uncover skeletons in the family cupboard.

By the middle of the sixteenth century,
orthodoxy was coming to mean not only the
profession of a strictly orthodox faith--
but also the possession of a strictly orthodox
ancestry." [p. 216]

The relative valuation of the norm of nobility and the norm
of orthodoxy--for the upper level of the nobility, still maintained its
social power, as the test of limpieza was difficult to enforce with
regard to the very powerful grandees--coexisted in a state of tension.

But the monarchial Symbolic Order had legitimated the Norm, of
limpia-sangre--clean blood. Those who had it by birth, nevertheless had to
strive to make sure that their actions legitimated their orthodoxy--
even those who were clean by birth could be "tainted" through association
with deviant heretics. Those who had Jewish ancestors had to strive to
separate themselves from their Jewish taint. The engendered sense of
anxiety underlay the obsession with proving one's honor.

As in the Soviet Union today, heresy was designated as deviance--
as in the United States the black exists as the deviant form of orthodox
"whiteness." The principle of deviance in Spain was the absent Jew, the
expelled Jew, the secret Jew who could be hidden under the converso's
outward show of conformity.

The Symbolic Jew inscribed in a sacred circle, constituted the
opposed term to the orthodox Spanish Christian. Like Sambo, the Symbolic
Jew became the disfigured representative of any alternative desire and
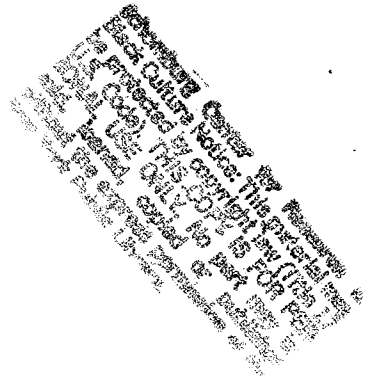
like Sambo, the mechanism by and through which each individual in order to constitute himself as orthodox-limpio--could be induced to freely repress any heretical tendencies in himself.

This was, of course, the role that the Symbolic Negro was to play in the American social order, an order based on limpieza of skin, <u>whiteness of skin</u>, constituted as the mark of the orthodox American social being.

"Whiteness" is, then, the organizing principle of the American national identity in its middle class form, as <u>limpieza de sangre</u> was the organizing principle of the Spanish national identity in its <u>monarchical</u> form. Both constitute central codes of orthodoxy, central Norms. One is "free, white and ᵗwenty -one,"-in the same way as one boasted of being, a viejocristiano--an old Christian--and therefore free of the "taint" of "Jewish" blood and of Jewish heresy--and of therefore being the Norm in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain.

The paradox inboth cases is this. It is those of lowly status in Spain, those who desired to climb in the social hierarchy, but who <u>lacked</u> noble blood, that activated, and helped to <u>actualize</u> the "value" of <u>clean blood</u>. Whilst there was a "<u>material</u>" stake--the opportunity for top jobs, there is also another central mechanism at work. As the non-Norm--the <u>villano/peasant</u> to the blue blood nobility,--the Siliceos could find no outlet for their activities upon the world, except their prescribed "<u>villano</u>" outlet, and the limited area that that represented.

As "limpios de sangre" in a new cultural system where religious and political orthodoxy are linked, they find themselves in a psychological relation of relative privilege to a devalued Other--the Symbolic Jew. They come to participate in a collective "popular" aristocracy of blood which cuts across the blue/blood/villeno distinction. What is essentially

constituted is an aristocratic populism which homogenizes aristocrats

and former peasants into a new grouping of the orthodox in relation

to the non-orthodox. Hence the extraordinary fusion of revolutionary

populism and reactionary fascism that can be identified in Golden Age

Spain [ɤʔ], in Hitler's Germany, in the Soviet Union--where limpieza

or "working class origin" replaces "limpieza de sangre"--and in the

United States, in the South before the 1960's, in "South Boston," and

in the recent Bakke upsurge [ɤʔ], with the surfacing of myriad

modes of latent racism.

For Harry Winston, a black Communist to speak of a "multi-

racial" working class is therefore a contradiction in terms. Marx's

original formulation was intended to define and constitute the primary

identity of the lower classes as the identity of the working class, as

a universal identity. But as the First world War proved, the "national"

coding of identity which linked the working class to the owning class,

constituted a dual identity, a dual consciousness. The "more valued"

the "nation" in relation to other nations--e.g., the "valued" core

German nation in relation to the devalued semi-periphery Slav--the

more difficult for the "worker" to negate his "national" coding of

self, his bonds of psychological solidarity. For the social mechanisms

of bourgeois hegemony constitute a national apparatus of symbolization-flags,

national anthems, national interpretation of history, national festivals,

national wars, patriotic crusades, in order to constitute a subject over

or against a metaphysical Other seeking to "pollute" or to "enslave"

the "nation." Given the constitution of the Subject as national by

the means of socialization, the threat to the nation is   experienced

as a threat to the self.

"Whiteness" is represented in the national cultural apparatus as

the very index of the American Being. Because of this, there is no

experience of being multi-racial. Rather than multi-racial which assumes an equality between terms there is a hierarchy based on a structural law of value, in which the overvaluation of whiteness relates to the under-valuation of blackness. Rather than an ethnic pluralism, there is a Normative Pluralism with the WASP (ethnic/cultural) group constitut the Norm. Rather than a dual/sexual society, there is a hierarchy between Male Norm and the female Non-Norm.

The "white" working class, can no more constitute a multi-racial working class before it has liberated itself from the code of whiteness than the German working class could have constituted a Pan-European(at the very least) working class before it had liberated itself from its "national coding", and the Western proletariat experience itself as a universal working class until it has liberated itself from its "Western" coding. It is only by liberating itself from these codes that it can begin its own liberation from its caste-like status as proletariat eternally subordinate to the property bourgeoisie and/or the new technocratic bourgeoisie. Each code legitimates the other.

In the U.S.A., there can be no majority sustained mass movement for revolutionary transformation until a theoretic frame which links the imperative of freeing oneself from the interior fascist, the interior settler of the interior colony of the self, to the imperative of the transformation of the overall social formations. The refusal to deal with the centrality of the mode of social relations and with the cultural apparatus which produces and reproduces the mode of social relations is related in Marxist theory to the marginalization of the so-called superstructure. Overseen, unexamined, these dominant mental and cultural structures work all the more efficaciously to culturally colonize the society.

Jeanne Parain Vial points out that in order to reconcile the contradictions in Marxism between the total determinism of the productive

forces and the insistence that the class struggle is the motor of history,

i.e., that change depends on people's actions, Louis Athusser developed

the idea of an autonomous level of culture but with the economic as

the nodal strategic point,-determinant in the last instance.

Yet as the black experience shows, <u>race</u> which would be called

a superstructural issue, is the <u>nodal strategic point</u> for the Black struggle,

by the nature of the form of social and symbolic exploitation which ,

experience. Indeed, from the Congolese on to the twentieth century

the black struggle has been based on the symbolic and actual

identity. Cruse refers to the imperative struggle of black nationalism to

constitute a counter-identity to the dominant <u>white nationalism</u> which

represented itself as the universal American identity.

He discusses the two strains in the black American struggle:

"Historically, this "rejected strain"...emerged simultaneously

with its opposite--the racial integration strain.

The prototype leader of the latter strain was

Frederick Douglas, the great Negro Abolitionist...

The second strain was represented originally by

Martin R. Delany, a Harvard trained physician,

the first Negro to be commissioned with field rank

by President Lincoln...Delany visited Liberia in

1859. He remarked with respect to the proposed

Liberian College, that it was 'a grand stride in

the march of African Regeneration and Negro

nationality...' " [   ]

Delany, Cruse points out, also originated and used the phrase

"Africa for the Africans."

Another scholar has recently defined and analysed the dual

tradition of black struggle in the U.S., that of the free blacks, and that
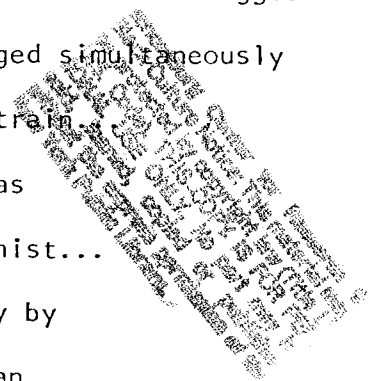
of the slaves. What links them both is the project of a re-expropriation of the intentionality of consciousness by and through the reinvention of identity.

The "intentionality of consciousness" is the concept that Sartre was to borrow from Husserl's phenomenology as he attempted to negate the determinism inherent in that aspect of Marxist thought which argues that social change is only determined by the growth of the productive process. Sartre's writings would put the emphasis on human actions-- on the "class struggle" aspect--as the motive of social change. Here therefore accorded in his early writings "a central or foundational role to consciousness both in the fields of theory and of human actions." [82]

Sartre argued that man is not completely determined, by his situation.

"The possibility of rising above a situation

to get a perspective on it is precisely that

which we call freedom. No materialism of any

kind can ever explain it." [7?]

It is though the effort to change the given situation in which we find ourselves that the non-conditioned perspective becomes possible. Yet this "non-conditioned" must be qualified. If we conceive of a "social materialism," i.e., of a mode of social relations that constitute the "negro" as a social fact for example, then the situation in which the "negro" finds himself is socially constituted. Lamming's fictional Trumper, and Richard Wright's factual younger self, find themselves in a situation in the "life-world," with meanings ascribed to them, meanings which attempt to shape and determine their respective "intentionalities" of consciousness; and therefore to determine their

mode of activity upon the world.

The choice not to accept these meanings responds not to the "inherent" possession of an opposed intentionality of consciousness but rather to the social Place, the relative social situation in which they find themselves, a relative social Place in which their experience of the life-world does not coincide--as the experience of the Place of the Norm coincides with-the dominant representational coding of that life-world.

The compulsion to refuse to accept the given meanings, the prescribed consciousness is therefore related to an epistomological insight, a non-coincidence between experience and representation. Thus the young Richard Wright experiences the negation-of equality, the negation of labor solidarity. His later rupture with both forms of integration is philosophy--Liberal and Marxist--will be related to this insight, whose ground of possibility is constituted by his particular social experience of being the marked, excluded term in the social/symbolic order. The choice lies in deciding to accept or to negate the hegemonic social/ symbolic order.

The metaphor of "blindness" central to both Native Son by Richard Wright, and the Invisible Man by Ellison, relates to this choice-- whether to accept the life-world as it is given, or to attempt to change its meanings; to re-expropriate the intentionality of consciousness from the dominant socially prescribed consciousness that imprisons the subject
in its definitions, and harnesses him to the project, the goal-seeking activity of the dominant hegemonic group.

The re-expropriation of the intentionality of consciousness involves the deconstruction of the dominant "meanings" imposed by the hegemonic consciousness of the ruling group. The experience of the non-adequation of the ruling consciousness--Trumper cannot accept the rights of men as a universal since it does not explain his particular

experience of reality--leads to the project to oppose "black" nationalism

to "white" nationalism. To accept and reinvent the identity "Negro"

so as to assert a black activity upon the world--rather/an "American"

ac tivity" which is constituted in a "white" nationalist form--is to refuse

to accept the axiomatic identity/activity of the hegemonic group.

The refusal to accept the definition "black" as signifying merely a

lack of whiteness, the definition proletariat as signifying merely

a lack of middle class status; the definition female as signifying a

lack of maleness, the definition Jew as signifying a lack of Christian

status--are centrally important moments in the challenge to the hegemony

of the Single Race, the Single Class, the Single Sex, the Single Faith.

These moments and the movements constituted from these moments--black

nationalism--as opposed to the implicit official white nationalism--

labor nationalism as opposed to bourgeois nationalism; female as opposed

to male; Jewish (Zionism) as opposed to Christian; Pan-Arab nationalism

as opposed to Israeli Zionism--are powerful internal critiques of the

hegemonic ruling consciousness. But they are internal to the extent that

by not moving outside the theoretic frame of the bourgeoisie they invert

the Single Norm, each being tempted in its turn to posit itself--

black/labor/female7Zionist/Pan-Arabism as the Place of the New Norm, as

the new Single Universal.

This has been particularly true of "labor nationalism" which

has attempted to subsume the black mode of revolt as a secondary moment

to the labor mode of revolt, basing this "integrationist" philosophy on

the universality of "material" exploitation.

Yet the black experience constitutes the mode of its revolt.

And the imperative nature of the black quest for a livable creative

identity reveals that it is the social-symbolic exploitation which

he experiences as the Negative term of the hegemonic Symbolic Order

which constitutes the ground of possibility of and legitimates his "material" exploitation; even to himself.

This imperative quest for a creative autonomous identity underlies all variants, all alternatives of the black struggle for self-liberation.

Ralph Ellison contrasts and opposes four different alternatives in his Narrator's quest for identity. One is the option afforded him at the beginning of the novel,--the opportunity to integrate into the mainstream as a Negro version of the Great American Ideal--the Negro middle class subject.

The other is to integrate fully as a Party Member and a symbolic universal proletariat who could deal as easily with the Women Question as with the Negro Question. The other is to actualize the black nationalist identity offered in the Back to Africa slogan/program of Ras. The last, and the one that he actually affirms, is the concrete here and now unbounded/ambiguous identity offered by the stigmatized yet vibrant cultural signification system of the black and popular cultural underlife.

Like the later Hippies, the Narrator at the end of the novel drops out of society and takes up residence in an underground.

The Underground theme is the central revelatory thematic object of the novel. It is not only the embodiment of the place where the Narrator drops out of destiny, history, and the identity imposed by the societal order. It is the place where he gets in touch not only with his "Negro" heritage--as the critics partially define it--but with the non-normative, non middle-class, non-exploitative culture of America (i.e., with the blues-world, the spirituals, jazz and its variants, Louis Armstrong, etc.) the popular mode of a culture created by a permanent underclass of American history.

As the Ultimate Other, the negative term, without a relative dependent Other on whom to displace that apprehension that cons. ... . Non-Being that the grounds the human/social experience of Being, black culture, like all popular cultures created by peoples who exist as the Ultimate Other in their own society, had to constitute the self-certainty of its participants by and through their reciprocal i recognition of each by the other. Black culture, like all popular cultures had to create societal identities which do not depend on binery oppositions between the Self and Other; the Self and Nat' ., the individual and Society, the INtellect and the Body, life and death.
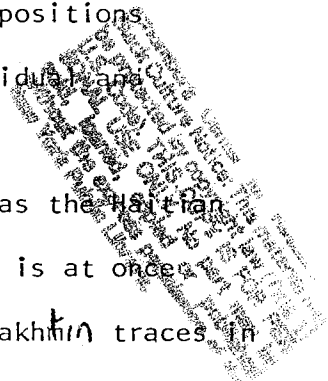
In the signification system of popular cultures, as the Haitian Ghede is Lord of life and death, for example, so identity is at once particular and universal, defined and unbounded. Michael Bakhtin traces in the Renaissance the growing constitution of the sense of binary opposition that marked the ascendancy of the bourgeois hegemony. But he shows also the still widespread prevailing consciousness of the popular forces, especailly in its insistence on the material bodily   principle, i.e., "images of the human body with its food, drink, defecation and sexual life..." [684] Like Ghede, gluttunous, fornicating, life-giving, death bearing--this material bodily principle of all popular cultures relates to what Bakhtin defines as the aesthetic of folk culture, an aesthetic opposed to that of official cultures. Bakhtim defines this aesthetic as grotesque realism. In this concept the refusal to separate brain from body is related to the refusal to totally separate the self from the group that makes its selfness possible; or vice versa to posit the group as existing   outside the interaction of realized selves.

"The material bodily principle in grotesque realism

is offered in its all-popular, festive and utopian

aspect. The cosmic, social, and bodily elements are

given here as an indivisible whole. And this whole is gay and

gracious. In grotesque realism, therefore, the bodily element

is deeply positive. It is presented not in a
private, egotistic form, severed from the other
sphere of life, but as something universal,
representing all the people. As such, it is
opposed to sever.ance from the material and
bodily roots of the world; it makes no
pretence to renunciation of the earthly or to
independence of the earth and of the body."
[ꝑꝑꝘ]
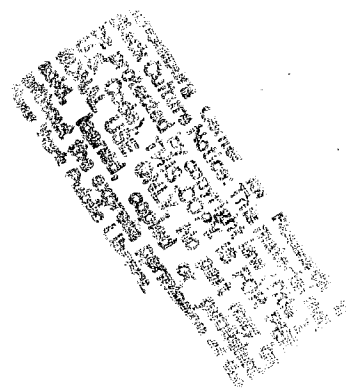
The principle of the Earth carried over from the African
cultures, into the underlife-black culture becomes shaped by the same
social forces that had transformed other non-industrial cultures into
popular cultures as varied peoples of the world, faced with the growth
and expansion of systems of power had to experience and deal with the
weight and burden of ruling classes.

As ruling classes deployed strategies of social inscription,
of stratified differentiation and separation, popular cultures carried
· on an opposed aesthetic and ethic; an opposed conceptualization based
on a non-exploitative relation between Self and Other, brain and brawn,
body and spirit...the body and bodily life have here a cosmic and at the
same time an all-people's character. This is not the body and its physiology
in the modern sense of the world, because it is not individualized.
The material bodily principle is contained not in the biological individual,
not in the bourgeois ego, but in the people, a people who are continually
growing and renewed. This is why all that is bodily becomes grandiose,
exaggerated, immeasurable."   [ ]

Like the Jonkunnu-koo-koo, or Actor Boy, drawn in the Belisario
prints, was represented as gluttunous, always begging for food- as with
Ghede' Lord of Life and Death--this bodily exaggeration

"has a positive assertive character. The leading

themes of these images of bodily life are fertility,

growth and a brimming over-abundance." [8 2 7]

It is this that is most opposed to the bourgeois aesthetic,

an aesthetic which relates to the bourgeois conceptualization in the social--

its "representation" of isolated "economic" man, whose isolation from

others makes possible his accumulation from others, his refusal of reciprocal

exchange,--racism and middle class consciousness are essentially .:

refusals and limitations of reciprocal exchange--with others. Thus in

the buyer's conceptualization, social life became biological, individual

life, and social death becomes biological individual death.

The conceptualization of all popular cultures is opposed to this:

"Manifestations of this life refer not to the

isolated biological individual, not to the

private egotistic 'economic' man but to the collective

ancestral body of all the people. Abundance

and the all-people's element also determine the

gay and festive character of all images of

bodily life; they do not reflect the drabness of

everyday existence. The material bodily

principle is a triumphant festive principle,

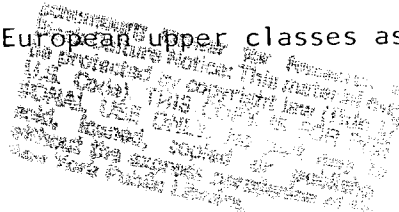it is a 'banquet for all the world' ." [8 9 9]

The refusal of the binary opposition between spirit and body,

a binary opposition, central in different forms to all institutionalized

ruling classes, leads to the strategy of what Bakhtin calls the aesthetic

of grotesque realism of popular cultures.

"The essential principle of grotesque realism

is degradation, that is the lowering of all that

---

to its own needs--but further than that, it is clear that black culture--like the peasant folk cultures of the world--had come to constitute the "native" culture of the American cultural reality; the source of its neo-indigenious life. Thus as the American "ruling bourgeoisie" constituted itself as a ruling caste/class, the pattern of Black minstrelsy with its Clown/figura/Negro began that parodying of the pretentions of the ruling class, i.e., of its "spiritualization" of values in a higher realm--that is central to all popular cultures, to its aesthetics, ethics, politics. The "black faced" mask was not only a psychological mask. It was also a theatrical mask, the parallel of the masks of the ASAFO, the young African age group--who by the ritual of wearing the mask ,reverse the social structure of power, satirize, criticize, challenge the authority of those who exercise power in the society. The asafo age groups are the embryonic form, in a non-stratified society--of the popular groups and cultures of stratified societies. The comic tradition of the U.S.A.--both black and white--for the fusion of European popular elements in black minstrelsy as in Junkummu are undoubted--belong to this universal popular tradition.

As Nathan Huggins perceptively shows in his description of black minstrelsy, the use of parody and of the mechanism of degradation, enabled the reversal and mockery of the social pretenses of newly rich groups on the social "make" in the U.S.A. As the new stratified social order of the American bourgeosie solidified itself, the comic tradition of black minstrelsy, satirized,reversed on stage, the pretended irreversibility of upper class social identity, of superiority represented as "naturally" ordained.

As Huggins argues, black minstrelsy parodied the U.S.A.'s nouveau riche's imitation of the European upper classes as it self-

consciously constituted itself as an upper class.

The complex parody lay in the fact that the parody of the
other was also a self-parody. The popular culture knows itself to be
as "colonized" by the hegemonic values--Schuyler, according to Nathan
Huggins attacked what he saw as Langston Hughes' "romanticization" of
the art of the black lower classes by claiming that it is the "Afro
American masses who consume hair-straightener and skin-whitener;
and Schuyler, Huggins comments "could find little of race, beauty in
that." unlike the other groups, it establishes no binary opposition between
the "inauthentic" upper classes and the authentic people. Rather it
produces the imitation and pretentions of the upper classes, because
it knows this imitation and pretentions from its own experience. It
understands the wearing of social masks, white or upper class,--or of
chivalry as with Don Quixote--and it laughs at its own ludicrousness.

Like Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, it is constantly compelled
to wake up to the limits of its pretentions since the social order affords
it no reflecting mirror in the eyes of subordinated others who can
confirm its self-certainty as master, as white, as middle class. Parody
and irony are only possible where the self itself is taken as contingent--
irony and parody must essentially be grounded in self-irony, self-parody--
as the great clowns and the comic tradition prove [ ]].

Its aesthetic is based on an ethical epistemology-the ability
to see and to accept one's own ludicrousness. [   ] And both the
ethic and the epistemology are based on a social relation which has no fixed
negative other.

Huggins points to the parodying of social pretentions as central
to black minstrelsy--at least in its black form, since in its white form
black-faced minstrelsy also used white actors to parody "negroes." Huggins

mentions the black parody of the social pretensions of the Southern
aristocracy--one si ng "I want to be a real lady." He continues:

> "Language--a symbol of civilization and social class--
> was another cloak of travesty for the slave Negro.
> The use, or misuse of ponderous latinate words, the
> still, formal diction of the minstrel's interlocutor
> (that name itself, indeed) served the pretense and
> exposed it all at once. The audience was asked to
> look at black faced performers...occasionally
> pretending to be civilized, and they laughed because
> the frequent malaphropisms and misunderstandings
> made the pretense ludicrous. The language of the
> minstrel was throughout   , the language of
> social pretense. The first think that happened
> in fact was that all the black faced characters were
> called 'Gentlemen' and told to be seated." [872]

A dual process is at work in "black minstrelsy." On the one
hand, constituted as central to the aesthetic of the new black popular
forces, black minstrels continued and urbanized the universal popular
aesthetic. On the other hand, as the new middle classes rose to hegemony,
they incorporated black minstrelsy creating the stage Negro much as
in the European early theatre the farcical stage-peasant had been
created--in Spain and Portugal where blacks had been taken as slaves
to work on the large landed estates, and the black presence established, 893
In these countries the stage "negra" and "negro" were, like the stage
peasants, incorporated into the mode of farce, the theatrical mode which
responded to their social situation.

As with the "stage" peasant, the stage Negro, as Huggins points
out, embodied for the non-peasant classes and for the non-Negro classes the

conceptualization of Negroes, as being naturally foolish, and attempting to

play unsuitable social roles. The stage Negro thus became the theatrical

mechanism for middle class social satire. Thus he became, for the

middle classes, at once a theatrical mechanism and a social stereotype.
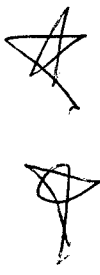
But the appropriation by the middle classes of the popular

tradition of <u>laughter</u>, as well as its growing domestication of that tradition,

did not negate entirely the original charge and force of this tradition,

no more than the successive waves of "whitening" of black music has

negated the powerful counter-cultural role it plays in American and global

society.

Thus the verbal parodies and spe. : plays of the minstrels

which mocked the grandiloquence of the newly powerful, such as Daniel

Webster, is part of the universal popular mechanism of <u>degradation.</u>
As Bakhtin points out:

"In the learned scholastic milieu of the Middle Ages,

light-hearted grammatical parody was popular. This

tradition went back to the ... 'Grammatical Vergil

Marco'...This flippant grammar contains a transposed

version of all grammatical <u>categories brought</u> down

to the bodily level, especially to the erotic sphere."

[89L]

-... . Huggins recounts how the minstrel figure, Mr. Bones would

completely misunderstand the sentimental figures of speech--with a sentimental

ballad which <u>touched--to be moved, to have a heart--Mr. Bones would always</u>

<u>miss the sentimental meaning</u>--and would reply

"The man next to me touched me, and I'll hit

him if he does it again."   C895 ?

We note that the sentimental categories are reversed, brought down to

the material level, and the cultural signification system of the upper classes

mocked and revealed as contingent.

Baktins points to the central aesthetic opposition:

"Not only parody in its narrow sense,

but all the other forms of grotesque realism

degrade, bring down to earth, turn their subjects

into flesh. This is the peculiar truth of this

genre which defferentiates it from all the forms

of medieval high art and literature. The

peoples' laughter which characterized all the forms

of grotesque realism from immemorial times was

linked with the bodily lower stratum. Laughter

degrades and materializes." [87]

Language was, in Medieval times as in the U.S.A., a matter of

social inscription, a line of demarcatkon, that separated the upper from

the lower classes. As Huggins comments,

"Daniel Webster, the Yankee who was born in

rustic New Hampshire and lived to serve

New England banking and textile interests,

found it important to sound like a Roman orator

sounded...Oratory for America was like the names

they chose to give their political institutions,

and the Greek columns they placed on their

banks and other public buildings, costumes for

greatness. Parodies of Webster's speech in

blackface not only ridiculed the posturing of

the political orator but the fantastic pretense

of black men playing the role of statesmen."

[217]

Blacks--as the <u>peasants</u> had done, became the social stereotype of the clown; the mechanism by which the strategy of "degradation" is carried out.

Two aspects are at work here. In the popular folk aesthetic the act of parodying the pompous orators--Americans who put on Greek or Roman masks--is designed to bring them back to "reality" to earth. As Bakhtin points out in the popular canon,

> "Degradation and debasement of the higher
> do not have a formal and relative character
> in Grotesque realism. 'Upward' and 'down-
> ward' have here an absolute and strictly
> topographical meaning. 'Downward' is earth,
> 'upward' is heaven. Earth is an element that
> devours, swallows up (the grave, the womb)
> and at the same time an element of birth,
> or renaissance (the maternal breasts)...
> Degradation here means coming down to earth,
> the contact with earth as an element that
> swallows up and gives birth at the same
> time. To degrade is to bury, to sow, and
> to kill simultaneously, in order to bring
> forth something more and better. To degrade
> also means to concern oneself with the lower
> stratum of the body, the life of the belly
> and the reproductive organs; it therefore
> relates to acts of defecation and copulation,
> conception, pregnancy and birth. Degradation
> digs a bodily grave for new birth. It has
> not only a destructive negative aspect, but

also a regenerating one. To degrade an object does
not imply merely humbling it into the void of
non-existence, into absolute destruction, but to
hurl it down to the reproductive lower stratum,
the zone in which conception and a new birth take
place." [?/?]

But as Bakhtin points out--this concept of parody differs
from the purely formalist literary parody of modern times, "which has
a solely negative character and is deprived of regenerating ambivalence."
[?91]. Bahktin shows that already in the Renaissance, the material
principle central to the folk canon--like the Jonkurnnu figures at the
end of the nineteenth century--began to be "subject to a certain alteration
and narrowing...Its universal and festive character was somewhat weakened."
[9()] He shows how the material bodily principle plays a double role
in the work of Cervantes. On the one hand, the grotesque tradition is
continued, i.e., parodies in which there is a "coming to earth," a contact
with the reproductive and generating power of the earth and body." [?91]
But at the same time this principle has been reduced as a second aspect
appears "under Cervantes per". Under this aspect "bodies and objects
begin to acquire a private, individual nature; they are rendered petty
and homely and become immovable parts of private life, the goal of egotistic
lust and possession. This is no longer the positive, regenerating and
renewing lower stratum, but a blunt and deathly obstacle to ideal
aspirations. In the private sphere of isolated individuals the images
of the bodily lower stratum preserve the element of negation while
almost losing entirely their positive regenerating force. Their link
with life and with the cosmos is broken, they are narrowed down to
naturalistic erotic images." [?-?]

Equally with the Jonkunnu, the Jonkunnu figures gradually become only a negation, travestied, disorderly of the elegant set girls. There is an aesthetic and social displacement. Their link with, and representation of the regenerative force is broken--they remain symbolic of the lower bodily stratum only to the extent that the material bodily principle comes to be despised, repressed and disfigured in the bourgeois representation.

Thus the joyous "gluttony" of grotesque realism becomes the gluttony of the "negro," and the black-faced minstrel eating watermelon no longer "brings down to earth," in the original popular representation but parodies the "negro's animal-delight" in food, in the bourgeois representation. In the middle class version of Black minstrely--the "white" version--the Negro becomes the object of, rather than the mechanism of, satire. The central aesthetic of laughter is reduced to a negative destructive satire.

Yet, even in this most attenuated version some_thing of the original power still lingered. Bakhtin points out that in the Renaissance, two conceptions of the world met at the cross-roads, "one of them ascends to the folk culture of humor, while the other is in the bourgeois conception of the completely atomized being." [q23] Because of this, in spite of the conflict between them

"The bodily lower stratum of grotesque realism still fulfilled its unifying, degrading, and simultaneously regenerating functions. However divided, atomized individualized, were the private bodies. Renaissance realism did not cut the umbilical cord which tied them to the fruitful womb or earth. Bodies could not be considered

for themselves. They represented a

material bodily whole and therefore transgressed

the limits of their isolation. <u>The private and the</u>

<u>universal were still blended in contradictory</u>

<u>unity</u>. The carnival spirit still reigned in the depths

of Renaissance literature." [454]

Bahktin relates two parallel processes in the peculiar drama

of the material bodily principle in Renaissance literature--the drama that

leads to the breaking away of the body from the single procreating

earth, the breaking away from the collective, growing and continually

renewed body of the people whith which it had been linked in folk

culture."

Ellison's novel embodies the "breaking away" of the Narrator

from the "body of the people," from the world of the Truebloods--to

enter the privatized separate middle-class world of the Blidsoes. Trueblood

is captured in all the grotesque realism of his evocationing the incest

theme, bringing the spiritually incestious millionare Norton back to

earth. The Narrator, uncomfortable, seeks in every way to dis-identify

himself with the world of Trueblood--sexual mores, food, customs, music--

in order to constitute himself as the middle class ideal. He seeks in

every way to dissassociate himself from the grotesque realism of black

popular culture and to attain the culturally "bled" world of Blédsoe.

His "coming down to earth" in the underground basement leads

him into the world of grotesque realism, the world of Louis Armstrong,

of self ironical, self mocking black music. The self mockery is the

mechanism of parody, the popular strategy of <u>degradation</u> of the dominant

symbolic order, of its cultural signification system.

Armstrong's gravelly material voice, issuing from his clown's

mask, asking What did I do to be so black and blue?, ironically comments

on the scapegoat function, the structure in which the black features

as the signifier of that rejected lower-stratum, degraded now in the

bourgeois way, which represents the lower stratum not as the source

of regeneration but as the obstacle to the attainment of its privatized

ideals. Armstrong's accepts the negative valuation of "black" and self

parodies his own acceptance.

His irony performs the function of "degradation" as it

exists in the popular canon. When he sings about feeling the "touch of your

chops next to mine" the ironic stance that is ironic both in relation

to the dominant white aesthetic--thin lips are beautiful, black "thick"

lips are the polar point that confirms the beauty of thin lips--and to the

black acceptance of this "denigration," he also desacralizes the dominant

mythology, in which the kiss marked a frontier zone, in a tradition of

Western bourgeois love which split into the sense/soul opposition, and lead

to the affective sphere of   sentimentality. Armstrong's laughter,

like the texture of the word--chops for lips, materializes, degrades, brings

down to earth.

It is this self irony that Stephen Henderson misses--that self-

irony that all blacks know when they use the term nigger as a term of

endearment--when he criticizes some aspects of the blues as the bad, the nigger

aspect of the bad experience. For Henderson, when the bluesman quips

about the shortness of his worman's harr, hair so short that he can almost

smell her brains, this is merely one moment of the internalization of a

negative self image. Far more importantly the blues operates in the

tradition of grotesque realism, in an opposed canon--one which, as

Bahktin points out is "non-canonical in its very nature." Rather he

argues,

We here use the word canon in the wider sense of

a manner of representing the human body and bodily

7-d

life. In the art and literature of past ages we

observe two such manners, which we will conditionally

call grotesque and classic." [905]

Bakhtin compares the concept of the body in grotesque realism

with the official artistic canon of antiquity which formed the basis of

Renaissance aesthetics,

"The Renaissance saw the body in quite a different

light than the Middle Ages, in a different aspect of

its life, and a different relation to the exterior

nonbodily world. As conceived by these canons, the

body was first of all a strictly completed, finished

product. Furthermore, it was isolated, alone, fenced

off from all other bodies. All signs of its unfinished

character, of its growth and proliferation were

eliminated; its protuberances and offshoots were removed,

its convexities (signs of new sprouts and buds)

smoothed out, its apertures closed. The ever un-

finished nature of the body was hidden, kept secret;

conception, pregnancy, childbrith, death throes,

were almost never shown. The age represented was as

far removed from the mother's womb as from the grave,

the age most distant from either threshold of individual

life. The accent was placed on the completed, self-

sufficient individuality of the given body. Corporal

acts were shown only when the borderlines dividing

the body from the outside world were sharply defined.

The inner processes of absorbing and ejecting were

not revealed. The individual body was presented apart

from its relation to the ancestral body of the people."

[900]

In contrast, Bakhtin writes,

"Contrary to modern canons, the grotesque body
is not separated from the rest of the world. It is
not a closed, complete unit; it is unfinished,
outgrows itself, transgresses its own limits. The
stress is laid on those parts of the body that
are open to the outside world, that is, the parts
through which the world enters the body or emerges
from it, or through which the body itself goes out
to meet the world. This means that the emphasis is
on apeetures or the convexities, or on various
ramifications and offshoots: the open mouth, the
genital organs, the breasts, the pahllus, the pot-
belly, the nose. The body discloses its essence as
a principle of growth which exceeds its own limits
only in copulation, pregnancy, childbirth, the
throes of death, eating, drinking, or defecation.
This is the ever unfinished, ever creating body,
the link in the chain of genetic development, or more
correctly speaking, two links shown at the point
where they enter into each other.

One of the fundamental tendences of the
grotesque image of the body is to show two bodies
in one: the one giving birth and dying, the other
conceived, generated, and born." [907]
It is in this context that we can place Henderson's remark that
"...honesty compels me to point out that our songs,
our games, our myths embody a good deal of anti-black
feeling and attitude. This is the old self-hatred that

one hears in the Dozens and in the Blues. It is frankly,

the nigger component of the Black experience..." (908)

The attempt to critically site the opposed "canon" of grotesque realism,

beginning from an aesthetic and a politics that, however radical, still

only inverts the hegemonic aesthetic, leads Henderson to label the realism

with which the popular culture handles the concrete fact of a structured

anti-black symbolic order that $conditions$, anti-black feeling in all,

including blacks, as itself being anti-black.

Later in the same essay, however, Henderson argues that,

"Perhaps the ironic distance that literary critics

used to talk about so much helped black people to

handle that negative side of their experience, for in

Lightning Hopkins' song as well as in Caledonia, the

love element is still present. In fact it is the

central subject. Superficially this says I love you,

even though you are black. Fundamentally it is a

total absorption of the experience of blackness, which

in America has been largely shaped by reaction to

other peoples values, to the values of Europe."

[909]

The popular consciousness does not negate the widespread

hegemonic aesthetic stereotype of the black woman as ugly compared to

the gold standard or the ideal aesthetic of the white woman. Rather,

it draws the stereotype into the grotesque canon of the popular tradition,

and transmits the "ugliness" in relation to a closed separate static

aesthetic into a different representation. The touch of your chops

next to mine "represents ugliness" in the ideal aesthetic, but it represents

the material bodily principle in the grotesque tradition, where "ugliness"

responds only to the sterile.

"Love" is brought "down to earth," it is not the sublimated sentimentality

responding to the finished completed being, but the representation of

the principle of vital regeneration--not of regeneration in the sense

of procreation but of sexual regeneration. The "love" for Caledonia,

like the kiss of the chops has nothing to do with the carefully

cultivated sentimental passion of the bourgeois cult of feelings.

Ellison makes the point when he has one of his characters

sing a blues in a Harlem street:

> "She's got feet like a monkey
>
> Legs like a frog--Lawd, Lawd!
>
> But when she starts to loving me
>
> I holler whoooooo Goddog."   (91)

Bahktin points out that "the grotesque mode of representing the

body and bodily life prevailed in art and creative forms of speech for

thousands of years. Moreover these images still predominate in the

extra official life of the people. For example, the theme of mockery

and abuse is almost entirely bodily and grotesque. The body that figures

in all the expressions of the unofficial speech of the people is the body

that fecundates and is fecundated, that gives birth and is born, devours

and is devoured, drinks, defecates, is sick and dying." [911]

The rise to hegemony of the bourgeoisie would entail not only

the institution of a Single Culture, Western culture, but also of a

Single canon, a single modality of that culture. Bakhtin traces the

way in which the "grotesque related to the culture of folk humor was

excluded from great literature; it descended to "the low comic level or

was subject to the epithet of 'gross naturalism'." There was a process of

gradual narrowing down of the ritual spectacle and carnival forms of

folk culture which became small and trivial." [912]

The marginalization of the Junkumuu Carnival complex was part

of the gradual marginalization of all popular forms

"On the one hand the state encroached upon festive

life and turned it into a parade; on the other hand

these festivities were brought into the home and became

part of the family's private life...The carnival

spirit with its freedom, its utopian character

oriented towards the future was gradually transformed

into a mere holiday mood. The feast ceased almost

entirely to be the people's second life, their temporary

renascence and renewal. WE have stressed the word

almost because the popular-festive carnival principle

is indestructible. Though narrowed and weakened, it

still continues to fertilize various degrees of

life and culture." [913]

But it was allowed to exist only because stigmatized. In the

case of the black underlife popular culture was stigmatized. As the complex

of Field Niggerism .. all that was related to the lower stratum of the

body--to copulation, eating, all that absorbed and ingested and was not

sharply separate from the material world.

Hence the felt threat of jazz to the hegemonic social order

was reflected in its stigmatization, in opposition and/or indifference to

America's only indigenous contemporary cultural form. For it was a

cultural form emerging out of the canon of grotesque realism, the cultural

sphere of the popular forces and beginning to constitute the alternative

non-bourgeois culture. Allan Merriam quotes Berger's statement that

"...leaders and representatives of the white community...

opposed the acceptance of jazz...because of...the

identification of jazz with crime, vice and greater

sexual freedom than is countenanced by the

common rules of morality." [4...]

that is to say, of bourgeois morality. But the threat was not only to

bourgeois morality but to bourgeois aesthetics:

"the musicians...associated with classical music...

opposed...jazz, since it was produced by musicians

who were not educated in the familiar tradition and

did not conform to the rules of public onduct

developed by centuries of the concert stage." [9/S]

Ralph Ellison places his protagonists between two opposed aesthetics/

ethic, the one the official hegemonic, the other unofficial, of the

popular culture, delegitimated, stigmatized, yet the culture that has the

clue to the constitution of an American identity. This is the central

issue of Elli'son's novel--the problematic of the American identity.

Ellison has said so in his contradictory extracurricular statements;

and forcibly in his novel, embodying the problematic in situation after

situation; and finally stating what can almost be called the obession

of his novel when he has the Narrator realize,

"I looked at Ras on his horse and at their handful

of guns and recognized the absurdity of the whole

night...and knowing who I was and where I was and knowing

too that I had no longer to run to or from the Jacks

and the Emersons and the Bledsoes and the Nortons,

but only from their confusion, impatience and refusal

to recognize the beautiful absurdity of their identity

and mine." [9'ᵇ]

Critical interpretations of the novel have for the main part

continued this refusal. Irving Howe's interpretation is typical of this

this refusal. Howe and Ellison had a by now famous quarrel over an article

by Howe--Black Boys and Native Sons [47]--which more or less took Ellison

to task for not being as "angry" as Wright was. Constituting Richard

Wright as an "angry" writer, Howe rhetorically demanded:

> "What then, was the experience of a man with a black
>
> skin, what could it be here in this country? How
>
> could a Negro put pen to paper, how could he so much
>
> as think or breathe without some impulsion to protest...
>
> the sociology of his existence forms a constant
>
> pressure on his literary work, and not merely the
>
> way this might be true of any writer, but with a pain
>
> and ferocity that nothing could remove?" [97]
>
> In reply, Ellison really made angry, argues:
>
> "...one of the most insidious crimes occuring in this
>
> democracy is that of designing another, politically
>
> weaker less socially acceptable people as the receptacle
>
> for one's own self disgust,...infantile rebellions,
>
> fears, retreats. It is the crime of reducing the
>
> humanity of others to that of a mere convenience, a
>
> counter in a blank game which involves no apparent
>
> risk to ourselves. With us Negroes it started with
>
> the appropriation of our freedom and our labour...it
>
> is perhaps permissible to say that the time for such mis-
>
> appropriations ran out long ago." [97]

But it didn't and hasn't. As Ellison's novel itself shows, it

is the condition of possibility of that very democracy which the post-

Invisible Man Ellison would, so often, uncritically, defend. For to the

critic in real life, Negro writers were as abstract an Other as the Negro

Narrator was to the fictional characters of his novel. Indeed I propose

that what Howe is doing to Ellison and the other black writers--determining

them and their roles, creating an IDEA OF THE ANGRY WRITER, is a logical

imperative of what he must do to every black if he is to legitimate

his own idea of himself as a radical liberal critic; in other words, his

own identity. Having postulated Wright as an "angry" writer, deterministically

made angry by his situation, Howe is then able, voluntaristically to

constitute himself as defender. What he revindicates is not Wright nor

indeed the angry black writer but rather the legitimacy and validity of

liberal radicalism, that Notion which constitutes him as Subject. Frederick

Douglas was to find himself in a similar situation with W. L. Garrison--

the abolitionist radical [ ].

