

this must be the aim of the second development decade), it is necessary at once to re-imagine, to analyse and to bring about radical reforms in the organization of the world economy and in the relationships between peoples and men, and to call on each man, whatever his station in society, to turn himself into a new man, able to contend, together with the rest of mankind, with the growth of awareness and organizational complexity required by human progress, by man's coming of age.

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Black Power—Black Racism? by Peter Baldock

The recent report on 'Colour and Citizenship'¹ was greeted by the press with mild bewilderment and a sigh of relief. Britain apparently is not, after all the fuss, on the edge of racial violence. Three-quarters of the population are demonstrated to be 'tolerant' or 'tolerant-inclined', and it is precisely in those areas where coloured immigrants actually live that there is most tolerance.

In this respect *Colour and Citizenship*, like the laborious P.E.P. report on discrimination,² is useful. But more than volumes of sheer fact are needed if we are to come to grips with the race problem. We would be mistaken to point out too enthusiastically that the majority of people in this country have been shewn to be tolerant. 'Tolerance' is a pretty word and one that is heavily overvalued by the prevailing ideology. In effect it means 'indifference'. It makes little difference to the established economic system whether people have purple or green wallpaper, whether they worship in Anglican churches or synagogues, whether they sleep with members of the same sex or not. These are matters of indifference to capital organization and only a paranoid will be really intolerant of the options that people make. In other circumstances those choices could become significant. Only a minority of the population (10 per cent) are prejudiced in the strictly defined sense of *Colour and Citizenship* and for many of those it is apparently a symbolic issue (like the members of the Conservative Party in Surbiton—where there are some hundred black people out of a population of over 60,000—who wish to replace their liberally minded M.P. with a supporter of Enoch Powell). Most of the rest do not see that their interests are directly affected.

¹*Colour and Citizenship*, by E. J. B. Rose, Nicholas Deakin *et al.*, O.U.P., for the Institute of Race Relations. cf. 'Colour and Citizenship: The Rose Report', by Michael Dummett, *New Blackfriars*, January 1970.

²*Racial Discrimination in England*, Daniel; shortened version published by Penguins, 1968.

If they *did* become convinced that their interests *were* affected then things would change, because the existing 'tolerance' is rarely based on strongly held humanitarian conviction.

At present, under the impact of rising interest rates and the prudence that followed the Ronan Point disaster, the housing programme is coming to a shuddering halt. Forty per cent of our housing needs either replacement or major structural repair.¹ What happens when 'they' start getting 'our' houses, of which we are short?

And there is another aspect of the situation, one that may become more relevant. What will 'they' think of the situation? White people in this country might be prepared to be tolerant of the blacks in the overcrowded ghetto, but would the blacks be tolerant of the whites who had crowded them into that ghetto?²

This is the aspect that is often left out. The coloured immigrants themselves are often seen as a non-human mass. They are there to be tolerated or not as the case may be. The only thing they can do is to make themselves more tolerable.³ The possibility that the blacks themselves may take an initiative is not often considered in the columns of *The Observer*, but when it is, it is with a slight chill of horror and definite undertones of distaste.

But the possibility of this initiative is there and in the present situation it naturally centres around the slogan of 'Black Power!'

Already several organizations have come together (in response to the threat that Powell seemed to represent) in the Black Peoples' Alliance. This is a step forward from the type of protest that took the form of the sheer projection of black identity by individuals such as Michael Abdul Malik, whose autobiography is an attempt to shock the white Anglo-Saxon protestant with the lively image of *l'homme ultra-sensuel antillais* (*From Michael de Freitas to Michael X*, by Michael Abdul Malik). In attempting to establish a coherent line

¹This figure can be arrived at from statistics given in the 1968 White Paper, *Old Houses Into New Homes*, Cmnd. 3602. See 'Housing: Policies and Prospects', Greve, *Political Quarterly*, Jan.-Mar. 1969.

²Or for that matter pushed them out of the ghetto. It is not often realized that one of the major problems in race relations is that immigrants, especially Asians, may have extensive kinship obligations or may make special arrangements which mean that three or four households are dependent on one owner-occupier. If an immigrant area is re-developed a council may in good faith rehouse the owner-occupiers and their families (as the official residents of the housing) but may have no obligations at all to the other households made homeless. Thus an authority acting in all good faith may create an explosive situation when trying to provide decent housing for immigrants. This is one of the examples of situations where we have to make serious efforts to come to terms with cultural differences. To say that the immigrants will have to accept our way of doing things is to commit against them once again the type of cultural aggression that characterized many well-meant efforts in education, etc., in the colonies.

