

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

66] The civil rights movement is dead. With the passage of the civil rights and the voting rights bills, all legal measures for securing civil rights for black people in this country have been exhausted. ALL civil rights demonstrations aimed at securing jobs, integration of schools, better housing, and an end to police brutality, have ended in tokenism, compromise, and in most cases, no promise at all. Meanwhile, nothing has changed for the overwhelming majority of black people. We still have basic problems, none of which have been resolved. What is wrong?

We have been barking up the wrong tree. We have been led to believe that civil rights are what we are after, when in reality our rights as human beings have not been recognized or respected.

We must begin to face up to the TRUTH. The TRUTH is that the civil rights movement is not and never was our movement, it was never a movement of, by, and for black people. It was someone else's movement - another man's movement. We will, in these pages, expose whose movement the civil rights movement is. We will also deal with why we as black people are not together, and what must happen before we can get together.

Let's start by talking about why we can't get together, and then deal with the movement.

We can't get together because we all don't relate to "the man" in the same way. What man am I talking about? - the white man. Let me cite an example of what I'm talking about when I say that we can't get together because we all don't relate to the man in the same way. Let me break down the black nation into categories that came about during slavery.

Black people have been divided into three main categories since slavery: house niggers, yard niggers, and field niggers. Divisions among black people are therefore not new. We have been divided since slavery. The white society had to keep us divided in order to keep us slaves.

No black man (or white man either, for that matter) could tell a house nigger that he was a slave. For, after all, he wore the master's clothes, ate at the master's table, and enjoyed the crumbs that came from being up tight in the master's house. The house nigger's problem was (and is) that he confused his aims with those of his master. He began to think like the master and act like the master.

When it came to dealing with other blacks, he thought and acted as though he were the master, because the master told him that he was a good nigger, and therefore different from and better than the other niggers.

The yard nigger has another kind of problem. The yard nigger was outside the master's house, but was trying like hell to get in. He talked against the house nigger. If he could show up the house nigger, there might be a possibility of taking the house nigger's place - the yard nigger might become the house nigger. (Most all of

our so-called leaders are struggling to become house niggers.) In our present society, a house nigger is a Negro who is smiled upon by LBJ and the white so-called liberal establishment.

The field nigger was and is in a real trick. He wants to get into the house too, but he feels it's impossible. He'd like to get into the yard, but even that's hard. The only way he can "get in" is to TOM - is to prove that he is a slave trustworthy enough to be "promoted". Think for a moment -- who was it during every slave rebellion that informed the slave master? Was it the house nigger? - NO - he was in the house and wasn't hip to what was going down in the fields. (Rebellions always started in the fields; riots always start in the ghetto). Was it the yard nigger? NO - he was too busy trying to cut down the house nigger. Who had the most to gain from informing? The field nigger. The field nigger always "sold out" so that he could advance to the yard, or at least get a nice pat on the head by the slavemaster. So now we come to why we can't get together. It's a matter of dog eat dog. But why is it a matter of dog eat dog? It is a matter of dog eat dog because we had and still have a slave mentality. That is, we only think like slaves. We don't want to be free and independent. We want to get in good with the slave master - not as free men, but as  favored slaves.

This means that the civil rights struggle since slavery (except for the revolts during slavery and the riots now) has been one of advancing our position as slaves, but not abolishing slavery. And because we have a slave mentality we swallow everything that the white man says. We accept his definition of our problem. We accept his solutions and his methods. To have a slave mentality is to have the mind of a deaf, dumb, and blind man. Let's go now to the civil rights movement.

To be very frank, the civil rights movement was organized and supported by white liberals; its aim was not so much to gain civil rights for you and me, as to gain power for the so-called liberals. What am I talking about? I'm talking about a struggle for power. I'm talking about the civil rights movement as a base for white so-called liberals to gain power. Let me break it down .....

In this country, all white people are racists; that is, no white person (when you really get down to the nitty-gritty) can stand to deal with black people as humans, as men, as equals, not to mention superiors. They can't stand the thought of black people ruling over them or ruling independently of them. However, there are contradictions among whites in this country - the principal contradiction between the right-wing racists (Birchites, Klan, etc.) and the left-wing racists (communists, SDS, liberal democrats, etc.) is very interesting for a number of reasons. First, most whites tend to be more on the order of the middle-of-the-road types under normal conditions; but under tension, pressure, war, etc., they lean toward the Golwater type (which is really mild compared to some other tendencies in this country). So when the deal goes down, and there's a showdown between the right-wing and the left-wing, most white Americans - all red-blooded, patriotic, and loyal - join the right-wing camp, which leaves the left-wing in the minority. They look around, and - Boom - there we are - twenty-two million strong.



So the liberals and the rest of the left-wing forces jacked us up, supported our struggle, and led us by the nose. We then became their constituency. We swelled their numbers in their fight for their power. Be not deceived - whitey was not helping us in our movement. We were helping him in his movement. Did he want to put us in power? Hell, no. Now let's take the presidential election of 1964 and use it as an example of what I've been talking about.

Lyndon B. Johnson (now a left-wing racist - a so-called liberal) ran against Barry Goldwater, a conservative right-wing racist. But these men were not running against each other as individuals. They were representatives of two opposing forces (a contradiction) within the established structure; the right-wing vs. the left-wing. What did you and I do in that election? We were led to believe by our so-called leaders (who were given instructions by their leaders - and you know who their leaders are) that we must defeat Goldwater. Well, like good niggers, 90% of us voted for LBJ all the way. Did our condition as slaves change? Did LBJ free us? NO.

I submit that we had no business voting for LBJ or Goldwater - because the struggle between Johnson and Goldwater was a struggle between two white forces for white power. It was their struggle for their power. We were Johnson's constituency - but, for what? We were used and have always been used by whitey for his purposes. We have never benefited from involving ourselves in his struggle. The civil rights movement and all other movements that are directed, encouraged, or supported by whites are always movements directed toward whites' gaining power for themselves. We don't even get the crumbs from the benefits we make possible for them.

Now let's think for a moment; If we are capable of gaining power for whites if we are always (and we are) the decisive factor in determining who will rule among whites - what would happen if we determined to rule ourselves?

The real question is: what would happen if we cast off our slave mentality - if we stopped thinking and acting like slaves?

Let's go back to our earlier slave history for a moment and try to apply the same question in that situation. What would have happened if the house nigger who cooked the master's food had put rat poison in it? What would have happened if the yard nigger had set the master's house on fire? What would have happened if the field nigger had revolted and confiscated the master's land?

What will happen when we (whether we be in the house, yard, or field) begin to assert ourselves as non-niggers and non-slaves?

The Bible refers to that day as Armageddon. Let's work toward making that biblical day come true.

John Churchville

Next paper: WHO is Our Enemy?