The idea of the angry black writer was as much necessity to

Howe as critic, as the idea-of-the-savage-rapist was to the fictional Sybil;

as the concrete humiliation of the Negro boys and the consequent idea-of-

the-animal-negro was to the fictional white Southerners. The black served

and serves as Other for all; even, as Fanon so perceptively showed, for

himself.

Here we begin to see why to Howe and to so many other critics, the

problematic of the novel is seen as the problem of "Negro" identity. By

displacing the problem, they avoided calling into question their own

precariously constituted identites. Hence, in reading Howe's account of

the novel, we remain in the world of a Negro--but not an American novel;

and as a result, Howe, like a vast amjority of the critics, oversees com

pletely, the role and implications of the white characters. This common

agreement of critics to filter out this problematic then provides the

insight into the very nature of American identity.

It reflects the refusal of the society to recognize the "despÀrate

issue" of an American identity as the central issue; to recognize that a

"white" American identity is a rational identity only to the extent that
it is a middle-class national identity; that it is a male national identity;
that it is a "Western" national identity. In other words, that it is
an identity constituted about and around a Single Race, a Single Sex,
aSingle Class, a Single Culture.

That the thematic object of the "underground" figures not only
a "Negro" subculture but an alternative American culture that like all
popular cultures, resolves the contradiction between the private and the
public, the experience of the particular and of the whole, is a reading
of the novel precluded by both the "white" and the middle-class pre-
suppositions of critics, black and white.

Yet it is clear that the cultural underlife exists in the novel
as the metaphor of a Siren Song that calls insistently to the Narrator as
he stops his ears and keeps running after the middle-class American Dream,
figured in the thematic object of the briefcase, of toast and orange
juice rather than pork and grits. The series of failures that he meets
with are mechanisms of "degradation," of being brought back to earth.
It is in this context that his eating of yams in the street--I am what
I yam--is the negation of his "middle-class" identity and of his own
"white" identity; and an experience of the "concrete" self behind the
multiple masks.

To the extent that critics like Howe are themselves constituted
as "white" subjects by the bourgeois Symbolic Order, they can have, like
the Hegelian master, very little self-knowledge. Like him they take their
mastery, i.e., their whiteness, for granted as an unexamined presupposition.
Refusing to see their whiteness as a social construct, they are unable
to see their knowledge constitutive interests that determine and shape
the knowledge which extends, reinforces and grounds this presupposition of

whiteness. They are unaware that their theoretical formulations like their everyday practises depend from the same ideological knowledge that constitutes them as "white," i.e., as a single race in relation to non-whites. They are unaware the constitution of themselves as whites depend upon the constitution of the other as a category labelled non-white or Negro; that this constitution is carried on by the hierarchical social relations, of a mode of domination based on a structural law of value.

As Marx argues,

"Man is...not only a social animal, but an animal that can be individualized only within society...But in society the relation of the producer to his product after its completion is extrinsic, and the returns of the product to the subject, depends ON HIS RELATIONS TO OTHER INDIVIDUALS...For example, the slave, the serf, the wage worker all receive an amount of food enabling them to exist AS A SLAVE, SERF, OR WAGE WORKER." [72]
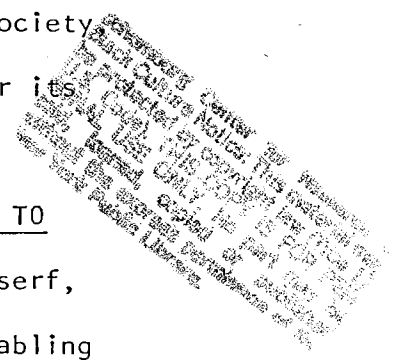
For the mode of relations to continue by and through the interrelationships that constitute the social reality, there must be a generally accepted ideology which persuades the differing subjects to be constituted as slave, serf, wage-worker. Of for that matter, as white and Negro. This generally accepted belief system is carried by the hegemonic Symbolic Order of the society; and the acceptance of this Symbolic Order is determined by the extent to which the dominant groups control the means of socialization...for it is not the expropriation of labor-power that is the primary act, but the expropriation of the power to define the self that marks the difference between the ruler and the ruled. It is the hegemony of a group's ruling consciousness that constitutes its central stategy of power.

The underlife of black/popular America moved outside the
hegemonic ruling consciousness. It functions like the black stable boy in
a Spanish medieval author's version of the tale of the Emperor's
clothes.

> "In this story, a king was deceived by three men
> who told him they could weave a cloth of such
> virtue that only legitimate sons could see the
> fabric. When the duped king rode naked through the
> streets, his pretentious subjects marveled over his
> fine "robe," until 'a Negro who looked after the
> King's horse and who had nothing to lose, came to
> the King and told him: "Your majesty, it doesn't
> matter to me whether people think me the son of that
> father that I say I am or the son of another; therefore
> I can tell you this--either I am blind, or you are
> naked." ' (922)

The black, who tended horses, had no possessions and, therefore,
no need to worry about his lineage, since preoccupation with lineage was
linked to the possession of goods, which could be inherited. He is,
therefore, the perfect example of what Sartre defines as the "contingent,"
man," the marginal man, who can be truly revolutionary because he is outside
of the prevailing social structure and its concomitant ideology.

The black sees the truth because he is in an existential situation
where, to borrow an Althusserian formulation, he has no need to over see
the truth. His factual existence makes it possible for him to negate the
prevailing consciousness, to demystify one variant of the dominant ideo-
logy." [922]

The fictional negro in the context of feudal Spain with its
ideology of noble blood, its discourse of reference of primogeniture--

the landed estates passed on to the legitimate first-born h̃ier̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ ̃ like the Hegelian slave to see through the ideology that legitima̶te̶s̶ t̶h̶e̶ mode of distribtuion of both the social product and the means of produc̶t̶i̶o̶n̶. All, having a stake in the deception are able to see the non-existent clothes.   All want to be inscribed as <u>normative</u>--as legitimate sons.

It is because the <u>negro</u> from his socially excluded place
 ̇ ̇ ̇ ̇ ̇ ̇ has nothing to lose or gain by being a legitimate son--that he can move outside the discourse of reference of the ideology and <u>see</u> the truth.   This is the "truth" of Ellison's fictional Trueblood, the "truth" of the counter-poetics of the blues.   It is the "negro's" place in the schema of social relations--rather than merely his place in the schema of production--that enables him to see the myth.

It is this "truth" that the Narrator in <u>The Invisible Man</u> comes to apprehend once he seeks striving to attain the normative prescribed "white" middle-class identity of the system.   It is this tru̶ ̶ that enables
                    enables him
his self-subversion;⅄to stop running in order to attain an "equality" which is impossible.

If, as Marx argues, the slave and serf receive that amount of the social product to enable them to reproduce their social identity as slave, serf, wage-worker, then it is clear that the mode of distribution is linked to the mode of social relations.   And that the constituting mechanism of the different categories of the subject function at the same time to legitimate the constitution of different categories of identity--to legitimate them as "natural" or as divinely ordained.

Thus the negrofication of the black is intimately interlocked with the constitution of the white subject--as a subject of the Single Race; as the proletarianization of the worker is linked with the constitution or the middle class subject, as the Single Class; the femalization of the woman

with the constitution of the Male Subject as a subject of the Single Sex;
American (U.S.A.) social mechanisms are established primarily to produce
and reproduce these differentiated identities which are central to the
bourgeois mode of domination.

John Ogbu in his recent study on Minority Education and Caste
analyses the societal production of the "relative gap" between whites and
the negro, (blacks) as central to the social order of the society, rather
than an aberration. His study argues that a more adequate model for studying
the American educational system is to study its actual function in society
--function for individuals, for segments of the society, and for the
society as a whole:

He develops this thesis discussing the relationship between
education and the social structure, and placing this in the context of
studies by various scholars which examine this relationship under the
rubric of socialization. From the works of these scholars, he summarizes
their conclusion that "socialization is the process by which individuals
acquire the skills (cognitive, manual, etc.) motives, knowledge and
attitudes which will enable them to perform typical social and economic
roles available to adult members of their society and be fully integrated
into the society." [92⑥]

Frederick Douglas' account of the prohibition against reading by
the slave and his own subsequent breaking of this prohibition, shows that
the educational system of the day which taught white children to read and
at the same time prohibited the teaching of reading to black children
initiated the structural pattern of relativity that would be central to its
functioning with respect to black/white groups. Its central cultural
function was to provide, to produce and to reproduce THE MARK, THE INSCRIPTION,
which would legitimate unequal relations of exchange between black and white

in the context of a system based on formal equality.

The educational system of the United States had to function so as to resolve the contradiction between the fact that its existence as a nation had been based on the declaration of formal equality, leading to what some scholars have defined as a system of contest mobility, and the reality that the apparent contest mobility system was only workable to the extent that it was actually based on a stratified system of sponsored mobility. As Ogbu points out:

> "Both Turner (1961) and Levine (1967) have described
> polar types of status mobility systems. Turner
> designates these as contest mobility and sponsored
> mobility. Upward mobility in the contest mobility
> system is won in open and fair competition based on
> individual efforts: whereas winners in a sponsored
> mobility system are pre-selected by the established
> elites or their agents on the basis of some
> criterion other than individual effort or strategy."
> [127]

The reading/non-reading dichotomy so clearly exposed by Douglas shows that the educational system functioned to constitute at one and the same time a fixed Norm and Non-Norm both symbolically dependent on each other. The prescribed ego identity needed by both blacks and whites for their prescribed societial roles was partly developed by the educational cultural apparatus. The cultural apparatus functioned to constitute, produce and reproduce "racial" differentiation. The <u>principle of differentiation</u> was thereby legitimated as a principle central to the overall functioning of the society. One which in turn legitimated unequal social relations in an ostensibly equal society. The in-built socially sponsored mobility situation for the whites in relative relation to the blacks then made it possible

white or black, during the process of produciton that leads to the long
history of black and white worker subordination, but far more the mechanisms which
break them into accepting their assigned places, their relative valuation
and social worth inthe social order. This is the root cause of both
quantitative and qualitative exploitation.

In his introduction to Ogbu's book, Kenneth Keniston points out
that in 1944 Myrdal's American Dilemna,

"identified the gap between the creed of equality

and the fact of racial inequality as the central

contradiction in American life. Over the ensueing

years Myrdal's work shaped the thinking that led

to the school desegration decision of the Board of

Education, and to the effort--still painfully far

from complete--to move the United States towards

its egalitarian ideal." [125]

He points out that Ogubu's book is in the same tradition that it

"forces us to cast off the ideological blinders...

by which we rationalize the persistent inequities

in our social system, and makes us confront the

fact that ours remain in a real sense a caste society."

[926]

Keniston summarizes the real breakthrough in Ogbu's findings. It is neither
environmental factors or Low I.Q. that explains the lower test scores of
blacks since it is not the non-white child's "actual performance" (that)
determines the adult position they will achieve. Rather the real
relationship works in the opposite direction. That is to say the ghetto
unemployment programmed for a large percentage of American black children
determined the quality of their performance in school.

for non-racial variants of sponsored mobility situations to appear and

be accepted by those who gained and by those who lo6t. To the extent that

they accepted their ego identity as white and/or middle class they

accepted and internalized the principle of unequal relations which is the

condition of possibility of their own relative exploitation.

Ogbu discusses the role of the family in the socialization of

the children, into the roles that they are to play. The plantation

system had no need of the intermediary of the family. The socialization

was direct, in the case of the slave, of labour in its slave form. In

the case of labour in its wage form, the family functions in a crucial role.

Ogub points out that:

> "in the absence of major social upheavals, socialization
>
> is adaptive. It prepares children to compete for and
>
> successfully perform the typical adult roles by
>
> transmitting the necessary motivational, cognitive
>
> and other skills required by such roles." [127]

I quoted before from the slave's testimony about the training that

young children whose skins were white, received when they reached

adolescence, training which taught them the acquired behaviour of "acting

white." Douglas shows how he learnt to read by exchanging bread which he

had in plenty for their teaching him to read. The children commiserate

with him about his perpetual slavery. They have not yet been broken into,

socialized into the prescribed white role. But they soon would be. As

Douglas comments, after telling of the shooting of a slave by a white man

and that little was done about it, "It was a common saying even among little

white boys that it was worth half a cent to kill a nigger and half a cent

to bury one." [129] The valuation of language, being, money, express

each other.

Richard Wright's account of his childhood in Black Boy, shows that after slavery, with blacks as wage labour the family took over the socialization, the new Jim Crow breaking process/For mothers this meant socializing the black child to never regard himself as socially equal so that he could stay alive. Much of the harshness of Wright's mother can be seen as her response to the imperatives of the kind of familial training she had to give him in order to fit him into the larger society. She had to nigger break him as she had been nigger broken. His autobiography is full of his rebellion against this form of social nigger breaking, and his achieved novel NATIVE SON was the expression of this transgression against the ghetto form of nigger breaking. Wright, his fictional Bigger Thomas, and Frederick Douglas all participate in freedom only to the extent that they transgress against the adaptive socialization designed to make them function as devalued men and women.

> As Ogbu points out:
>
> "Major social and economic changes result in changes in
> the socialization practices of parents in order to
> train children who will live under changed conditions...
> Variations in opportunity structures lead to variations
> not only in the way parents raise their children, but
> also in the ways children strive to attain available
> roles in adult society...a given system of status
> mobility determined both the kinds of persons parents
> strive to raise their children to be and the kinds of
> people children themselves strive to be when they grow
> up." [ ]

Again in Black Boy it is clear that Wright's mother, although supposedly acting in a situation of contest mobility, knows that her duty is to train her boy first of all to survive. [   ] The energy put into social mobility by the larger society is drained off into merely staying alive by staying in one's place. Staying in one's place is the mark, the inscription which creates the category black. It is this category black that constitutes the mass privilege of being white. The contest mobility of white America was therefore, in the context of black/white America, a sponsored mobility situation on the British pattern, with this exception, that in respect to the black the sponsored mobility was not that of an elite but of a mass, a white mass.

Wright's mother--like mothers in most blue class collar families white and black--had been socialized to accept that it was no use stressing those aspects which would lead to rapid social mobility for her children in the larger society, because, as Ogbu points out:

"   families are likely to emphasize these things in

their child rearing only if they lead to success in

school and success in school leads to rewards in

adult terms of jobs, income, prestige and the like."

[? 2.]

The available role for the child in the larger society--where this is the case for the majority of blacks and for the majority of the also stigmitized proletariat--reflect back both upon the type of education he gets in schools and the type of socialization received at home.

Both Douglas and the young Wright rebel against this fixity of their role and status, of their self worth. It is this sense that they embody the indigeous revolutionary tradition of the United States. The account they give of their learning to read and to write gives insights into the fact that it is not primarily the quantitative exploitation of the worker,

Keniston points out that Ogub is impatient

"with theories that blame only the psychological

racism of whites for the exclusion of blacks as he is with the

theories that fault blacks for their deficient ego-structure.

Generations of teachers have encouraged black children

to be 'realistic about their place in society; not

necessarily because these teachers are die-hard bigots, but

because the shcool's explicit function is to prepare children

for their adult roles." [138]

It is not only black children that were prepared realistically for their

places. Rather it was large majority of the children of all the lower

classes. But the stigmatization of the black as group which constituted

whiteness as the Norm, psychologically functioned to keep the white lower

classes unconscious of the fact that they were being socialized to stay in

their assigned and perpetually inferior place. Jean Baudrillard has seen

that the stigmatization of the proletariat is no less deterministic in its

effects, if not to the same degree, as the stigmatization of being non-white.

Black group stigmatization and what Cruse calls his hard-pressed

position lead to the revolt of the Sixties and the claim for black social

revindication has acted as a catalyst in the larger society.

The Bakke case and the recent upsurge of a white nationalism is the

direct result of the social earthquate that the Black Sixties represented

for the Larger American society. The relative inequality that the white

lower classes experienced in American society had been tolerated to the

extent that with the Black functioning as the Symbolic Non-Norm the white

lower class were inscribed as the Norm. In exchange for this relative

privilege of participating in the Norm, lower class whites especially

in a situation in which the economy was continually expanding, accepted

their relative stigmatization as blue collar, yokels, rednecks, with
consequently limited and prescribed status mobility.

The movement of the blacks in the Sixties shook the Symbolic
Order of the society initiating an identity crisis. James Baldwin puts
this well in his letter to his nephew, on the One-Hundredth Anniversary
of Emancipation:

"This innocent country set you down in a ghetto

in which, in fact, it intended that you should

perish. Let me spell out precisely what I mean

by that. For the heart of the matter is here,

and the root of my dispute with my country. You

were born where you were born, and faced the future

that you faced. The limits of your ambition were,

thus, expected to be set forever." [934]

That is to say, as Ogbu points out, the expected prescribed role in the
larger society itself feeds back into the child, metacommunicates to him
about the prescribed ego identity he is supposed to develop. Baldwin's
letter to his nephew is therefore to be seen as a counter communication to
the child about his value and his role.

Baldwin, like Wright and Ellison before him, takes up explicitly
in the essay form the constant transgression against limits, the constant
counter-communication about the self and its relation to reality, about
identity that has *been* central to black culture in its ongoing   version of
the dominant Symbolic Order; an order which persuades man to "freely"
chose his own subjection.

Baldwin's letter explores the mechanisms of this "free choice of
subjection,"

"...the details and symbols of your life have been

deliberately constructed to make you believe what white people

say about you...They have had to believe for many

years, and for innumberable reasons that black men

are inferior to white men. Many of them indeed know

better, but as you will discover, people find it very

difficult to act on what they know. To act is to be

committed and to be committed is to be in danger. In

this case, the danger in the minds of most white

Americans is the loss of their identity." [735]

Baldwin has siezed on the central point for the understanding of

the American reality. As we argued earlier a mutation of European identity

took place out of the collision between the Old World and the New World of

the Americas. Europe would come to experience itself as the West out of

the relation between itself and a Non-West whom it conceptualized as its

negation, whom it persistently inferiorized, subordinated and subjugated.

Above all, whom it constituted as its Non-Norm in relation to its own

constitued Normative self.

The transfer of New World property from the Indians, provided

easily available new lands for Spaniards who could become gentlemen

overnight sure of their status because the Indians could be constituted

as their villans, their peasants. [736]

The populism and widespread concept of equality that was to spread

all over Europe cannot be conceived without an additional factor--that of

Europe's acquisition both of a new frontier and of new pariah castes.

Slavery disappeared in Europe as the black   came to be

equated with the condition of slavery. In the core countries, an evolution

towards the narrowing of caste distinctions was concomitant with the

construction of a world system, whose structures of production created new

pariah castes. The black was to become the pariah caste par excellence.

His pariah status gave a new value to white skin—whiteness of skin came to constitute a new index of superiority, replacing the blue/blood category of the feudal nobility.

Edward Long the English born Jamaican planter, shows in his table that the category of Pure Black must be symbolically constituted if the category of Pure White was to be experienced. Long's History is posed on the basis of a seemingly central contradiction. On the one hand he claims equal privileges and natural rights as a freeborn Englishman, born or living in the colonies, rights equal to those of Englishmen in England, on the other hand he constitutes the black as non-equal and devoid of rights.

But is the contradiction, a contradiction at all?

Racial inequality far from being a contradiction in egalitarian ideology, may well be its condition of possibility. Long's claim to equality is a claim to equality by and through his participation in a NORM, the norm of Pure White, in which the Englishman born in the colonies is an equal participant. As Foucault shows, the inscription in a sacred circle of the leper, communicated about the non-leper and the internalization of the mad in asylums, defined a Norm of Reason. In the same way as European society homogenized and centralized, in the context of the bourgeois ruling consciousness, so in the context of the global system, the inscription of the black in a sacred circle as the very principle of deviance and of the Non Norm, made possible that form of egalitarianism necessary to the bourgeois mode of domination.

The equality enjoyed by a group of people released into the privilege of being PURE WHITE was and is conditional on the social inscription in a sacred circle of category of people stigmatized as pure Non-White. The identity of white is then dependent on the identity of blacks as stigmatized negroes. That is, the white place as Normative can only exist

if society produces the place of the black as RELATIVELY inferior. Since

the system depends for its functioning on whites accepting their relative

inferiority in other forms amongst themselves in exchange for the equality

of participating in the NORM of being PURE white, any loss of this

identity threatens the social order in both its material and its symbolic

aspects.

Baldwin tries to explain this fact to his nephew, to make him

see what the system must keep hidden if it is to continue,

> "Try to imagine how you would feel if you woke up one
>
> morning to find the sun shining and all the stars
>
> aflame. You would be frightened because it is out
>
> of the order of nature. Any upheaval in the universe is
>
> terrifying because it so profoundly attacks one's
>
> sense of one's own reality. Well, the black man has
>
> functioned in the white man's world as a fixed star,
>
> as an immovable pillar, <u>and as he moves out of his place,</u>
>
> <u>heaven and earth are shaken to their foundations</u>." [437]

The Bakke case is part of the fallout of this shaking. The wave

of white popular and middle class and academic support white support for

Bakke goes to the very foundations of identity of the United States as a

normatively white bourgeois nation. Because the being of the bourgeoisie *iS*

legitimated and constituted by the ethics of equality which it imposed

during its cultural revolution against the aristocracy, its ideology is

centered on its assertion, and on the consciousness which it imposes, that

its a system is based on contest mobility in which all individually compete

and may the best man win. The concept of contest mobility is itself part

of the same discourse of reference as the fiction of equivalence. The

best man's winning implies that whatever the winner gets is the equivalent

reward for the degree and amount of his free enterprise. The one who
loses is negatively stigmatized as the negation of the winner. The fault
of his non-enterprise, of his inherient deficiency, of the inherent deficiency
of his culture.

Once the inherent deficiency was ascribed to "race." But as Ogbu
points out the social concept of race does not "denote its biological meanings
of subspecies defined by gene frequencies." Rather the social concept
of race is related to the social classification system of the society. Thus, as
Ogbu notes,

> "In the United States, Mexican Americans are classified
> as belonging to the Caucasian or white race, although
> the majority of them are mestizos or offspring of Indian
> and white mating, and many are offsprings of black and
> Indian mating. On the other hand, all offspring of
> black and white mating in the United States are
> classified as belonging to the Negro race." [132]

The social classification leads to the experience of being white in
relation to blacks. George Jackson chronicles the incidents in which
Mexican-American prisoners join with whites to keep black prisoners in their
"inferior" place.

The social system of stratification negrofies the black in order
produce the category "white" as the Norm. The role of the cultural
apparatus of the educational system is essentially to prepare different
groups for their different roles in the social order. White children
had to be socialized into thinking "white" as much as black children had
to be "negrofied." But this myth had to be overseen by a society
whose ideological discourse of reference insists that the reward of success
is the true equivalent which then identifies the "best man" as the "winner",
and the loser as "not good enough."

The "failure" of the compensatory education programs in the Sixties is then ascribed to genetic inferiority or to simplistic environmental theses, as Ogbu argues. The true causal factor, the production of hierarchical social relations by the socio-cultural apparatus was overseen. As Og writes,

> "It seemed to me that although the causes of the
> lower school performance of black children lay
> largely within the American caste system or
> system of racial strafitication, many American
> social scientists had never examined the problem
> from that point of view. I wanted therefore to
> provide an alternative explanation of the problem
> by analysing black education in the context of the
> American system of racial stratification both
> diachronically and synchronically." [139]

In order to prove his point Ogbu carried out a cross-cultural study with other egalitarian societies whose socio-cultural apparatuses also produced a caste-like minority even when the factor of race was absent.

> "I also wanted to show that a school performance
> gap similar to that found between blacks and whites
> in America could be found in other societies with
> similar kinds of social stratifications, based on
> birth-inscribed status rather than achievement criteria
> irrespective of the racial affiliation of the groups
> involved." [140]

Ogbu shows that the hierarchical gap between the Norm and the caste-like minority was quite compatible with the egalitarian ideology of the different societies. We would argue that this gap is essential to the form of egalitarianism practised in these societies, in which

is not experienced as the equality

equality/between <u>men</u>--a functional law of value--but as the equality

between <u>terms</u> which are equally valued in their structural/opposition

relation to another <u>term</u>.

Thus, the term "<u>white</u>" is equal in its relation of opposition to

term "negro," as the term <u>limpio</u> was equal in opposition to the term

"Jew."

The societal mechanisms in both cases must then work above all to

produce and reproduce the <u>Relative Relation</u> between the two <u>terms</u>

seemingly in empirical fact. Equal opportunity is then produced as equal

opportunity for the Norm/in relation to the Non-Norm. The <u>gap</u> which

produces the experience of the Norm is essential if <u>normative equality</u> is to

<u>be experienced</u>.

As Ogbu reports,

"First, the gap between the dominant and the minority

groups in school performance is evident in each

society, irrespective of its racial composition.

Second, nearly all these societies are more or less

stratified along birth-ascribed status, so that education

does not necessarily serve the dominant and minority

groups equally effectively as a vehicle of

social mobility. Yet egalitarian ideology dominates

and often justifies the educational systems of these

societies." [ ]

What these cross-cultural studies reveal is that the terms "black"

and "white"--like the terms European and Oriental Jew--are not only

empirical facts--prietos--but also social constructs--<u>negro</u>.

If we accept that the social formation is constituted by a
mode of social relations, that the ideology of that mode of social relations
is constituted by a legitimati...ng discourse of reference which acts as
the *cement* of the social order by constituting subjects in relation to
this central discourse of reference--a discourse of reference which is
"true" according to the conditions of signification, yet which at
the same time can be manifestly untrue according to *truth* conditions--
then it is clear that the CONCEPT OF EQUALITY itself constitutes
the cement of a social order which depends on the production of inequality
which alone can "think" and actualize the opposed term of equality.

Equality between Norm and Non-Norm--like incest between
the mother/son, brother/sister--is impossible, since the mere actualiza-
tion of equality would destroy the inscription between Norm and Non-
Norm, and destroying the distinction, would destroy the reality of
inequality which alone makes equality possible.

But the impossibility of the actualization of equality--its
Tantalus nature, makes it effective in the constitution of the Subject
according to the prescribed ego-identity model. The individual
subject, socialized to believe in Equality as he believes in God, as
he believes in "whiteness," acts in such a manner as to legitimate
his beliefs, to ground them in praxis. Thus his ritual practises are
determined by his prescribed *intentionality* of consciousness--to assert
the equality of white America, by excluding the unequal, as the limpios
of Spain asserted their orthodoxy--the limpieza of blood and faith, the
limpieza of skin and race--by their everyday ritual exclusion of the
opposed terms--the terms of deviance--non-limpio and negro. It is this
everyday ritual exclusion which alone makes the experiencing of the
middle class form of equality possible.

The middle class populism of the United States, like the

aristocratic populism of Golden Age Spain, like the lower middle class

populism of Hitler's Aryans, of Stalin's "working-class origin proletariat,"

of the Third World's variants of national patriotism--right and left

variants--was and is a populism where an almost carnival participation

in reciprocal recognition between "equal" old Christians, Aryan's,

proletarians, non-deviationists (Right or Left) was and is made possible

by the ritual exclusion of a series of Symbolic Others--Jew, Kulak/Zek,

Deviationist, Palestinian, Negro, Oriental Jew, etc.

The national identity of the United States, like the National

identity of Golden Age Spain--is then constituted on an implicit "racial"

orthodoxy in which the category white is produced as Norm. Because of

this, the production of the relative gap between the white-skinned and

the black-skinned--the gap is itself relative--thus the relative gap is

produced between an upper class white and an upper class black, middle

class white/black; lower class white/black--is central to the coherence

of the egalitarian ideology constituted by the dominant cultural signi-

fication system of the U.S.A.

This founding gap then legitimates a series of others--

the class gap between middle class in the class system, the gap between

male and female in the sexual system, between urban and rural in the

regional system, between ethnic group and ethnic group in the normative

pluralism of the American political system.

On the external level, these relative gaps are produced in the

global system between the developed and the underdeveloped areas, between

metropolitan and colonial and/or neo-colonial, countries.

Thus the socially produced internal relative underdevelopment

for the Non-Norm groups is the logical result of the societal mechanisms

which produce and reproduce the "national" mode of social relations; a

mode that needs to produce the "relative" persistent poverty" of the Non- Norm

It is not the capitalist mode of production that cannot solve the problem

of poverty and underdevelopment but the property bourgeoisie's mode

of domination, its mode of social relations that needs the insoluablity

of "poverty" and of underdevelopment to enable the reproduction of its

functioning. That the most productive--economically speaking, machine

in the history of mankind cannot solve the problems of the ghetto

backwaters--and of the massive marginal archipelago points to a mode

of social relations that at once allows the development of these productive

forces

forces and channels that development into specific   forms.

Glazer and Moynihan, speaking of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in

New York City, write:

> "To a degree that cannot fail to startle anyone
>
> who encounters the reality for the first time, an
>
> overwhelming portion of both groups constitues a
>
> submerged, exploited, and very possibly permanent
>
> proletariat." [942]
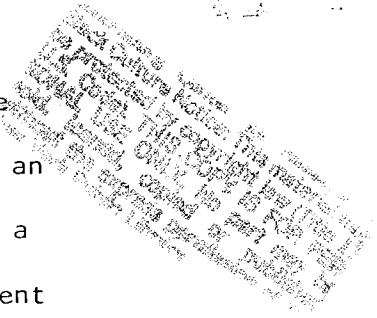
A Labor Department Report which initiated the second phase of the U.S.

War on Poverty beginning in 1967, after investigating black ghettos and

slums in New York City, Boston, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Phoenix, St. Louis,

San Antonio, and San Francisco, also concluded that:

> "No conceivable increase in the gross national
>
> product would improve these backwaters." [943]

Both Stavenhagen and Gunder Frank have brought evidence to show

that the underdeveloped backwater and the overdeveloped metropolis are

two poles of a single historical process. Gunder Frank, in addition,

proves that the most underdeveloped are those which have had the closest ties

to the metropolis in the past. He concludes:

> "This hypothesis seems to be amply confirmed by the former
>
> supersatellite development and present ultra-underdevelopment

of the once sugar-exporting West Indies, Northeastern

Brazil, the ex-mining districts of Minas Gerais in Brazil,

highland Peru and Bolivia and the central mining states

of Guanajuato Zacatecas and others whose names were made

world famous centuries ago by their silver. There surely

are no major regions in Latin American which are today more

cursed by underdevelopment and poverty; yet all of these

regions, like Bengal in India, once provided the life

blood of mercantile and industrial capitalist development--

in the metropolis. These regions' participation in the devel-

opment of the world capitalist system, gave them already

in their golden age, the typical structure of under-

development of a capitalist export economy. When the

market for their sugar or the wealth of the mines disappeared

and the metropolis abandoned them to their own devices the

already existing economic political and social structures of

these regions prohibited autonomous generation of economic

development and left them no alternative but to turn in

upon themselves and to degnerate into the ultra-underdevelopment

we find there today." [744]

The black population of the slums and ghettoes is the hinterland/

backwater of the intra-American urban economic system. They show the

typical structure of underdevelopment in relation to the over-development of

dominant economic system .   .. This superordinate system prevents the

possibility of alternative roads to the over-coming of this underdevelopment.

To do this it dams up the alternative cultural dynamic possibilities which

exist in these "backwaters." The possibility of change is contemplated

only within the lines laid down by the superordinate system. The backwater

is created by the relationship between dominant and dominated.

is created by the relationship between dominant and dominated.

After all the Anti-poverty programs, Harlem today remains an ecological--humanly speaking--disaster, even worse than it was when Harold Cruse described it in the late Sixties:

"In Harlem today the American capitalistic-welfare state dynamic rules supreme, with the aid of the police department. What was once *truly* the cultural capital of the Negro World has become a social disaster area, a dehumanized desert of mass society in black." [p. 443] (945)

The "ghettoes" like the prisions have become the dumping ground for the denizens of the "back water" areas of the world system.

The rest of the Third Third World exists, poor, only "backwaters" in their relation to the dominant world economy. Their cities are the imperial "urbs" which act as the agent/ports for the exploited hinterlands. And the governments and bureaucrats who rule from the city are agents, willy-nilly, of an economic process where the increasing gross national products enrich primarily the metropolitan areas and secondarily, the agent class in the neo-colonies. Like the U.S. blacks, the native masses increasingly disrupted from the land by the processes of "modernization," pour into the cities to create on a global scale, replicas of the prototype, the black slums and ghettoes of the U.S.A, to constitute the new marginal archipelago.

Chinweizu in an essay--The Third World's TRAP INTO PEONAGE-- reveals the extent to which the Western Cultural appparatus and the scholarly system of developmental economics continue to produce and reproduce the Third World's satellite status--nigger-breaking it into accepting its satellite identity so that it can be bound into the overall developmental projects of the metropolitan bourgeosie.

Chinweizu writes that once they gave up direct political control over the Third World countries the

> "former colonial nations tackled the problem of how best
> to ensure that they retained control over the definition,
> purposes and execution of whatever development took place
> in the Third World countries after independence. The
> answer they devised was DEBT TRAP PEONAGE; they would
> impose peonage upon Third World countries, and the orthodox
> modernization recipe which they offered to the Third World
> was the very programme devised for leading them from
> colonialism into Debt Trap Peonage." [406]

In other words, the core countries sought to institute the
relative Relation between themselves and the Third World countries which
was a parallel of the relative relation that we noted in the Ounces Trade;
a parallel to the relation between "Negro" and White produced by the
relative gap. The Debt Trap Peonage of the Third World is the Debt Trap
peonage experienced by the ghetto dwellers; the compensatory modernization
anti-poverty programs for the ghetto, merely modernized ghetto conditions
to fit the ghetto more securely into the overall project of the hegemonic
economic system.

Both systems are designed to produce "peon" peoples, peon
countries, the new "natives," the new "negroes." Chinweizu reveals that
even the oil rich OPEC countries, like Nigeria and Iran, are being
reduced to debt peonage, and quotes Cheryl Payer from the book, The Debt Trap:

> "The system can be compared point by point with peonage
>
> on an individual scale. In the peonage, or debt slavery
>
> system, the worker is unable to use his nominal freedom
>
> to leave the service of his employer, because the latter
>
> supplies him with credit (for over-priced goods in the
>
> company store) necessary to supplement his meagre wages.
> The aim of the employer/creditor/merchant is neither to collect
>
> the debt once and for all, nor to starve the employee to
>
> death, but rather to keep the labourer permantently indentured
>
> through his debt to the employer. The worker cannot run
>
> away, for other employers and the state recognize the
>
> legality of his debt; nor has he any hope of earning his
>
> freedom with his low wages, which do not keep pace with what
>
> he consumes; let alone the true value of what he produces
>
> for his master." [9()]

The debt trap produces him as a peon, and his status as peon reproduces the debt trap. The legal, economic and social mechanisms produce and reproduce the social situation in which the <u>mode of relative relations</u> between peon and non-peon, peon countries and non-peon countries
          which is central to the social structures of the world system.

The "negro" in the United States exists in a relation with the "native" in the Third World with the non-natives. Thus the theoretical question of whether blacks constitute an internal colony in the United States--or provide "labor-reserves" as Marxist's argue, can be answered by the fact that <u>the mode of social relations</u> between the Norm (white/settler) replica each other both in the "colonial situtation and in the "national" situation of the U.S.A.

In both the colonial and the national systems, the structural law of value constitutes the mode of relations, and the relative value of the terms-white/settler in relation to the opposed terms, negro/native is the same.

The national system in the United States also involves a "racial" system in which the normative white race is opposed to the racial non-norm. In the sexual system, the female is the opposed term of non-value, the black lower class female constituting the nodal point between the racial/sexual and class systems.

It is in the context of the class system, Jean Baudrillard suggests, that the proletariat, too, is constituted in the bourgeois world as a social <u>caste</u> term, a term which imprisons him as surely as race or sex imprisions blacks, women and the societal mechanisms are designed to code him eternally as the proletariat as surely as it does the <u>negro</u>.

The ethnic group system of the United States with the manifold stereotypes of each group for the other [？], falls into a respective

hierarchy between the WASP--the Norm and the "Negro" the non-Norm, the non-group. The black movement of the Sixties has lead to a homogenization of white groups--i.e., Anglo-Saxon, Catholics, Jews--with the new spokesmen for the homogenized white group coming out of the immigrant tradition, and effectively employing a neo-populist fascist argument which as Ogbu argues, imposes the altogether different immigrant paradigm on the castelike minority situation of black Americans. Like the Siliceos of Spain, the "nouveau blancs" are determined to prove their WASPNESS by outwasping the wasps.

Ogbu exposes the "We did this, why can't you?" fallacy of the immigrant paradigm as explicated by the Moynihan/Glazer school. He points out that the role of the public schools was precisely to transform the children of poor immigrants into becoming skilled workers and members of the middle class. Even more the ideology of the public schools and other educational apparatus was precisely to homogenize the differing ethnic groups into one entity--white, as its nigger-breaking had been designed to homogenize the differeing ethnic groups of Africans into one entity-- negros.

But the central homogenizing factor for the ethnic groups of immigrants was the fact that the relative placing of the term negro allowed them to psychologically experience the identity of "whiteness." the empirical fact of the white skin was subsidiary--what they .were "liberated into" was into a situation in which the former lowly social status--in their countries of origin--was at once re-valued in relation to the "negro." The comedian's Richard Pryor's quip about the Vietnamese being taught to be good American citizens at Camp Pendleton--and being taught to say "nigger" is a precise statement about the social mechanism of the constitution of the normative national American identity. [979]

The American national identity as "white" then depends on the ritual exclusion, the ritual "placing" of the "nigger." Ogbu's book takes this as its point of departure. His main point is that the mode of distribution of the society--of jobs, types of jobs--all types of social rewards--conditions the performance in school of the caste-like minority-- the blacks. He argues that American blacks,

> "In terms of ability and training...have generally
> received lower social and occupational rewards when
> compared to members of the dominant group." [450]

The italics are mine. It is not the absolute but the relative nature of deprivation that is necessary to produce the black as a caste minority. Hence it is not economically quantitative exploitation that is primary but rather the extent to which economically quantitative exploitation forms part of a more comprehensive socially qualitative exploitation. The social system then, functions to produce a principle of RELATIVE EQUALITY.

Ogbu focusses on the social system of caste/racial stratification-- the national/racial system as the causal mechanism or rather as a causal factor of the "lower school performance" of blacks.

He starts out by analysing the discourse of reference, the hegemonic ideology that socially produces and legitimates the AMERICAN CASTE system.

> "This book is also an effort to understand the myths and stereotypes
> that support the caste system and how they are translated
> into practices by school personnel...It further probes into
> the responses of minority group people themselves." [951]

His main point is that the stratification system of American society produces the gap between the performance of majority and minority children; that the

"Lower school performance and lower educational attainment are functionally adaptive to minorities ascribed inferior social and occupational positions in adult life." [752]

The implications of this are enormous. The "proletarian" children also perform in a "proletarian" fashion in school related to the "proletarian" position they are designed to occupy. Middle class children are in as definite a sponsored-mobility situation as was the feudal blue blood--with the difference that they are convinced that they have made it because of their "individaul" effort, and of their brains. But the privilege that is accorded them responds precisely to the status of the occupations open to them in the social order of the society.

The "social" relative exclusion of blacks, Ogbu proves, their relegation--whatever their class--to relatively inferior, social and occupational posititions in American society, is not due to

"the lack of educational qualifications...[but] rather the exclusion of blacks from the more desireable social and occupation positions because of their castelike status, is the major source of their academic retardation." [953]

No black boy dreams to be President; he dreams at best to be Vice-President.

This colonization of black desire is adaptive to the kind of role he is called upon to play in the larger order; in order to sustain the functions of the dominant mode of social relations. It is this colonization of desire that we have labelled as central to the "nigger-breaking" mechanism.

Ogbu sees American society as a society based on different types of stratification. He implicitly rejects then the homogenization of the

"Negro" problem under the "proletariat" problem and puts forward
a suspicion that social mobility problems associated with class stratification
are not necessarily the same as those associated with racial or other types
of stratification. In this book I am dealing with a system of social
stratification which unlike that of class stratification is based on an
ascribed rather than achieved criteria. In the United States, racial
stratification co-exists with class stratification and each is characterized
by a distinct rate, pattern, and strategy of social mobility.

"Moreover, black and white social class exists within
stratified racial groups so that their social mobility is
influenced among other things by racial stratification is
not necessarily the same or equal." [p. 7] (asic)

The imposition of the "class code" on the racial code which has been
the strategy of the Marxist factory model of exploitation has therefore,
paradoxically, tended to weaken the black struggle. The "Class first"
slogan tended to split the necessarily collective struggle of blacks,
to impair the type of strategy needed for social transformation.

