I am profoundly convinced that Black People and the SNCC to not BI 75 understand the concept of Black Power. [ If they understood it, there would be no white people in the organization at this time.] The other thing also, if they understood it they would not be continuing in the same line of the same theories of organizing. There would be re-evaluation of what has to be done now in view of the new projection of the organization and the people that it appeals to the cats on the street in the Ghetto. If they understood that the cats on the corner do not dig having white people in the organization then of course they'd have to get their white people out, from the point of view of actually relating to those Black cats, which is the way that you get so called-Black Power. They don't understand the implications of the THIRD WORLD. Cause if they did understand the that, they would be gearing themselves with getting acquainted with the THIRD WORLD. It seems to me that a logical extension of the concept of Black Power is that people would start traveling and visiting, going to Universities of the world like in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Learning the languages and the culture of the THIRD WORLD!

[1966] ·SHSW

Now it seems that the organization is making a very serious mistakes in not evaluating where it is now. And where its support can come from. Cause it seems very obvious to me support is not going to come from white America. And if support is not going to come Irom white America, then there is going to have to be a re-evaluation and almost a halting of the present mode of operations and a study of the issues that are here now and a changing of the organization, a conscious effort to change the organization, going i ato a new direction. This is just a matter of common sense. It is very clear that we are not going to get any more support from white America. Because they have indicated that they are racist already. Also since we are not going to get any support from white America then we must consciously, radically, drastically turn toward Black America. In order to turn toward Black America we must eliminate white participation in the form that it is in now. We must seriously begin to cultivate those eliminates in the THIRD WORLD. We must have a conscious program of continous contact and I don't see any evidence of this happening at this moment. So far this reason and other reasons that I shall give later, I state that the organization does not understand the implications of Black Power.

The organization does not understand that the forces of oppression in the world are moving against this concept and the organization itself. And it does not understand that the man who is trying to eliminate oppress freedom in the world is very serious about our organization and its potential inspiration to the rest of the world. Therefore, it is endager of being destroyed. People in the organization don't seem to be able to understand that and have not moved to develop and cultivate a different base. We talked about it only sparingly and there has been no action and until there is some action, I think that we are playing. The man's got a real pistol and we've got a toy pistol. Whereas we are acting out a play, he is acting out a real life drama. And the sooner we learn this, quicker shape up and relate to the THIRD WOR -LD.

## SOME COM MENTS ON THE STAFF MEETING AND WHY WHITE PEOPLE SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM THE MEETING

The role of the individual white person participating with Black people

The role of the individual white person participating with Black people in the Black struggle is over. Because, we have discovered that those individuals do not have a white base to back up whatever it is that they want to do. Now their presence devoid of their power helps nullify our power. A power is a group of determined people organized. Now the whites who come into the movement individually do not have a group of determined people behind them organized. Because this is a racist country, the people who are organized in this country are organized to preserve racism, not to tear it down. The only people in this country who can tear down racism by their organization is Black people. This has to be Black

down racism by their organization is Black people. This has to be Black People not Black and white people because the presence of white people negates the organization of Black People, organized around their Blackness. So white people as individuals should not be allowed to participate in our programs in the future.

Because of the very nature that their participation has, whites, by their very history in this country cannot totally participate in a Black man's The cannot partstruggle. The can participate on an intellectual level. cipate on an emotional level. They cannot participate fully. They can participate on an intellectual basis; they can participate on a "principled" basis; they can participate in a vaccum basis; they can participate on an esthetic basis; they cannot participate on a human basis. By this I mean, they cannot participate on both an intellectual and emotional basis. They cannot particpate where arms are necessary to get what you need. They cannot participate where violence is necessary. They cannot participate where anger is necessary. They cannot participate where revenge is necessary. They cannot participate where hate is necessary. They cannot participate when emotions like these are necessary. They can only participate on the level where intellect is necessary; What is right and what is proper for them. Therefore, they can only participate when we don't act our anger out or when we don't begin to see that there is a white conspiracy. They can only participate as long as we don't see the need for Black people to consolidate themselves together. They can participate only as long as we play. They cannot participate when we act for real. They cannot participate because they cannot negate their history. Their history is a history of suppression of us. They cannot negate that. They cannot turn against their mothers and fathers; they cannot kill their traditions; they cannot kill their past. They cannot totally negate their past because that would negate themselves. So whites in the Movement serve as a stop-gap; a moderating influence; a means of keeping us pacified; a means for keeping us deceived, as a means for telling us that white people don't have conspiracy; as a decoy; and as a means of deceiving us into beloving that we can still go to white people and get what we want by asking. This is not true. So the white participation in the Movement is the biggest obstacle toward Blacks folks getting liberation. The quicker we figure this out, the quicker we will stop playing and get them out of the movement. As long as white people are in the Movement, then they become the issue about the Black man's strategy. They become the issue to the extent that there will always be somebody to raise the question of their presence and some Blacks will begin to defend them on the role of whites in the Movement and this is very important. This debate prevents Black people from talking about themselves, but they talk about the role of white people with Black people. This division with the ranks of the Movement is a principle of divide and conquer. This alien element allows Black people

to continue argument over the role of white people instead of what Black people should do. Then white participation in the Movement can be seen as a part of a long colonial principle of divide and rule. Now the sensitive white people if they understand that, that is what their role is, consciously or unconsciously will leave. Those who don't understand that They serve no useful purpose and they don't underought to be expelled. stand what we are saying. Those who understand it and remain, certainly ought to be expelled cause they are aiding the conspiracy to keep "them" divided and that is a conscious conspiracy, we must conclude.

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