Ogbu argues that the subordinate racial status for blacks of
all classes has determined a collective identity based on their common
perception of this subordinate status. THis has therefore lead to a
differentiation of their strategies for social mobility "in significant
ways from the strategies employed by the general population." _95_

The strategy of blacks for social mobility has therefore been
imperatively collective--that is whenever these strategies have been
effective. The tradition of black struggle unlike the tradition of labour
struggle has been socially collective, i.e., extending into all areas of
their life world. Collective labour struggle has been only one facet of
the black struggle--and as Ogbu later shows, the labour struggles of

of blacks have had to be waged on two fronts--against employers and against

the "homogenized white proletariat." In this dual struggle blacks have

had to accept alliances *now* of the white proletariat, now of the white

employers; and at times have found themselves alone against both, depending

on the shifting interests of the dominant white caste.

Upward social mobility is experienced by all blacks as relatively

more difficult for them than for the rest of the nation. Their subordinate

racial, cultural and social status is produced and reproduced by in-

built societal mechanisms.

But if the racial system of exploitation is subsumed by the

Marxists under the class system of exploitation, it is homogenized

differently in the context of the hegemonic liberal theory.

Both liberal and factory model Marxism posit the identity of

man as the identity of producer. Whilst the latter represents the

value of his labour-power, the former represents the value of man as the

value of his human capital.

Ogbu discusses the role that the assumption of man as human

capital in the context of the egalitarian ideology of the United States

played in the conception of the anti-poverty programs, and their

subsequent failure as Ogbu writes,

"The decade of the 1960's will long be remembered as

the era of important social reforms intended to improve

the social and economic status of black and other minorities.

The War on Poverty was one such reform, and its particular

significance for the *study* was the special role assigned

to education." [95]

Ogbu summarizes the theory that underlay the war on poverty

programs, linking the theory to a very important factor.

That factor is that

"the status of blacks in the social, political and

and educational realms of American society, as seen

by the dominant white caste, which determine the kind of

education offered to the former." [957]

The theoreticians of the War on Poverty, represented the perceptions

of the enlightened sections of "white middle class America." Positing

themselves as the Norm they posited blacks as their lack; and argued that

inadequate education was the cause of the poverty-cycle in which blacks

found themselves trapped. Extrapolating from their own experience, in

which education had been the mechanism which made possible their own

middle class status, they prescribed better education as the answer to

poverty.

But as Ogbu points out they overlooked the fact that

"Until very recently, the motive of black education

was not to equalize black and white status but to

prepare blacks for their traditional though changing

roles under the system of racial castes." [958]

That is to say, by refusing to see the mode of social relations

as the causal factor of black economic, social and educational retardation,

they autonomized the variable of education, Ogbu focusses instead on the

primacy of social relations in which he links inferior black education

with the subtle mechanisms used to differentiate their training from

that of the whites, and most of all with the job ceiling which has always

existed as a barrier to black equality in the overall social order.

The imposition of the "immigrant" paradigm was reinforced by

the imposition of what we might want to call the minority paradigm.

Black performance was compared with the performance of the other

minorities--and the caste-like minority of the U.S.A.--blacks--equated/

homogenized with quite different minority group systems. Ogbu instead

proposes a valuable classification system, i.e., autonom⟨ minorities
like the Jews and the Mormons; immigrant minorites like the Japanese,
Chinese; and caste par~~sah~~ ^minorities~ ^ ⋀ like the American blacks.

In an important sense then the AMERICAN BLACK DOES NOT OCCupy
a minority but rather a caste status which parallels the status of "majority"
South African blacks. Ogbu's definition of a caste minority links his
argument to the point we made before as to the Symbolic role that the
black plays as the Negative term of the U.S. national system, and
globally of the hegemonic Western cultural system

Ogbu argues that with a caste minority,

"the dominant group usually regards them as inherently

inferior in all respects." [959]

In other words the identity of the dominant group is itself constituted by
this ideological perception of the Other, related to an ideological perception
of the self. The par~~i~~ah group symbolically constitutes the "danger of
pollution" by the impure, constituting also the experience of orthodoxy
for those represented as "pure."

The Symbolic role must be maintained by the societal production
of the social, economic, political and cultural subordination of the
stigmatized Other, who must imperatively be produced as <u>Outcast~</u>.

The strategies for social mobility and for social change must
therefore be different in each case. The black struggle has always suffered
from a lack of intellectual definition, as Cruse points out. Because of
this the social strategies of quite different groups have been imposed in
the black struggle to its detriment.   The
contribution of Harold Cruse was to reveal the extent to which the
black struggle has been hindered by theoretical formulations from other
modes of struggle.

The Jews as an autonomous minority, developed strategies of struggle related to its own imperative. These included variants of Liberal neo-conservative theory, Zionist theory and Marxist theory. Whilst these theories at times coincided with the black struggle, at others they were directly dysfunctional. But all these theories for the Jewish forms of struggle tended to delegitimate an autonomous black mode of struggle--one related to its specific mode of exploitation. Yet it is the black mode of struggle that holds the key to the formulation of an "indegenious American revolutionary theory."

West Indians, whom Harold Cruse sharply criticizes were partly immigrant minorities, like the Chinese or the Japanese, partly not. Their strategy of struggle, like those of the Jews, were determined far more by this · fact then by the malfunction of their WEst Indian psychology, as Cruse argues in the less insightful moments of his book.

Their majority black status/—demographically, if not politically, economically or culturally, influenced one faction, especially those with some degree of formal training and skill to assimilate to the Marxist class model of struggle."

The "Race first" slogan of Garvey and of an opposed faction was the slogan of those who for many reasons--including a lack of overmuch formal schooling-responded to, and assimilated to the caste-like minority status of black Americans; a castelike minority status that was <u>experienced</u> in a different mode by blacks in the Caribbean and the world over. It would be the more middle class West Indians--the first faction referred to--the occupational or job bourgeoisie who would adhere to the "class first" slogan for whom Marxism would seem to offer the best opportunities as a strategy for social mobility.

Not only West Indies but the new middle class--the occupational

bourgeoisie--like Harold Cruse himself--would almost automatically, at

least at first, see the Marxist model of revolution as a suitable mechanism

for the social mobility of their group but one which also promised the

universal liberation of all blacks.

The Post-Sixties swing of young American blacks, now fully

realizing themselves as a widespread stratum of the job bourgeoisie, back

to varieties of Marxisms, responds to the emigration of large numbers from

the lower classes into the technocratic middle class.

Like their earlier Jewish and West Indian prototypes the

nouveau Marxists attempt now to impose the homogenizing class struggle on

the black struggle. In the larger society the opposing/strategy is to

subsume the black caste (social/symbolic) struggle under the new minority

code. Blacks are equated with women, with Chicanos, Asians, Native Americans, etc

This enables affirmative action strategies to   gradually displace Blacks   with

middle class white women-   and allows the

other immigrant minorities--Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese and cultural/

language minorities, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, to gradually displace

both the black and the Native American Indian struggle; and to do this in

good conscience. [960]

Ogbu refuses this equating of the inequatable, insisting on the

specificity of black caste-minority status; on the fact that,

"The education of caste minorities equips them with

suitable qualitites for their lower position in society.

Whilst that of dominant groups equips them with qualities

necessary for their superior roles." [961]

He refutes also the dominant ideological assertion that,

"formal education is intended to equalize black and

white status." [962]

and places this assertion in the context of the "white belief system."

that public education is intended "to provide equal opportunity for all who have the ability to achieve middle class status." [963]

Ogbu points to the job ceiling which has always functioned effectively to keep blacks subordinate and argues that the educational system adapts blacks to their subordinate status; whilst their exclusion from manifold jobs, their non-participation in decision-making areas tend to discourage the development of cognitive skills that only result from such participation.

His point is then that the social mechanism function to develop certain skills in whites that it deliberately precludes from blacks. He then analyses the full effects of caste barriers on minority academic behavior.

His analysis of the scholarly system and the role it plays in legitimatizing caste differentiation is particularly valuable. He shows how the contradiction between the creed of equality and the production of social inequality is resolved in the theoretical presupposition that whilst every child should have equal opportunity, each child has "a fairly fixed intelligence determined by heredity." [964]

Ogbu then discusses the revival of an old theory stimulated by ARthur Jensen that "blacks do not perform as well in schools because they have inferior genetic endowments for certain skills." [965] This is merely the continuation of the "negrofication" of the black. carried on by the scholarly apparatus to which we have referred earlier; these theories are in the line of the "natural determinism" exemplified by the "scholarship" of planter Edward Long.

What Ogbu brings out from his incisive analysis of Jensen's interpretive fallacy, is a central fact, one of importance to the arguments of this monograph. What is the cause in White America and in the West generally of this insistent need to produce the differences between

themselves and the blacks, and to represent them as a binary opposition

determined by Nature. Why is that the much vaunted experimental science

of the contemporary world finds itself falling into the eighteenth

century fallacy of an Edward Long? Ogbu reveals the crassness of this

fallacy,

> "The final example concerns Jensen's attempt to
>
> demonstrate that blacks are intellectually inferior
>
> to whites because they are in the lower rung of the
>
> evolutionary ladder. According to Dreger (1973: 199)
>
> underlying Jensen's views on the relative evoluionary positions
>
> of blacks and whites is the notion that members of a species
>
> on the lower scale of evolution tend to mature more
>
> quickly at birth. Jensen used the studies of the intellectual
>
> and motor development of African children by Geber (1958)
>
> and Geber and Dean (1957) to show that blacks are lower
>
> on the evoluitonary scale. To this end, he cites Geber's
>
> statement that African children are superior to European
>
> children in motor development (he does not mention Geber's
>
> findings that African children are also intellectually
>
> superior.)
>
> But...what is the scientific basis upon which Jensen
>
> can generalize from a simple single study of a single
>
> community in Africa to behavioral and cognitive patterns
>
> among Americans in the U.S.A.?" [7]

Ogbu later gives the clue to the Jensen-type "logic"--not a

logic of truth, but a logic of signification--when he insists that

dominant attitudes are not to be ascribed to the individual basis of racial

prejudice but rather to the social structure resulting from a system of racial

stratification.

Jensen and Shockly--like Edward Long before them--constitute

their identity as white in a social system where "white" identity constitutes

a privileged position. Their knowledge-constitutive interests respond to

the legitimation of their own identity. By positing while middle class

as an ordained norm, they are compelled to legitimate the opposed term--

which alone gives meaning to whiteness--as also naturally ordained.

To the extent that their theories legitimate the racial stratification

system these theories find widespread conditions of acceptance, since they

legitimate "objective" social reality.

fallacy is so obviously contrived points
That their conceptual to the threatened nature of the social

system of its socially produced reality. Ogbu himself denotes that the

resuscitation of these theories followed on the 1954 Supreme Court decision

ordering desegragation in education. If the inscription of difference

and identity had to be changed from skin color then the old standby of

lower "natural" evolutionary attainment would have to be drafted into

service so that the relative social gap could be preserved, the structuration

of the social order legitimated.

The development of technology, the growing expulsion of the

unskilled and the less-skilled from the productive process then cause the

genetic inscription of privileged--Norm and underprivileged non-norm to be

all the more valuable, as the mechanisms for the legitimation of

increasing black and white unemployment. As the hegemony of the technocratic

bourgeosie spreads out globally, the genetic differentiation is a further

refinement on Longs "intellectual faculty."

Ogbu points to the necessary failure of all the compensatory

programs related to the War on Poverty. They failed because their assumptions

were ideological. The school Ogbu argues, is the agent of society, and

implements the requirements of the social order.

Yet the theoretical asšmptions of the War on Poverty autonomized
the educational apparatus, isolating it as the causal factor in the
"success" story of the immigrant groups, avoiding the role that the
social construct of "whiteness" played both in liberating the immigrants
from socially inferior roles in their own country of origin and in a
affording them a compensatory social privilege as they too struggled
against the derogatory ethnic stereotypes and coding that they too relatively
experienced according to the degree that their Catholic, or Jewish identity
placed them lower than the Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Norm. This is also the
difference today between Mexican Americans, "white" women, with respect
to blacks--both of the former groups are afforded the social compensatory
privilege of being defined as "white"; hence the white/Mexican American
occasional alliances against blacks in the prision system. [967]

The minority paradigm therefore like the immigrant paradigm,
applied as a universally applicable variable, provides a screen which
conceals the nature of black exploitation. The egalitarian ideology attempts
to equate the racial system with the sexual system and the ethnic cultural
system as well as with the class system. The fact of blacks existing as
the pariah caste par excellence in the Symbolic order is avoided; and the
centrality of caste oppression marginalized.

Yet as Ogbu proves from his cross cultural studies,

"Whole caste and class systems coexist in the U.S., the

basic principle of social structure is the caste system."

[708]

Class is secondary, and each caste

"has its own classes, but the two class systems are not

equal because members of the two castes have unequal
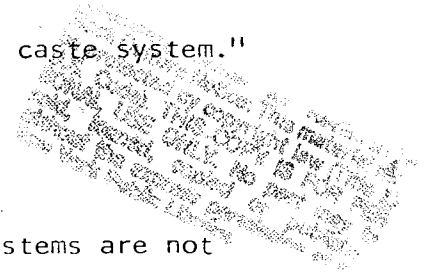
access to education, occupation, income, and other
attributes that determine social class membership
for a given individual." [?69]

Ogbu provides diagrams which illustrate that in class attributes
a large number of the <u>white</u> caste in the middle class rank above upper
class blacks. Caste variations rank all whites higher than all blacks
relative to their class position." [?70] The unequal social exchange
based on a hierarchical structure, as Ogbu shows, was sustained by the
relative education and training in skills afforded the white caste and
the black caste. He traces the educational mechanisms which provide whites
with the kind of training with which they could displace blacks in jobs,
the use of craft unions to keep blacks excluded from participation in
different jobs, and the mutual interaction of the job ceiling and inferior
education to socially <u>produce</u> blacks as a pariah caste. He traces the
displacement of blacks from industrial jobs by immigrant competition; and
the way in which white folk beliefs about blacks as an inferior race
<u>determined</u> their inferior educaiton.
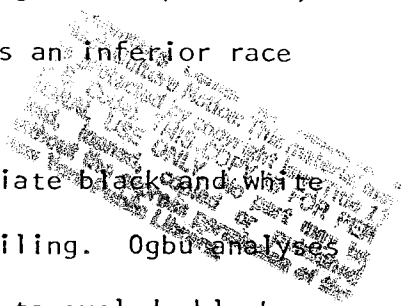
Subtle mechanisms were used to differentiate black and white
education in order to rationalize the black job ceiling. Ogbu analyses
the use of IQ testing and other related techniques to exclude black
children from high quality education.

Biased text books and academic curricula were part of the
techniques used; or rather one might argue reflected the biases of the
dominant hegemonic culture. Societal mechanisms expressing white perception
of blacks compelled blacks "to occupy relatively lower social and
technoeconomic positions that required less education..." [971]

The preoccupation with improved education for blacks was tied
to the movements of the Sixties, to the legal amendments outlawing
discrimination in employment. The partial removal of the job ceiling posed

for the first time the problem of an educational system whose function

could be to produce equally trained and skilled blacks.

But the partial attempt to transform the caste system because

it did not see itself as doing just that refused to accept the reality

of America's racial stratification system. Rather, using the human

capital theory it postulated that the answer to menial jobs was to

provide more training. The presupposition was that the job market like the

social order "operates fairly and impartially without regard to color,

race, sex or creed." [971]

The pressures of black political action in the Sixties which

assaulted caste barriers in employment, led to a "dramatic rise in

black representation above the job ceiling." [972] This clearly

revealed that the mode of distribution of the social product—including

jobs which are themselves the mechanisms for access to greater shares of

the social product, was intimately interlinked to the racial stratification

system of the society. Whilst the class system provides and legitimates

the differential distribution of the social product as between members of

the same caste, it is the caste system—and to a lesser extent, the

sexual system—which legitimates the differential distribution of the

social production as between class members of different castes. Equality

becomes normative. All that does not present itself as equal, i.e., as

the same as the white middle class norm is then stigmatized as deviant,

an inherently deficient. Thus black behavior and black culture tends to

be described by social scientists not as it is "but rather as it deviates

from the normative system defined by the white middle class." [973]

Yet black adaptations Ogbu argues are not deviant but

functional to the

"different and unequal positions of both the occupational

and socio-political structures of American society"

that blacks have been compelled to occupy. Their view of American

society is different from that of whites. Their relation is different.

Even this "academic retardation" is functionally adaptive to the

caste barriers, Ogbu argues.
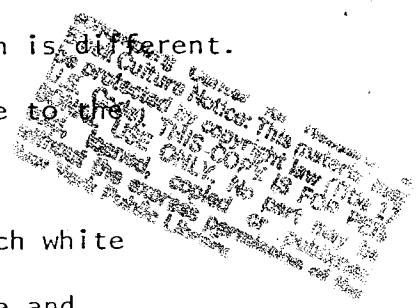
Compelled by the caste system to "renounce such white

motivational skills as autonomy, independence, initiative and

competitiveness in order..to make it in the under world." lower class

blacks have constituted a culture with public emphasis on social skills

necessary for survival, accepting the contingency of the self,

ironic towards a work ethic which has never really been worthwhile from

their perspective. Like the "negro" in the tale of the Conde Lucanor

the black counter-culture moves outside the ideological fictions--the

imaginary social significations--which provide the motivation for action

of the members of the dominant "white" caste.

Produced as unequal, experiencing this inequality, black existence

consistently criticizes the egalitarian consciousness of the larger society.

Black music from blues to jazz to soul, functions as the popular mechanism

of "degradation" bringing back to "earth" a social system based on a

technological rationality which has plainly degenerated into illogic and

incoherence.

The extraordinary incoherence of the theoretical manipulation

of the Jensen-Shockleys, the Moynihan Glazers, points to the breakdown

of the world-view of the "white" bourgeois group who has for so long

interpreted and coded both the cultural signification system, and the

Symbolic Order in U.S.A. and of global society. Now their incapacity to

find the theoretical formulations to solve the problems of world poverty

' their social system has created;--problems that their productive forces

taken by themselves are capable of solving overnight--is expressed not

only in the failure of their internal anti-poverty programs, but in their

attempt to locate this failure in the "inherent" deficiences of those

who are victimized by the social order.

Like Edward Long, the new scholarly ideologues of the social

status quo take the present social organization of the society as

axiomatic. The theoretical paradigms then take this axiomatic as the

hidden presupposition, as the normative state of affairs. All that does

not correspond to this state of affairs--continued black and Third World

poverty is then stigmatized as _deviant_ by and through the causal factor

of genetic, cultural and social deficiences--is stigmatized as "deviant."

All that corresponds to the axiomatic state of affairs is then relegitimated

as "right." To be "white" and to be middle class is to be normative; to

be normative is to be right; to be right is to be normative.

As Kuhn points out

"I currently suspect that all revolutions involve, among

other things, the abandonment of generalizations, the

force of which had previously been in some part that of

tautologies.   ." [17?]
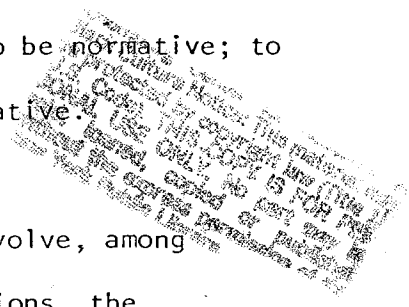
Again by the nature of their minority group position in the

United States, by the nature of their daily experience of son . and

symbolic exploitations, black intellectuals, from Delany to Dubois,

from Dubois to Frazier, to Cruse, have been compelled to challenge these

paradigms; to reveal them as tautologies ; to "degrade" the ideological

formulations of the dominant groups whose "knowledge" must avoid those

areas of reality that could challenge its social dominance.

In spite of what Harold Cruse calls the failure of the Negro

intellectuals, it is clear that it is only the black minority group in the

United States, whose interpretatory of reality--including Cruse's

passionate, biased but self-lacerating confessional--have ushered in the

horizons of a new mode of social reason. The "white" interpretation

of American realtiy carried out not so much by people with "white" skins

as by intellectuals who constituted themselves as "white" intellectuals,

i.e., as a particular social group with a social and cultural hegemony

to defend and whose theoretical formulations had contributed much that

was of value--to become "white" was to be liberated from former European

caste and class particularities, into a more universal if homongenized

perspective--has now come to the limits of what Lucien Goldmann

termed its "potential consciousness". As Goldman w tes,

> "in fact, every group tends to have an adequate
>
> knowledge of reality; but its knowledge can extend
>
> only up to a maximum horizon compatible with its
>
> existence. [976]

The "existence" of the Emperor's clothes in the tale of the

Conde Lucanor was linked to the social dominance of a group who had

parlayed its military power into an institutional system of power; whose

imaginary social significations based on the "inherent" right of "blue blood"

legitimately passed down to the first born as the sign of the feudal noble's

control of vast landed property made it logical that they should respond

to the anxiety created by the fear that they "lacked" legitimacy--and

should see the Emperor's clothes. To "see" the Emperor's clothes was to

participate in the social fictions which guaranteed their own existence as a

group--and their colonization of the consciousness of even those who

have no property to protect. The "negro" stable boy has no property, but he

has no social status either. His "social being" is not implicated in the

in the social fiction that constitues the social beings of the others.

It is this "outlyer" consciousness of black culture that Ben
Sidran noted when he argued that the young people taking to the streets
on the Vietnam and other related issues had been brought up an techno-
logically diffused black music. The roots of the generation gap
between themselves and their parents were to be located there. The
"reality" of the American "fifties" were to be "degraded" by the
multiplicity of social movements that assaulted the "social fictions"
that had enabled the terrible "innocence" with which the dominant social
order had imposed its hegemony on the larger part of the world.

The black movement of the Sixties, acted as the catalyst for the
"degradation" of many of the social fictions of American existence.
It activated a genuinely plural social movement in American Society--
one which defined the pattern of unity in multiplicity, multiplicity in
unity which will clearly be the only basis for the realization of American
society as a   national society which is at the same time multi-
ethnic and multi-cultural.

As Harold Cruse writes, perceptively,

"The Negro rebellion in American is destined to

usher in a new era in human relations and to add a

thoroughly new conception of the meaning and form

and content of social revoluiton. In order to make

social progress the world as a whole must move

towards unification within the democratic framework of

human national, ethnic, or racial variety...In America

hoever, we have an unsolved problem of a unique type of

semi-colonialism. The Negro rebellion comes at this

time to give voice to the long suppressed ethnic

consciousness of the American Negro as he rises to the

task to throw off his semi-colonial yoke. But this
Negro rebellion, mistakenly called by some the Negro
Revolution, is not revolutionary because it projects no
new ideas beyond what have already been ratified in the
democratic philosophy of the American Revolution...Hence
we have projected the new concept of Cultural Revolution.
We maintain that this concept affords the intellectual means,
the conceptual framework, the theoretical link that
ties together all the disparate, conflicting and contending
trends within the Negro movement as a whole, in order to
transform the movement that can 'shape actions to ideas, to
fit the world into the theoretical frame"...What has this to
do with the Negro struggle for racial equality and why
should the American Negro assume the initiative for such
a task? Because the American Negro is the only ethnic group
in America who has the need, the motivation, and the
historical perrogative to demand such. Also because racial
equality cannot be achieved unless the Negro rebellion
adopts revolutionary tactics which can enforce structural
changes in the administration of certain sectors of the
national economy..." [977]

The Negro, said Cesaïre, is the only human being whose humanity
has been totally negated. As we have seen, in a more precise sense, it
is the social being of the man/woman inscribed as negro that is negated
in order that the social being of the man/woman inscribed as "white"
should be relatively overvalued. The social, political, cultural--and
economic hegemony of that group constituted as "white" has effected a
symbolic and actual exploitation of those inscribed as non-white, of

incalculable proportions.

                            implicitly

    E. Wallerstein has related the category white/non-white to the structural relations of the world economic system between core enclaves and periphery enclaves, i.e., the plantation system.

    Fogel and Engleman saw that the black slave labor force, growing cotton for England, was exploited not only in England and the industrial North but by the consumers of cotton all over the world. They point out that,

> "The main gainers from the gang system were not slave
>
> holders but consumers of cotton." [978]
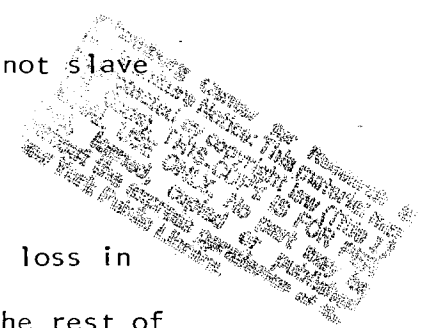
They go on to say:

> "Slaves as a class therefore, suffered a net loss in
>
> 1850 of a least 84,000,000 dollars so that the rest of
>
> the world could benefit by 24,000,000...Most U.S. cotton
>
> was consumed abroad...For every slave working in the cotton
>
> fields, there were hundreds of consumers of cotton...
>
> for every dollar gained by a typical consumer of cotton
>
> cloth there was a slave labouring somewhere under the
>
> hot southern sun who would lose at least $400.00." [979]

    The larger portion of this material exploitation would accrue not only to the industrial and financial bourgeosie, but by the very structural relations of the system to the masses of the core countries. These masses--coded Western and white--would increasingly be the accomplices in this exploitation. In accepting the relative privilege of <u>white</u>--and <u>Western</u>-- social being, the Western peoples as well as their bourgeosie were accomplices in the form of social domination, whose concrete individual effect René Depestre describes well,

> "I was made to have a terrible opinion of myself,
>
> I was forced to deny a decisive part of my social being,
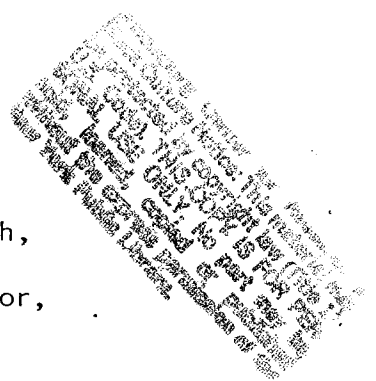
to reneague on the colour of my face, on the
singularities of my culture, the specific
reactions to my sensiblity, to life, love, death,
art...And all so that I should idealize the color,
history, culture of my white masters..." [?( ]

But as Fanon would show, some blacks too participated in the
wearing of white masks, were accomplices both in material exploitation
and in the diffused participation in relative power; blacks too wanted
to be "white" masters and had the fascist response ingrained in their
behavior. Consciousness was thoroughly colonized. Social transformation
had to begin with self-liberation from the hegemonic codes.

It is in this decolonization of consciousness, this "degradation"
of social fictions that links the collective popular black culture and
the theoretical formulations of black intellectuals. Black music from
blues to jazz to soul, and its multiple derived variants counters the
social fiction of "managed" organizational capitalism that the consumption
of more and more consumer goods is the goal-seeking activity of man, one
that diminishes pain and increases pleasure.

Rather black popular music sings as it has always done of an
absence, a lack, of happiness, an absence, lack, felt in the flesh, and
occasioning a radicalization of desire that secularizes utopian longings,
the kind that cannot be satisfied by the dominant social order. Under
the commercialization of the music it infiltrates this radicalization of
desire; and exists as the leaven of the society at a mass-popular level.

The black minority group (U.S.) constitutes a group that is unable
to   come   t o terms with a social environment which consistently diminishes,
delegitimates it, and is left with no alternative but to change this
environment. This imperative is experienced both with the popular and at
the intellectual level.

It is at this conjuncture that the two counter-cultural modes of revolt, the popular and the intellectual, join forces in their imperative aim, the transformation of the social/symbolic order of the United States--and of the global-reality.

---ooo---
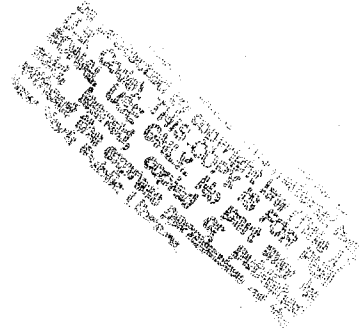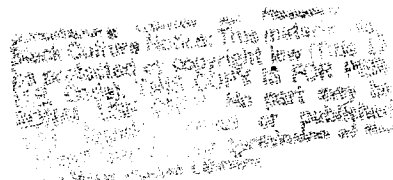
THE POLITICS OF BLACK CULTURE: THE UNDERLIFE AND THE BLACK AMERICAN MINORITY EXPERIENCE

"It is very important for our discussion on integration and assimilation that the leaders of the non-violence technique have gone to India for philosophical and ideological justification of their revolt against segregation and discrimination in American society . . . In analysing the movement and in seeking its religious and moral inspiration, we should recognize that it has its roots in the religion and culture of the Negro folk.

. . . the dynamics of the movement are to be found in the religious experiences of the Negroes. When Negroes are forced to face hostile white mobs they do not sing Indian hymns, they sing Negro spirituals and the hymns of their fathers which embodied the faith of their fathers in a hostile world.

 That the Negro leaders should turn to an alien culture for the philosophical and ideological justification of their revolt shows the extent to which Negro intellectuals are alienated from the masses. It is also an indication of the failure of intellectual leaders in relation to the Negro. They have failed to dig down into the experiences of the Negro and provide the soul of a people."

                FRANKLIN FRAZIER [ ] (961)

"But the situation demanded that the cultural values of the American white majority be challenged and fought with other cultural values -- and that was quite another brand of politics." [Harold Cruse] [984]

"Something started around 1450, the conquest of the world by Europe, followed by colonization. It is we who discovered the world. Nobody discovered us. They year 1950 marked the end of a period. India became free in 1947. Mao came to power in 1949. We are actually between civilizations -- the colonial one and the decolonized one -- which we do not really know but only sense" [ ] Andre Malraux [ ]

Black Americans in the United States, in relation to whites, constitute a "native population" which is however, demographically, a minority. Here in lies the uniqueness of their social situation, one that compels them as a group to go beyond orthodox Marxist theory. The Marxist model as generally applied, presupposes a majority oppressed "proletariat" confronting a minority bourgeoise. The colonial model also as applied presupposes the existence of a majority native population confronting a minority settler population whose home is elsewhere. Both models presuppose an automatic majority revolutionary subject.

Blacks in America, instead, as a minority, constitute the Ultimate Social Other to a majority population, who, in defining itself as "white" automatically constitutes a socially dominant group. This social group legitimates its mass-dominance in "racial" terms. Indeed the revolutionary tendencies towards social transformation of the society have been acted out by white-skinned Americans only at those moments when they cease to constitute their primary identity as "white", identifying themselves as plural social groups -- as colonials, as farmers, women, labor, youth, Chicnos. etc.

From the Black American Minority perspective, whenever the "white" identity of Americans has been experienced as primary, it has lead to a pervasive and reactionary pseudo-populism. It is the "Black - White" code in the American cultural reality that legitimates the settler to native relation, one in which the black is defined as the Social Other to the White Norm. It is this relation that constitutes the social and cultural colonialism of the hegemonic system.

Harold Cruse analyses the theoretical battles between Black Marxists in the twentites and thirties as they struggled to define the Black American situation. Faced with the intractable white racial code, many Marxists insisted on class identity as the only valid identity which could cut across the white/black division. Cruse notes that the program for u action that followed on this interpretation -- one that homogenized all forms of social struggle under the rubric of the class struggle -- lead to the attempt to eradicate all ethnic group units within the membership structure.

Cruse's critique of the integrationalist aspect of American Communism, and of it's hostility to black 'ethnic' expression or black nationalism is valid. He defends the Finn who was put on trial for objecting to the presence of Blacks at a Finnish Communist social affair, and sees perceptively that the voluntaristic attempt of the Communist Party to delegitimate. ethnicity and ethnic groupings was dysfunctional as far as the black struggle was concerned. He also tells of the determined hostility of the Communist Party to any black cultural expression, even where it permitted such group cultural expression on the part of Jews. [?¶4]

Yet it is improtant to note that the Finn constituted ethnically as a Finn, was also as a European, constituted socially as "White". Ethnicity in Ameri_ca embraces both cultural ethnicity and the social constructs of Black and White groups. Both categories are constituted not so much by their places of origi_n -- Europe / Africa-- as by the social interrelation between them. Othodox Marxist analysis which explained social reality as a_clash between bourgeioisie and proletariat, could not find the categories to deal with the complex nature of group and class interaction in the United States.

In addition, whilst in the semiperiphery, the Communist Party – the new _ _ bourgeoisie- had taken power on the basis of its ability to liberate the productive forces, the "liberation of the productive forces" in the Unites States had already been carried out by the property bourgeoisie. The new bourgeoisie, unlike its parallel groups in the Soviet Union, found itself -- except in the post-Depression period when the productive system oppeared to have broken down -- marginalized to a protest role; without a mass base. Its "natural"constituency the white "proletariat" had as a result of their own labour struggles become increasingly well-paid, as well as socially incorpporated -- the "white" identity here played a central role -- into the normative system. In relation to the excluded black, the majority proletariat functioned and reacted socially as a middle class.

The Party's insistence on the homogenized class identity was therefore an attempt to incorporate the revolutionary potential of the black under the rubric of proletariat and at the same time to attempt to counter a normative white racism by imposing a class norm.

Yet precisely because black exploitation went beyond "class" exploit-
ation, the attempt to displace the racial code by imposing a class code,
was really as Cruse saw, an attempt to harness black energies to a primarily
white majority cause.

In Marxist integrationist philosophy as Cruse saw, integration meant
homogenization, assimilation under the rubric of a majority norm. Yet the
paradox was that the particularity of an ethnic black nationalism taken
alone   could no more have fitted
the unique black situation than the integrationist class code.

Blacks as the Social Other to the white-constituted middle class identity
of the United States, were at once an ethnic and a social group. Its culture
was at once an ethnic and a "social" cultural expression. Its realization
of itself as a group would imperatively be linked to the social transformation
of the United States.

The Sixties would see the contral note that the black - as the excluded term
- would play in the overall social revolt. The black mode
of social revolutuion rather than constituting an exclusive revolutionary
Subject, acted as a catalyst for the emergence of diverse and plural
social movements. Its symbolic and actual movement out of the non-place
accorded it, assaulted the norm of the Single Race, and opened the way for
the action of others, stigmatized by other norms, socially marginalized in
myriad ways. Betty Freidan gives an insight into the mechanism of this
plural conjunctural form of social revolt that was to be the origional,
and distinguishing feature of the Sixties. She writes: "It was not possible
in the Sixties to read newspapers or watch television as Blacks marched
and protested against living in American in anything less than full human
dignity and equality, for women not to finally say "Me too." []

She also makes clear that the revolt of women was above all a social revolt,
an identity revolt; a revolt against both the imposed feminine image and
the prescribed ego-identity that went with the image - a description that-
like sambo- was a prescription. In other words a revolt against a social
stereotype which legitimated material exploitation:

"There was a strange discrepancy between the reality of our lives as women
and the image that I came to call the feminine mystique.

A strange, helpless, passive, not very bright blonde little housewife
was the only image there was on television, in the movies and in the Women's
magazines. . . The reality of the increasing millions of women already
working outside the home was denied by that image. We had to break
through that image in our own consciousness and in popular culture"
(italics mine).

The revolt of each group against its own colonized consciousness was
the first movement of social liberation. Fanon was to be the theorist
of this "revolution" in consciousness, a revolution that could not be
fought by proxy, by a vanguard, since it called for the participatory,
movement of subversion against one's own internalized variant of the
hegemonic ruling consciousness.

As Fanon wrote: "And the moudjahid which sets forth this position,
defends it and makes it triumph, introduces a new element into the classic
dialogue of the dominated and the oppressor. The liberation of the
individual does not follow national liberation. An authentic nationaist
liberation exists only to the precise degree to which the individual has
irreversibly begun his own liberation." []

The black movement agianst its own prescribed "Negro" consciousness
began to deconstruct the societal norm of the Single Race; and shook the
"white middle-class cultural values" which accompanied this norm.
The housewife image and "female" consciousness also was related to the norm of the
single sex, to the complex of cultural values that accompanied it.

It was the initiation of the deconstruction of the cultural
norms and values which socially order the society that most marked
the Sixties. Blacks as the Ultimate Social Other set in motion
this movement, even where it was not to be interpreted as such.

The relative "failure" of all th.. .; social movements in the Seventies was related to the fact that they fell into the trap of what Cruse calls the integrationist philosophy, and tended to substitute the struggle for'equality' for the struggle for the transformation of cultural values of the social order.

Yet there was a paradox here. On the one hand in fighting for equality with "whites" and *with* "men" Blacks and women continued to accept and reinforce the societal constructs of both "whites" and "men as norms. The struggle for equality and integration assumes that the struggle should be based on attempts to make the non-norms -- in terms of race, region, class, culture and sex -- equal to the norm. Which is of course an impossible task, since it is inequality that defines them. _

Yet the struggle for this impossible equality between norm and non-norm - racial, sexual, cultural, regional - is at the same time the central contradiction which impels the social dynamics of the situation, imbalancing the equilibrium needed by the hegemonic group.

Thus the affirmative action programs which were the State's response to this thrust for equality lead to the backlash of the white majority norm, as threatened in their sense of social privilege, as the WASP establishment had felt itself threatened by Roosevelt's New Deal.

The white backlash of the Seventies, the widespread white support for the Bakke spearheaded thrust to undo the affirmative actions attempts to narrow the socially produced inequalities, proved that in the social dynamics of the situation another social transformation had taken place.

The Black revolt of the Sixties had lead to a "white" reaction in which the formerly ethnic and cultural division between the white groups - with the exception of the "marginally" white, Mexican-Americans, had weakened, merging the majority of "whites" into a single social group with the collective purpose of keeping Blacks in a new yet relatively

Inferior place.

The shift of the formerly liberal Jews to full support of Bakke,
in defence of their own group's hegemony in those areas in which affirm-
mative action could open hitherto restricted opportunities to blacks,
was the most marked result of a social transformation in which a WASP
establishment had been replaced by a wide-spread "white" establishment of
what one might call the nouveau WASPs, i.e., the educated descendents of
immigrant groups, now at last being fully incorporated into ruling class
status.

It is in this context that the new academic racism - typified by
Mynihan and Glazer's discussion of black culture as "puzzlingly defiant",
is to be understood.

The empirical observation of the fact that the black experience
did ot fit the-poor-immigrant - to-affluent-middle-class representation
of American reality; as well as of the failure of the poverty programs,
lead to the "deviant" interpretation of   black culture and black
values. As they wrote in 1970: "Beyond The Melting Pot did suggest that
a significant check to the economic rise of the Negroes might be found
in the values of American Negroes themselves; these played some large
but not fully explicated role in economic development." The implicit
apparent suggestion was that other ethnic groups - their own- had 'intrinsic'
values which had enabled and determined their economic rise.

What economic determinism was to be to the new Marxist techno-
cratic bourgeoisie - i.e. the level of the productive forces conditioned
men's consciousness, hence only the vanguard voluntarism of the Party
bureaucrats and professional revolutionaries could free the masses
from their trade union - "economicism" -- pschological and cultural
determinism wl ould be to the neo-liberal corporate technocratic bourgeoisie
of the West.

In the context of psychological determinism the poverty of the Black-
as of the poor in general - is due to psychologically conditioned
values. The inherent - eugenic - racial inferiority thesis of the prop-
erty - bourgeoisie is replaced by the conditioning thesis - nurture -

of the technocratic bourgeoisie, whose mental structure and world view
has come gradually to displace the former hegemonic consciousness of the
individual private - property bourgeoisie. The technocratic economicism
of the Marxist technocratic bourgeoisie is paralleled by the technocratic
psychologism of the neo-liberal corporate bourgeoisie.

The "immigrant paradigm" in the U.S.'s contemporary scholarship
is central to the rise of this technocratic bourgeoisie, in the literal
sense a nouveau bourgeoisie. Their legitimation of their own group
dominance - as the new social technocrats as well as a new aspirant
group to ruling class status - is based on the ideological strategy
of representing/constituting the non-WASP ethnic groups - the WASP social
dominance was related to the economic hegemony of the private property
as distinct from the corporate bourgeoisie - as the new Social Norm.

Theoretically the imposition of the 'immigrant paradigm' on the
black experience, enable the constitution to the new ethnics as the
Social Norm, in relation to the deviant other, the Black. . . comparison which
located the reasons for the success of the ethnic groups - upward
mobility in the social structure is seen as the hallmark of success -
in the inherent values of the immigrant groups rather than in the
social dynamics - was then able to be made between the 'successful' ethnic
and the deviant Negro who 'failed' because of his 'inherent cultural values'.

As late as 1962, blacks were constituted by the dominant scholar-
ship as a collection of "unrelated individuals . . . without the
community of tradition, sentiment and so forth, that has marked other
populations, and given rise to ethnic groups such as the Italian imm-
igrants." [] The strategy at work here is the strategy of "ethnic
legitimation by and through black marginalization." [988]

The recent findings of John Ogbu that both the rise of the one group
and the non-rise of the other are enabled and determined by the social
dynamics of the dominant order which provided a sponsored mobility
situation for the immigrants, has to be overseen by the world view of this
social group , as expressed both in their

ther actual and potential consciousness.   *(704)*

For the theoretical formulations of black values as <u>deviant values</u>
cannot be understood as we have seen,outside the social dynamics of
the new ideologůes, and of their strategy - as a social group, for
incorporation into the normative ruling class dimeosion - of American
life.

Their call, in the wake of the Sixties,for a return to ethnicity,
forthe "equality of ethnic groups, is primarily a call for the decon-
struction of the WASP socio-cultural establishment and it's replacement
by a wider one which could incorporate "new" and 'honorary' whites,
i.e. the Japanese - into a hegemonic "white/Western" as opposed to WASP
establishment; in other words a call for a more inclusive cultural norm,
one based on 'ethnic' equality.   *q40*

Their suggestion of an "ethnic" basis for social action seeks to
replace a normative pluralism based on a Wasp cultural norm, with a
variant based on an 'ethnic' cultural Norm. Whilst allegedly blacks
are to be another "ethnic group" they are to be a group represented as
deviantly ethnic - in other words they are still to constitute the
social non-norm.

This is of course the role that the black has played in the imaginary
significations central to the normative pluralism which has been the
structuring principle of the social order.

A structural law of value based on the opposed terms of norm
and non-norm has heirarchically and plurally placed different groupings,
according them different degrees of social "value",degrees graded in
relation to the full value of the WASP establishment and the lack of
value of the blacks.

Each group is then ideologically represented as having equal
access to the opportunities afforded by the society; equal opportunity
to promote their own interests through different organizations. Politics
is represented as the axis of negotiations and adjustments between the
different interests of competing ethnic groups; and the politician

is a "middleman in the power transactions of the society." Cℓⁱᴴᴾ

Robert Paul Wolff has pointed to the role that this pluralist
paradigm has played in integrating the new immigrants : "It (pluralism)
eases the conflicts among antagonistic groups of immigrants, achieves
a working harmony among the several great religions, diminishes the
intensity of regional oppositions, and integrates the whole into the
heirarchical federal political structure inherited from the founding
fathers . . . "   (992)

Yet precisely becuase it is a <u>normative pluralism</u> it has lead
to the nd of situation which Moynihan and Glazer have emperically
observed. As they write: "This continual deferral of the final smelt-
ing of the different ingredients (or at least the different white
ingredients) into a seamless national web as is to be found in the major
national states of Europe suggests that we must search for some system-
atic and general causes for this American pattern of subnational-
ities; that it is not the temporary upsetting inflow of new and
unassimilated immigrant that creates a pattern of ethnic groups within
a nation but rather some central tendency in the national ethos which
structures people, whether those coming in afresh or the descendants of
those who have been here for generations into groups of different status
and character." (993)

The central tendency in the national ethos relates to <u>a mode of
social relations</u> in which groups are socially valued and devalued in
relation to each other; and where the social mechnisms of the society
work to produce, reproduce and legitimate the relative valuation and
devaluation of groups, by and through the unequal distribution of wealth
and power.

Normative pluralism is the political expression of this mode of
social relations. For from being an expression of the societal "tolerance'
of differing groups, it is the mechanism which produces and reproduces
the heirarchical structuring of plural groups.

Its tolerance has always therefore been a "repressive tolerance" tolerating different groups only to the extent that they kept to their relative place; consolidating the power of the dominant groups against the challenge of the outside groups. (974)

The ultimate outsider, the ultimate Social Other is, or course, the Black. The New Ethnicity code as devised by Moynihan and Glazer strategically attempts to contain the black thrust of the Sixties by imposing a homogenizing ethnicity code - as Orthodox Marxists had attempted to impose a homogenizing class code - on the particial social situation of the Blacks.

Harry Winston analyses the strategy of this apparently egalitarian ethnic pluralism put forward by Moynihan and Glazer.

"If one equates white ethnics with Blacks and other oppressed minorities, the special struggle to remove the racist barriers facing the oppressed can be dispensed with. The concept of "ethnicity" sets an ideological atmosphere in which affirmative action programs for jobs and education of Blacks can be twisted into 'racism in reverse'... (975)

By insisting on "ethnicity" the misrepresentation avoids the fact that Blacks are an ethnic group, constituted as a social group by their relation to another social group, constituted as "white" by the social mechanisms of the society. It avoids the fact that there is only one Racism, a Single Racism, White Racism. White Racism is the social mechanism which defends the social priviledge not of the ethnic groups - many of which suffer forms of social discrimination in relation to the more dominant "ethnic" groups - but of all ethnic groups constituted as white.

The "ethnicity" code then deliberately oversees the privileged relation of white to black, reducing the dual identity of blacks - as an "ethnic" group and as a social group - the most socially exploited - to a apparently "equal" ethnic other. The immigrant paradigm of "ethnic" success is then used as the norm against which the inherent failure of the deviant Black is measured.

The contemporary representation of the immigrant paradigm - one which attempts to homogenize American reality as the WASP Paradigm had done before. It is central to what has been defined as the 'new racisim of the seventies'.

Moynihan and Glazer, the foremost exponent of the immigrant prardigm also represent a new bureaucratic/technocratic social group, whose prescription for social change responds to its professional interests. In the Post-.isties contemporary America, members of this new social group have emerged as the chief protagonists of white middle class America in its "ethnic /immigrant" - rather than its WASP - form.

The emergence and consolidation of this social group is itself the result of the widespread challenge by Black , in the Sixties, to the White middle class socio-cultural hegemony.

The cultural nationalism of the Sixties, linked to the wides- pread popular movements, lead to important breakthroughs in black scholarship. It was this new theroetical perspective that enabled the deconstruction of the ,nihan black-fa mily-instability paradigm. The "inherent" or "conditioning" fallacies of this essentially bureau- cratic scholarship - bureaucratic because it provided technical blueprints and social legitimat ..ation for governmental policies which affected the lives of all Blacks - displaces the blame for the persistent poverty of Blacks ____>

from the social dynamics of American society to the social structures and cultural values of the victims. Blacks are simply the deviant to the orthodox social norm, the lack of that fullness that other social groups represent.

The Moynihan Report on the Negro Family fired the first shot in the academically orchestrated and rationalized white backlash designed to counter and contain the black thrust of the Sixties. Its "black family-instability thesis would be related to the Bancroft thesis that a ghetto was a ghetto because of ghetto - dwellers, and of the "tangle of path-ologies" that they represented. _ (19b)

This theoretical constitution of the Black as the deviant Other, provided the ideological legitimation for the new backlash both in governmental policies of "benign neglect" and in majority white attitudes. In the Post-Sixties the black struggle was to encounter some of its strongest opposition in the theoretical formulations of the newly arrived "ethnic" social scientists. Black scholarship, emerging in the wake of the social upheaval of the Sixties began to deconstruct the theoretical imperialism of the hegemonic scholarship. The site of the struggle had changed in the Seventies from primarily "street tasks" - to borrow St. Clair Drake's distinction - to primarily intellectual tasks.(??) Young black scholars began to engage in this aspect of the struggle, ¬ in the explicitly ideological aspect of the long sustained attempt of the hegemonic American white bourgeo sie to control and manipulate the desires and the consciousness of its own popular groups, and of Blacks.

Thus the black psychologist Wade Nobles, in particular, perceptively dissects the ideological implications of the Moynihan type scholarship on the Black family and relates this implicitly to the thesis of the black cultural void which has been central to the stigmatization of the black; to his inscription as deviant; to the strategy of his social oppression.

Nobles first of all analyses the general theoretical imperialism of this hegemonic scholarship. He labels this "conceptual incarceration", the imprisoning of the black experience in a . . .. biased mis-interpretation. He also uses Robert Staples' formulation of "scientific colonialism" to describe the role played by the Western social science establishment in the ideological interpretation of American reality.

Nobles points to the central role of the social sciences in the academic cultural apparatus, and the role that it plays in "nigger breaking" black consciousness: "Western social science has, in a very real way, replaced the chains, overseers, and dogs of our previous bondage." .. (998,

Nobles analyses the process of conceptual exclusion central to hegemonic "white" scholarship, a process which reduces social reality to ..∧ what it constitutes as the normative reality i.e., the middle-class white "reality". The task of this scholarship is to "produce" the empirical 'evidence' to legitimate this unexamined presupposition.

The theoretical strategy is then to examine all other aspects of social reality - not as these areas are in themselves - but only as they "compare" to the Single Reality, constitued as Norm.

Thus the then still apparently stable nuclear middle-class family was represented as the Single Family, and all others as its lack, its deviant form. As Nobles comments:

> "In so doing we have conceptually viewed the Black Family as the White Family's illegitimate 'soul' brother or as a dark-skinned White family. The conceptual incarceration which has affected us is the view of the White Family as the 'Conceptual Family' or standard family to which the Black Family must be compared." (999)

Nobles then classifies the different approaches to which this ideological comparision of a theoretically constituted norm and non-norm then gives rise:

> "The consequence of the false comparision was and is the de-piction of the Black family as disorganized, pathological and victimized forms of social organization... The poverty-acculturated

Studies...argued that Black people upon being thrust into bondage lost whatever cultural stability they had as Africans. The study of Black family life focussed therefore on the economic conditions of the Black population, which was supposedly the cause of Black Family disorganization. The pathologically oriented studies argued that in relation to the family, there in fact, existed no civilized or cultural stability in African life. Hence the heritage of Black family life was savagery and barbarism. Consequently, the study of Black family life here focussed on the supposedly negative structural and functional features in the Black family which lead to poverty, ignorance and crime. The victim-oriented studies argued that Black families would be just like White families if Black people were not the victims of job discrimination and educational inequality... The common thread which runs throughout most of the Black family research is that (1) Black families do not match the standard (conceptual) White Family, (2) that the original cultural and philosophical heritage of Black families was destroyed and (3) that Black families are 'made in America.' " (/???)

We have quoted Nobles at length because his work is the best example of the theoretical insights that were to be made possible by the wide diffusion in the Sixties of cultural nationalist ideologies.

And at this point it might be useful to focus in the contributions, that the cultural nationalist ideologies of the Sixties, -- ideologies which were linked to the Black popular movements both as effect and partial cause -- were to make to the partial liberation of Black scholarship from the hegemonic Western bourgeois paradigms.

The insights of cultural nationalism were intimately related to its oversights. Hence, its contributions are related to the conjoined dysfunctional aspects of its formulations. But it is important to note that the liberation of Black consciousness from the dominant paradigms owed more to cultural nationalist formulations than to the Marxist paradigm -- even though this latter paradigm had earlier played a centrally theoretical liberating role.

Wade Nobles work was to emerge from both the popular movements of the Sixties and the cultural nationalist formulations. His scholarship was to insist on the non-deviant "ethnicity" of Blacks, on their culturally constituted ethnicity, on their cultural continuity with African and African cultures.

He therefore makes a central distinction between what he terms the Euro-American world view and the African world view. This monograph, however, argues that the confrontation of these two world-views is a confrontation of

an Euro-American world-view in a <u>bourgeois modality</u> and of an Afro-American world-view in a <u>popular</u> modality.

That is to say, an originally European world view developed in America in a bourgeois framework as the world view of a social group who established itself as a ruling group -- the 'master' group in the Hegelian formulation. On the other hand, originally African cultures developed in American in a popular framework, as the world view of a non-ruling group, of a socially marginalized group.

Both are therefore "ethnic groupings" who through their mode of inter-action constitute the two diametrically opposed social groupings of the United States, the two most diametrically opposed world views -- that of the Hegelian master/slave model.

It is the world view of Euro-Americans in its bourgeois <u>ruling group</u> modality -- for if America politically and economically has a ruling class, it also <u>socially</u> has a ruling group -- the whites -- that determines what Wade Nobles calls the dominant:

"scientific understanding of social reality." ( )

It is the bourgeois modality of Euro-American culture -- and not Euro-American culture itself as Nobles sometimes argues -- that constitutes a Single World view as the norm; imposing this homogenizing world view on social reality and thereby attaining a form of universality.

Black scholars and researchers are, as Nobles argues, trapped in the conceptual incarceration resulting from the "imposition" of a Western world view. But Black scholars are trapped in this world-view only to the extent that as class members of the bourgeosie they participate and share in the hegemonic world view of the Western bourgeosie -- in other words, Black skins wear middle class masks, theoretically speaking. The Black scholar is both Black and middle class, Black and normatively American. It is this contradiction that both leads to the conceptual incarceration of Black scholarship -- and to its conceptual break-throughs.

The scholarship of E.B. Frazier is a valid case in point. It is within this context that both the contradictory and the illuminating aspects of his work can be understood. For there is no doubt that what Nobles refer to as the <u>poverty-acculturated studies</u> would find their justification in the theoretical formulations of a distinguished Black scholar, E.B. Frazier.

As William E. Cross Jr. writes, Frazier's seminal work, The Negro Family in the United States, 1939 was received by mainstream social scientists not only as the definitive social history of the Black Family but as the definitive social history for Black life in general...

Frazier's study was written in the context of a then ongoing debate in the social sciences. A debate based however, on the general acceptance of Black life as a "tangle of pathologies."

As William E. Cross Jr. summarizes:

"By the onset of the 20th century, practically all aspects of Black life had been defined in pathologic terms by the emerging social sciences (Newby, 1965; Kamen, 1974: Thomas and Sillen, 1968; Gutherie, 1976; Jones, 1973), the only major desagreement between psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists of that period being whether Black Pathology was a function of genetic or environmental factors. Eugenical perspectives dominated such discussions from approximately 1870 to 1930, but were replaced by 'ecological' (Park, 1936; Frazier, 1937) or environmental models after 1930 (Jones, 1973). In making the shift from nature to nurture, social scientists maintained the belief that Black life was characterized by social pathologies; consequently the tendency to frame observations on the Black experience in pejorative terms persisted, while only explanations about the origin of what was being observed changed." (1991)

Frazier's work must be seen then as a rebuttal of "nat e" theories -- his refusal of African survivals being linked to his suspicion that the condition of Black people would then be displaced on to the failure of their "ethnic cultural values." Rather he attempted to show Blacks a group socially produced by the American system. Thus in works published On the Black Family he attempted "to define the economic, social, political, and psychological determinants of Black life from both a historica and contemporary perspective...

Frazier had two goals (a) to define the oppressive system in which Black people had to live (b) to describe the behavior of people who live within an oppressive situation." (1991)

It is within this concept that Frazier insisted on the "destructive consequences of slavery" arguing that slavery destroyed African family traditions and prevented the slaves from being able to incorporate the family patterns of Euro-Americans.

Because of this and continuing exploitative conditions, Blacks were forced
to develop inferior forms of families, matrifocal, pathogenic, which would
be able to
not withstand urban pressures. Urban Black youth developed attitudes charac-
teristic of <u>social deviants</u>.

In 1965 Moynihan as Cross   tells us, when he spoke of the urban low
income Black family as being characterized by a 'tangle of pathology,' could
see himself as merely demonstrating the efficacy of Frazier's perspective." (1005

Indeed, as Cross goes on to argue, Frazier's work on the Black family
came to be seminal to the development of the "culture of poverty thesis," or
to be seen as seminal."   ₊ ₎

> "Valentine has suggested that deviance deficit, deprivation, and
> culture of poverty models are, in fact, simply theoretical
> 'extensions' of Frazier's analysis of lower class Black life." (1006)

    . But there was to be a subtle difference between Frazier's original
formulations -- and the uses to which these formulations were to be put by
'white' scholars.

There is a dual perspective in Frazier's formulations -- middle class
and Black -- that will be missing in "white middle-class scholars." From a
middle class perspective all forms of non-middle class life tend to be inter-
preted as <u>deviant</u>. This totalitarian delegitimation of all forms of social
life except its own-feudal terms are the Dark Ages, traditional religions
are "superstitions, mere fetish-worship -- is a central social strategy of
bourgeois hegemony. It is this middle class perspective, added to the painful
and empirical evidence of Black disorganization and social disintegration, of
Black unemployment, high crime, high suicide rate, of Black involvement in
drugs primarily as its victims, that lead to Frazier's taking the contemporary
situation for a permanent historical condition and attempting to account for
what he labelled as a <u>deviant</u> condition, occasioned by the incapacity of the
Black family structure to cope with the social pressures of urban life.

Yet later scholars were to marginalize the really important insistance
of Frazier -- the insistance that Blacks are a social group produced by cir-
cumstances of institutionalized, legitimated social exploitation -- much as
the "proletariat" exists as a social group created by an institutionalized
and socially legitimated mode of <u>economic exploitation</u>.

Indeed in combatting the "native" -- eugenic school, Frazier's in-
sistance on the social conditioning of the family structure of the Black
lower class, was a strategic insistance which sought to avoid the allegation

that he suspected would be made -- that Black poverty was somehow due to an African culture of origin.

Later culture of poverty scholars would of course harden "nurture" into a form of "nature." The poor had been so long conditioned to be poor that <u>cultural values</u> and attitudes that sustained poverty had become second nature. The insistance of Frazier that the intolerable levels of poverty and social disintegration in the Black community were <u>produced</u> by American social circumstances came to be somehow marginalized. Rather, the social technocrats, -- the Moynihan et al -- would advise the government on the ways and means to "introject" allegedly move functional values into the Black social group -- "values" which would help to "stabilize" the unstable Black family.

Frazier's insistance on the definition of Blacks as an American <u>social</u> group -- a lower class group whose cultural characteristics were no longer African and insufficiently Euro-American -- had paradoxical implications. The negative implications would be related to the <u>deterministic conditioning fallacy</u>, which asserted that in the conditions of slavery, slaves were left without cultural traditions, thereby developing a "rudimentary" form of family organization that became the causal principle of their incapacity to cope with the pressures of contemporary social circumstances.

It was this aspect of Frazier that was to be utilized ideologically by the differing _ schools whose main aim was to inscribe the Black as Deviant.

But the insistance on Blacks as a <u>social group</u>, produced by the social dynamics of the American system would lay the groundwork for the later studies of a John Ogbui. It would also lead to the reactive scholarship of cultural nationalists like Wade Nobles who were to insist on the negated "ethnic" dimensions of the Black experience: as well as on the necessity to move the Black experience outside of the hegemonic scholarly paradigms. Whilst Nobles would define these paradigms as Euro-American it is clear -- as we can see from the case of Frazier -- that they were essentially, middle-class paradigms.

Nobles discusses Alfred <u>Memmi's</u> point that:

> "...for the oppressed to be really free he must go beyond revolt.
> By another path he must begin, in other ways, to conceive of him-
> self and reconstruct himself independent of the master. The serious-
> ness of Memmis observation is compounded ten-fold when we recognize
> that the way we Black Americans conceive of ourselves has almost
> always (until very recently) been in relation to White Americans.
> The continued master/slave relationship which has historically
> characterized white/Black relations in this country, is, in part,
> the results of social science." ( )

On the basis of this, Nobles argues that the mental liberation of Blacks

will depend upon Blacks being able to conceive ourselves in our own integrity, and the Black family "in its own nature." (Italics mine)

Nobles then argues that;

"...that integrity or nature is the sense of Africanity," and that the "Black family can only be fully understood when it is conceived of as a unit or system drawing its primary characteristics form, and definition from its African nature." (100)

It is this "African nature," Nobles argues, that determines:

"...the special form Black families take and the unique relational patterns over families express..." (204)

The "cultural continuity of the sense of Africanity or the African world-view" although expressed in diverse forms, has been a central determinant factor in the shaping of the Black family.

This mimeograph has argued that it is to the extent that African cultural patterns have met amorphosed by and through a dynamic cultural process -- cultura culturans -- initiated by a new social grouping -- prietos -- socially incorporated Africans transformed into piezas/socially marginalized negroes -- that there has been cultural continuity.

Black New World culture - like the new-popular cultures springing up in Africa itself today in response to the pressures of modernization, -- expresses the world view of a group at once "ethnic" and social, at once Black and popular.

From the African cultures it inherited a cultural legacy and world view. But the Middle Passage experience deligitimated this legacy, stigmatizing it as lack, socially produced it as the unofficial, the non-norm of the hegemonic culture, and therefore as a model of popular culture, one embracing conceptualizations alien to all normative, to all official cultures.

Normative African cultures were metamorphorsed in the crucible of the new circumstances, into an unofficial culture of the socially marginalized.

If European cultural forms were to be metamorphosed by the white American Middle-class into official cultural ikons - cultura culturata -- African cultural patterns were to be ceaselessly transformed into a dynamic process of reinterpretation and reinvention -- cultura culturans.

Therefore to see the Black family in its own nature -- as Nobles argues -- is not only to see it as related to its culture of origin, but also to see it as it transformed the concepts it had brought to fit the new social situation. Rather than a family pattern of "weness" that was imitated, I would tend to see the reinvention of the family as a social group-in the cultures of origin the family grouping, like the individual only had meaning in its relation to the social group and the structures of *society were* represented as kinship structures--as the central cultural compulsive of Black America. Here we begin to get a clue to the persistence of what Bastide calls the African genius for fraternal organization -- the social relations were represented as kinship structures. The *tribal* age group therefore metamorphosed into social/ historical age-group -- shipmates.

From the Myal men to Voodoo to the Black Muslims to the Rastaferians, to the Black movements of the Sixties the social group was represented in kinship terms. The Blood, Brother, Sister, the handshake of recognition.

Raymond Cross discusses the implications of Herbert Gutman's empérical evidence of the transplantation of African kinship systems into the New World social reality -- in other words, of the transplantation of forms of social organization which we have pointed to in our analysis of the different cultural forms related to Jonkunno:

> "At the nexus of the slaves' social reality was the Black family-kinship
> system... Gutman has been able to show that the Black family-kinship
> system, in all likelihood rooted in West African traditions, was the
> vehicle by which other Africanisms were transmitted from one generation
> of slaves to another." (/)

The metamorphosis of the tribal age-bond to the non-tribal bond of "shipmate" was paralled in the metamorphosis of kinship bonds represented in kinship-terms, the metaphor of blood-relation (blood-brotherhood) then actively structuring the experience of social relations as blood-relations. What is central here is a definition of a core micro-relation between the self-and-other. The "tribal" bonds are translated into "social bonds" the other is represented not as a tribal-peer but as a family peer. Tribal ethnicity is socialized; the family extends to the socius.

As Raymond Cross writes:

> "The overwhelming importance of the kinship model in the slaves'
> social construction of reality was shown in their response to the
> break-up of families of creating fictive aunt, uncle and cousin
> relationships with persons who while not blood-related, were con-
> sidered 'part of the family.' Gutman was successful in identifying
> these naming practices and marriage rules among slaves on different
> plantations whose owners did not force uniform family arrangements
> upon slaves." ( )
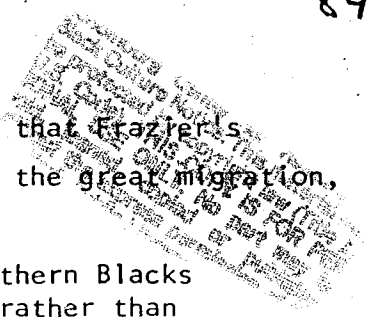
Cross goes on to discuss Gutman's empirical findings that Frazier's
thesis that the too-parent Black family had crumbled after the great migration,
was wrong (790) and that:

> "...the stable family-kinship system accompanies Southern Blacks
> in the great migration to the North, and it helped, rather than
> burdened adjustment to urban life... To paraphrase Gutman, the
> problems of the contemporary Black family cannot be traced to (1)
> the destructive consequences of slavery, nor, the collapse of the
> family during the transition from rural to urban life." (ibid 2

Frazier's mistake had been to extrapolate from the contemporary
evidence of social disintegration, imposing the contemporary pattern on the
past. Because of this he was unable to see that it was the particular nature
of the contemporary social dynamics of the American social order -- under
the atomizing impact of consumer corporate capitalism -- that was producing
a social disintegration that would not be limited to Blacks. Indeed in the
experience of Blacks, white America saw its own future, as the "stable
nuclear" family would become increasingly dysfunctional to the productive
goals of corporate capitalism.

But it is equally important to insist that African Kinship systems
were not conserved intact by Blacks but rather were reinvented after dis-
ruption -- including migrations. What was tenaciously held on to was the popular
African cultural compulsive of the centrality of the social -- in the face
of the atomization into piezas carried out by the plantation system.

In the context of this overall cultural compulsive -- the reinvention
of new social relations, of new identities, Blacks as a socially disfranshised
group, rather than being totally conditioned by their circumstances, acted to
rehumanize the social frontier; to metamorphose selected African cultural
patterns to suit the new circumstances.

As two scholars, Turner and Perkins recently concluded:

> "In becoming Afro-Americans, the Africans had to develop a new
> framework capable of holding their beliefs, values and behavior.
> What was useful from the Old World was contained; what was useless
> was discarded, and of course, new forms of culture evolved upon the
> old. This 'adaptive strategy' allowed Blacks to carve out a world
> where they could get on with the business of living, building families
> and kinship groups, and a way of life capable of sustaining them under
> these conditions of forced labour and cultural repression. In this
> early era Africans acquired elements of European and Indian culture
> through constant interaction with these peoples; Afro-American culture
> is a living testimony to this process of adaptation and cultural
> exchange. Our culture is a 'New World' culture, built on the
> foundations of the old." (1013

In his later report in the findings of an empirical study on black
families   Wade Nobles more nearly approaches this view and qualifies
his original formulation by arguing that

> "Black culture in the United States is the result of a special
> admixture of our <u>continued</u> African world-view or cultural per-
> spective operating within an environment which is primarily de-
> fined by the cultural perspectives of Anglo-American society." [/0]4)

He defines the relation between the two in terms which approximate
more to the point of view of this monograph:

> "Accordingly we believe that it is the African cultural spectrum
> which is set at the base of the black cultural sphere. Likewise,
> it is the Anglo-American cultural spectrum which serves as the
> medium in which the black cultural spectrum must operate."   ↲

> Consequently, it is the combined continuation of the African
> value-system and its reaction to the cultural imperatives of
> the wide Anglo-American society which forms the root of the
> special features observable in black family life." [/ 8/5)

The implications of this point to a model of interaction based on
conflict and accomodation. But because we believe that "world-views"
are carried by social groups, and are fashioned out of their struggle to
affirm their groups' existence and worth in the context of the struggle
against _{other} social groups, we argue that the original "African world-view "
which was itself not homogeneous or monolithic -- was submitted to a
process of <u>selection</u> and <u>transformation</u> by its bearers as they struggled to
survive in their new social environment.   and of the original owners,

If the hostility of the physical frontier was the chief obstacle Δḟ
the European pioneers, the hostility of the whites and of the cultural en-
vironment which they imposed presented itself as the chief obstacle facing
the Blacks as a social group.

They would therefore have to define themselves as a social group in a
constant and unending socio-cultural struggle against the "white" social
environment. But it is important too to see that this "white" social environ-
ment was essentially a middle class social environment i.e. it was certainly
not aristocratic or popular.

This monograph argues that the <u>piezas</u>, once landed in the New World,
fashioned a Neo-African proto-matrix out of the conflict and accomodation of
different tribal cultures, all now faced with the same relentless social
circumstances; that it was in the New World that the process of selection and

combination in response to new circumstances - and the extensive survival of African cultural perspectives was due, as we pointed out, to the fact that African cultures had always been migratory cultures - lead to the first African - as distinct from tribal-African - cultural proto-matrix.

But by the nature of their social circumstances, as the ultimate social other, it was the popular dimension of African cultures that were developed and emphasized - the flexibility of the Earth rather than the rigidity of the sky.

As the ultimate social other to the official ruling social group, the middle class, blacks constituted a popular unofficial culture specifically opposed to official middle class cultural values, as European popular folk cultures had been directed against the official culture of the feudal ruling classes. Equally all Euro-American cultural contributions brought to the United States were selected and combined to conform to the world view of a middle class, now socially constituted, as an 'official' ruling group.

Euro-American cultural characteristics were allowed to survive only to the extent that they conformed to the middle-class world view represented by WASP cultural characteristic. A process of homogenization of cultural patterns, a determined imitation of WASP cultural norms, lead to the widespread decline of what Goldmann calls "cultural micro-activity" on the part of European ethnic popular groups.

Ethnic groups would instead, guard the cultural patterns they had taken with them, shaping them to fit the prevailing cultural norms, discarding all popular or aristocratic elements that did not conform. At first for, example German workmen struggled to keep Sunday as a day of leisured enjoyment rather than either a day of Puritan religious abstinence or of work. But these patterns were soon swept aside by the logic of bourgeois rationalization, for whom "leisure" only served as a functional recuperation for labour.

Black culture would therefore as a group-culture, constitute itself as the only culture that perpetuated original popular cultural elements, by reinventing them in a new cultural process.

Since culture is always the expression of a mode of social relations, this monograph argues that the opposed "black" cultural values were constituted by a mode of social relations which continued African characteristics only to the extent that they were transformed t   into a popular dimension.

Black cultural values are the expression both of the resistance to the
hegemonic mode of social relations which stigmatizes it as the exploited, and
the expression of a *potential* mode of social relations in which no group has an insti-
tutionalized hegemony i.e. a popular mode of social relations. That African
cultures had excelled in the chain of cultural innovations which could
guard against total and absolute institutionalized social hegemony, meant
that the cultural baggage that blacks took with them, provided them with
adaptable social weapons for survival.

But in Africa these tribal cultures had constituted themselves as
normative "official" cultures. Blacks in the New World, nigger-broken
into being the non-norm, had to adapt normative cultures to the requirements
of an unofficial - non-normative existence. The official African tribal
gods entered a Middle Passage, a crucible of conversion, and emerged as
heretical popular gods, laughing ironic, contingent, anti-norm, unofficial
gods - gods in exile. The gods of a heretical ironic and socially revolutionary
culture.

It is because of this that we must take issue with some aspects of the
position of Nobles that,

> "The best conceptualization of that continual cultural spectrum
> is the notion of Africanity. That is, in terms of culture and
> value systems, the black family should be thought of as an
> 'Americanized' African family. It is African in nature and
> American in nurture. The observable bahavioral outcome, there-
> fore, must be interpreted in terms of understanding the African
> nature of basis for the outcome and the American conditions which
> influence their development, and/or suppression." [/a/b)

There is a determinism here which reflects the "determinism" inherent
in Orthodox Marxist theory. _ _ This "determinism" tends to be central to
our world-view as a social group - we the technocratic bourgeosie. ⌊ ⌋

This monograph argues that culture is not a substance which has a
fixed nat. ve; that culture is above all a social strategy for "inventing"
a social order; and constituting it in the mode required by the hegemonic
social grouping, by its status quo preserving world-view. "White" cultural
values are the expression of the social body organized in the middle class
mode, as relations of production, consumption and accumulation.

Wade Nobles' findings on the black family in San Francisco supports
the point we have made that the black family is not simply a different

family from the white middle class family but is the *ex*ppression of a different relation to aid a different conceptualization of the social body, of the social order.

In this respect, as we have argued, the compulsive *of* African cultures, their innovation in the arts and techniques Of constituting and perpetuating the <u>experience</u> of the social, their <u>representation</u> of the social in kinship terms, constituting the family, not over <u>against</u> the social body but as the micro-model of the social, met with the cultural compulsive of popular social groups, of popular ethics and aesthetics.

Hence as we have argued, what has been referred to as the "extended family" of blacks is not simply a variant of a form of the family, but rather the expression of a different mode of <u>social relations</u>, a different mode of distrubution, of representation of the Self and Other, the Self and the Social Body.

As Nobles reports:

" One of the most striking findings of this research is that in spite of the extreme urbanism and metropolitan isolation of San Francisco, the black families in this study revealed a close network of relationships between families not necessarily related by blood. This "family networking" in the black community, though being seriously eroded by the imperatives of urban life, has served as an unrecgonized cohesive force in the community and has been the basis of many services (i.e. child care, financial aid, counseling) which are otherwise unavailable to black people." [121 7

In other words, the popular mode, and the pervasively popular African mode of social relationships lead to acephalous institutions. These institutions depend on the persistence of a mode of social relations in which the self realizes its uniqueness by through its inter-subjective relation with the other - in which, as Nobles argues "homicide" is <u>experienced</u> as "suicide". Once this mode disintegrates, the institution dies with it. The <u>experience</u> of the social body is negated. Chaos reigns.

We should see then the imposition of family (kinship) terms on the social group as <u>a social strategy</u> - like the "blood brotherhood" the drinking of each other's blood - to reinvent the social in the context of the plantation bourgeoisie's efforts to atomize, individuate, homogenize and redivide the social so as to hassle it to perform a <u>purely</u> ' <u>productive function</u>; and to so reproduce bourgeois domination.

Nobles' findings, like Gutman's, with respect to the form of the black family should therefore be seen as an original African cultural pattern being ceaselessly reinvented as the alternative <u>social strategy</u> of a hard-pressed social group in the context of the relentless opposition of a dominant order. The tradition being carried on is the tradition of creative response, a response which then helps to constitute the social dynamics of the American situation; and to provide an alternative model of social relations not only for the black but for the American reality.

> "The special aspect of the "family networking" worth highlighting is the "elastic" nature of the family structurally. Our data suggest that the black family, essentially stretches to accomodate new members (i.e. non-blood relatives) into the network. The importance of these "social relatives" and/or para-kin is almost indistinguishable from biological and/or legal relatives."

Deleuze and Gua tar have examined the implications of the middle class nuclear family form, with its powerful Oedipal syndrome, in the context of the bourgeois mode of domination. It is important to note the bourgeois <u>reduction</u> of the original European concept of the "<u>family</u>" as a more wide-spread extended social group — in the seventeenth century for example in the context of the Christian Paternalist ethic, the family still included even the servants - is central to its social order, to its mode of social relations which <u>socializes</u> production, universalizing its scope, but must *privatize* (individual and group) <u>distribution</u>. To legitimate this contradiction it needed a family form which could "socialize" as prescribed ego-identity, one that . . . experienced itself as *sharply* separate from the Other and from the Social Body, with whom, if relations of accumulation - unequal exchange - were to be established, it had to negate relations of reciprocal exchange.

The Black and popular mode of <u>social relations</u> are based on relations of reciprocal exchange. It is this alternate mode of social relations which gives birth to black music - a music based on the call and response pattern which represents, in the aesthetic sphere, the reciprocal exchange, that parallels this mode of social relations. The oratory of a Martin Luther King, of a Malcolm X meets with the shouted responses of the audience. What is being constituted is the experiencing of the social body as in the church service, the cult, the carnival, the popular participatory social movements in the Sixties. King's <u>I Have a Dream</u> speech at the Washington March, (1963) constituted the experience that Ellison had represented in fiction long before it took place in fact. [ ].

The markings of an exclusive "mommy-daddy-me" identity which produced a rigid me in relation to a fixed other, are de-inscribed in the alternative black and popular tradition. What Nobles' calls ". _e flexibility" replaces fixity, rigidity. Each self can play the rule of the Other; each Other the role of the Self. The Self as an entity is replaced by the self as a strategy, a multiple self in relation to multiple Others. [ ]

All "racisms" depend on the rigid-fixing of the self -- whether as "white", as Aryan, as Zionist, as Arab, as black nationalist. As such all racisms are finally bourgeois. It is the bourgeois social order which needs the fixed rigid individualed, separated self - non-bourgeois racism are really ethnocentrisms or caste divisions which socially separate caste groups rather than individuals.

As Noble writes:

"...families which reflect the family networking concept would also express the importance (other times, equal importance) of persons, other than the biological parents in the lives of children...our data indicated that black parents were not, for instance, the sole agents of value transmission to their young... older siblings, cousins and other relatives joined in the teaching of value and other pragmatic skills...
In terms of interpersonal relationships none of the most striking qualities of black family life was the presence of multiple parentage... families in our study received help in rearing their children from other members of the family... The presence or expression of flexible roles and interchangeable role performers more tiian likely prepares the child to deal with varied situations and different types of people very early in life." [ ]

The different "representations" of the family group lead to a different conceptualization of the elderly as people of social value as distinct from rationalized conceptualization of the elderly as "refuse" once their production/consumption/accumulation days are over.

"Though the opinion of the wider society focuses on the uselessness and burden of the elderly, our research suggests that in black families, the elderly still have a viable and important role to play in family life." [ ]

This has important implications which serve to extend Wade Nobles' statement that either black families must destroy their humaneness i.e. their social forms to become more like white families or white families must become more like Black families. If we accept the argument that white families

equals the middle class form of the family related to a mode of social relations in which the family is represented as separate from the social body so that if can constitute the self as separate from the Other, setting in motion the conditions of possibility of one-sided accumulation - of wealth, love, power without reciprocal exchange; and that <u>Black</u> families equal the popular mode of social relations is which the family is represented and constituted as the micro-unit of the social, and the social is represented as the "family" constituting the self-in-a-relation with the Other, with the Social Body, thereby enabling reciprocal exchange - mutual aid, love, care reciprocally exchanged, grief shared etc. - then it is clear that at this historical conjuncture, with the disintegration and breakdown of the middle class social order, the black popular mode of social relations provides <u>an alternative model</u> <u>of social relations</u>.

The "disaster" area of modern black ghetto family life issues precisely from the inability of blacks as the bearers of popular cultural values to adjust to the incoherence and chaos of contemporary still hegemonic cultural values, yet values that are dangerously dysfunctional to social survival and creativity.

Recent research confirms this sharp contradictory experience of the socially marginalized black families of the ghettos:

> "The model of a cooperative life style built upon exchange and reciprocity... represents one dimension of the multi-valued system, the value-mosaic of the poor. The Black urban poor, assuming a cooperative life style, are simultaneously locked into an intimate ongoing bond with white culture and white values. Employees, social service agencies, mass-communication, television, advertising, and teachers and schools, continuously reinforce the value system of the traditional middle class white sector of American society. A single-family home, fine furnishing and good schools and occupational opportunities for children all constitute values poor Blacks share with mainstream society. These aspirations can only be realized with accompanying economic opportunity. Consequently, the poor have better opportunity to practice the behaviors associated with affluence." [p.275]

As Cross who quotes this finding, comments:

> "Thus the evolution of the urban poor Black single-parent household is more a function of the unique stresses and supports these families face in urban areas, rather than an outgrowth of a historically matrifocal culture, the problems of transition to life in cities, or the development of a culture of poverty. In short, the nemesis of Black life is not the Black family, it is the Black struggle with unemployment, racism, and a "containment" - oriented welfare." (p.241)

Cross goes on to summarize the findings of recent scholarship which indeed disprove the empirical fact of the Black family deviance, and reveal that

> "...from 1925 until 1970, the great majority of Black families
> have been intact, two-parent households...for the period in
> which most studies on Black identity have been conducted, the
> composition of the typical Black family was a two-parent house-
> hold embedded in a well-organized, cohesive, and supportive
> kinship system. 1925

This finding suggests that up until the 1970's, sustained poverty did not have the dramatic adverse effects on Black family composition that had once been assumed..." [1926]

This is an important point. Wade Nobles is also aware of the new quality of psychological destruction that ghetto blacks are experiencing, but in the face of the intensive cultural penetration occasioned by the electronic media, the fact that cultural nationalism postulates the sense of the social group   i.e. the sense of the self as linked to the social group as an African survival rather than as a historical invention, transposition, of an African cultural concept of the social, leads to two related errors The first is to yield to despair: the empirical evidence of the spiritual genocide of blacks, - physical in the case of young blacks who turn on each other, and on their own people, and that are shot by the po·   - seems to suggest that the "African survival" has disappeared.

The second is, like Orthodox Marxists, who by ignoring the empirical evidence of concrete division, exhort "black and white to unite" - to exhort blacks to hold on to the original African "family" values, in the face of the empirical evidence of the disintegration not only of black families, but of the supposedly stable white nuclear family.

The oversight of the cultural nationalist position in general is not to see that the "family" form was but one form of the black popular culture's reinvention of the social in the context of a long and sustained struggle against the hegemonic order. The African concept of the social was not merely continued passively but used as a form of resistance - a reinvention of the social body in different forms - church groups, fraternal organizations, a community linked by musical cultural expression, mass movements.
The African concept of the social was reinvented as a popular mode of social relations - a mode of social relations in whose reality micro-cultural inter-action had central validity - over against the order of bourgeoisie for whom

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the social body only legitimately existed insofar as it constituted relations of production.

The continued hegemony of the bourgeoisie is at present - as it has always been linked-to the expansion of production for production sake. At this historical conjuncture, the stable nuclear family has become dysfunctional to the productive systems - which increasingly needs atomized consumers as it once needed atomized _piezas_.

As unskilled labour becomes redundant to the cycle of production and consumption, the ghetto blacks socially produced as unskilled are herded into ghetto reservations- and condemned to eventual extinction - like the American Indians - within the logic of the dominant cultural values.

The socially marginalized have now been made economically marginalized whilst the circumstances of family disintegration amidst widespread unemployment have reached their peak. The chain of innovations by which blacks had reconstituted new social identities, new social bodies, has reached the limit of its counter cultural underlife existence. Either blacks will be destroyed or blacks will be compelled to impel the social transformation of a chaotic and disintegrating social order.

That blacks have behind them a long tradition of social resistance to the productive reason of the bourgeoisie; that after each rupture they have found ways and means of reinventing the social group - the social body _____ , is a fact that should be central to the constitution of a theoretical framework for social revolution. That the original African cultures of origin were inventive precisely in the social arts, and that these original world-views have persisted in the modality of black music and its manifold variants diffusing into the wider society the apprehension of an alternative social order - as Sandy's "root" had given Douglas the apprehension of an alternative social order, of another mode of social being - should also be central to any theoretical framework for social revolution.

Wade Nobles makes the point that we "are clearly at a juncture wherein our next response will determine if Blacks change into white families or if white families should be more like black _families_". Earlier on he had noted the differences between African and European world views stressing the role flexibility - older children acted like parents to other children, as well as the relation of the individual to the group, a relation of "weness".

But it would be wise to see the difference between the <u>individuated</u> family group, separate from the social group of the bourgeois social order, and the family as a form of social grouping central both to African and to popular cultures. In other words both in the culture of origin and in the non-middle class circumstances, blacks tended to reinvent the social using family terms, rather than to reduce the social and the experience of the social to the nuclear family group of daddy-mommy-me.

The metamorphosis .. from being the normative African cultures to the popular unofficial cultural expression of the United States is central to the constitution of black culture as the alternative culture of America if its popular modality.

The insights of Wade Nobles are insights gained from his cultural nation-alist position. Yet the cultural nationalist position can itself be trapped in some aspects of the bourgeois code. Thus the <u>African and Euro-American world-views</u> are presented as deterministic world-views which condition their bearers rather than as world views <u>created</u> by the differing strategies of social groups out of their conflict and transculturation, resistance and accomodation.

As the orthodox Marxists homogenize and autonomize the economic, dis-placing the social, so the central naturalists tend to autonomize the cultural. But world-views are essentially social constructs related to the mode of social relations, to the clash and interaction of social groups. This insight has been a central illuminating insight of Marxist thought.

Both white and black Americans metamorphosed their original cultures to cope with their new social environment, selecting different elements, then, in the new reality. In the new circumstances Euro-American cultural explosion would be essentially middle class in its normative modality.

The heretical implication of black culture lies in the fact that African cultures of origin were not only retained, but were transformed in the dynamics of a new social situation as they ceased being the <u>normative</u> cultural expres-sions of tribal groupings and became the unofficial popular expressions of a new socially marginalized group - the natives in the system. Constituted as both an ethnic and a social culture, as both black and popular, universal and indigenous, it was to become the alternative culture of United states in its popular modality.

The cultural nationalist code reduces the duality, representing black culture as an "ethnic" culture only.

If Frazier was to define blacks as a group socially produced by American circumstances and therefore a social group, cultural nationalists were to insist on the cultural ethnicity of blacks. The insights of both were to be limited by a parallel oversight, each missing the conjoined ethnic and social dimensions of the black experience; and the dialectical relation between the dual identity.

The revindication of the "ethnicity" of the black group functions therefore in a dual capacity. On the one hand the "ethnic" revindication of black identity leads black scholars like Wade Nobles to the deconstruction of the norm/deviant theoretical strategy of the dominant scholarship.

Thus, Wade Nobles in another paper argues that like a plant," the Black family in America has been transplanted and...the root of this plant is without question African. As a consequence of the transplantation, the fruit of the plant reflects the ecological nourishment offered by the new host cultures or environment.

In terms of the scientific environment, Euro-American culture has almost consistently defined the experiences of and within the Black families as deviant, abnormal, and/or destructive (of: Pettigrew, 1964: Rainwater, 1966). Most if not all of the research coming out of this community makes the deviancy analysis because Euro-American scholars believed that the culureless Blacks had no other options but to mimic white family systems. This deviancy is, therefore, a kind of artifact created by comparing African families to Euro-American families with a Euro-American yardstick." []D2g

On the other hand, by confining the black experience to an ethnic definition,- i.e. African families - Noble's formulation enables the thereotical strategy by which the new scholarship attempts to "reduce" the blacks to one ethnic groups amongst others.

Ethnic- but some ethnics are more equal than others,Moynihan and Glazer would at first have recourse to the "cultureless void" thesis when, in the context of their "immigrant paradigm" they attempted to deal with the different social reality of blacks. At first they represented the Negro as cultureless:

"...it is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as
other ethnic groups viewed themselves because -and this is
the key to much in the Negro world- the Negro is only an
American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture
to guard and protect. He insists that the white world deal
with his problems, because... he is so much the product of
America... " [. 3] (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963) *[illegible handwriting]*

In a later edition of the book, Glazer replaces the culturelsss thesis
with the lack of cultural origin outside America: Glazer explains that he
was wrong - blacks do have 'values and culture' but that, *[illegible overwritten text]*

"...Negro values and culture were so completely American in
origin, that Negroes, as against other groups of foreign
origin, had no strong incentives to create schools to preserve
a foreign language, hospitals and old age homes to give comfort
to those raised in a foreign culture, or even.to develop retail
stores to serve a distinctly foreign market." [. '] *(1030)*

The point to note here is that immigrant ethnic groups of "foreign"
and recent origin are being constituted as a norm. It is presupposed that
their "success story" legitimates the immigrant model as the normative
American model. The representation of "Negroes" as lack - of incentives to
create schools etc. - imposes the model of what Ogbu defines as an immigrant
minority on a quite-different minority, a caste-minority.

The caste minority social situation of blacks which lead as Ogbu points
out to entirely different social strategies for survival is, homogenized to
an entirely different social situation [/o,]. The immigrant social situation
is constituted as the norm - and in the context of the norm, the black social
situation is "constitued" as puzzingly deviant; as a "failure" on the part
of Blacks to do as the norm did - and does.

Thus Glazer argues that the fact that "...Negroes saw themselves as
American" did inhibit to some degree the development of a fully elaborated
set of strong organizations along the lines of other groups. But argues
Glazer, a "conscious awareness of foreign origin based on the reality of a
foreign culture" is not the only factor in the 'establishment of a strong
set of social organization." *(1032)*

We note here that the ethnicity paradigm assumes that the solution
to the social problems of America lies in "a strong set of social organiza-
tions". The empirical fact ^(that) in the context of the pluralist ethos, immigrant

[left margin handwriting: reification of access to the model]

minorities protect and forward their interests by these social organizations
is made into a prescription. The point is now to prove that what we did
even blacks can do. Hence Glazer goes on to argue that "foreign origins" is
by no means absolutely essential" to the establishment of a strong set of
social organizations since the Mormons had been "created out of completely
American origins." The Mormons prove that "foreign language and culture is
no requirement for very strong social organization". In fact,

> "Out of American origins, one can create a distinctive sub-
> culture which generates the need for its own organization,
> to guard and protect it. This has certainly happened as a
> result of 300 years of Black American history, and could
> serve as sufficient basis for strong organization, regard-
> less of the contribution of African origins." [   ]

There are several unexamined presuppositions here. First, the presup-
position of black culture as a sub- rather than as a counter-culture. Two,
that "culture" is an artifact - cultura culturata - which one guards and pro-
tects - rather than a dynamic process, a putting into play - cultura culturans.
Once again the "immigrant minority paradigm" is imposed on the altogether dif-
ferent black experience.

The third presupposition is that the black problem of social and economic
marginalization is to be solved by the immigrant solution. Governmental policies
will therefore be based on the attempt to "make" blacks "fit" the immigrant
model, and to exhort blacks to "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps"
as the immigrants allegedly had done.

The fourth presupposition - and the most central - is that "the African
origins" of black culture is irrelevant whether,it is implied, these origins
exist or not. It is *here* that the world view of this social group which
advocates a normative pluralism as its social strategy which is to say a
hierarchical pluralism based on a ethnicity code, most comes into conflict
with the theoretical implications of black culture and the black experience.

Robert Paul Wolff has pointed to the central weakness of pluralism as
a social strategy; a pluralism that,

> "by portraying society as an aggregate of human communities
> rather than as itself a human community equally rules out
> a concern for the general good in practice by encouraging
> a politics of interest group pressures in which there is
> no mechanism for the discovery and expression of the common
> good." [   ]

George Jackson too has criticized this pluralism,

"Their philosophy concerning government and economics has
an underlying tome of selfishness, possessiveness, and
greediness because their character is made up of these
things...They cannot understand that from each according to
to his needs is the only way men can live together without
chaos."   1035

and over against this has opposed what he sees as the black cultural compul-
sive.

"Rather I've always strained to see the indivisible thing cutting
across the artificial barricades which have been erected to an
older section of our brains, back to the mind of the primitive
commune that exists in all blacks." [1031]

It is important however to see that the pluralism being advocated and
represented by the immigrant paradigm of Moynihan and Glazer is a normative
pluralism , one that has existed in a conflictual hostility with another
form of pluralism already latent in the American reality.

Normative pluralism is essentially a bourgeois pluralism one based on
homogenizing cultural norms, and centered on a hierarchical arrangement of
plural groups, allowing for relations of accumulation between groups, pro-
ducing some groups as of more social value than others. Normative pluralism
therefore needs to reinscribe genuine ethnic differences as oppositions. Thus
a white skin is not simply different from a black skin. Rather a black skin
is the deviant to the white skin represented as the norm.

It is in the context of an analysis of the implications of normative
pluralism that we can see the role of the theoretical formulation of the
cultureless black: and the role of the latest variant in the myth of the
cultureless black i.e. black genetic inferiority. Both variants serve as
social inscriptions which legitimate exploitation and social hierarchy
in the context of an egalitarian creed. When skin colour and the concept
of race sustained social divisions in the labour force, the oversight of
the black cultural tradition in the New World, and the pervasive cliche
that blacks ain't got no culture served to sustain the rip-off. But now
that skill versus lack of skill has become the form in which divison is
to be perpetuated, then intellectual formulation which divides the sheep
from the goats, the "skilled" technological center i of the system, from

the unskilled marginal subordinates, inscribes the difference in I.Q. Whilst
the smart ethnic from the ghetto "makes" it, the unsmart blacks are supposed
to accept their innate genetic inferiority. Hence the social validity of the
Jensen/Shockley formulations. Anthony Wilden comments on this use of intellec-
tual theory as a new form of social inscription:

> "One can find innumerable instances of the use of the term
> "difference" in such a way as to conceal an ideological
> commitment to social oppositions imposed from the top down.
> The most obvious example occurs in the current use of the
> real genetic differences between human beings, but in a
> linear, quantitative and one-dimensional fashion which pro-
> jects the liberal assumption of egalitarianism, away from
> rhe real differences between classes and races into an
> assumed egalitarianism of the environment. Both Ernst Mayr...
> and Jensen... assume variations in people (correctly) and
> uniformity in the environment (incorrectly). By reducing
> all qualitative differences to a quantitative measure of
> performance in a society tending towards its own destruc-
> tion, they effectively attempt to reduce real political
> questions about the quality of life in the United States
> to a new form of original sin (the inherent quality of
> "giftedness to perform")   /o3 ?

The suicide and joblessness of the blacks in the Harlem Ghettoes
expresses the effectiveness of this new inscription. They are represented
as expendable not now because of the colour of their skin, or of their lack
of culture but rather because of their low I.Q. The larger society including
blacks who have made it, are made to accept the fact that those without grace,
i.e., genetic intelligence are not really discriminated against. Wilden
goes on:

> "The subtlety of Jensen's assumption of uniformity and homo-
> geneity is such that he at first appears to be accounting for
> environmental differences. But what his work carefully and
> deliberately ignores is the positive feedback effect of power,
> economic status, and class in a system of institutionalized
> racism, where the psychological costs of conformity to its
> values produce fleeting improvised people and Uncle Toms of
> all hues.... The panoply of scientific rigor masks the real
> context-physical, social and economic--of the relationship
> between tester and testee, mediated as it is by unspoken
> white values."   /o3)

The tests which apparently "measure" ability - function effectively to
inscribe the tested with the marks of inferiority, internalized. [o3]

As Mr. Covey <u>niggerbroke</u> blacks into accepting their black skins i.ot
as a sign of a binary opposition white/Negro, man-/not quite a man, so the
Shockley-Jensen, and the battery of testers inscribe blacks - those who "pass"
the test, as well as those who don't - to accept the binary opposition of
white/generic endowment/Negro - lack of genetic endowment.

The Moynihan/Glazer inscription, more liberal, is more subtle. The
inscription here is Ethnic/not-quite/Ethnic but can be helped by the social
engineers to achieve the fullness of "ethnicity" that they lack. And the
concept of "ethnic purity" - as used by Carter, becomes the modern respectable
term for the old white, deep-seated pervasive racism.

For an outsider exposed for the first time to the full weight of Ameri-
can everyday racism the initial response is like that of Genet's who wrote in
1970 after his first visit to the United States:

> "...for what I did not know so intensely was the hatred of
> the white American for the black, a hatred so deep that I
> wonder if every white man in this country, when he plants
> a tree, doesn't see <u>Negroes</u> hanging from its branches...
> We have known for a long time now that the black man is,
> from the start, natively, the guilty man."

But Baldwin's letter to his nephew goes to the heart of the American
dilemma. The black is produced as "natively guilty" in the American natural
system because he serves the function of metaphysical other - the fixed symbol
which alone holds together the collection of aggregated groups, all competing
for their several interests. The black, produced materially and symbolically
as the ultimate social other, is the condition of possibility of the function-
ing of the normatively pluralist system of the American national system - a
system based on a structural law of value. The black has to be natively
guilty if a white norm is to be constituted as "natively innocent" i.e. as
the norm. For all groups to find a relative place in the hierarchy of social
value and to relate to each other as relative terms, the term of highest value,
the WASP must be opposed by a term of non-value - the Black.

It is in this context that the apparently tolerant "ethnicity" code
attempts to reduce the <u>social</u> differences produced by an unjust social mode
of distribution, to fixed "ethnic" differences.

Difference represented as opposition is then solidified along ethnic
lines which now allegedly constitute fixed i.e. caste boundaries.

Racism is inherent to normative pluralism as a social and political economic theory. All races are equal but the socially stronger are far more so. The caste system accepts the society as being "naturally hetero-genous", accepts each ethnic group as a "natural species"; accepts the divi-sion of the society as "natural". The plural society is therefore held together by the principle of divisiveness. The "natural" acceptance of the "natural" interests of each group, excludes the concept of the prin-ciple of the common good. Glazer and Moynihan argue that "black defines, not a race, but a cultural group"; in other words an ethnicity. They then imply that the solution to the black problem, is for the blacks to develop and strengthen their ethnic group feeling. While they argue that "ethnic divisiveness" should not be fostered, they conclude that "the reality of group existence and group attachment" should be accepted as long as it does not become the "sole basis of public decisions." Their solution to the black problem is to make the blacks one more legitimate interest group within the prevailing pluralist philosophy of America. Although the black is only "a product of America" they argue he can form his group too, even if his ex-perience is only the American experience. He can then insist that the "white world" deal with his problems since they are not his problems but everyone's And Moynihan and Glazer breathe a pious hope that,

> "Once they have become everyone's perhaps they will see that
> they are his own too." [ ] (cited)

The racist arrogance of this remark cannot be separated from the logic of the acceptance of the immigrant paradigm. If one imposes the immigrant code on the black experience, if one extrapolates from the immigrant experience as the only experience, then is is impossible not to interpret the sustained poverty of blacks as an inherent incapacity of their group.

Once, however, we note that the presupposition which equates the caste-like minority experience of blacks - caste experience which,producing them as the socially marginalized group, would constitute them as the "natives" of the system, the permanent "underclass" is untenable, that the presupposition which equates blacks as a group with Mormons is even more intolerable - Mormons were not socially stigmatized by societal mechanisms - then we are able to see that the constitution of the homogenizing ethnicity code of the normative pluralist approach plays an imperative strategic role in the social dynamics of the contemporary American reality.

The representation of a <u>normative pluralism</u> as the desired norm for the solution of the specificity of American society is a representation designed to "write-out" and to avert the potentiality of a different mode of pluralism - a popular pluralism, in which differentiation is not opposition; in which unity is the ground of multiplicity, and multiple identity the condition of possibility of unity.

This alternative mode of pluralism, a popular mode of pluralism - as distinct from the bourgeois mode of normative pluralism exists as a submerged and latent societal expression in the American reality. It has been intimately linked to what Herrshoff calls the indigenous forms of insubordination, as each group from the indigenous American Indian blacks to the farmers, to women to labourer, to youth, resisted the differing forms of social domination, constituting themselves as social groups by and through their struggle against the <u>plural modes of domination</u> based on sex, class, regional/occupational differentiation - generations etc.

The black struggle based on "<u>race</u>" would constitute the central struggle, as the central opposition of the society, the opposition/differentiation which constituted the majority population of the United States as a socially dominant group; producing their primary identity - except in moments of insubordination-as "white", and therefore as settlers in relation to the Negro as "native".

The plural social movement of the Sixties, constituted a moment when the majority "white" reactionary identity was swept aside as women, youth, Chicanos, Asians, liberal "whites", fought the dominant system revindicating their identities as women, youth/students, hippies, beatniks, Asians, liberals; and thereby for a brief few years, swept along by the impetus of the black and anti-Vietnam movement shattering the imprisoning "white" code as, indeed, the abolitionists revindicating their primary identity as Christians - rather than as whites - had done.

This monograph argues that the originality of the social movements of the Sixties lay precisely in the surfacing of the submerged latent popular mode of pluralism that exists within the American reality - a mode of <u>pluralism</u> that carries with it the imperative of social and political decentralization and of direct group participation in their "own" socialization. Normative pluralism based on unequal social relations allows for the tolerance of different groups only as long as all groups are homogenized by the "normative cultural values" of the bourgeoisie. Popular pluralism enables decentralization

precisely because social groups participate in the constitution and represen-
tation of the collective common good - a collective common good that is the
expression of <u>reciprocal social relations</u> in which the self realizes itself
in its uniqueness through its experiencing of the social body: and the social
group affirms itself in its specific difference/identity, through its reali-
zation/experience of the social whole.

This is the popular mode of social relations which underlies the popular
ethic/aesthetic that Mikhail Bakhtin has so brilliantly analysed. This is
the mode of social relations which has given rise to the sustained non-
bourgeois expression of black culture.

A popular mode of social relations is held together by a mode of reci-
procal distribution of the social product, a mode of distribution, which
relates to the representation and experience of the relation of the self to
the other, of the self to the social body. When in the Ibo cultures of Africa
the killing of a kinsman was "represented" and culturally constituted as a
"sin against the Earth," the killing of the kinsman was experienced as the
killing of the self. [   ] The reciprocal mode of distribution - in all tra-
ditional societies, the social techniques which guarded against the gross
material inequality of modern society were highly developed - ∟   ⌐ constitu-
ted the social praxis which maintained both the overall unity of social
groups - and the specifity of social groups; ∟ the overall unity of the
social group and the specificity of the self. That is to say the reciprocal
mode of distribution, ⌐ ⌐ ⌐ ⌐   ⌐⌐⌐   ⌐⌐ - a mode of distribution
dependent on the mode of exchange that prevailed prior to the *Ounces* trade -
constitutes social relations in which the realization of specificity is ex-
perienced through that social interaction which depends upon the reciprocal
realization of the other.

But this reciprocal mode of distribution makes relations of accumulation
of wealth and power, impossible. The institution of the *Ounces* trade essen-
tially meant the negation of reciprocal social relations and the institution-
alization of relations of accumulation legitimized by the concept of "fair"
exchange, and the ethics of distributive justice. [⌐ ⌐ ⌐)

The Sixties marked a crisis which as Robert Paul Wolff argues, now
confronts America with the problem of the common good rather than with mere distri-
butive justice. "Normative pluralism," which legitimated the "just" share

of the social product which each group should receive, has come upon its
own limits. America Wolff argues must,

> "give up the image of society as a battleground of competing
> groups and formulate an ideal of society more exalted than
> the mere acceptance of opposed interests and customs. There
> is a need for a new philosophy of community, beyond pluralism
> and beyond toelrance." [ ]

This monograph argues that the new philosophy exists in the _praxis_
of different social groups and is specifically carried and implicit in the
cultural expression of the Ultimate Social Other of the American system.
As the term constituting social non-value, the Black has had to constitute
an alternate mode of <u>social relations</u> that negated the bourgeois law of
value.   As the group excluded from the concept of the "white" national
good, the black had to redefine the concept of the notion of the "nat l"
good, by challenging the social order which excluded him by homogenizing his
specificity into a category of the not-quite American.

To revindicate the specificity of his uniqueness, he had to recipro-
cally recognize the uniqueness of the Other. Thus the black social movement
of the Sixties acted as the catalyst for the multiple social movements, all
demanding in the words of Fanon, "human behavior from the Other" - the Norm.
To demand this human behavior each group had to humanize itself - the middle
class black had to experience himself as part of a social body, black, the
as part of a social body - woman.
middle class woman. The "ideal" of the common good existed for a few brief
years by and through the reciprocal praxis of the humanization of the self
and Other through the experiencing of non-bourgeois models of social relations,
of reciprocal social relations rather than relations of accumulation.

What we have tried to show is that both the African origins of the New
World black, his cultural legacy, plus the social dynamics of his American
experience, involve him in a principle of social organization which demands
as its imperative, a totality of conception, <u>a conception of the common good</u>.
Within this context, the group, committed to this common good, competes, not
each for its own interest, but each how better to validate, to actualize in
practice this concept of the common good. The group is thereby constituted
as in the cult, the bands, the sets, the Church, on the basis of a <u>common</u>
<u>collective endeavor</u>; an endeavor which realizes not only the project of the

normative group, but constitutes the framework on the basis on which each group may reciprocally realize itself, affirm itself - since the collective endeavor - as in carnival and in Junkanu - is the societal project of self-actualization by and through the experience of the social whole. This collective endeavor is only realizable within a reciprocal mode of social relations, a popular mode of social relations.

To quote Harold Cruise,

"The Negro rebellion in America is destined to usher in a new
era in human relations and to add a thoroughly new conception
of the meaning and form and content of social revolution. In
order to make social progress the world as a whole must move
towards unification within the democratic framework of a human
national, ethnic, or racial variety...In America however, we
have an unsolved problem of a unique type of semi-colonialism.
The Negro rebellion comes at this time to give voice to the long
suppressed ethnic consciousness of the American Negro as he rises
to the task to throw off his semi-colonial yoke. But this Negro
rebellion, mistakenly called by some the Negro Revolution, is
not revolutionary because it projects no new ideas beyond what
have already been ratified in the democratic philosophy of the
American Revolution...Hence we have projected the new concept
of Cultural Revolution. We maintain that this concept affords
the intellectual means, the conceptual framework, the theoretical
link that ties together all the disparate, conflicting and con-
tending trends within the negro movement as a whole, in order
to transform the movement that can 'shape actions to ideas, to
fit the world into the theoretical frame'...What has this to do
with the Negro struggle for racial equality and why should the
American Negro assume the initiative for such a task? Because
the American Negro is the only ethnic group in America who
has the need, the motivation, and the historical prerogative
to demand such." [1044)

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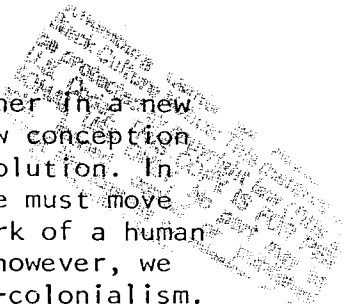
CONCLUSION

"Can a mule sing?"

(Big Bill Bronzy)

"Folk music?...Why daddy, I don't know no other kind
of music but folk music. I ain't never heard a horse
sing a song."

(Louis Armstrong)   (104)

"Of how many American artists can it be said, that they formed
our century? I am not sure about our writers, painters, our
concert composers. But I am certain Louis Armstrong has formed
it."

(Martin Williams)   (103)

We end this monograph at the point where we began - the concept of the
"cultural void" and the persistance with which black culture in the imperative
social fiction of the United States has been seen "not to exist" - or to exist
only in stereotypical form as the disfigured minstrel song and dance man.

Lawrence Levine was also struck by the persistance of this misinter-
pretation and concludes his study of black cultural expression with an over-
view of the "invisibility" of black culture within the United States. He
however - and here is our central point of disagreement - interprets this
oversight - by quoting a poetic metaphor from Robert Louis Stephenson,
as an oversight generic and common to the human condition. [   ] This
monograph argues instead that this sustained oversight is ideological, and
a central imperative of American culture in its bourgeois mode - as it is
of Western culture in its bourgeois mode.

Jacques Derrida has dissected what he terms the "white mythology"
central to some aspects of Western theoretical formulation. This "white
mythology" corresponds to the social strategy of representing bourgeois
reality - in its white representation - as the Single Reality, and all others
as its Lack. The representation of Western Culture as the Single Culture,
the norm of culture is conjoined to the representation of African (and other
traditional) cultures as the non-norm; and of black popular American culture
as non-existent.

We argue that from Sepúlveda on this "white mythology" has played an
important role - that of the social incorporation, across classes, of the
core peoples of the world-system. This strategy of social incorporation
of the Spaniards, of the Pure White - depended on the social marginalization
of the homunculi - Sepúlveda's Indians, as-little-men, and of Long's negro-as
an intermediate species between ape and man -

The representation of the Other as the metaphysically inferior, created
the experience of equality for the Spaniard, the Pure White, the equality of
equally participating in the norm of human, of Western, of American social,
being.

Thus the point at which we began this thesis - with the Congolese waning
against the substitution of the word "negro" - social differentiation - for
"prieto" - natural differentiation - can be seen as the point of departure for
the conjoined processes of the social incorporation of large masses of the people
of the core countries as the social norm - as whites - and of the marginalization

of blacks as global social deviants. This dual process would be central to the functioning of the bourgeois law of value - a law of value which would legitimate a global, universal social production of wealth and a partial - national, racial private/individual/group expropriation/accumulation of this globally-produced wealth. The negrofication of the Black and the "blancofica-tion" of the whites were central social strategies in the bourgeois mode of production and destruction.

Thus when Lawrence Levine summarizes the examples of the long and per-sistent oversight of black culture - as we did earlier - we can "read" these formulations as a part of that sustained process by which the black is socially produced as "deviant", so that the categories of norm and deviant can be sym-bolically represented. The psychological determinism of contemporary scholar-ship is merely the modern enabling form of the Edward Long exercise of consti-tuting a fixed boundary between Pure White and Negro. The natural determinism of a Long would be carried on by more modern variants of the earlier determinism natural - genetic endowment - or social i.e. psychological determinism.

Thus Levine quotes Kardiner and Ovesey (1941) who argued that the eman-cipated freedman brought nothing out of slavery but lack in comparison to an implicit social norm. He was,

> "quite green in his semi-acculturated state in the new one. He
> did not know his way about and had no intrapsychic defenses -
> no pride, no group solidarity, no tradition. This was enough
> to cause panic. The marks of his previous status was still
> upon him - socially, psychologically and emotionally..." [.94]

But as more recent scholarship has shown - and as we have argued in this monograph, the panic that the post-slavery black experienced was a socially-produced panic. The mechanisms of the Post-Reconstruction period were mechanisms designed to produce new modes of inscription - now that the slave/free inscription - had been legally and constitutionally removed. Social and legal apartheidt-institutionalized terrorism - added to the legally prohibited but socially sanctioned physical terrorism of the white vigilante, provided the new marks of inscription which enabled intra-class white social incorporation on the basis of a new mode of black social marginaliza-tion.

The legal and physical violence of the system would be paralleled by the theoretical violence, all of which carried out the central social stra-tegy of the deviant inscription of the black - his leper-like enclosure in a tabooed social circle.

Lawrence Levine, after his extensive study of the black social reality was struck by the insistence with which most social scientists, including E. Franklin Frazier "saw" the black as socially stripped of all cultural characteristics. As he comments:

"The assumption that the African slaves had been wholly denuded of their traditional culture and emerged from bondage in almost a cultureless state, led to the easy conclusion that during the century of freedom the Negro had become what Horace Mann Bond called a "quintessential American" and what Gunnar Myrdal and his associates termed an "exaggerated American"." (127-1)

He also notes the persistent inscription of the "negro" as deviant even by liberal scholars.

"Examining Negro life in the United States, Myrdal found it characterized not by any degree of cultural distinctiveness, but by unhealthy deviance. 'The instability of the Negro family...the emotionalism in the Negro church, the insufficiency and unwholesomeness of Negro recreational activity, the plethora of Negro sociable organizations, the narrowness of interests of the average Negro, the provincialism of his political speculation, the high Negro crime rate, the culti-vation of the arts to the neglect of other fields, (italics mine) superstition, personality difficulties..." (1050)

All of these "characteristic traits" converged to create Myrdal's italicized assertion:

"In practically all its divergencies, American Negro culture is not something independent of general American culture. It is a distorted development, or a pathological condition, of the general American condition." [ ]

There could be no more classic example of definitions which constitute the middle class reality as norm, and which, from that normatively con-stituted perspective then "sees" the Other as Deviant.

Yet there is a paradox here. Myrdal notes the blacks "cultivation" of the arts - even though he condemns this ,preoccupation. There is a central difference here between the blacks and all other Americans - is the widely diffused, this difference native of black popular cultural micro-activity that was on the one hand to fuel the American mass popular music industry; and on the other hand to act as a catalyst to stimulate the submerged popular creativity of other groups which had been suppressed in the context of the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie.

That the arts are cultivated - as sports are now cultivated - to the neglect of anything else by Blacks - points clearly to the social dynamics of   1

    ¿ of the situation in which, at first with the arts - and later with sports- black popular participation did not have to face the societal barriers to self- expression as they did in other areas.

Levine makes this point by implication when he concludes his detailed and valuable research with the conclusion that:

> "From the first African captives, through the years of slavery, and into the present century black Americans kept alive impor- tant strands of African consciousness and verbal art in their humor, songs, dance, speech, tales, games, folk-beliefs and aphorisms. They were able to do this because these areas of culture are often the most persistent, because whites tended not to interfere with many of the culture patterns which quickly became associated in the white mind with Negro inferiority or at least peculiar Negro racial traits, and because in a number of areas there were important cultural parallels and their wide room for syncretism between Africans and Europeans." [ル5ル] (Italics mine)

Levine notes perceptively that the social delegitimation of black cultural activity - as we have seen that deligitimation was the result of the hegemonic societal representation of black culture as a non-culture - was one of the reasons why no barriers were put to black cultural expression.

In other words black micro-cultural activity could indeed serve as a further mark of inscription, of deviance. Since this cultural creativity was a popular creativity that provided the conditions of its own dynamics - middle class black cultural activity met with the same road blocks that blacks encountered in the economic and educational fields - it marked blacks off from other groups.

For here we disagree with Levine - the areas of culture that are supposed- ly most persistent disappeared in the case of other ethnic groups, except insofar as they guarded these songs   , protecting them as   cultural artefacts rather than transmuting them into a cultural process. Blacks were the only group who were to be involved in a sustained popular cultural micro-activity which meta- morphosed a former culture into a new one - one that was at one and the same time "ethnic" and American.

Here we return to the paradox of Myrdal's insistence on the American quality of black culture. The fact that he sees it as a pathological and distorted deviance

from normative American culture is merely his middle class interpretation of the fact that black culture represented and constituted an alternative American mode of culture - a popular American cultural mode as contrasted to normative American culture in its bourgeois modality. If WASP culture, the cultural expression of ethnic Anglo-Saxons had come to constitute the social matrix of the normative American cultural expression in its middle class - modality, Black culture the ethnic culture of blacks has some to constitute the social matrix of the non-normative American culture in its popular modality.

If Myrdal defines black culture as pathologically American Lawrence Levine has dedixated his impressive study to revindicatory black culture from its pathological inscription, and therefore insists on its "ethnic" equality with other "ethnic cultures". Thus he attacks the cultural word thesis not only of Myrdal, but of Frazier, of Moynihan and Glazer, and implicitly condemns the position of Roger Abrahams who,

> "...as late as 1970...could question whether Negroes should be considered a minority group in the sense that Jewish, Italian, and Mexican-Americans were." [ ]
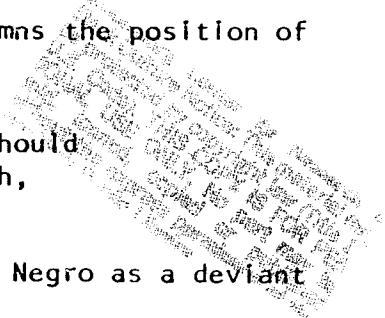
Levine goes on to give the argument of those who defined the Negro as a deviant minority, as not-quite a minority.

> "While these latter groups had a sense of identity apart from that of the dominant culture, and felt their cultural distinctiveness threatened by the possibility of acculturation into the American mainstream, black Americans "in accepting the white stereotype and the American dream, constantly see themselves as outsiders waiting to get in." ( )

Levine then refers to the no-history thesis which accompanied the no-culture thesis, quoting Stanford Lyman who,

> "compared Negroes to people living in a wilderness from which there were no roads going either forward or backward." [ ]

According to Lyman,

> "The black has been deprived of his history, and with this deprivation of his history not only the past but also the future is wiped out: he has neither known predecessors to provide tradition nor unambiguously defined successors to instill promise...Such is the conscious world of the negro." [ ]

Against this bleak picture, Levine's insistence on what we may call the "ethnic cultural equality" of the black is a step forward. Indeed his careful

and thorough documentation of black cultural expression - the most comprehensive carried out so far - and very much in the tradition of John Blassingames' Slave Community - owe much to the black cultural nationalism of the Sixties and its consequent effect of revitalizing the long submerged "ethnic awareness" of formerly apparently homogenized "white" groups.

His attempt to correct the "write-out" of black cultural history - a write-out we argue, central to the constitution of the black as the Deviant Other - is laudable. His book is a most valuable addition to black and American cultural history.

This monograph must however take issue with what we see as a variant of the imposition of an ethnic norm, of a minority code on the black experience and on black cultural history. We recognize the generosity of the effort that he makes to prove that blacks too have "a culture to guard and protect"; that blacks are another "ethnic" strand, of equal validity to the others - that blacks are not deviant with respect to a presupposed ethnic norm. As he writes:

> "Black relationships to the larger culture was complex and multi-
> dimensional. Again and again oral expressive culture reveals a
> pattern of simultaneous acculturation and revitalization; a
> pattern which suggests that the old notions of acculturation
> may need further modification. Blacks shared with a number
> of ethnic minorities a deep ambivalence concerning the degree
> to which they desired to enter the mainstream of white American
> culture because they shared with these other groups a strong
>   urge which continually drew them back to central
> aspects of their traditions even as they were surging outwards
> into the larger society." [133]

Levine goes on to interpret the militant cultural nationalism the Sixties - a cultural nationalism which mobilized black culture in its revolutionary assault on the concept of "white" culture as the Single Culture, "white" reality as the "Single Reality" - in categories that whilst applicable to ethnic cultures of "white" Americans, who experience cultural rather than racial/social/cultural marginalization - are reductive when applied to the black situation. Once again the ideological comparison with a presupposed norm leads to theoretical distortions.

As Levine argues, implicitly referring to the Sixties:

"It was precisely because periods of increased opportunity and mobility posed the greatest threat to whole layers of black cultural tradition that such periods often witnessed important manifestations of cultural revitalization. The black experience may help us to further re-evaluate the entire image and theory of the melting pot. It may help us to understand the process by which many different groups in the United States have managed to maintain a remarkably independent though only partially separate existence." [ʔ{ʃ}]
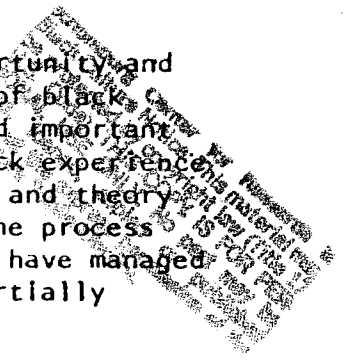
But the image and theory of the melting pot was partly true in one respect. All _ethnic_ Americans whose skins were white had been, - in relation to the racially marginalized Blacks-homogenized into being _white_, experiencing their _whiteness_, as their _primary identity_, the identity which constituted them socially and naturally as Americans; which incorporated them as the Social Norm, in one central aspect. That they were relative social deviants with respect to the WASP norm was secondary to the fact that they were racially and socially the norm with _respect to blacks_.

Until the blacks moved out of their social place in the Sixties, "white ethnicity" was something that one lost as quickly as possible in order to assimilate to the WASP norm. Only in the case of the Mexican-Americans in California would the situation be partly different. For the Mexican-American masses in the Southwest had been constituted - like the Black elsewhere - as the Deviant non-norm, due to historical circumstances. If skin-colour and race had been the primary delegitimating inscription for the black, language and culture had been primary delegitimating inscriptions for the Mexican-Americans, who had, in relation to the black been also defined as "white". The _cultural revindication_ of Mexican American ethnicity - self-transformed militantly into Chicanos - was linked imperatively. as the black struggle was, to a popular revindication by the socially - and economically - marginalized. This accounts for the great parallels between the Black and the Chicano movements - especially in the more popular aspects of both their struggles. But even here there was to be a difference - and an important one.

If the culture of the Chicano is an _ethnic_ culture whose revaluation is linked to the social struggles of the Chicano masses and middle classes - the culture of the blacks is only partly an _ethnic_ culture. It is also, a social culture, the alternative American culture to the middle class mainstream culture, an American counter-culture of popular _expression._ As such it constitutes the potentiality of an American cultural and social revolution.

Hence its perceived threat a threat which has lead to its sustained in-visibility and to what Nat Hentoff terms the "inaudibility" of the implications of its musical expression to middle-class ears.

It is this social and popular aspect of black culture that goes beyond Levine's formulation of black culture as another ethnic pluralist strand whose members erected mechanisms to "guard their values, maintain their sense of worth, and retain their sanity." [ ] The idea of culture and cultural values as a possession which one "guards" is essentially a bourgeois concept. In the popular conceptualization, culture, and cultural values only exist when reciprocally exchanged - as in Carnival Mardi Gras, Junkunnu, a black church service, a blues song, a spiritual wailed. Culture is a dynamic process that only exists when it is expended, communicated. As the Ak'an proverb says of wisdom, so it is of culture in the popular conceptualization,

"Wisdom is not like money to be tied up and hidden." [ ]

Both "exist" only by and through the act of communication and exchange.

Black music is the expression of a popular conceptualization of culture, which communicates alternative values, diffuses an alternative experience of social being into the middle class mainstream of the society, initiating and sustaining a gradual subversion of the hegemonic consciousness.

The ground of the widespread nature of the Sixties cultural rebellion had been prepared by the conjunctive of an "ethnic" culture that had converted the technological media. The emergence of "rock n'roll" as a vital force in the cultural rebellion of the Sixties was the widespread overt surfacing of the black/popular cultural "underlife" into the mainstream of the larger society. Under the guise of a mass commercial anodyne, the long submerged popular creativity erupted into the mainstream to challenge the hegemony of the middle class norm.

As John Pendleton writes, "rock n' roll" - originally a black sexual term, "whitened" to denote only a form of music -

"is the musical form that has had the greatest social, political and cultural ramifications during the past three decades...rock n' roll was in many respects, a true folk art because it originated as a response to the needs and desires of the people, at least of the young people, of the fifties."

These young people, as Ben Sidran asserts, had been steadily subverted by the infiltration of black music into their homes, through the instrumentality of the popular mass - music industry.

Black music - however commercialized and watered down - infiltrated along with it, its aesthetic of rhythm, an aesthetic which also acted as the mechanism of degradation central to all popular cultures - the "bringing back to Earth."

As Pendleton noted:

"...the musical form was inherently a challenge to the values and attitudes of mainstream America, particularly in such areas as work, sex and social political authority..." [ ]

What Bakhtin analyzes as the "grotesque realism" of the popular tradition, surfaced with rock n' roll into the mainstream - displacing what Eldridge Cleaver would refer to as the sentimentality of Pat Boone in his white shoes. ["

"The sound...is the sound of the electronic age, a dissent from older forms. The costumes are a dissent from the Ed Sullivan slick...These performers never have a nose-bob or cap their teeth. Instead of hiding a so called bad feature they accentuate it like a living caricature." [106]3)

The revolt against the hegemonic bourgeois aesthetic accompanied the political and social revolt. The new sound - new to the official mainstream - shattered the laws of music as poetry shatters the laws of language, only this time the shattering occurs - in the popular mode. The African-imposed popular flexibility of the relation of words to music lead to a hip language to a "flexible, new, lively American language."

The older members of the mainstream reacted with angry criticism. Hentoff has chronicled the hostility to the emergence of the new sound. Frank Sinatra called "rock n' roll" a "rancid smelling aphrodisiac". Pablo Casals called it "poison put to sound." Its enemies - as Edward Long, enemy of the blacks had seen the danger of their cultural forms - reorganized for more clearly than its proponents that what was being deconstituted was a cultural world based on a Single Norm. And with the deconstruction of the Single Norm the deconstruction of middle class hegemony. For with rock n' roll - as with the Beatles and Elvis Presley, the long submerged white popular forces had begun to carve out a non-bourgeois space - a sphere activated by black American music.

Hentoff tells of the rise of the Rolling Stones as the English popular

classes stirred   to throw off the middle class cultural hegemony of the past three centuries.

> "They started from a distance. Not in age but in music. Growing up in London they found a sound on American records that made visceral sense to them. Records by Negro blues singers. Muddy Waters, Jimmy Reed, Howlin' Wolf. Names still unknown to nearly all white and many of the black teenagers who find the Stones' sound makes visceral sense to them. It also happened to the Beatles, the Animals abd the other British rock groups who invaded our young, bearing what our young already had but didn't know they had. The Animals picked up on records by Kimba Red and John Lee Hooker. And they were ahead of the white American teenagers in plunging into the rhythm-and-blues based pop music of city Negroes their own age - Martha and the Vandellas and that scene. And gospel singers. 'The real artists,' Ringo Starr of the Beatles says like he oughtn't have to say it, its so clear to him 'are mainly colored artists. I never did like the Perry Comos or the Sinatras. I don't buy that kind of art. If whites sang like colored kids I'd buy their records." (1064)

What we are noticing here is the process not so much of cultural fusion- as Levine argues - but of transculturation. But it is a transculturation that takes place in the popular mode, a mode in which inscriptions of opposition, rather than of differentiation - do not exist.

We referred earlier to the Spaniards in Cuba - dancing the "jota" and forbidding the blacks to dance it. In some official African cultures - cultures which are still the official cultures ,

> "the peasant, being a commoner, is not permitted to perform certain dances" which are the exclusive preserve of the "royals"...Social cleavage cannot but be manifested in the arts."   [ ]

The conceptualization of culture in middle class terms, also, narrowed culture down to that form of cultural expression to which the middle-class elite had access. Culture became the kultur, an inscription that marked off the middle class from the masses. Nowhere was this cultural segregation to be as intensive as in England, where "culture" and "class behaviour" were to inscribe the English working classes as almost another race: Until the recent migration of blacks to Britain and the emergence of a black sub-proletariat, the English non-middle classes experienced themselves as the socially marginalized, occupying in England the excluded place that Blacks occupied in the United States.

The empirical evidence of the persistent economic exploitation of the English working classes would provide the condition of possibility for Marx's

revolutionary theories. But the continued social subservience of the English popular classes - in spite ot a strong and highly developed Trade Union movement was and is related to the pervasive infiltration of all groups by hegemonic middle-class values: in other words by a pervasive middle class cultural colonialism.

As economic conditions improved for the English working class with the post-war expansion of monopoly capital, the contradiction between economic betterment and continued social marginalization by a middle class who had to begun to lose its sense of manifest destiny with the end of the Empire, created the psychic discontent of the young, working class Englishmen.

Black American music, the cultural expression of the socially marginalized par excellence, acted as a catalyst and provided a popular matrix, and a popular cultural tradition, which communicated this experience of contradiction. With the emergence of the Rolling Stones and the Beatles the cultural revolution against the cultural and social hegemony of the English and Western bourgeoisie had begun.

In the United States itself, the music of black Chuck Berry made possible the rise of Elvis Presley. White racism was too deeply rooted for white American youth to be directly influenced by black music. Presley would be the mediator but he too would serve as the Rolling Stones, to activate popular creativity, to enable a non-middle class cultural expression.

Eldridge Cleaver, in Soul on Ice underlines the importance of the cultural break symbolized by Presley:

> "In the beginning of the era came a thief with a seven year old itch...The thief knew that he need not wait for the cover of night, that with impurity he could show his face in the marketplace in the full light of sin, do his deed, scratch his dirt, sell his loot to the fence--.
> So Elvis Presley came, strumming a weird guitar, wagging his tail across the continent ripping off fame and fortune as he scrunched his way...sowing seeds of a new rhythm and style in the white soul s of the white youth of America, whose inner hunger and need was no longer satisfied with the antiseptic white shoes and whiter songs of Pat Boone. 'You can do anything' sang Elvis to Pat Boone's white shoes, 'but don't you step on my blue suede shoes!'" (1966)

Presley initiated a cult of the young. In the social order of the United States, the development of the productive forces of monopoly capitalism, had

been increasingly transforming the social order of the society. The allegedly
stable "nuclear" family was being shattered under the assaults of corporate
consumerism - and the new "atomization" pf peoples and groups as "consumers".
The stable nuclear family was being destabilized. "Youth" emerged as a new
consumer group - as a new social grouping who "consumed" records put out by
the music industry. The generation gap came from the fact that increasingly
a "family" identity no longer held; it was the "youth identity" that was ex-
perienced - and experienced as contradiction between their <u>material</u> incorpora-
tion and their <u>social marginalization</u>.

The society, in the Fifties and Sixties experienced a Middle Passage
rupture. The multiple social movements of the Sixties were both the response
to and the creative social extension of this societal rupture. As Cleaver
points out the official observers could not "see" this rupture.

> "In the swift fierce years since the 1954 school desegregation
> decision, a rash of seemingly unrelated mass phenomena has
> appeared on the American scene - deteriorating radically
> from the prevailing Hot-Dog-and-Malted Milk norm of the blood-
> less, square, faceless Sundaymorning atmosphere that was suffo-
> cating the nation's soul. And all of this in a nation where
> the so-called molders of public opinion...are willful euphoric
> liars or zip-dam ostriches and owls...These observers were not
> equipped to either <u>feel</u> or <u>know</u> that a radical break, a revolu-
> tionary leap out of their sight, had taken place in the secret
> parts of this nation's soul. It was as if a driveless vehicle
> were speeding through the American night down an unlighted street
> towards a stone wall and was boarded on the fly by a stealthy
> ghost, ..,who at the last detour before chaos and disaster,
> careened the vehicle down a smooth highway that leads to future
> and life; and to ask these Americans to understand that they
> were the passengers on this driveless vehicle, and that <u>the</u>
> <u>lascivious ghost was the Saturday-night-crotch-funk of the</u>
> <u>Twist or the</u> 'Yeah, Yeah, Yeah!'which the Beatles high-jacked
> from Ray Charles, to ask these Calvinistic profligates to see
> the logical and reciprocal links is more cruel than asking a
> hope-to-die Okie music buff to cop the sounds of John Coltrane." [155]

Nat Hentoff makes this same point of the "invisibility" of the social
transformation, its "inaudibility" to the culturally blocked ears and blinded
vision of those who could not afford to see the subservise "<u>degradation</u>"
of middle class values and ideals - including its ideal of culture as a class,
race and ethnic possession - by the black culture mutated into a social/popular
cultural expression.

had been socially incorporated as the <u>norm</u>, must have accasioned a form of living <u>social death</u>; the <u>death</u> of that established self-worth defined by a "valued" social identity, in the new experience of social <u>negation</u> as <u>piezas</u>.

  In the face of this sustained social death, the central cultural compulsive of black culture came to be the creation and perpetration of ritual devices which could reintegrate the social, and enable the reciprocal recognition of self-worth, through the collective experience of a differently constituted social body.

  Fulton, Odenyo and Fagerberg discuss the important findings of Mandelbaum as the result of his research into "death rites in five widely separated cultures." These findings support the point we have just made. Mandelbaum analyses and defines what he calls the "latent" functions of funeral practises - i.e.

> "the economic and reciprocal social relations that are remembered and reinacted at the time of a death."⟨757⟩

The participation in the funeral constitutes an affirmation/reenactment of the structuring of the social order:

> "In this way...the role taken by a participant in a funeral not only reflects his position in society, but also reaffirms the social order. A second "latent" function..., is found in the obligations and restrictions placed upon all members of the deceased's family with regard to such things as dress, demeanor and social intercourse. Such observances serve to identify as well as to demonstrate family cohesion. A third "latent" function of the funeral is the acknowledgement and affirmation of the extended kinship system. Members of the large family console the survivors and frequently share in the expenses of the ceremony." ⟨1075⟩

  As with the initiation ceremony - the death to the former self, birth to the new one of the initiates - the whole group by participation in the ceremony, <u>experiences itself as a social body</u>. Mandelbaum points out that,

> "Participation in the funeral ceremony, the procession, and the feasting all add to the sense of being a part of larger sacred whole..." [ ] ⌈⁚⸱⁚⸱ ⌉

  In his book on Jazz, Joachim Berendt, refers to the birth of the New Orleans variant of jazz. He points to the polyglot nature of the city's inhabitants, and of its cultures, _., to the many immigrant groups wanting to "keep alive the sounds of home." He refers particularly to aspects of the French culture which would   contribute to the birth of jazz.
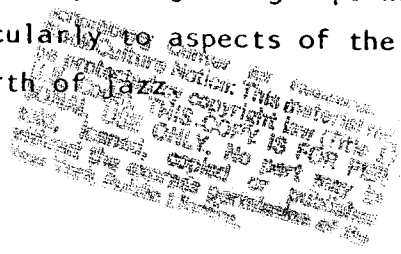
"Thus, there is the famous 'Mardi Gras' which has become the expression of the city's lust for life. Even the funerals, during which a band escorts the deceased to the ceremony with sad music, and then leads the procession back home with joyful sands, derive from a French custom; it prevails to this day in rural districts of Southern France." [/]5

But as we have seen in this monograph, cultural fusion would take place between the popular elements of both the European and the African elements. It was not by being guarded as "ethnic expressions" that the carnival and funeral forms - the African funeral alternation between mourning and rejoicing was also translated to the New World, [   ] but by being fused in a new neo-popular cultural expression, as black bands play their famous music in contemporary New Orleans funeral processions, that the meanings of the popular rituals by which the social group experiences and masters death as social death is continued in secular forms. [   ]

As these rituals disappeared from contemporary life, and the social arts with which men experience and affirm social being were swept away by bourgeois productive rationality - they served no "economic" purpose - the music which emerged out of these rituals continued as the societal mechanisms by and through which the relation of the self to the social is experienced.

The rhythm, the beat was to become the central underlying principle - as if all previous rituals had become condensed in the beat. We earlier made mention of the function that the rhythmic "groaning" played in the cult services of Jamaican Renewal Cults.

Leonard Barrett recently discussed the role of drums in producing or contributing to the "altered states of consciousness," i.e. possession, in Jamaican cults. Barrett summarizes the conclusions of Andrew Neher's physiological explanation of the role of drums and rhythms in cult ceremonies:

"Neher observed that little or no investigation had been done...
on the effects of drums on the behaviour of people involved in
ceremonies, though these experiences have been observed world-
wide...Taking his cue from previous experiments of rhythmic
stimulations by flashing lights known as photic driving, Neher
hypothesized that ceremonial behaviour was the result of
rhythmic stimulation on the central nervous system. His
experiment proves that...(1) a single beat of the drum, because
of its wider frequencies, stimulates larger areas of the brain
than the single frequency produced by light, (2) a drumbeat,
with its lower frequencies and greater amplitudes, was more
suited to the ear mechanism than the higher frequency of light
to the eye. Thus it was easier to transmit more energy to the
brain than by light." [,]

Both photic driving and drumming produce effects parallel - in some respects-
to the altered states of consciousness of cult worshippers. As Barrett comments:

"Although I do not concur with the above reductionism as it
relates to spirit possession, the theory...has been of enor-
mous assistance in my own field of research in cult movements,
involving drums." [ ]

Barrett goes on to define the central role of the drums in cults like
Jamaican K   na and Haitian Vodun.

"The drummers prepare the human bodies to receive the spirit...
The bombardment of the drum empties the head and leaves one
without a center around which to stabilize oneself except to
move along with balanced strides, and the person remains defence-
less...buffetted by each stroke, as the drummer set out to beat
the loa (spirit) into one's head..." (   )
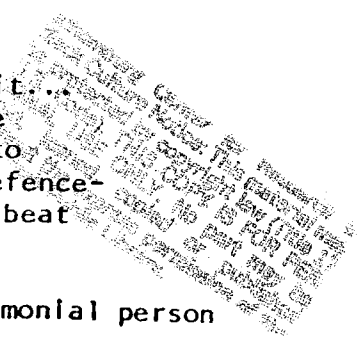
The drum then is the "mechanism of control" that prepares a ceremonial person
psychologically for spirit possession." [   ]

I would like to speak instead of the drums as the enabling mechanism of
consciousness-reversal. The social prescribed consciousness is gradually erased-
as in the individual mystic experience of the via purgativa [   ] - and the cult
group collectively experience the mystic experience of cosmic unity, of unity and
the whole, experience the self and the social body. The ritual ceremony and the
drums enable - a participated-in   and shared experience- the parallel experience
of the bluesman and his audience; of the jazz-musician and his, of the rock
star and his listeners. The audience not only listens - it participates in a
call and response relation, in what Barrett calls a   "climate of experience".
[   ]

Black music secularizes this "climate of experience"; people listening or dancing participate in the experience of the music, each separate, yet linked by the collective physiological experience of the beat, linked across societal inscription, boundaries, linked in an experience of the social.

The hostility of the normative middle class world was therefore a hostility not only to rock n' roll as music but to the alternative value-system, which, in spite of its mass-commercial form, the neo-popular movement of the Sixties, represented.

Nat Hentoff tells of the attempts by the essentially verbal middle class world - psychiatrists included, to impose meaning on an experience to which they are alien. Hentoff urges:

> "Try just listening Dr. Jones. Forget the words. Just move.
> Come into the beat, like it says in Time, the weekly newspeak:
> 'where the sound is so loud that conversation is impossible,
> the hypnotic beat works a strange magic. Many dancers become
> literally transported. They drift away from their partners.
> Inhibitions flake away, eyes glaze over, until suddenly they
> are seemingly swimming alone in a sea of sound." [   ]
> One dancer says of the experience: 'I give everything that
> is in me. And when I get going I'm gone. It's the only
> time I feel whole." [ ])
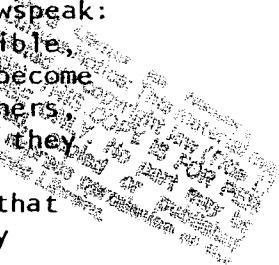
The jazz culture emerging from the black cultural underlife, like all popular cultural forms - Junkunnu, carnival/mardi gras - brings transcendence into the everyday secular life, into the here and now. The self transcends its own limits, and realizes itself as unbonded, realizes the social by and through the shared experience of participation in collective activity. In this transcendence the realization of the social is the support system of self-actualization and vice versa. It is this that enables the experience of wholeness. As in the mystic experience one loses the self to find the self.

As in carnival, in Junkunnu, in the cults, the societal roles and identities are reversed - one reaches down to the "Moi profound" the unique irreplaceable self at the same time that one is linked in a reciprocal experience with other selves. It is important to make a distinction between this form of experience and the mass-experience related to forms of black music that are "whitened" sentimentalized, its popular "grotesque realism" prettified.

One indeed can speak of two strains of cultural populism - one revolutionary

In terms of consciousness - one experiences the social/individual self in an altered state of consciousness, the other a reactionary mass - populist enabling the experience of the social self only as a "mass" self. The aesthetic and the ethnic are conjoined. The aesthetic of popular grotesque realism with its fluidity contests the still middle class populism based on sentimental pieties.

The strain of reactionary populism related to white Southern racism, and movements of nativism - is expressed in some aspects of country-and-Western music. Eldridge Cleaver refers to the musical contradiction that exists between a John Coltrane and an Okie Buff.

This social contradiction was expressed when Merle Haggard sang,

"We don't smoke marijuana in Muskegee"

creating the populist figure of the Okie from Muskegee. The song,

"had more to do with a particular philosophical persuasion than with one's geographical location." [/].

McCarthy, Peterson and Yancey analyse the socio-political implications of Richard Nixon's embrace of country and Western music; of the performances of Johnny Cash and Merle Haggard at the Nixon White House; of the proclamation of October 1970 as "country music" month.

Indeed the relation between the cultural "nativism" of country and Western and the white backlash of the Seventies is clear:

"Thus if the first President in history to claim roots in middle class suberbia has identified himself with the nasal twang sound scoffingly referred to as "hillbilly music", it remained for Burl Ives to explicitly link country-Western music to true Americanism (italics mine). He proclaimed from the stage... Country music is the music of this great land of ours." [IV /]3)

This ritual exclusion - the pervasiveness of black-popular music on the natural scene leaves no doubt as to which form of music is being excluded - is the cultural aspect of that strategy of power based on the conjoined processes of social incorporation and social marginalization.

The Cuban peasants of Spanish descent who "guarded their music and dance as a mark of superior social status produced songs that were verbally original but whose musical forms had frozen; and as such had remained musically simplistic. Equally the socially marginalized hillbillies who were among the few whites to continue popular cultural micro-activity, nevertheless, in relation to

blacks, were like the Cuban peasants socially incorporated as "whites". Their musical expression was and is therefore ambivalent between revolutionary and reactionary impulses.

Thus increasingly, country and Western has come to express the ambivalent population - anti-upper class and anti-black populism of lower-class whites in an alliance with the new middle classes of the suburbia. Although it is anti-upper class, it is above all a "white" populism, one that cannot question "white" values since these values constitute its identity. Indeed this group has been culturally colonialized by the strategy of incorporation central to bourgeois hegemony and its populism is, at times, coopted as a middle class populism.

As we saw earlier the concept of limpio vs. non-limpio was the central structuring principle by which the monarchy in Absolutist Spain was able to put into play a homogenizing social identity which cut across status, rank, class/caste divisions. By constituting the Symbolic Jew as absolute non-value, all the Spanish "limpios" could perceive themselves as of "equal" social value. This strategy of the social incorporation of the popular forces by and through the ritual exclusion of a Deviant, other lead to a widespread populism in the society - an aristocratic and monarchical populism.

By socially incorporating large numbers of the popular forces - and others-as limpios i.e. of pure "Christian" faith - and relating pure Christian faith to undeviating social orthodoxy - the monarchical system socialized its citizens into experiencing themselves as a community of "limpios" over against a meta-physical other, the symbolic Jew; and thereby constituted the experience of the "national" identity.

The fact that all religious Jews had been expelled in 1492, and those who remained forcibly converted to Catholicism, was an empirical fact that was irrelevant. To be of Jewish origins - as to be of "non-proletarian" origins in the Soviet Union - even if one apparently seemed an ardent Catholic, was to be open to the suspicion of potentially relapsing into heresy - deviationist tendencies in the Soviet Union.

The psychic privilege that this social incorporation entails - and Deleuze and Guattari make an important distinction between "desire" and material interests - [   ] is central to the strategy of the dominant group.

Gouldner's article on internalism colonialism in the Soviet Union reveals the strategy by which, in incorporating the vast masses as the Social Norm -

of proletarian <u>origins</u> and therefore orthodox in belief - the Party bureacrats are able to legitimate their appropriation of social power from all.

Once the <u>primary identity</u> of the masses is experienced - through the social marginalization of an Other - as that of the Social Norm, then all other identities - class identity, self identity, former identity, labour identity are experienced as <u>secondary variables</u>. In the United States what was legitimated was the mode of social relations which produced the psychic privilege of the large majority as "whites" by and through the ritual social exclusion of the <u>Deviant Negro</u> - his social marginalization as the "non-orthodox".

The social legitimation of the black/white division as primary, by the large majority, also enables their acquiescence in an overall mode of social relations whose class divisions allow for their own material exploitation.

By participating in and sharing the "group fantasy" of the bourgeoisie, the libido of the non-middle class Americans is made to,

> "Invest all of an existing social field including the latter's
> most repressive forms..." ( )ors)

The condition of possibility which enables this participation in the group fantasy of the bourgeoisie, by the popular non-middle class is the strategy of social incorporation which assigns <u>normative value</u> to "whiteness" or to "limpio" or to "proletarian origins".

The 'desire' of being the social norm - it is <u>not</u> the property - owning bourgeoisie that is represented as the norm in American society, but rather the <u>white</u>, the <u>male</u>, the WASP; nor is it the Party bureaucrat but the Symbolic proletariat, of proletarian origins, nor the rich grande but the <u>limpio</u> of non-Jewish origins - is central to the problem that Deleuze and Guattam pose:

> "That is why the fundamental problem of political philosophy
> is still the one that...William Reich rediscovered: Why do
> men fight <u>for</u> their servitude as stubbornly as though it were
> their salvation? How can people possibly reach the point of
> shouting 'More taxes! Less bread!?' As Reich remarks, it is
> not that some people steal or that others occasionally go out
> on strike, but rather that all those who are starving do not
> steal as a regular priactise, and all those who are exploited
> are not continually out on strike; after centuries of exploi-
> tation, why do people <u>actually want</u> humiliation and slavery
> not only for others but for themselves? Reich...refuses to
> accept ignorance or illusion on the part of the masses as an
> explanation of fascism, and demands an explanation that will
> take their desires into account...; no the masses were not
> innocent dupes; at a certain point, under a certain set of
> conditions, they wanted fascism, and it is this perversion
> of the desire of the masses that needs to be accounted for."   [ ]
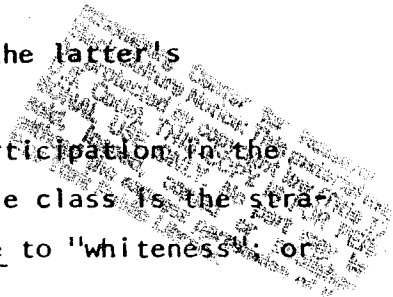
__White__ racism, essentially a perversion of desire in the United States - and in the West at large - far from being an aberration, is central national strategy of social incorporation.

As the symbolic dissident and the symbolic Jew func   and functioned as the disfigured representative of a alternative desir ar ould threaten the __social__ order, so the symbolic Neg   Black functioned and func   n in the hegemonic national s. system. Herein   o be found the "logical cause" of nls long and scandalous and incredible experience of physical nd psychological terrorism.

The overt acts of physical lynching should therefore be seen as the acts that express the societal coding of the "white" self and Other. The __experience__ of the Other as a "pollutant" is conjoined to the experience of the self as fixed, bonded; of the social self as the extension of this fixed bonded self; a self which takes its social value, realize his social value by ual acts of exclusion, separation, ex-communica   the Deviant Other.

What the "white" self needs -   ze   s desire of experiencing it- self a social value - is not so much the __physical__ as the social death of he Deviant Other, compulsively repeated over a   er again.

Acts of __lynching__ - physical and   and theoretical, are ritual and re gious acts parallel to the Inquisi n   ing of the heretic - which   en reaffirms and strengthens social and   us orthodoxy. The parallels   e clear. Between 1956-1963 138 bomb   ck residences and institu- ors took place. In addition:

> "Four Klan members were convicted   of kidnapping a a   man, soaking him in turpentine, and   ting him as par   their initiation ceremony." [1)]

Above all, the strategy of social incorporation by and through the social production of a social __norm__ over against a so   __deviant__ - incorporation of the norm through the ritual exclusion of   legitimates the exis __mode of social relations__ in which the ma   experiences itself as the __Social Norm__ through its interaction with the Devi   Other.

Societal mechanism work to reflect   's social imaginary signification as empirical fact by social regulations wh   hen ritually exclude, and ritual- ly punish the Deviant. Thus the Great Ter   - Russia - like the Inquisition's Terror in Absolutist Spain - worked primar   rder to produce the desired social orthodoxy, through   __representatio__   he Symbolic N   Non-Norm.
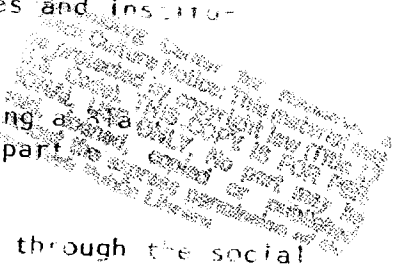
The Gulag Archipelago, and the representation of the <u>Deviant</u>, of the "kulak" constituted a legitimation of the norm - but a norm that is also socially produced precisely because he is made to "desire" his own sexual repression seeing this as a privilege relative to the punitive fate awaiting the Deviant.

The Deviant then becomes the "disfigured" representative of any desire on the part of those socialized into being the Norm, to not <u>be</u> the requisite and prescribed norm.

It is here we see the parallel between the Negro and the Soviet Deviant. "Whiteness", was and is consistently produced as the <u>social orthodoxy</u> of the U.S. system; the strategy of incorporation of the large majority. This was and is done by the sustained social economic cultural and political marginalization of the Black as Deviant Other.

It is in the context of the pervasive cultural racism which needs to marginalize black culture, that we should interpret Burl Ives' <u>representation</u> of country and Western as the music of "true Americanism". In Cuba also until the rise in the twenties of the cultural movement of Afro-Cubanism - the parallel movement to the American Harlem Renaissance and Negritude - the inferior music of the Cuban peasants of Spanish descent was proclaimed as <u>the true Cuban music.</u>

Alejo Carpentier writer and musicologist, and Fernando Ortiz musicologist and anthropologist were part of the movement, which revindicated the <u>Afro-cubanity</u> of Cuban music. Nicolas Guillén, a black poet, would introduce Afro-Cuban musical forms into formal poetry - fusing these forms with the popular ballad forms of Spanish poetry; as in this country the jazz culture was to permeate American poetic tradition, black and white.

In the U.S. as in Cuba of the Twenties, the aesthetic clash is also a social, political clash. As with the music of the Cuban peasants, country and Western has come to represent a "white" music - the musical expression of <u>white</u> America.

Black music in the U.S. - like Black music in Cuba - had instead widened out to become both the culturally expression of the socially marginalized and the national expression - as jazz has become both a national and a <u>universal</u> expression. It is precisely this mutation of its "ethnic" music into a national and universal popular cultural expression that defines the black culture as <u>not</u> just another ethnic cultural strand, but as an opposed mode of culture.

Country and Western - ... - like

the parallel Cuban music is <u>not</u> musically inventive - only its verbal expres-
sion is and this verbal expression defines country and Western as the cultural
vehicle of what we would like to call a "normative populism."

Normative populism is the reactionary expression of any social group,
who although only enjoying popular status, yet experiences itself as <u>socially</u>
<u>central</u> - as <u>limpio</u>, as White, as Aryan as "of proletarian origins" though
the significations of social value accorded by the hegemonic cultural order.

This desire of social centrality goes far material interests. In
situations where the *normative* experience themselves as being displaced from their
former imaginary social centrality, they displace the "cause" of this uneasi-
ness on the "social deviant" - whose deviance constitutes their centrality -
making the Deviant into the scapegoat, the <u>polluter</u> of the social strucutre.

This politics of social imaginary centrality and of <u>normative populism</u>
is basic to all forms of Fascism. If the German Marxists offered improved
material conditions, Hitler offered the psychic privilege of a <u>social</u>
<u>incorporation</u> that constituted - intra-class - all non-Jewish Germans as the
Aryan Social Norm.

Normative pluralism is related to a <u>debased</u> middle-class aesthetic -
a shoddy sentimentality. Thus the move overtly ideological country and
Western music - can be distinguished by the mass-sentimentality of its
melodic line, and the uncreativity of its rhythmic structure, except where
these structures have been influenced by Black music.

The political emphasis *has sharpened* in country and Western music since the black
revolt, by shaking the assumption of a bottom place for all blacks, aroused
anxiety in the white lower stratum about their relative identity *and place in
the American system.*
The anxiety is expressed but displaced onto Blacks and onto Federal agen-
cies, seen as responsible for giving blacks a "free handout".

Thus the songs alternate between liberal economic sentiment of a group
who would welcome health insurance and white poverty programs, but want these
programs restricted to whites only.

The emphasis in the songs - as with Bakke supporters - is not so much
on social change to improve the lot of the poor but rather is an emphasis
directed against any change that could threaten the social centrality of
whiteness, which they define as "genuine Americaness."

Thus the songs attack "school integration and busing, the poverty pro-
gram and the Welfare system are blamed <u>for the presence of Cadillacs amongst</u>
<u>the poor;</u> hippies and peaceniks are identified as causing crime in the streets,

disruption, and the lack of support for our fighting men in Vietnam; and weak national leaderships blamed for having allowed the country to drift. All of this is summed up by the anguished song: "Where have all our heroes gone?"

But the heroes were now black. And in the normative populism of white lower class America, American heroes were always and only white. Whilst European youth could turn to black music, and black singing stars – James Brown– to Muhammad Ali, as a new mode of hero, lower class white Americans could not. Indeed they defended their white social centrality with increased anti-black vehemence.

The JOhnny Cash song "Welfare Cadillacs" was a favorite of Nixon's, and could be called the theme song of the "silent majority". It's appeal lay in the extent to which the song articulated the cultural notion of equivalence; defending the bourgeois law of value. The "poor" should be "deserving", but above all should not receive more than equated to their social status as poor.
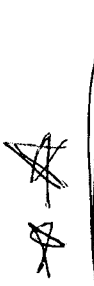
The fiction of equivalence – all men should equally receive his unequal due – the most deeply internalized cultural bourgeois ethic, determines the reaction that the "unemployed" should only be provided with the "basic" necessities; that this would therefore spur him on to "find a job."

That "jobs" are and have always been part of the social product itself, that is distributed unequally so as to sustain the heirarchical social relations is observed by the mode of social incorporation which defined "white" as free-self-driving, spurred by the internal "work-ethics" and blacks as "lazy" if not driven to work. This signification system directs white discontent – as jobs become a scarce benefit for the unskilled – black and white – and to the victims– the black welfare recipient.

Whilst the welfare recipient is "represented" as being a burden on the taxpayer, the greater jobless rate of the Black persuades the unskilled whites that joblessness – the fault of Black's "known" inferiority, is also caused by his own internal deficiency, his failure to live up to being a "white" man – to realize the worth of his full inherent social value. Indeed both Blacks, and white welfare recipients, are ritually excluded from the normative economic being of the society – which represents "just equivalence" as a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

The act of "social charity" becomes a new inscription – the scrounger who gets something for nothing – who moves outside the law of equivalence by driving Cadillacs at taxpayers' expense.

That welfare politics pay welfare recipients to be <u>consumers</u> - their social value as the unskilled lies only in their role as <u>consumers</u> - and that they are being deprived of <u>jobs</u> - and therefore socially marginalized - by a system that needs fewer and fewer workers - and whose strategic mode of control now is thorough consumption - is an empirical fact which is irrelevant to the Deviant Role that the Black welfare recipient now comes to play as a social stereotype - in the larger order.
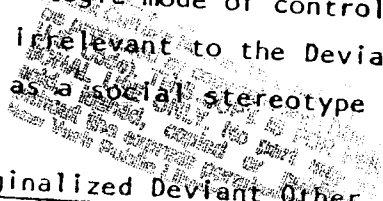
Then as now the black stereotype as <u>socially marginalized Deviant Other</u> served and serves to legitimate the hierarchical and disproportionately <u>unequal</u> <u>mode of distribution</u>, by and through the bourgeois populist strategy of social incorporation.

An economist has recently pointed out that, "If we look at the distribution of physical wealth, the top 20% (owns 80%). of all that can be privately owned in th United States and the bottom 25% own nothing (Many of them in fact have debts that exceed their assets.)" [1956]

As Louis C. Green a black economist comments, these figures show that "Not only are Blacks <u>without</u> ownership of significant wealth but so is the majority of the population of the United States." (1024)

Yet as the country-and-Western songs reveal, this 25% by and large, and the majority of the <u>relatively</u> non- owners who are "white" - and some who are black - give unquestioned allegiance to the system - and by the <u>logic of the</u> <u>fiction</u> of <u>equivalence</u> are apalled at a Welfare Cadillac, and strangely undisturbed by a Rockefeller Lincoln Continental.

This monograph argues that the internalization by the majority of the <u>bourgeois law of value</u> translates the concept of equality into a structural <u>form of equality</u>. Equality for Pease and Reynolds was not just what they saw as the just equivalence of their labour but "white" equality, it an equal relation <u>of relative social value</u> to the excluded term - the Black. It is this relative relation which constitutes <u>whiteness</u> as the central social <u>norm</u>.

The constitution of a metaphysical Deviant Other enables a strategy of social incorporation in which the main desire aimes to be the desire to be so- cially incorporated as the norm - to experience this identity as primary. The Black-like the non-limpio Jew, the Social Dissident - enables the strategy by which the majority, represented as "white" and normative, experience a sense of vicarious <u>participation</u> in the wealth and power of the top 20%, represented as "white" - the desire displaces and makes secondary the material interest.

Class identity - as Marxists would learn to their cost - was experienced as a secondary variable. White "ethnic", white "nationalist" white "racial" identity was the primary identity.

In the dominant cultural signification system, in spite of the alleged "materialism" of American society, the representation of the social norm of the society - the mechanism through which social orthodoxy and the preservation of the social status quo is achieved - has never focussed on the capitalist or property - owner, nor on the Party Bureaucrat, i.e. on any of the center figures. Rather the representation of the social norm concentrated on the figure firstly of the WASP white/anglo-Saxon, Protestant and middle-class- and laterly increasingly on the white, skilled and middle-class. The social norm functions as the assimilative mechanism, the integrative mechanism which socially produces the requisite desire - the desire for social incorporation, for assimilation to the norm.

The norm then ascribes social value as the non-norms marks the negation of social value; and the desire of attaining the social value of the norm, the experience - as whites - of participating in the norm, goes far beyond the mere material interests of economic equality.

By accepting social orthodoxy as "whiteness" and deviance as blackness, the white majority of the United States legitimates the mode of social relations that socially produces "white" as norm and black as non-norm. By legitimating this mode of social relations they then legitimate the mode of distribution that enables the reproduction of social relations of accumulation whose mode of distribution is itself directed towards further accumulation. As the production of the Black - the kulak, the non-limpio, the American Indian - as Deviant had legitimated the expropriation and transfer of land and labour from the non-norm to the norm, so a series of other relative relations between other norms/non norms - i.e. property-owner versus the non-owners, Party-member versus non-Party member, middle class versus lower class, male versus female - enable - legitimately - the transfer of land labour and capital flows from the latter series to the former - and all according to the strict law of equivalence i.e. one's social value equals so much of the social product.

The central enabling mechanism of this mode of social relations is the internalization - carried out by and through the control of the means and

communication and socialization, of the bourgeois law of value – a structural law of value. This constitutes the logic of its hegemonic code; and it is this code and this logic that, once accepted, causes non-middle class groups to base their actions on the logic of a middle-class code, represented as absolute and universal.

What we have labeled social exploitation – of which economic exploitation during the exchange of labour – for wages is the logical result – is carried through by the "nigger-breaking" societal mechanisms which "fix" the relative social value of different groups, through acts of social exchange in which each group is made to accept its relative social value in relation to other groups.

Marx's illuminating critique of the concept of commodity value has been extended by Jean Joseph Goux. Goux points to the theoretical implications of Marx's findings that the commodity is not a thing but a "social relation"; or perhaps more precisely, the expression of a social relation; and as such, to use Mauss' term, 'a total social phenomenon.'' [1492)

He goes on to discuss Marx's analysis of the simple equivalence between two commodities, and argues that form the embryo form of the equivalence Man he decyphers all the contradictions of contemporary society.

This monograph argues that from Sepúlveda to Long to the Ounces Trade, the act of exchange of labour-power represented as a commodity puts into play a structural law of value, one that expresses the social relations between the West and the non-West.

To paraphrase Malraux – It was we who discovered and expropriated the land and labour of the New World. No one discovered and expropriated us.

The bourgeois social and cultural and economic revolution was to transform the European peasant into the Western proletariat, the multiplicitly of tribally defined native Americans into Indians, the peoples of Europe into the category, Pure White; the varied people of Africa into the category "Negro".

Sepúlveda's and Long's comparison represent the the Man/Spaniard and the Pure White and their respective social value as commodity A.; and the little man and the Negro as Commodity B.

As Goux argues, during the putting into equivalence of A and B the two commodities play different roles – one functions as relative value reflecting its value in the body of the other which functions as its equivalent.

Commodity A - the "gold" of social value - has a fixed _relative_ value
in relation to its equivalent and vice versa. As in the Ounces Trade it is
the 2/1 _ratio_ which is central, i.e. the ratio that expresses the relative
social value to the different labour-powers embodied in the commodities. Thus
intellectual labour in relation to non-intellectual labour, white labour in
relation to Negro or native labour are _socially_ valued before they are put
into equivalence, _and the putting into equivalences,_ the act of exchange, serves to ground, ~~·~·~·~~ ·~ serves
to reproduce and legitimate the social value, already ascribed and represented.

This monograph argues that the conversion of tribally defined Africans
into _commodities_ piezas, reveal that the "value" of the commodity is not related
only to the labour incorporated in it, but to an initially _societal definition_
of the value of that labour according to the _social value_ ascribed to the
bearers of particular variants of labour-power.

The Western world system itself would depend upon the technological
superiority with which it would be able to impose a relative social valuation
between itself and the Non-West.

Beginning with Sepúlveda - it was we who discovered the world Malraux
writes, nobody discovered us ~ the unequal social valuation between the "Spaniards"
and the "homunculi" established a mode of social relations which enabled and
legitimated the transfer of Indian land and labour from the Social non-norm to
the Spaniard,- Spanish peasant or non-noble, the Spaniard had been collectively
constituted as the norm of the human ~ ） the _new_ social norm.

Edward Long's table of social valuation is a clear scholarly legitimation
of the constitution of a new social category - _the Pure White_ ~ a category
which cuts across all divisions ~ in a relation to the non-norm of the Negro,
the Native.

What Wallerstein would designate as the core areas, and core peoples
experienced ˙ ˙ _as_ themselves separate and more _socially valued_ by _the_ institution-
alized mechanism of Western cultural chauvinism - to which the theory of the
black cultural void is central - white racism, and colonial ideology.

Like male chauvinism and bourgeois · · ᵘ ᵘ ᵘ · ⅃⅃ class consciousness,
white racism and Western cultural chauvinism were mechanisms which both defended
and legitimated the relative _fixed ratio of social value_. One was more _socially_
valued _because_ one was middle class, white, male; relatively socially devalued
because one was _not_. The _representation_ of the Self ~ and Other, the fixing
of _relative identity_ was a central act in the fixing of relative social value.

What had to be maintained at all costs was the relation between the _terms_

- White/Negro - If the mode of social relations was to be produced and reproduced. It was to be the social law of value that would first of all enable the economic law of value, and not vice versa. Once the social law of value was fixed, the "free" market could function freely.

The social act of exchange between Pease and Reynolds and Wright is intended to fix and confirm a relative relation between the two terms - White/Negro. But the act of production is itself an act of exchange in which the semi-skilled labour - power of Pease and Reynolds is valued in relation to the "managerial" labour-power of the Yankee boss. The social order functions in order to sustain the relative relationship between the terms.

The relationship between the terms is represented as the logic of the law of equivalence. One demands the just equivalent - in the social product - of one's identity; and one experiences this relative social value of one's identiry by and through the "placing" of the self relative to the other. The experience of social identity is experienced through the relative "placing".

Keeping the 'nigger in his place' is vital to the preservation and actualization of white social value. The relationship between terms determines the mode of social relation - the mode in which "living subjects enter into relationships with each other" [1041]

Black popular culture is the expression of a social group who has no negative term from which to take value, no Dependent Other. It is in this respect that it is a popular non-official cultural expression. It is the absence of a Negative Term that constitues what we label as the popular forces.

Where as in the case of the white majority - the "people" are socially valued in relation to an even more Negative Term, they enter a contradictory relation, the one hand constituting the people, on the other hand, participating in power relations with the ruling group.

For the mechanism of social valuation is related to the mechanism for the expropriation of social power. In relation to the bourgeoisie the white lower classes are socially expropirated; but in relation to the Blacks they participate in the experience of social privilege, in the enabling acts of the expropriation of black social power.

Nowhere is this structural law of social value more _____ y revealed than in a black joke quoted by Lawrence Levine, whose collection and competlation of black humor gives proof of the universality of Bakhtin's thesis. Bakhtin sees laughter as central to the aesthetic of popular culture - laughter as the mechanism by which it "degrades" - brings back to earth the "represented" cultural values and norms of the official classes and the socially dominant groups. In the context of the United States black humor mercilessly mocks pretended white superiority, its ritual exclusion of blacks.

Levine quotes the following example:

"A traditional joke depicts two 'crackers' named Reuben and
Maggie in bed on their wedding day. 'Reuben,' Maggie moans
happily, 'dos niggers do this, Reuben?' 'I reckon they does,
honey. Reckon they does.' 'Well,' Maggie complains, 'they
hadn't oughta let 'em. Hit's too good for 'em." [1091]

As Levine comments earlier;

> "The salient function of these jokes was to rob the American
> racial system of any legitimacy long before the courts and
> the government began that still uncompleted task . , [693]

But here also the mechanism of "degradation" reveals that the "value" of anything-
sex, self- is experienced as a relative relation to the non-value of the socially
marginalized. All "white" attributes are valued through the relative relation-
ship of one term to the other.

Economic surplus value, too, is the expression of social relations of
exchange dependent on a structural law of value which is central to the bour-
geois mode of domination. What takes place at the factory
between the 'proletariat and the owner of the means
of production, constitutes as much a social act of exchange expressed in eco-
nomic terms - as was the Ounces Trade. In both cases the transfer of "value"
from one social group to the others is the expression, in economic terms of an
act of subordination/domination, that produces and reproduces the bourgeois
mode of social relations.

It is the existence and reproduction of global and national social rela-
tions based on a structural law of value - in which equivalence equals the rela-
tion between terms - that enables the continual transfer of wealth and social
power from the many to the few, from the subordinates to the center.

This leads in actual concrete results to the situation in which as a
professor from M.I.T. recently pointed out:

'The richest 10 percent of (U.S.) households receive 26.1
percent of our income while the poorest 10 percent receive
only 1.7 percent. And most of this small amount comes in
the form of government

income transfer payments. 'Blacks earn 69% as
much as whites .. ., [1094]

As Louis C. Green comments:
"Thus for every dollar that whites earn, Blacks earn 69 cents..." [1095]
The reason for this gap, he points out, is due both to racism and sexism. Yet the income differential is not the only factor — although as we have argued, the gap <u>produces</u> the identit of the majority American proletariat as a <u>white</u> proletariat — since, as Green argues, the more important indicators of the present economic condition as well as of future prospects for Blacks in the United States, are the distribution of wealth and the ownership of capital.

As he points out,

"In short, the distribution of wealth determines who owns and manages society on the one hand. and who works and is managed on the other." [1949]

In the "Free World" it is ~~the distribution of wealth~~ which determines the division of social power in the society, the division ~~between~~ the Center and the Remote Subordinates.

In the Soviet Union on the other hand it is the distribution of political power through the mechanism of the Party - the distribution of wealth in the U.S.A. is carried out through the mechanism of the "free" Market - that determines the division between the Center and the Remote Subordinates.

In both variants of bourgeois social orders - one based on corporate capitalism, the other on state socialism - the strategy of the social marginalization of a Deviant Other which enables the social homogenization and incorporation of the majority under the rubric of white, and/of orthodox Communists of proletarian origin. Both enables and legitimates transfer mechanisms of wealth and social power from the many of the remote subordinates to the few at the Center.

In other words, rather than economic exportation being the causal determinant of social exploitation, _it is social exploitation_ - [carried out by various societal "nigger-breaking" mechanisms - which enables and legitimates economic exploitation by and through the socialization of desire. This prescribed "orthodox" desire enables what Reich called the desire for one's own repression; the defence of what is represented as the just logic of equivalence. Except liberated from the middle class coding of whiteness - as the blacks began their own self-liberation from "white" consciousness, white masks in the Sixties - lower-class whites, however materially exploited, cannot ally themselves with blacks to demand a more equal system of distribution of the social product. No more than orthodox Soviet citizens can join with dissidents in demanding a more just distribution of social and political power.

The desonstruction of the Social Norm is therefore central to the revolutionary tradition of black America, for it is by and through the constitution of the Social Norm that their own scandalous exploitation and imminent genocide has been and is postulated.

When Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man, refused to go and sit on the back of the bus, she initiated a social struggle that would begin to deconstruct and dismantle the Social Norm that enabled not only Black, but the widespread social and economic exploitation of non-middle class Americans.

The Black movement that began with the Montgomery Bus Boycott initiated a revolt against the cultural and social colonialism of the Center bourgeoisie against the remote subordinates not only of Blacks but pf their own "white" lower classes; against the bourgeois law of value.

That some members of the bourgeoisie would support the Blacks and some of the remote subordinates murder the Blacks, does not refute the central argument, which is that white racism aimed at blacks serves to enable the exploited *vicarious identification o* Americans with their exploiters, thus enabling the continued transfer of wealth and *power* from the Remote Subordinates to the center.

As this transfer of wealth and power intensifies in contemporary society with widespread social changes occasioned by the technological revolution, the process of the social marginalization of more and more social groups is accelerated: As Jean Baudillard comments:

> "The more the system becomes concentrated the more it expels
> whole social groups. The more it becomes hierarchized accord-
> ing to the law of value...the more it excludes whoever resists
> this law. So it was that madness was confined (Michael Foucault)
> at the threshold of Western rationality." [1097]

But it is not so much a question of whoever resists this law as it is the imperative need to ritually constitute deviance - the place outside the Law - that then constitutes the "reality" of the law.

The social exclusion of the "mad" was central to the constitution of the bourgeois mode of reason as the Single Ratio. [1098] ·

The asylum and the plantation were parallel institutions. The forced confinement of black labour was central to the constitution of the social value of "free" labour, and to the constitution of the bourgeois mode of freedom as the single freedom - freedom to labour "freely".

Bourgeois reason and bourgeois freedom would represent themselves — as totalitarian concepts by the factual and representational production of disfigured stereotypes - the mad/Sambo who were made to represent - and to thereby delegitimate - alternative modes of reason, of freedom.

The "irrationalization" of the mad, the "negrofication" of the black were all parallel strategies of ideological incorporation, through the representation of heresy as disfigured deviance' through the empirical social marginalization of the Black, of the mad.

The plantation model with its social division between the elite brain (white) and the mass brawn (Black) has diffused outwards into all areas of contemporary society. As Baudillard argues, there is now "truly unlimited personal development" but "only for a statistically limited group at a very high level". At most it is achieved by a very mobile group of versatile technocrats, who assume all decision - making functions, and by a mass of disqualified persons, who are on their own and socially irresponsible while having the illusion of participation and personal growth." [1099]

Cyra McFadden's best selling novel about the life in the suburban ghetto of Marin County brilliantly chronicles the process that Baudillard describes.[   ] The meaningless work of the inhabitants of the affluent ghettos is matched-and out-worsened-by the <u>scarcity of work</u> in the poverty city ghettoes, a scarcity, a lack of employment that ritually excludes the inhabitants from the ostensible social project of the society - i.e. doing a fair days' work for a fair day's pay:

> "This leads to the paradox of social groups who are compelled
> to fight for a place in the circuit of work and of productivi-
> ty, <u>the paradox of generations</u> who are left out or placed off-
> limits by the very development of the prouductive forces. The
> very reverse of capitalism's initial situation." [1100]

The plantation was of course the extreme form of the response to capitalism's "initial situation". If "nigger-breaking" was the mechanism which "broke" Africans into "Negroes" and enabled the forced intensive labour necessary to the system and the social order at that time, contemporary 'niggerbreaking' of young black males - no longer needed for the labour process -takes place through joblessness rates. James Stewart and Joseph Scott point out that:

> "U.S. government figures indicate that since World War II the
> ratio of the Black unemployment rate has been almost consistent-
> ly 2:1." (1101)

Where not unemployed, Blacks and teenagers are trapped in the secondary sector low-wage sector of the economy, as contrasted to the high wage primary sector. [   ] What is defined as the systematic bifurcation of the economy, produces unemployment or underdevelopment which then leads to welfare stigmatization. The attempt to escape this trap leads to another trap - the prison system.

But as Baudillard points out this syndrome is no longer confined to Blacks even if they are the most extreme example. Both in the developed and

underdeveloped world, internal archipelagos of "new social groups that are de facto dropouts prove,

> "The incapacity of the system to "socialize" the society in its traditionally strategic level, even by violent contradic-
> tions at the level of exile." [ll02]

Increasingly the "outlyer" consciousness of blacks is now becoming widespread as whole social groups and generations experience the different variants of social marginalization - economic , social, political and cultural- to which they are condemned. The process is inevitable due to

> "the centralization and technocratic pyramidalization of the
> system' which expels larger and larger numbers into the zone
> of marginality" [ll03]

Baudillard argues that the new social transformation will depend on the extent to which these socially excluded groups radically adopt their marginality,

> "their forced exteriority to the system in order to call the
> system into question'...from the exterior" [ll04]

It is only from the exterior, from the place of marginality that the logic of the system can be called into question,

> "as a code, as a culture, as an interiorized social space..."
> It is there - in the exterior social space that 'subversion'
> as destinct from 'contradiction' which 'operates at the in-
> terior of the system', is born." [ll05]

This monograph argues that the black popular Post-Middle Passage culture was created in this exterior social space, out of an outlyer consciousness that was born from the sustained experience of social marginality. Because of this, even as the record industry makes black music the "raw material" of its profit production, and diffuses it globally, the bourgeois order itself creates the condition of possibility of its own subversion.

For if as Marx argues labor - power was not just another commodity since it had the property of creating more surplus value, so Black music is not just another "raw material" but one that comes with it, the weight and charge of subver-sive desire, of a subversive consciousness - one related to "song" and "dance"; to all that has no meaning, in the economic reality of the dominant order. Black popular music then becomes the Trojan horse within the bourgeois walls; and its power lies in its ability to subvert the system of psychic repression, the interior colonialism which puts into play the strategies of social repres-sion at the level of the individual, of his micro-activity upon the world.

The jazz culture sprung from the black experience subverts the cultural colonialism of the system by the radicality of its represented desire. The culture of social marginality and the widespread extension of the experience of social marginalization meet each other at this point in time. For the "marginals" - economic, political, social, cultural - have come increasingly to constitute a new global force. The new universal is no longer the division between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but the far more comprehensive division between the socially incorporated - including the "white" and the skilled proletariat - and the socially marginalized - including the lower strata of the proletariat, and different strata of the bourgeoisie itself, and of course, the marginal archipelagoes of the unemployed and the Gulag and prison archipelagoes.

As Baudillard argues, the "marginals",

"Excluded from the game, their revolt henceforth aims at the rules of the game, Desocialized, they defeat the capitalist socialist reality principle, and not merely their exploitation by the system. Segregated, discriminated against, satellized, they are gradually relegated to a position of non-marked terms by the 'structuration' of the system as a code. Their revolt thus aims at the abolition of code, this strategy composed of distinctions, separations, discriminations, oppositions which are structured and hierarchized..." [106]

To aim at the code is to aim at the Social Law of Value central to the present mode of social relations.

The Sixties ·   embodied a new mode of revolution, one that aimed explicitly at the code -

"The Black revolt aims at race as a code, at a level much more radical than economic exploitation. The revolt of women aims at the code that makes the feminine a non-marked term. The Youth revolt aims at the extremity of racial discrimination in which it has no right to speak. The same holds for all those social groups that fall under the structural bar of repression, of relegation to a place where they lose their meaning. The position of revolt is no longer that of the economically exploited; it aims less at the extortion of surplus value than at the imposition of the code which inscribes the present strategy of social domination..." [107]

As we have argued in this monograph the nigger-breaking model of exploitation reveals that the 'imposition of the code' is the condition of possibility that enables all forms of social exploitation, including economic exploitation All ruling groups depend, for the preservation of their hegemony, on their control
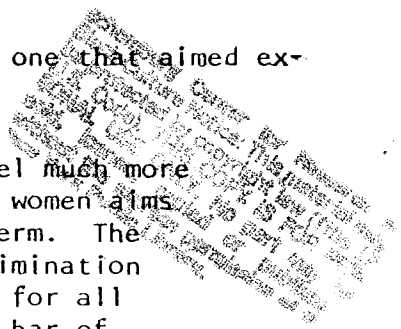
of the means of communication and <u>representation</u>. It is through this control that they legitimate their expropriation of the social power of others.

The subversive role of black popular culture lies in its counter-communication of desire, its counter-representation of reality; and its power lies in its very invisibility, inaudibility, since its "language" moves outside the reality principle of the dominant group - outside its kosmos, its law of value.

We would like to argue that what Joachim Berendt defines as the <u>jazz culture</u> [   ] is esentially the cultural expression of the <u>socially marginalized</u> who <u>experience</u> the "place" of the Native, of the contingent Other; of the Hegelian slave. It is the socially marginalized who come to constitute the <u>popular forces</u> of a social order; and who become the bearers of what we would like to label as an unofficial populism; populism not as a political element - as in aristocratic and in the multiple forms of bourgeois populism, and indeed of normative populism - but populism as a mode of social being; a new universal.

Berendt points to the pervasiveness of the jazz culture in which we live:

"All the music we hear in T.V. series and on top-40 radio, in
hotel lobbies and in elevators, in commercials and in movies;
all the music to which we dance, from Charleston to rock; all
that music comes from jazz...In these times, when musical sounds
accompany the take off on a plane as well as detergent sales
pitch, the "sounds around us" directly influence our way of
life, our life styles...taking an active interest in jazz means
carrying some of the power, warmth, and intensity of jazz into
our lives."   [108]
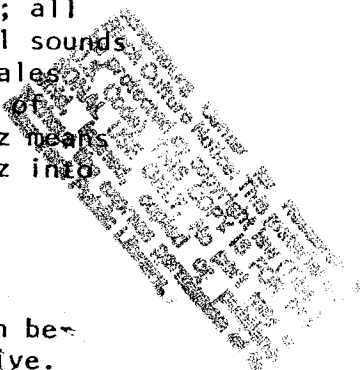
Berendt relates <u>jazz styles</u> to their social eras:

"Almost all great jazz musicians have felt the connection be-
tween their playing styles and the times in which they live.
The untroubled joys of Dixieland corresponds to the days
just prior to World War I. The 'restlessness of the roaring
twenties' comes to life in the Chicago style. Swing embodies
the massive standardization of life before World War II...
Bebop captures the nervous restlessness of the forties. Cool
jazz reflects the resignation of men who live well but know
that bombs are being stockpiled. Hard bop is full of protest
soon turned into conformity by the fashion for funk and soul
music. This protest gains an uncompromising even angry ur-
gency in free jazz. After this, in the jazz of the seventies,
there is a new phase of consolidation - ...in the sense of
painfully acquired wisdom..."   [104]

Yet underlying these changes there was always a continuity - the feeling

of the truth of <u>experience</u> - of the blues experience, the angst-dread-of-mod-
ern man.   And who should tell this blues, this angst, more truly than the social
group whose Time On the Cross has been a long and extended - whose isolation
and pain makes him the quintessential Kafkian modern man.

> "Music is your own experience, your thoughts, your wisdom.   If
> you don't live it, it won't come out on your horn."   [1110]

The aesthetic was the ethic.   The bourgeois self   which deferred its
gratification, minimized its pain, saved up its life - could know nothing of ano-
ther mode of social being in which life was to be ..   ..   in.. .. h
: .. ..e expended so that experience could be articulated, communicated
shared, participated.

This articulation, this <u>communication of experience</u>, at an affective level,
not only expresses the social, but constitutes the social by and through a
common recognition of a collective experience.   It is the <u>jazz culture</u> which
therefore binds all Americans, which Americanizes so to speak, allowing the
experience of a cultural identity without the need of a metaphysical Other   or
of an "ethnic enemy" to use Peter Worsley's terms.

There is some irony in the fact that it is S. I. Hayakawa who recognized
this when he argued that he related more to jazz than to "ethnic" Japanese
music.   And of course as Japan itself modernizes and industrializes its young
people too enter the jazz culture, fusing their ethnic popular music into the
universalizing popular matrix of the jazz culture.   All can tell the truth of
an experience - a collective experience of contemporary isolation, fragmenta-
tion, atomization - the <u>blues experience.</u> In the articulation of the experience
of isolation, new social bonds are constituted, a new universal.   The music re-
places ritual, structuring collective states of feeling, experienced individual-
ly , communicated through the counter-poetics of the blues.   [1112]

Against the criteria of the pervasive technological rationality of our
times, the jazz culture opposes the criterion of "emotional truth".   One
must pay one's dues to sing the blues - one cannot pay them by proxy.   One
must "know" as the "Gnosists" knew through <u>participation</u> in experience.   One
has to <u>love</u>, as Armstrong insists, to be able to play.

Joachim Berendt makes a distinction between the approach of Western-trained
musicians to music and the jazz approach:

"What particularly distinguishes jazz from traditional European music is sound...In a symphony orchestra, the members of, say, the string section, may wish to play their passages as homogeneously as possible. Thus it will be to their advantage for each member...to have the same ideal of sound and to know how to achieve it...For the jazz musician on the other hand, it is of no particular consequence to conform to a commonly accepted conception of sound. A jazz musician has his own sound. The criteria for the sound are based not aesthetically so much as emotionally and expressively...'The self of the musician is clearly mirrored - in the most immediate and direct fashion - in the non-standardized sound of the great jazz improvisers." [/113]

This "individuation" of sound is itself related to the cultural imperative of improvisation central to jazz. Berendt shows that the improvisation of a Jazz musician like Colemen Hawkens, is the parallel of the improvisation common to European music at the time of Bach; but an improvisational ability which was to be marginalized in nineteenth century European music and onwards.

The imperative of improvisation is linked to the ethic of participation.

"It (improvisation) is a conception basic to all musical cultures in which it is 'more important to make music yourself than to listen to the music of others'." [1114]

Earlier on Berendt had argued that jazz whilst not "unaesthetic, is opposed to standardized aesthetic, and indeed that music which conforms to the 'highest standard of jazz' can nevertheless be 'contrary to certain conventions of aesthetics'." [1115]

The insights of a Bahktin may be needed here - the contradiction may well lie in the difference between an essentially bourgeois defined aesthetic and the neo-popular aesthetic of jazz. Certainly this is suggested by the point that Berendt makes as to the difference between improvisation and composition:

"European music - insofar as it is composed - is capable of limitless reproduction by any one who possesses the instrumental, technical and conceptual capacities to grasp it. Jazz can be reproduced solely by the composer who produced it. The imitator may be technically better and intellectually superior - but he still cannot reproduce the music. A jazz improvisation is the personal expression of the improviser and his musical, spiritual, and emotional situation." [1116]

The ethic is the aesthetic. The player must reach through to the truth of his emotions, if his performance is to have soul, to meet with the shouts of recognition and approval from the audience_ "That's the truth'." [1117]

Until the explosion of the Sixties, and the /c ...... release from some aspects of the middle class code, a "white" Texan like Janis Joplin could not begin to reach the approximation to the emotional truth of a Bessie Smith, a Billie Holliday, as nearly as she did. To tell it like it is, one had to experience it like it is.

The middle class, white backlash, the clear racist retrogression of the Seventies would lead musically to the "age of pretty pop" as Robert Hilborn puts it.

Hillborn traces the movement away from the popular canon- the grotesque realism - a movement in which the original "big beat" of Rock and its distinct lineage and source in black rhythm and blues was gradually obscured by some of the "musical and social developments of the Sixties." [118]

One could almost speak of an aesthetic struggle between the grotesque realism of the popular canon and the pervasive return of a still socially hegemonic middle class aesthetic, whether this aesthetic was linked to the political Right or to the avant-garde left.

In the case of the former, sentimental backlash reigned, in the case of the latter the cultural revolution of the music itself - a social revolution was reduced to overt political protest, its rhythmic insistence watered down, the verbal logic imposed on the rhythmic logic.

> "...the dance beat of the music - traditionally the most impor-
> tant feature - was considered insignificant...by those who saw
> visions of the glorious counter-culture." [119]

In the late Sixties however, the youth culture began to return to the roots of Rock, back to Chuck Berry and Presley.

The "politicization" of the music - like its later prettification, para- doxically represented the struggle between the bourgeois aesthetic and the grotesque realism of the "a concentrated feature" like a living caricature.

But in the midst of the "prettification" and the New Left ... middle class politicization, the popular canon with its grotesque realism, and with a form of popular politics in which words and beat linked in an indissoduble unity, surfaced once again. This time it came down from another part of the Black Diaspora, from the heart of the shanty-town archipelago of the Jamaican periphery.
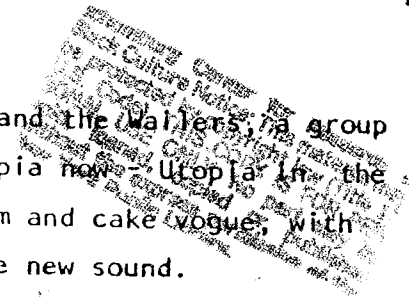
The big beat of reggae was carried by Bob Marley and the Wailers, a group who emerged from the Rastafarian representation of Utopia now - Utopia in the popular conception. The Frampton-Newton John ice cream and cake vogue, with its provincial romanticism, found its antagonist in the new sound.

The emergence of Marley from another part of the marginal archipelago, of the Black Diaspora, is the result of the cultural fusion between the Jamaican modes of popular and folk and cult music, and the widespread influence of rhythm and blues, diffused from the United States by the record industry; that rhythm and blues that would also be the musical source of white rock.

If we speak of the popular cultural revolution taking place in our times, we must see this cultural revolution as one linked to the technological developments which now diffuse popular "oral" cultures from one part of the globe to the Other, enabling a new universality of experience and creativity.

The meeting of the new technology with oral popular cultures parallels the meeting that was central to the bourgeois cultural revolution, the meeting between the ascendant bourgeoisie and the technology of print. Its world wide diffusion, the universalization of its cultural signification system - representing its own mode of culture, the culture of a social group as universal culture - was linked to the Gutenberg galaxy. The bourgeois conquest of the world would owe as much to print which diffused and codified its self-serving representation of reality - as to its productive system and superior military might. It was through print, that the bourgeoisie, the class of letters, the writing class par excellence, was able to delegitimate all alternative cultural modes related to alternative social structures.

It is to the extent that the bourgeoisie, as a social group - attempted to universalize its own experience as the Real experience, that the displacement of bourgeois cultural domination will call for a culture that is of a higher logical typing - that simultaneously delegitimates the totalitarian concept of a Single Culture; and yet at the same provides the basis for a new, non-homogenizing universal:

It is in this context that we can evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of cultural nationalism.

Cultural nationalism - spearheaded by an alienated radical intelligentsia, as in the Sixtiesm and as earlier in the movements of Negritude, of Afro-Cubanism, and of the Harlem Renaissance - fulfills the first task, that of delegitimating the hegemony of the Single Culture, of its homogenizing universality.

Tom Nairn in his discussion of contemporary Scottish cultural nationalism as one example of the contemporary resurgence of repressed natural minorities in Western Europe itself, defines all cutural nationalism as to the reaction of Ernest Gellner calls the "tidal wave of modernization."

As he writes in the case of Europe:

"Through it - (i.e. the wave of modernization) the advancing capitalism of the more bourgeois societies bore down upon the societies surrounding them. - societies which predominantly appear until the 1790's as buried in feudal and absolutist slumbers." [1120]
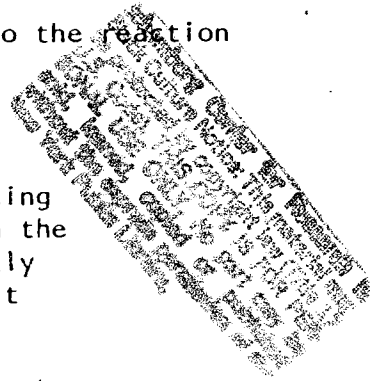
Nationalism -cultural and political and economic - was the response to a situation, in which the representation of progress and universality by the dominant nations "had turned into a means of domination. The Universal Republic of Anarcharsis Cloots had turned into a French Europe; the sphere of free commerce from which so much had been hoped...was turning into the domination...the tyranny of the English "city" over the European "country". In short, there was a sort of imperialism built into "development" and it had become a prime necessity to resist this aspect of "development." [1121]

In other words the bourgeois dream of the universal was linked to the cultural and economic domination of a few core "national" bourgeoisie over large global areas. Their universalism was a universalism privileged to suit their particular interests, in other words, a nationalist universalism which was culturally colonialist.

Enlightenment thinkers had however represented this as the universal march of all towards progress:

"They imagined continuous diffusion from the center to the preiphery, from the "leaders" to the regions still plunged in relative darkness. The metropolis would gradually elevate the rustic hinterland up to its level, as it were..." [1122]

This reaction, this reactive nationalism is usually spearheaded by the intelligentsia - at least, the representation of the reaction, since the popular forces express this reaction in spontaneous roots, uprisings etc. - "functioning, of course as the most conscious and awakened part of the middle classes." [1123]

But as Nairn shows, the intelligentsia must depend upon the popular forces who must determine "what the message" is.:

"These new middle classes, awakening to the grim dilemmas of
backwardness, are confronted by a double challenge. They have
to get *rid* of an anachronistic *ancien* regime as well as to
beat "progress" into a shape that suits their own needs and
class ambitions. They can only attempt this...by mobilizing
people. People is all they have got...Consequently the national
or would be national middle class is always compelled to 'turn'
to the people...speaking their language (...what had hitherto
been viewed as their 'British dialects'). Secondly, taking a
kindlier view of their general 'culture', that ensemble of cus-
toms, and notions...which the Enlightenment had *relegated* to
the museum (if not to the dust bin). [n2q]
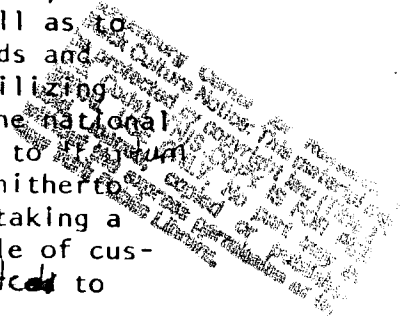
We can see the parallels between black cultural nationalism and the nation-
alism of the semi-peripheral and peripheral areas of the world. As Nairn writes,

"'external pressures of modernization and change put into motion
'the rise of nationalist awareness and movements' which then lead
to a bourgeois and intellectual populism', as the masses enter
'history and political existence for the first time'." (1125)

In order to <u>mobilize</u> its people, the radical intelligentsia, Nairn argues
is,

"Ineluctably driven towards ethnic particularism." [112A]

This "<u>ethnic particularism</u>" fulfills a vital function in delegitimating
the cultural imperialist code of the Single Nation Culture, Race, etc. To
this extent Black cultural nationalism constitutes a part of a global movement
by which different areas, nations, peoples attempt to autonomize their own de-
velopment by moving out of their assigned places in the economic scheme of the
core nations.

In the context of the United States however, the reaction of "ethnic par-
ticularism" Blacks, Asians, Chicanos - and of group particularism - Women
Students, Youth - had to do, not with the establishment of "national" indepen-
dence - but rather with the restructuring of the social order on <u>new terms</u>.

In other words it was the revolt of <u>social</u> groups rather than of politi-
cally national entities - and as such, a revolt directed at the social transfor-
mation of the hegemonic order; and at the transformation of its cultural signi-
fication system which legitimated the multiple hierarchies of the social order.

The movement of <u>ethnic particularism</u> - which inverted the hegemonic code,
was essentially an act of deconstruction of the <u>Single Ethnic</u> (WASP), the Single
Race, (White) the Single Sex (Male) etc. In the case of a <u>national revolt</u>, the
new <u>ethnic particularism</u> - as for example in the new African nations - would

lead to the replacement of the former Social Norm by the new Social Norm of the new state - whether <u>nationalist</u> or <u>socialist</u>.

In the case of the United States however, the hegemonic <u>universalism of</u> the WASPS was replaced by a new pseudo-universalism of <u>ethnic pluralism</u> in which Blacks were formally incorporated as one other "ethnic" strand.

The <u>social incorporation</u> of blacks as one "ethnic" group amongst others after and as a result of the Sixties movements of revolt was to demoralize and weaken the black movement. A new "ethnic" pluralism replaced the pluralism formerly hierarchized in a relation to the WASP norm and the Negro - <u>non-norm</u>.

All "ethnic" groups were now represented as "equal" - they all had their "ethnic" cultures to guard and protect, even the Blacks. [   ] All <u>"ethnic"</u> groups should be given equal opportunity to "freely" compete. The central white/ Black division of the society was represented as a majority/minority division. Blacks were strategically equated with <u>Women/Chicanos and Asians</u> as a minority.

In this <u>representation</u>, and in the social policies which afforded new opportunities, the concerted action of the different groups in the Sixties - in which they had measured their progress in relation to the white/middle class/social norm - was replaced by inter-group rivalry. All other groups equated as <u>minorities</u>, used Blacks as their <u>reference point.</u> [1127]

Policies to deal with Black social oppression - the most widespread and pervasive in the nation- were curtailed with the explanation that "funds" had to be "evenly" divided between the different groups.

The women's group - with its large numbers of white middle-class women - began to displace Blacks and Chicanos in Affirmative Action employment opportunities. The Asians - who as immigrant minorities - had always enjoyed a sponsored mobility situation in relation to American Blacks, also displaced Blacks. [1128]

The Chicano movement was more problematic. In the Southwest, Chicanos - like Blacks - had constituted large pools of the socially marginalized. The middle class Black looked down on these Mexicans.

But in the social order Mexican-Americans are represented as <u>whites</u> - and perceive themselves as <u>whites</u> in relation to blacks, and, given the racist structures of the United States, are no less racist in relation to Blacks than other whites.

Chicano <u>ethnicity</u> like all ethnicities, displayed and displays a dual face. In relation to the Anglo-norm it is revolutionary - in relation to the Black non-norm it is reactionary. Thus part of the "ethnic" struggle of the Chicanos has been directed at the Black as well as at the Anglo. The frequent black/Mexican clashes in the prison system attest to this. [1124]

The recent claim by the Chicanos that they will eventually constitute a sizeable majority in California, is a claim made by the new Chicano bourgeoisie. As for their black counterparts elsewhere, a sizeable majority in the cities will ensure the new Chicano bourgeoisie's occupying political posts that had formerly been reserved for Anglos. "Ethnicity" is therefore the strategy of this new bourgeoisie, Black and Chicano. As the representative of their ethnic groups in the competitive struggle for "ethnic rights" their own self-assertion and self-fulfillment as a group is assured. As Gary Gervantes, the Chicano actor recently asserted:

But the "ethnicity" code, whilst tailored for the social incorporation of the stratum of the new technocratic bourgeoisie, black, Chicano, women, students-cannot deal with the problem of the more intensive social marginalization of the black and Chicano popular masses; of the lower social groups of women. Indeed it can be argued that "ethnicity" - born out of cultural nationalism - is a strategy which socially incorporates a new stratum at the same time as it legitimates the social marginalization of the majority on the basis of their lack of skills/and/or intellectual 'genetic endowment'.

By fighting to defend and extend "ethnic" rights, the groups and organizations that emerged from the Sixties have found it impossible to find the mechanisms of struggle to deal with the intensive large-scale social disintegration, economic and cultural destruction of the black and Chicano ghettoes. The prison system is now the logical extension of the black - and of the Chicano-ghettoes.

The societal quota system works effectively to ensure that the poverty/ marginal/archipelago constitutes Blacks as its majority inhabitants. Black people "comprise one-third of the poor in America." The figure alone reveals the political strategy of the "minority code", of "ethnic" pluralism which reduces blacks from being a specific socially produced sub-caste to being an "ethnic" minority, equatable to any other.

As Robert C. Johnson points out, relating Black crime to economic inequality,

"The crime rate for Blacks has historically varied directly with unemployment." [131]

The distribution of jobs is directly based on the social under-valuation of Blacks in relation to whites. Blacks are then directly produced as a deviant criminal social group.

"minority" but as a social group defined as the Deviant Other to the normative
white population of the United States. Were Blacks to become a majority over-
night - like the majority Blacks in South Africa - their social exploitation
would not cease: only its form would be different.

As a minority, its social exploitation can be carried out in the name of
the rights of the majority - white racism can then .: represented as the defense
of democracy, of the will of the majority. . : Yet as the case of South Africa
and Rhodesia shows, Blacks are not socially exploited because they are a numerical
minority - nor are women - but because the structure of the social order legiti-
mates a mode of social relations in which a group whose skins are white are so-
cially valued in relation to the relative social non-value of the black. This
relative social valuation then establishes unequal relations of exchange which
enable the continued transfer of land labour, social wealth and social power
from the socially under-valued to the socially over-valued group.

A mode of social relations constituted about a Social Norm and a Deviant
Other establishes essentially relations of accumulation and expropriation. Gould-
ner has shown how the constitution of the Social Norm as the Symbolic Proletariat
in the Soviet Union enabled the representation of large sections of the peasants
as the Deviant Other; thereby legitimating - and obtaining majority support for -
the wholesale transfer of property not only from the delegitimated capitalist
but from the mass peasantry - the nigger of the Soviet System.

The constitution of the Social Norm as white/civilized in a relation to
red/Savage enabled the mass-transfer of lands from the Indians to the European
settlers; as the representation of human/white to inhuman/brute Negro enabled and
legitimated the transfer of labour and social power from the blacks to the whites.
Thus the symbolic White played and continues to play the role of the Symbolic
Proletariat in the American system - i.e. the role of the Social Norm. And the
Black, whatever the changes introduced after the Sixties still plays the role
of the Deviant Other.

As the role of the dissident in the Soviet Union serves to legitimize the
totalitarian control of power, and the role of the Negro in the United States
served to legitimize the under-valuation of manual labour, so the new role of the
ghetto-black, of low I.Q. and high crime rate, serves to legitimate the system's
ruthless exclusion and marginalization of the unskilled - of all colours - of the
old, of all those who no longer serve the production and reproduction of the

productive system. His absolute social and political power-lessness also serves
to value relatively higher degrees of social and political power, and the threat
of his deviant presence serves to engender authoritarian responses of law and
order in the majority, legitimating acts of official terrorism.

The mechanism of apartheidt, of Jim Crow laws, of high/low I.Q. are mecha-
nisms of social inscription which enable a societal production and reproduction
of differently valued social groups. "Nigger breaking" had everything to do
with the slave's acceptance of his relative social value, I.Q. testing with
the Ghetto blacks' acceptance of his expendability.

In the Seventies, the societal constitution of social value has not ended,
but its form has changed. Overt White' racism has been replaced by a new "eth-
nically" defined racism, by a 'majority' racism. The definition of Blacks as a
"minority" - rather than as a socially produced caste - then defines the limits
of social rehabilitation to which a "minority" is entitled. As a result the
widespread perception of the Blacks as having received as much as they are en-
titled to obscures the massive fact of his present contemporary social oppression.

The failure of the "ethnic" paradigm as it emerged from the black cultural
nationalist movement of the Sixties lead to what one scholar calls a return to
and a <u>repeat of the Thirties.</u> [1132] The increasing abjuration of black cultural
nationalism and the return to differing variants of Marxism is understandable.

The need for a new "universal" - if even for strategic reasons, given the
black minority position - meets with the fact that Marxism still provides the
only coherent theoretical framework of action for the radical intelligentsia.

In addition, the success of a Cabral in Africa, especially his utilization
of the cultural variable in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism, inspired
former cultural nationalists like Baraka, to adopt a variant of Marxist-Leninist
ideology.

Baraka turned to Maoism, the variant of Marxism that most emphasizes the
cultural factor, and in his later writings stress the instrumental utilization
of popular culture by the new revolutionary bourgeoisie. Against the "popular"
analysis of Fanon who insisted on the need for the self-liberation of the colonized,
Baraka stresses the need for the professional revolutionaries' manipulation and control of
popular consciousness. Cultural mobilization - as for orthodox cultural nation-
alists culture is seen as instrumental for "the liberation of the productive forces,"
then becomes the primary task of the the professional revolutionary.
As Baraka writes:

"The revolutionary's task is to transform his culture from an
exploited culture to a militant fighting culture. It is this
view that we believe is reflected when Comrade Cabral said,
'The more one realizes that the chief goal of the liberation
movement goes beyond the achievement of political independence
to the superior level of complete liberation of the productive
forces and the construction of economic, social and cultural
progress of a people, the more evident is the necessity of
undertaking a selective analysis of the values of the culture
within the framework of the struggle for liberation. The
need for such an analysis of cultural values becomes more
acute when in order to face colonial violence, the liberation
movement must mobilize and organize the people, under the
direction of a strong and disciplined political organization
in order to resort to violence in the cause of freedom - the
armed struggle for national liberation!! " < 1/33 >

In using the Cabral model, Baraka, like all Black marxists impose a "major-
ity" peripheral model on a <u>minority core</u> situation; the model of a <u>political/</u>
<u>national</u> anti-colonial struggle on a cultural/social struggle.

In the majority model of the first situation, the social oppressors are a
minority - the socially oppressed are a majority. In addition in a peripheral
situation, the productive forces are underdeveloped, and the new Party/State
bourgeoisie can base their <u>hegemony</u> on their represented ability to be able to
"liberate the productive forces."

In the United States as we have pointed out, the majority - as whites -
participate in the social oppression of the minority, and the productive forces
have been developed and "liberated" by the hegemonic bourgeoisie. The mode of
revolution in the semi- periphery - a technocratic bourgeois revolution - cannot
be implemented in the United States. Either the revolution here will be popular
or it will not take place, - In other words it will constitute, as Cruse points
out, a different mode of revolution.

Thus the "majority code" which underlay the Marxian thesis of a national
and/or global "proletariat", and the Leninist thesis of a worker/peasant
alliance - a code which is operative in Africa, and in the Caribbean, making
possible the plan of Revolution based on an inversion of the Social Norm,
the white-property-owning settler bourgeoisie to be replaced by the Native Black
Majority as the Social Norm—by the nature of the minority position of black
Americans, is not operative here.

Indeed, where the Chicanos in California can plan on an eventual Chicano
majority and the inversion of the Social Norm from White Anglo to White-legally white -
Mexican-Americans, the black can plan on no such inversion of the Norm.

The American Black is therefore compelled by the nature of his circumstances to initiate a socio-cultural revolution that goes beyond - even while incorporating the valuable aspects of liberal "pluralism", Marxist proletarianism, and t..e cultural nationalist ethnicity. Rather than the inversion of the Social Norm, the Black American is compelled to engage with a form of Revolution which can deconstruct the very concept of the Social Norm - and posit an alternative mode of social relations.

For if orthodox Marxism was to confine the black struggle to subsuming blacks under the single "economic" identity of "labour", orthodox cultural nationalism was to do the same confining the black struggle under a single ethnic and/or "racial" identity.

In struggling for the "class rights" of the proletariat or for the "race rights of the Negro", both alternative programs constituted themselves as internal critiques of the system by accepting as axiomatic the definitions imposed by the dominant code, even where they inverted these definitions.

Hence if orthodox Marxism constituted itself about the Symbolic Proletariat-Owner (capitalist) orthodox cultural nationalism inverted the Symbolic White, constituting itself about the Symbolic Black.

The validity of both inversions lay in the extent to which they challenged the hegemonic consciousness, by inverting its terms of social value; and thereby calling into question the "natural" domination of the bourgeoisie; of the whites.

Orthodox Marxists was to delegitimate black cultural·nationalism as a chauvinist and "racial" movement. Yet given the dominant representation of the Single White Race, the inverted concept of the social centrality of the Black f or Negro Race - the inversion of the terms - was a cultural mechanism whose emotional appeal to the socially repressed black popular forces was as powerful, as the inversion of Capital to Labour was the the economically exploitated proletariat.

Yet in spite of this, blacks were and are in the context of the United States primarily a social grouping, delegitimated and exploited in racial - and not in either, primarily ethnic or class terms.

The oversight of the social definition of the Black struggle - and the recent "ethnic" incorporation of a stratum of the new black bourgeoisie has enabled concomitantly the heightened and intensive exploitation of lower-class-ghetto blacks.

Whilst middle class black income and social opportunities have been increased, the joblessness rate and the social disintegration of lower class blacks has also increased, reaching intolerable proportions.

As Robert Johnson argues, the prison system becomes - as the plantations once were, and the Indian reservations - the new concentrations for the socially proscribed.

The ratio of blacks in prison, like the ratio of black joblessness - makes clear that these ratios are caused by societal mechanisms, by societal attitudes.

The bourgeois order has ascribed social value only to those directly engaged in the production of s-value. The delegitimation of the unskilled white and black increases with the development of technology and automation which no longer needs unskilled labour. Increasingly the prison system becomes a system intended - like the ghettoes, to convince the unskilled of their own lack of worth, of social value.

The revindication of this self-worth was central to the Attica revolt. As the prisoner, L. D. Barkeley wrote:

> "We are men. We are not beasts. And we do not intend to be
> beaten and driven as such. The entire prison populace, that
> means everyone of us have, everyone, has seen ruthless bru-
> talization and disregard for the prisoners...This is but the
> sound before the fury of those who are oppressed." [1134]

The prisons are the extension of the contemporary form of the carcefal - to use Foucault's term - in which deviance is inscribed. Joblessness is not represented as the failure of the system but as the "crime" of its victim; The prisons become the Free Worlds's Gulag Archipelagoes - the political deviants of the Soviet Union are the counterparts of the economic lumpen of the West. The Attica revolt, the brief brilliant life of George Jackson, the emergence of Malcolm X, the explosion of the music and social creed of a Marley, attest to the truth of Harold Cruise's statement that:

> "The ghettoes of colour which exist all over the United States
> and the non-Western world, have today become the endemic well
> springs of revolutionary ideologies that will change the social
> relationship of races." [1135]

The black ghettoes in the United States are the extreme form of contemporary social marginalization, are the Black and Blues of the American Dream.

They exist as witness proof of the fact that the quantitative development of the productive forces cannot in and by themselves lead to a revolution in social relations. [1136]

9|2

Indeed the quantitative development of the productive forces have ̶l̶e̶g̶i̶t̶i̶m̶a̶t̶e̶d̶ and obscured a social breakdown of extraordinary proportions in the United States, and the ghettoes exist on the <u>hostile frontier</u> of this total breakdown of a social order, of an unprecedented social pollution of human existence.

The need for a revolution in the global and national <u>mode of social relations</u> is most urgently experienced by the socially prescribed, by the "deviants" of the marginal archipelagoes whose material and spiritual deprivation is caused not by the incapacity of the productive forces to produce - but by the inability of a social order based on relations of accumulation and expropriation, to find the mechanisms for rational social and global distribution.

In any society, the mode of distribution is interlinked with the mode of social relations - it is the mode of distribution that produces the king as king, the subject as subject; and it is the mode of social relations that also legitimates the mode of distribution. A reciprocal mode of distribution based on a one to one ratio of economic exchange - finally depends on a mode of social relations based on the Hegelian dream of reciprocal social valuation.

The transformation of the social order therefore comes to depend on the struggle of the socially marginalized to demand, in the words of Fanon, human behaviour i.e. reciprocal recognition from the Other.

The experience of the black ghettoes and of the marginal archipelagoes, reveal that a global social revolution will be based on a goal-seeking activity that goes beyond the more re-expropriation of social wealth - to strike at the cultural value system that legitimates both the material, the psychological, and the social exploitation of the Remote Subordinates of the world - as the condition of possibility of the expropriation of social wealth and power.

The Attica revolt not only revealed the breakdown of the bourgeois moral order - Rockefeller's Attica massacre was far more subversive of the American social order than Nixon's Watergate - it also revealed a new demand, the demand for the re-expropriation of <u>self-worth</u>, by and through participation in social power, the only demand that cannot be satisfied by the hegemonic system.

The black cultural underlife, with its persistent micro-cultural activity from the spirituals to jazz, from Myal to Marley, have constituted a counter-experience of self-worth, of self-actualization - outside the middle class discourse of reference.

When this cultural life was penetrated by the pressures of urbanization, modernization and <u>increased marginalization</u>, the underlife erupted into a new

form of social revolt - one that fought to "demand" social recognition from the Other as urgently as it fought for material betterment. Indeed a form of revolt that revealed the unbreakable link between the two.

This was the illuminating thesis of Richard Wrights's Native Son - the revolutionary claim that lack of societal recognition, of the experience of self-worth and of social value is as urgent and imperative a lack as the lack of food. Wright's novel voiced perhaps what may be the central "political" theory to be derived - as Frazier argued - from "Negro-folklore" and the black experience. That this "lack" of self-worth, of social value - a lack produced by institutionalized social relations - can only be filled by the refusal of the non-valued to continued to accept the mode of relations that produces this lack; by his direct action to change the terms of the relation.

This is the imperative of Wright's fictional Bigger Thomas, one which, even at the brink of his execution for murder never leaves him - the imperative to continue to fight for the social life which has denied him, the refusal to accept his social death. Wright, after Bigger's refusal to accept religious ministration, writes,

> "He felt that his making the priest stand away from him and wonder about his motives for refusing to accept the consolation of religion was a sortof recognition of his personality on a plane other than than which the priest was ordinarily willing to make." [113]

That Fanon was excited by the work of Richard Wright is well documented. "Native Son" was to reveal the concentrated explosive quality of the cultural colonialist experience of the minority Black American, adding new dimensions both to Fanon's own Caribbean experience, and to his original contribution to revolutionary theory - the insight into the fact that the revolution of the "natives" is above all a social and cultural revolution - a self liberation from that internalized consciousness shaped and patterned by the hegemonic group.

The claim that Wright's fictional Bigger makes upon the world - a claim that is impelled by the nature of the total social repression which he experiences in his ghetto existence - is the claim to the right to actualize his human powers. This is the ideal right, C. P. McPherson points out that is posited as central to the philosophy of liberal democracy. [113]

Yet Wright portrays the blockage that Bigger's social circumstances impose, offering him the choice of either accepting the negation of this right for blacks- or actualizing these human powers in anti-social acts. It is in this context

that Wright is able to show that the act of murder and the subsequent "criminal activities", are the only _creative_ acts permitted Bigger by the social order - the only opportunity to "actualize" his human power.

The "materialism" of official Marxism is uanble to comprehend the social claim for recognition of his personality that Bigger makes; the "need" of the Hegelian slave to work upon the world so that the self can be affirmed; and that affirmation expressed.

This theoretical incomprehension leads Bigger's Marxist lawyer, Max, to totally miss the meaning, to be even afraid to accept the meaning, of Bigger's final affirmation of self -

"That which I killed for, I am." [1139]

Yet this claim for self-affirmation fuelled the revolt of the Sixties.

As Raya Dunayevskaya points out,

"Black was the color that helped make the 1960's so exciting a decade... We became simultaneously, to the African Revolutions and the Black Revolution in America. By their self-activity, self-organization, self-development, the black youth struck out against white supremacy in the quiescent South, and with unparalleled courage took everything that was dished out to them - from beatings, bombings ad prisons to cattle prods, shooting and even death - and still unarmed, continued fighting back. They initiated a new epoch of youth revolt, white as well as black, throughtout the land: There was not a single method of struggle, from sit-ins, teach-ins, dwell-ins, wade-Ins, to freedom Rides, Freedom marches, Freedon schools and confrontations with the Establishment, Bull Connors' bulldogs and whips in Alabama or the smartly uniformed soldiers on the steps of the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. that did not have Its origin in the Black movement. Moreover this was so not only as strategy and tactic but as underlying philosophy and perspectives for the future." [1142]

If, then, the Black Sixties initiated a revolution in the mode of revolution it was primarily because the social revolution initiated by Blacks was the first form of revolt directed explicitly not at the bourgeois _mode of production_, which is only a partial aspect - but _at its cultural signification system_, the system which legitimates its mode of domination, its mode of social relations, its mode or production.

In revolting against his prescribed "negro-identity" Blacks set in motion the deconstruction/delegitimation of the social order of the American bourgeoisie; of its cultural and internal economic colonialism. And the aim of the revolt was paralleled by the means - the self-liberation from the prescribed consciousness,

the prescribed identity was the end itself realized by the means - widespread and pervasive popular participation.

The Sixties could almost have been called a social revolt based on identity - a widespread refusal to accept any longer the prescribed ego identities structured by the legitimating inscriptions and images that sustained the economic hegemony of the property-owning bourgeoisie.

This moving out of place on an internal scale had been matched by the "moving out of place" of large groups of people in the periphery and semi-periphery - the transformation of their identities from "colonials" to independent societies. In this transformation of identity, movements of cultural nationalism would either precede or accompany movements towards political and/or economic nationalism.

As Malraux points out - once Nehru and Mao had come to power, we had come to the end of one world-order and were caught in a crisis of transformation into a new "decolonized" one. It is the contention of this monograph that this new decolonized world will be one based on a popular mode of social relations or it will be not at all.

This monograph argues that the black cultural underlife and the black minority experience in America compels blacks in the United States to be the bearers of a political and philosophical creed of populism - one which incorporates the populist elements of Liberalism, Marxism and cultural nationalism but goes beyond them.

Populism can be said to have constituted the indigenous revolutionary tradition of the United States - if we define populism as the politics of micro-activity - of the molecular - to borrow Deleuze and Guattari's term. [   ]

But Peter Worsley has distinguished between differing modes of populism, and makes a valuable distinction between a bourgeois-mode of populism, i.e. a normative populism, from what I would like to define as the populism of the non-norm, of the socially marginal.

He makes the point that participation is a central ethic to all modes of populism but insists on a differentiation,

> "...whilst we can recognize clearly mass participation and involve-
> ment in, say, Nuremberg rallies and street demonstrations, it is
> important to distinguish serious, effective and independent popular
> intervention from manipulated, purely illusory or symbolic pseudo-
> intervention."   [114]

Worsley then argues that the hallmark of <u>populism</u> - rather than of pseudo-populism, would be "genuine and effective popular participation". As he goes on to say,

> "Populism then, would refer more widely, to popular <u>participation</u>
> in general (including spurious 'pseudo-participation'.)" [p. 246] (1142)

As we have noted before, <u>pseudo-participation</u> is related to strategies of social incorporation by ruling groups who seek popular forms which can cut across caste/class divisions and unify the popular forces so that they can be harnessed to the realization of the social project of the ruling groups. This is the populism we refer to as <u>normative</u> populism i.e. fascism, white racism proletarian "orthodoxy" etc.

But even this pseudo-populism pays allegiance to the power and force of the popular ideal - to its often submerged, many times betrayed but still persistent demand for the both the experience of social unity; and for the direct participation in cultural and political activity.

In a sense then, in the context of the U.S.A. as Worsley seemt to imply, genuine populism would be the effort to implement and actualize in real life - a pre-existing democratic American ideal, one which,

> "has involved the conception and the praxis of the people in the
> governing of their own lives, however ineffective the achieve-
> ment. [   ]

The social revolutionary tradition of the United States is born from the contradiction between the ideal and the multiple variants of the actual negation of the ideal. The various populist movements - both those of the Right and those of the Left - have been born out of the perception of varieties of social marginalization of social power the multiple forms of the expropriation of Social power.

> 'The <u>normative populist</u> movements which still moved in the bour-
> geois law of value attempted to find <u>scapegoats</u>. Their program
> of social reforn, rather than of social transformation, and their
> goal of defending or reclaiming <u>a former social centrality</u> tended
> to develop the reactionary aspects of populism. [1143]

Yet reactionary or revolutionary, populism - including the Women's, youth and students' populism of the Sixties - has always constituted the demand by multiple social groups for <u>direct popular participation</u> in the governing of their lives, the reclaiming of their expropriated social power.

There is no other group whose social power, as a group has been more totally and completely expropriated than that of the Blacks. Indeed his persistent "negrofication" has been the attempt to explain the contradiction of a system which allegedly based on "free enterprise" but every conceivable societal barrier to the Blacks' participation in this "free enterprise".

The Black struggle in all its forms has been essentially not the struggle for "ethnic rights" but rather the struggle for the social rights of a group socially marginalized on the alleged basis of their racial inferiority.

The revindication of their racial equality is and was therefore central to their struggle for social rights. But as the Seventies show, with the massive social disintegration of the black ghettoes, Blacks are no longer to be marginalized on the basis of allegedly racial or ethnic i.e. cultural inferiority. Rather the poor - including those Blacks who are poor - now are all represented as poor because of inferior genetic endowments. And Blacks as a race, are alleged to have the most inferior genetic endowments of all "ethnic groups". This representation then enables those whites who are poor to substitute racial pride for social/material equality.

The transformation of the terms has not changed the reality of massive black social marginalization. The revindication of black "ethnicity" is not enough. The black experience is the witness example of the experience of the socially marginalized. The forging of a theory and praxis based on the social creed of an imperative and to the manifold forms of social exploitation, which extend far beyond material exploitation is the task of the Black intelligentsia. [/144]

The task of Black scholarship for the Eighties will be to continue the thereotical delegitimation of the cultural universe of the bourgeoisie, of its representation of reality, of its control of the way we view reality.

It in this sense that we will be continuing the task of the post-Middle passage voyager i.e. the transformation of the hostile social frontier that he encountered; It is now our task to translate the implications of the cultural underlife into the mainstrean - to rehumanize it, reinterpret it, re-represent it and on the basis of this counter-representation to actively and "materially" transform it. There can be no revolutionary praxis without revolutionary counter-representation.

The black cultural underlife of the Middle Passage voyagers initiated the counter-representation of social equality that would find its counterparts in the many non-normative popular movements of the American scene; in the labour movements, in the Women's, Students, Youth, Hippies -. If Utopia is to be realized it must first be represented, and imaginatively constituted. The blues-man's and the rock star's quest for love and happiness continues to secularize the longing for the absolute in the welter of consumer satisfaction, and of material deprivation.

Both - banal consumer satisfaction, the opposite of enjoyment - and material deprivation and misery, are the results of social exploitation. Social exploitation is based on the societal production of social powerlessness; of the centralization of all forms of political, social, and cultural activity.

Social power can only be reexpropriated - since it is not a thing but a relation - by the direct participation of peoples themselves in the social transformation which will return to people the decisions over their ways of life and death. If "nigger-breaking" was designed to expropriate social power then the revindication of the black is directly related to the task of building a new national and world order, based on reciprocal social relations. It is only on the basis of such a social order - one in which the self recognizes itself by and through the reciprocal recognition of the Other - that the central contradiction between an unrivalled productive capacity and a distorted mode of destruction that produces the culturally deprived affluent suburbs and the massive physical hunger and deprivation of the marginal archipelagoes can be solved.

The liberation of America from its white racism is central to the deconstruction of the bourgeois mode of domination; to the establishment of non-exploitative social relations.

As the Ultimate Deviant, the buffoon, the floormat of the world, the most socially marginalized and devalued of all the races and social groups of the world system, blacks are called upon to take up both bourgeois revolutions where they left off. If the core revolution of the property-bourgeoisie was to delegitimate the political mode of expropriation of wealth and power implemented by the aristocracy and monarchy; if the revolutions lead by new semi-periphery bourgeoisie were to delegitimate the economic mode of expropriation implemented by the property-bourgeoisie, blacks by the nature of their experience must delegitimate the cultural signification systems; the cultural hegemonic imperialism, by which all modes of expropriation of wealth and power are legitimated and carried out.

The Black experience reveals that it is   cultural and social marginali-
zation that enables all subsequent forms of exploitation including the economic.
This social marginalization is itself enabled by a hegemonic mode of social
relations, held together by the ruling group's control of the means of sociali-
zation, of the means of legitimation

The decentralization of the means of socialization, the return of "social
power" to where it can be put into play at a micro-level cannot be accomplished
by technical means - but rather by a self-transformation of consciousness in which
self-worth and social value no longer responds to the bourgeois law of value -
but where social value becomes reciprocal, based on reciprocal recognition. The
dream of reciprocal recognition - an ideal for Hegel - is the very basis of the
popular aesthetic - the popular mode of social relations. The liberation of the
Black from being the floormat of the world calls for the cultural decolonization
of the world from the bourgeois mode of social inscription and valuation. The
"cultural" revolution for Blacks means the deconstruction of that Western dis-
course of reference which has legitimated and continues to legitimate varied
forms of exploitation. The particular wrong of the Black - his total social
exploitation - cannot be fought except it is fought as the general social -
rather than merely economic wrong that it is. This is the "social creed"
that perhaps, as Harold Cruse argues, Blacks should be doctrinaire about.

Cruse discusses the failure of Marxist theory to affect the large major-
ity of Americans as well as the failure of the "Negro" movements, arguing that
both - the Marxist theory and the Negro movement,

"fall victims to the American dynamic and are absorbed...This is
the price the Marxists pay for their doctrinaire intolerance,
exclusiveness and the provincialism of their nineteenth century
creed. It is the price the Negro movement pays for not having
a social creed to be doctrinaire about - unless of course it is
racial integration." [1145]

In conclusion, we may say that the social creed to be "doctrinaire" about
is related to Frazier's call to place the black experience in the general frame-
work of man's experience in the world. What we have termed the plantation nigger-
breaking model of exploitation shows clearly that the colonization of conscious-
ness is the primary condition of possibly of the bourgeios form of exploitation.
The "constitution" of the "Negro" as a social category is linked to the consti-
tution of the "white" as a social category as the constitution of the middle

class is linked to the constitution of the "inferior" class, the <u>lower class</u>, as social categories.

The ruling bourgeois consciousness whose hegemony is based on its ability to structure a multi-layered world order, based on a hierarchical system of ego-identities, by and through a cultural signification system diffused by its control of the cultural apparatus, of the means of socialization and communication - including the means of production - introduces, to use Geoffrey Bateson's terms, rigid splits and boundaries in the social body of mankind. [146]

It makes use of "natural" differentiations i.e. black skins, white skins - different modes of ability and levels of ability - intellectual skills, manual skills - to introduce <u>social</u> distinctions, as rigid binary oppositional terms so that as it egalitarianly homogenizes all men, all cultures, all peoples as "labour-power", it at the same time produces unequal relations of exchange by a structural law of value, which hierarchically, structures areas - core, semi-periphery to periphery - nations, peoples, cultures.

From Sepúlveda on, the boundaries drawn between men and little men, Pure White and Negro, bourgeois and proletariat, Western culture and African non-culture, male and female, urban and rural, core and periphery, proletariat and kulak, orthodox and deviant, are boundaries which <u>legitimate</u> the confinement of reciprocal social exchange between members of privileged groups. Whilst the social product is <u>globally</u> produced, the mode of distribution of the social product is determined by the <u>relative valuation</u> accorded to social groupings. Thus a settler standard of living as compared to a "native" standard of living, a "white" job as compared to a "Negro" job, are all the results of <u>a mode of distribution</u> whose aim <u>is not distribution but accumulation</u>.

The bourgeois social order reproduces itself by a mode of distribution based on relative <u>social value</u> - on a structural law of value, the ratio of white to Negro, of bourgeois to proletariat, of core to periphery - which then legitimates and enables the mechanism of continued <u>accumulation</u> in the forms of private property, corporate property, state property, national property. The Ounces Trade is the exemplar of the act of economic exchange in which exchange acts as the mechanism of accumulation for the West and of expropriation for the Dahomeans. The act of exchange is itself the act of <u>relative distribution</u>. Once the relative <u>social/economic</u> ratio has been fixed, the "superiority" of the accumulators vis a vis the "inferiority" of the expropriated are logical consequences.

The "negrofication" of the black, the inferiorization of the native are central to the social valuation system necessary to the bourgeois mode of distribution - a mode designed to produce the bourgeoisie as a bourgeoisie, the white as white, the proletariat as proletariat, the native as native. The bourgeois social order is based on its social valuation system. In this system the "negro" as a cultural and social marker of Ultimate Social Deviance, plays a central role. He functions not only as a fact but as an _inscription_. Because of this by moving out of his place, he changes the social inscription, he scrambles the code that constitutes the social order.

Theoretical formulations from Sepúlveda and Long to Moynihan/Glazer, Shockley and Jensen are all _social acts of inscription_, acts defining boundaries according to the logic of the dominant cultural signification system; we cannot understand the wide acceptance these formulations - obviously lacking with respect to truth conditions - receive, except we see the coherence - : of the overall signification system which enables their validity.

As Umberto Eco argues, all similar formulations are "true" according to the logic of _signification_, accepted by those who participate in a social system. [147]

The black minority experience of cultural colonialism in the U.S.A. - like the political colonial experience of the 'natives' in the Third World - refute the orthodox Marxist theory of a split between the superstructure and the infrastructure, the economic base. Rather it reveals that the economic base itself was the central _mechanism of socialization_ - which were used by the bourgeoisie to constitute a world-order in its own image - one intended to provide a sponsored mobility situation for all who adhered and could adhere to bourgeois values.

Indeed the economic mechanism was central only because it legitimated the bourgeoisie as the ruling class - the class which then produced the economic _as the sole reality principle_. The bourgeois production of the _economic_ as the sole reality principle was linked to its social construction of the White Western middle class experience as the Normative Single experience - of its reality as the sole reality. [148]

In the context of the United States, bourgeois social hegemony was expressed in "white" terms. If as Baldwin pointed out to his nephew, the symbols of his life were constituted so as to make him believe what "white" people said about him, even more totally, these were constructed to make "white" people believe what they "said" about themselves. This belief about the Social Other which

grounded their belief about themselves - i.e. what is normatively called white racism is the central enabling mechanism of the strategy of social incorporation and intra-class homogenization on bourgeois terms:

Normative American scholarship - is a scholarship whose "empiricism" begins with the unexamined presupposition that all reality is "white"; and that all non-white reality is deviant. This axiom is reflected in its social order.

The cultural underlife of Black America has from its beginning attacked the postulate of a Single Reality, by moving outside this reality to constitute an alternative reality, an alternative world view. [1149] As we have argued before, this world view is imperatively popular and non-middle class.

Its ethic and its aesthetic do not so much counter the dominant ethic and aesthetic, as rather move outside its common ground. Because this culture comes out of a mode of social relation which is not based upon a fixed, institutionalized separation between the self and Other, the Self and the Social Body, the Self and Nature - its expression - in organizational forms, in music and dance, in its mode of intersubjectivity, its religious mode - is based on cultural values directly opposed to middle class values. [1150]

When Cruse calls for the cultural values of white middle class America to be fought by alternative cultural values, these values can only be found in a social group whose parameters of experience move outside the "middle class" mode. As Ellison brilliantly shows in his novel, the quest of "whiteness" and the quest of middle class values are linked. The alternative values that the narrator stumbles upon are popular values, values given superb cultural expression in black music from the spirituals to blues to jazz to Armstrong and his conversion of the military trumpet into a beam of lyrical light. [1151]

The black experience in fact and fiction shows a sustained effort to liberate blacks from the imposed white middle class reality which has constituted blacks as the Ultimate Social Other, as the marked excluded term central to the structural law of value which holds its social order together, internally and externally.

In order to denegrofy himself, the black must as Fanon saw, liberate himself from the structural bourgeois "unconscious" which he shares with the whites. This "unconscious" is structured by the bourgeois mode of social relations, by its central cultural signification system. Both "white racism" and black social devaluation are produced by the dominant code, the black/white division which parallels and is the ground of the rigid binary opposition between the Self and

Other - producing the "Individual" as an embattle'... being - between the Self and the Social Body, between Mind and Body, between the Self and Nature.

These rigid divisions - and "white" racism, is a form of white nationalism _ which inscribes such a division - allows for marked boundaries where relations of reciprocal social exchange <u>cease</u>.   Pease and Reynolds want from Wright, acknowledgement of a relation in which <u>communication is one way</u> - so that Wright's social power can be <u>expropriated</u>.   It is this social relation of control center to Remote Subordinate - of men to little men, of men to natives, Pure White to Negro - that makes possible the common ground of knowledge and "white" cultural values which legitimate the expropriation of social wealth and social power from the many by the few.

The transformation of "cultural" values can only then be effected by the transformation of the social order, of the <u>mode of social relations</u>,   A mode of social relations, is above all sustained by intersubjectivities.   The <u>mon-archical social order</u> is constituted by a king who accepts himself as a king, and legitimate this acceptance by as his subjects accept themselves as subjects; their actions as subjects.
The White' social order is constituted by whites who accept themselves as white/superior as their opposed term accept themselves as black and inferior. The monarchical order was deconstructed by the revolt of subjects - the bourgeoisie - not by the revolt of the king.   The white bourgeois order will be deconstructed by the revolt of "negroes", who in liberating themselves from their own prescribed consciousness, set in motion the social dynamic by which the white "proletariat" can liberate itself from the fixed coded being of <u>prole-ariat</u>.   The liberation from proletarian status is linked to the liberation from "white" <u>status</u>.   The liberation from the class code is contingent upon the society's self-liberation from the "racial code" the black white code;

As a <u>social group</u>,   the black minority "natives" of the United States, are called upon to spearhead the liberation of the nation from the "racial Code"; from the code of "<u>whiteness</u>" which colonizes all Americans.   The black/white code is central to the cultural signification system - central rigid split and boundary - which the American bourgeoisie has imposed upon the American people, as it shaped and de-formed the United States in its own image.

Its remarkable achievements as the productive class par excellence, have now reached their furthest limits.   Its technological breakthrough, its mode of organization - it reduces all social relations to relations of production-have provided the solutions to the problem of world production.

That half the people of the world go to bed hungry in the midst of an extraordinary productive capacity - one which resulted from the organized productive capacity of the world - points to the fact that the solution to contemporary problems - at least in the United States - is not to be found merely in the "liberation of the productive" forces

The "cultural values" of middle class white American which <u>enabled</u> this productive miracle - based on the ability to <u>centralize</u> the mechanisms of accumulation from world productive activity - are now clearly dysfunctional, both within the United States and in the world order at large.

Nor will the variant of bourgeois values - the cultural values of the new technocratic bourgeoisie - whether monopoly capitalist or State Capitalist - solve the problem of <u>distribution</u> of the global social product whether with respect to wealth or power.

The New Deal was the last successful attempt to solve - technically - the problem of circulation and of distrubition. Even then Roosevelt was successful only to the extent that he was able to initiate from the top down - a limited social transformation, transforming social relations, revaluing both the lower class whites - then largely unemployed in the Depression - and the blacks.

But the Sixties spearheaded by the black revolt was the first plural social movement that attempted to transform the social order. The black revolt, like all that followed it, aimed essentially at the dominant code which legitimized the Social Norm, the <u>Single Race</u>, the Single Culture. The multiple movements all challenged certain aspects of the hegemonic ideology that, as the nigger-breaking mechanisms showed, is the central structuring principle of the social order.

What the Sixties revealed was that the Black could only liberate America from the pathology of its white racial consciousness, by <u>first liberating himself</u> from the values which he himself had internalized.

It is this self-subversion, this group self-subversion that was the original and creative movement of the Sixties. The slogans of Black is beautiful and Black Power were aimed by blacks, primarily at blacks themselves, blacks who internalizing the dominant code, had come to internalize the structural law of value, in which the <u>Symbolic black</u> was the opposed term of value to the Symbolic White and had so come to participate in the group fantasies of the middle-class whites.

In _Soul on Ice_ Eldridge Cleaver grappled with, as he attempted to liberate himself from, the central ideolog*al* mechanism by which "white" values and "white" group fantasies were internalized even by Blacks. If Fanon was to be the theoretician of the expose of cultural colonialism, Cleaver's _Soul on Ice_ was to be the witness-example.

René Girard has analysed in fiction the workings of the mechanism of de-sire by which the hero, comes to model himself on the valued Social Norm – to imitate not only the actions but the desire of the Other as Social Norm. Thus Don Quijote models himself on Amadis in order to imitate aristocratic values, the aristocratic representation of desire. Hence the entire novel is the at-tempt by Alonso Quejano – a non-aristocrat–to imitate the group fantasies of the then dominant social group.

Equally Cleaver has to grapple with the fact of his fascination with the Image of the white woman; with her representation as the "object-choice" of desire, one prohibited to the black. The prohibition, the taboo, is one of the mechanisms which functions to nigger-break the Black into the acceptance of his own lack of maleness. The Single Male (white) has access to both the socially valued object-choice-the white woman-and to the socially devalued Object choice, the black woman.

Cleaver has come to terms with his internalization and acceptance of this relative valuation; his participation in the hegemonic "desire" for the social-ly-valued white woman. And this desire dominates even in the heat and passion of his revolutionary and black power politics. The "confession" is the beginning of what Henry Miller calls the only cure for the neurotic,

> "To be cured we must rise from our graves and throw off the cere-ments of the dead. Nobody can do it for another; It is a private affair which is best done collectively." ⟨ 1152 ⟩

The self-conversion began with his acceptance of his cultural colonization by the code even more than by the objective referent:

> "I love you because you're white
> Not because you're charming
> Or bright
> Your whiteness
> Is a silky thread snaking though my thoughts
> In red hot patterns of lust and desire, ⌊ 1153 ⌋

Later, in his book, Cleaver quoted another prisoner who attempted to ana-lyse his dual syndrome of fascination for the white women and rejection of the black women.

"For instance I don't know just how it works, I mean I can't analyse it, but I know that the white man made the black women the symbol of slavery and the white women the symbol of freedom. Every time I embrace a black woman, I'm embracing slavery, and when I put my arms around a white woman, well, I am hugging freedom...You may not believe this...when I off a nigger bitch, I close my eyes and concentrate real hard, and pretty soon I get to believing that I am riding one of them bucking blondes. I tell you the truth that's the only way that I can bust my nuts with a black bitch underneath me for if my hand happened to feel her nappy hair that would be the end, it would be all over. I might as well get on up and split because I wouldn't be able to get anything down, even if I piled her all night long. Any black man who says that he doesn't dig Jezebel is a goddam liar..." [1154]

The importance of Cleaver, Malcolm X's autobiography, of George Jackson's expose of the widespread anti-black racism amongst the white and partly white popular classes [   ], point to the power of the cultural apparatus of the bourgeoisie. Cleaver shows clearly that blacks are colonized to accept the cultural values of the white world. Hence in the intimacy of his sexual life, he is determined, controlled by the valuation system of the white world. Accepting the lower value of blacks, Cleaver's rage becomes self-destructive – or group destructive. He "practises" on the "less socially valued " black women to perfect his act of rape – his fruitless assertion of equal male supremacy, of black male equality. [1155]

His account of his breakdown, of the contradiction he experienced, of his realization of his colonization, gives insight from fact into the conclusion that we would like to draw from this monograph. [1156]

"White" cultural values are middle class cultural values. Until the black intellectual begins his own self-subversion against middle class values, he cannot articulate or communicate or even be able to "read" the alternative non-middle class "values" are constituted by black culture. That is to say that until the black intellectual liberates himself from middle class cultural values – or begins his self-subversion– he cannot play the vital role that corresponds to American blacks as a social group at this conjunctural moment in history.

It was no accident that the intellectual revolution initiated by blacks as a social group in the Sixties was an intellectual revolution that was inseparable from the social movement. The self-transformation of Martin Luther King from primarily black middle class preacher to Christian black activist did not go as

'far as the total self-transformation of Malcolm X, the self-education of a George Jackson, an Eldridge Cleaver, but in all cases, as with the non-violent and violent resisters, the liberation from the dominant consciousness was the condition of possibility for the liberation from the dominant code.

In the Sixties what Cruse has called the two strains - the philosophy of racial integration and of black nationalism came together in the philosophies of participatory non-violence, and of Black Power. They came together, revealing themselves as internal critiques of the social system - one seeking to be made equal to the white norm; the other revindicating an opposed black norm.

But as they met and clashed, the Sixties movement that began with a revolt against inscription - Mrs, Rosa Parks refusing to move to her inscribed place in the back of the bus - exploded into a new, into the true dimension of the black movement - its deconstruction of the pervasive white/middle class code of the United States; and of the Western world; its deconstruction of the social norm.

The Black movement of the Sixties transposed the movement of social revolution onto a new ground - in revindicating black identity and revaluing black social being it called into question the entire social valuation system not only of the United States, but of the bourgeois/Western mode of social relations. The ultimate subject of the social order had revolted against its the social king - the white bourgeoisie.

The call for Black Studies in the university was central to this revolt of the subject. As Michel Foucault has shown, each social order constitutes its own common ground of knowledge. The black revolt against the white bourgeois order at once implied the need for the deconstruction of the white bourgeois code of knowledge. The exclusion of the black experience from the university system was not due to individual "racism" on the part of academics, Rather the University system constituted itself within the boundaries of the bourgeois social order - both its intellectual merits and its intellectual blindness were related to this fact. Although individual scholars and group of scholars were involved in theoretical formulations which went beyond bourgeois formulations - especially "unofficial" scholars - the official scholarly establishment which acted as the guardians of the cultural apparatus of the society, entrusted with the "socializing" of the bourgeois elite, performed their legitimate function of "representing", analysing and helping to constitute reality as white and middle class. The constitution of reality as white and middle class depended on ritual exclusions and reductions, the fixing of boundaries and inscriptions.

Thus some black history was studied, but black history mainly limited by what Wade Nobles calls "conceptual incarceration" - history studied only as the deviant history to the White Norm; to the white reality.

The call for Black Studies - which lead to the call for Women's Studies, Chicano, Asian etc. - was a call for study of these areas of experience in their own right.

But once these programs were set up it was clear that the call for <u>Black Studies</u> was a call which pointed to the <u>particularism</u> of the so called "universal" studies of the <u>white middle class experience</u>. American studies then had never been truly American. Americans were socialized into accepting a "white" version of reality for the complex nature of that reality.

The <u>stigmatization</u> of black culture, its <u>representation</u> as a cultural void was therefore logical, part of the mechanism by which the scholarly establishment constituted white middle class reality as the Single Reality.

Black culture had to be stigmatized not only because it was the culture of the deviant social group, but because as the cultural expression of a <u>popular</u> group, it was culturally deviant, its values <u>heretical</u> not so much because they were black, as because they were non-middle class.

Whilst ethnic white Americans proved their Americanness by assimilating to an Anglo-Saxon Norm - Barzell lists the Anglo names of Hollywood film stars - then compares them to their discarded "ethnic" names - [IIST] lower-class black Americans had to constitute their <u>social identity</u> by an alternative mode of socialization. For in the "negro" identity permitted them by the dominant culture they could find no means of self-fulfillment, of self-realization.

The nigger-breaking model of exploitation - and the black cultural resistance - i.e. what Frazier terms Negro folklore- perhaps points to the central moment where the theoretical implications of the black experience incorporate and go beyond <u>the theoretical implications of Marxism</u>. Douglas facing Mr. Covey, blacks singing hymns, facing up to hostile white mobs, blacks marching in Selma, Montgomery, blacks being lynched, shot at, degraded, abused humiliated had to come to terms with the fact that they were facing a group of people "socialized" into being the Social Norm as "whites" - and as such, as "<u>whites</u>" colonized and capable of the sustained physical and psychological murder of blacks.

As a Cleaver had to come to terms with his own internalized white value system, so blacks too by their experience, have had to theoretically formulate not the ownership of the means of production as the basis of social power, but

the control - ownership is only a form of control - of the means of socialization.
   Unlike Marxist theory whose theory of social revolution is based on the transfer of property from the Capitalists to the State - and which thereby legitimated the rise to power of a new state bourgeoisie in the periphery and semi-periphery - the "politics" of the black experience impels it towards the decentralization of the means of socialization including the means of production. For the means of production are central to the means of socialization in the bourgeois social order - far more so then it has ever been in any social order. The plantation model reveals this centrality, but also sustains Stanley Aronowitz's point that the very ritual of work in the bourgeois mode of production functions as a central means of socialization. Once Mr. Covey got the slaves accustomed to the intensive rhythm of work, which narrowed their social and intellectual horizons, reduced them to their single role of producer, he could count his job well done.
    The theoretical inplications of the black experience point to the Western bourgeoisie's global social organization of production, and of distribution, through its control of the means of socialization - the Ideological State Apparatus and the Repressive State apparatus, rather than through its mere ownership of the means of production. It is this control which enables the cultural colonialism, by which it imposes its representation of reality upon the vast majority of the non-bourgeois social groups - and even on those members and groups of the bourgeoisie, who are also increasingly socially marginalized -
    It is this bourgeois representation of reality, its cultural colonialism its totalitarian signification system whose logic is vigorously enforced by the material structures of the social order, that was first revealed in the plantation model of social relations, a model now diffused globally, in the "Free World" and in the "Socialist World", and increasingly in the Third World.
    This representation of reality - a representation whose deconstruction was initiated by the critique of Marx, yet whose meanings were to be reinforced by Orthodox bourgeois Marxists - is the enabling mechanism for the accumulation of material wealth and social power to individuals - Rockefeller - to groups, the monopoly, and corporate Western bourgeoisie, to technocrats, the One Party bureaucrats of the Second and Third Worlds - to the Single Class, the global middle class- to nations - the United States, the Soviet Union, to areas - The First World, to blocs, OPEC.
    Increasingly the main contradiction today is to be found between those who are socially incorporated; and those who are socially marginalized.
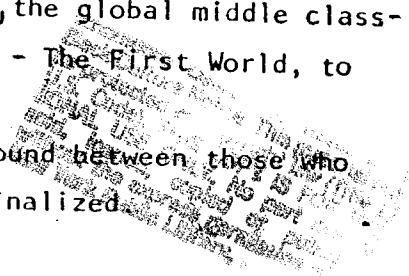
New World blacks, the Middle Passage Voyager, who endured the first mass experience of social marginalization were the first bearers of this new mode of social being, this new mode of reality, this new relation of self to Other, the relation which its music - and its dance, and its organizational forms - express.

As the black underlife shows, the popular forces can only re-expropriate the means of socialization, by counter-socializing themselves, by constituting another representation of reality based on an alternate social order in which the very concept of an institutionalized ruling caste/class - rather than the role flexibility patterned in the role reversals of carnival - would have been delegitimated by a mode of social relations based on the reciprocal recognition of Self and Other - each dually a Self to Other and Other to Self.

It is this task of a revolutionary transformation in both the American and the global social order to which the black American struggle must now consciously dedicate itself. It is a task which it has pursued even uder the rubric of racial integration. For in calling for racial integration and in struggling to achieve equality the black struggle has been calling in question the very code in which the American social order has been constituted.

But the decline of American Liberalism, the rise of a new conservatism and the widespread nature of a potential majority Fascism, -revealed in the Bakke case - makes it clear that the phrase of struggle in which Blacks could attempt to revindicate their social being within the idealistic terms of the white bourgeoise America, has reached its end.

As the Bakke affair shows, that phrase of the struggle is over. The black struggle must now seek to call into question the very concept of equality - with its entire discourse of reference- On which the Constitution itself is based.

Black studies must convert themselves into being dually Black and American studies as black scholarship seeks both to extend the theoretical discoveries beyond the linits of the "white" social scholars; and to deconstruct the unexamined presuppositions which leave distorted and made impossible any adequate analysis of the American social reality.

As Cruse points out - the United States, in relation to Europe has remained culturally and theoretically underdeveloped, precisely because its "racial" code placed limits in its self-comprehension.

Black scholarship must initiate the theoretical revolution against intellectual underdevelopment. As Cruse pointed out, only Blacks can Americanize Marxism,

because they are the only group who needs to <u>realize</u> America as America - rather than as White Western America - if their nativity is to be realized; their "ethnicity" revindicated.

Black Studies, the legacy of the socio-cultural movements of the Sixties must now become the site of a revolution in the American cultural and mental structures, those structures which as Baudillard argues are the ideological bastions of a social order whose extraordinary economic achievements have now outlived their usefulness. The scientific racism of much of the new white scholarship is not so much reactionary as provincial and out of date. Yet they are none the less dangerous for all that.

Harold Cruse pointed to the control of the cultural apparatus, to the manipulation of ideas and images, in other words to the total social power of those who control the modern means of communication/socialization. His insistence on the need for blacks as a social group to spearhead the struggle for the shared decentralized control of the cultural apparatus, pointed to a theoretical formulation that is responding to the specifity of contemporary America, recognizes the "<u>ma-terial</u>" force of images ideas concepts - of the representation of reality.

The blacks' long and sustained struggle against his "negrofication" reveals the link that exists between material exploitation and social colonialism, psychological violence; reveals the material power of mental and cultural structures. Cruse's call for a new mode of cultural revolution responds to this insight springing from the minority black experience within the U.S.A.

The cultural Revolution of America will depend on the liberation of the society from its central white racist coding. It will be a struggle to transform consciousness by and through the self-transformation of social being. It is here that the black struggle, the Women's struggle, the Chicano and labour struggle came together.

But the black struggle must now reinterpret the American reality. .. If Marxists have imposed the class model of exploitation upon blacks, black theorists must now explore the "negro" element of lower class exploitation; the social mechanisms that locks the "rednecks" into proletarian social being.

It is by analysing and delegitimating the varied nigger-breaking mechanisms of the social order that blacks will develop a theory and praxis based upon what Frazier calls the rich experience of the Negro people.

The Black cultural underlife can then be seen as the chain of cultural innovation by which blacks resisted the cultural colonization of the dominant social order' and transplanted the original African cultures of origin, universalizing

their particularities, creating a cultural expression which bears and diffuses globally, the cultural values of an ascendant, popular - and therefore - universal world view.

As the Akan proverb puts it,

"When all the world bears the burden of the gods, no one goes hump backed."

The jazz culture which provides already the basis of the new universal of an American identity at the same time produces a global framework of a common identity which does not homogenize local/national group particularities, but rather bases its collective experience on the actualization of specifity of uniqueness. And the jazz culture enables what Mark Seems refers to as,

"a non-neurotic form of politics"

A form of politics in which,

"singularity and collectivity are no longer at odds with each other, and where collective expressions of desire are possible. Such a politics does not seek to regiment individuals according to a totalitarian system of norms, but to de-normalize and de-individualize through a multiplicity of new collective arrangements against power." [1159]

It is to the extent that the jazz musician affirms his socially repressed self and plays his own individual style that he enables the collective experience of self-fulfillment, self-actualization, at the same time as he experiences the social.

Whilst the means of production could have been expropriated by the Bolsheviks in the name of the popular forces; whilst political power, through the mechanism of one man-one vote could have been expropriated by liberal politicians who represent the people, the liberation of the socially marginalized can only be carried out by and through the participatory action of the marginalized themselves. This form of action cannot be separated into theory and praxis. The slave singing of the chariot swinging low to carry her home, delegitimated, deconstructed the hegemonic official representation by representing, experiencing the social order as exile - as the Rastafarians and Bob Marley counterpose the exile of Babylon - the bourgeois social order - to the utopian glory of their father's land.

The "song" is the Exodus - an exodus from the "reality" constituted by the dominant cultural signification systems. The riots of the Sixties, the turbulent social movements in the Third World, the massive presence of the marginal archipelagoes, of the Gulag archipelagoes herald a new world order - the

new world order of which Malraux speaks; heralds another kind of politics, another world view, an imperatively popular world view, another ethic, another aesthetics; one impelled by the _experience_ of the myriad forms of social marginalization that are increasingly produced by contemporary world systems – by the bourgeoisie, now no longer a progressive force, but a social group that has reached the limits of its creativity, of its potential consciousness.

Each social machine, Deleuze and Guattari argue, constitutes its own system of _representation_ – its own _representation of desire._ The jazz culture moves outside this bourgeois representation. If with the rise of the bourgeoisie something new occurred,

> "the disappearance of enjoyment as an end, the new conception
> of the conjunction according to which the sole end is abstract
> wealth and its realization in forms other than consumption." [p. 254] (1159)

With the rise of the popular forces the demand for what Baudillard calls "jouissance" – for self actualization, constitutes a powerful Utopian longing – a desire subversive not only of the bourgeois social machine ~ ~ but of the psychic and social repression which it engenders. This call for "jouissance" is the central revolutionary desire of the Jazz culture.

We end this monograph with where we began – the counter-invention of social identity by the _prietos_ reduced to being _Negros_, to being _piezas_. Like the Hegelian slave, finding no affirmation of self on the hostile social frontier on which they found themselves, the blacks constituted themselves as the popular social grouping of the New World, indigenizing themselves in the new land, the hostile social frontier. There was no binary opposition between the Self and Nature – Sandy's "root" inscribes a relation to Nature opposed to the middle class relation of a Mr. Covey for whom the land and the Social Other held primarily a _productive_ finality. The official African cultures were metamorphosed into the unofficial neo-native _popular_ New World cultures.

The musical expression of this culture has become the basis of and the catalyst for the expansion of a global popular culture – the Jazz culture.

As I have argued before, the principal cultural compulsive of popular cultures is the compulsive of a relation of non-opposition between the Self – and the Other, the Self and the Social Body. Rather opposition is replaced by a principle of _differentiation_ in which the uniqueness of the self or a group is experienced by and through the experience of the social body.

When Wade Nobles argues that the ghetto-dwellers should understand that, by killing another ghetto dweller he commits <u>suicide</u> not <u>homicide</u> - but does not - he shows the extent to which the cultural values of the hostile embattled individualized self has permeated all areas of <u>black popular life</u>. And the assertion, the fulfillment of this represented individual self in the ghetto can find no outlet except against an even more devalued ghetto dweller - an even more stigmatized social Other.

By the mere fact of the intensity of their social marginalization, the ghetto dwellers reveal the dysfunctionality of white "middle class cultural values, especially when these values are not checked by the ritual middle class practise of the 'steady' job, and of a morality based on the possession of property. The contradiction between the hegemonic middle class cultural values and the submerged and stigmatized popular values is a contradiction intensely <u>experienced</u> in the ghettoes: and in their prison extensions.

Elements of the new revolutionary theory and practise, that came out of the ghettoes and the prisons began with the struggle against the prescribed self. This was the importance of the Black Muslims of Malcolm X, of George Jackson, of Cleaver, of the large masses of blacks socially repressed in other ways who transformed themselves back from "negro" to <u>prieto-black</u>.

By their social action they began to revindicate the underground popular values of that cultural underlife which had constituted the alternative "national identity" of the American systen - the identity not of the "settlers" but of the "natives", the "redskins".

In revindicating their blackness and shattering the dominant code, blacks as a social group, have no alternative but to initiate the social and cultural transformation of the American and Western system.

It was by and through revindicating the particular <u>social</u> identity of the <u>negro</u> piezas that the black cultural underlife transformed itself into the jazz culture, the cultural expression of the socially excluded, into the new universal. It is this that gives its socially revolutionary impulse to black cultural expression - its contingency, its non-official heresy. The heresy of the non-norm

This is the contradiction, the paradox so well posed by Nathan Huggins:

"The dilemma is a tough one: the race consciousness that is so
necessary to identity most likely leads to a provincialism...but
without it the perplexities of identity are exacerbated by a con-
fusion of legitimate heritage. Nowhere is this problem better
illustrated than in the separation of the Negro from American
culture. Except for a few blacks then and now, the most striking
thing about them is that they are natively American. The nega-
tive implications of that fact have been easily grasped by most
Negores: they unlike the immigrants had no immediate past and
history and culture to celebrate. But the positive implications
of American nativity have never been fully appreciated by Afro-
Americans. The truth was (and is) that black mean and American
culture have been   such a seamless web that it is impossible
to calibrate the Negro within it or to ravel him from it...the
true Negro Renaissance awaits Afro Americans claiming their
patria, their nativity." [1160]

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