³This is the course exemplified, for example, in *To Sir With Love* (Braithwaite), where a black teacher wins acceptance by being exceptionally courageous, intelligent, friendly, clean, etc. Whatever we may think of this approach, one thing is clear and that is that we whites cannot urge it on black people. Of course, black people should be saints, but one can only urge people to sanctity when making a serious, which among other things means dangerous, effort at it oneself. You can tell a man to turn the other cheek if you are prepared to be crucified, but not if you are doing the slapping, even when pointing out that you are trying hard to reduce the frequency of the slaps.

of action on the basis of an agreed theoretical analysis of the situation the organizations in B.P.A. have inevitably turned to the 'Black Power' slogan, or its Maoist variant 'Black Peoples' Power'. A number of fairly disparate groups are members of the B.P.A. federation—the orthodoxly Marxist Indian Workers Association, the community-based Pakistani organizations and those, such as the United Coloured Peoples Association, which lay virtually all their emphasis on 'Black Power' and reject as meaningless for the time being such Marxist slogans as 'Black and White Unite and Fight'. It includes organizations with real national pretensions that are concerned to build up their organizations on a large scale, such as the C.P.U. which includes among its leaders Obi Egbuna, author of a notorious pamphlet whose case made headlines in 1968. On the other hand it includes small, locally-based groups, such as the United Black Peoples' Organisation in Sheffield which grew out of the local C.A.R.D., Black R.A.M. in Brent and the Black Panthers in Brixton, all of which are notable for their complete dedication to their fellow blacks and their willingness to make as much of the present situation for them as possible while insisting on the ultimate need for revolution. But considerable unity already exists between all these groups. The Marxists of the I.W.A. accept the need for black organizations and the most fervent advocates of Black Power describe themselves as socialists and would not go as far as the Black Muslims in the U.S.A. in distinguishing black humans from white devils.¹

Whether the B.P.A. can develop into a full-scale Black Power movement is another issue. The situation in the U.K. is clearly different from that in the States. The smaller size of the black population here and its division into many nationalities, and the fact that large ghettos have not really been established, make an appeal to Black Power here seem at first much less viable. Besides, we do not have in Britain a more or less accepted system of ethnic and religious organization in political life which exists in the U.S.A. and provided the model for Black Power as preached by Stokeley Carmichael and others (*Black Power The Politics of Liberation in America*, Carmichael, Hamilton, published U.S.A. 1967, Britain, 1968 and 1969—2nd, Penguin, edition). One could argue that without Carmichael's version of Black Power the more militant and clearly Marxist line of the Black Panthers would not have developed successfully. (Just as Carmichael would not have been possible if Martin Luther King had not come first.) When all these differences between the situation here and that in the United States are borne in mind, then the claim of Len Phillips, the black leader from the Midlands, which he made at the 1969 Workers Control Conference to the effect that Black

¹The best book on the Black Muslims is *Black Nationalism*, by Essien-Udom. A more journalistic account is given in Lomax *When The Word Is Given* (U.S.A.). See also the account of his interview with Mr Mohammed in Baldwin's essay, *The Fire Next Time*.

Power would be the great revolutionary breakthrough in Britain may seem like whistling in the dark.

But we may have to face a significant Black Power movement in Britain at some time in the future. We are at present in a period of relative calm. Enoch Powell's speeches have become merely one of our less pleasant but still quaint customs. It may be that the black people will become integrated in their various classes (by race relations activity at the upper levels, and working-class solidarity in the factory at the lower). The Irish and others have done it before them. But we must be ready for the other possibility.

And there are reasons for thinking that the B.P.A., or some descendant of it, could become a significant organization in our political life, quite apart from the possibility that the next grave economic crisis, coming before integration has progressed far, will offer temptations to racist demagogues again.

There is the simple fact that a black man cannot change his face. *They have tried it and failed.* Black men wear European suits, speak with English accents and defrizz their hair, and it makes little or no difference. The blacks cannot fade into the white crowd, as the European immigrants found it possible to do.

Secondly there is the fact that racialism is not merely a characteristic of much of our culture, but is also a principle of law. We may have nothing approaching a system of apartheid within Britain and we may have legislation against discrimination that has a few unsharpened teeth, but we *have* established a system designed to exclude coloured immigrants from entry (cf. Michael Dummett, *art. cit.*, at p. 41).

This links up with the fact that the immigrant situation in Britain can only be understood in the context of the international situation. As their capitalist economies expanded, particularly during the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, the nations of northern Europe (including North America and Australasia) established their political and economic domination over the rest of the world, so that for many the most important characteristic of the world today seems to be the race war built up around the underdevelopment situation. While they are gaining increasingly less in economic terms from the so-called Third World,¹ the representatives of white imperialism cannot afford to relinquish control of the underdeveloped countries because they do not know what the results would be. In Vietnam far, far more has been spent on suppressing the Vietcong than would be

¹This is a thesis that many Black Power leaders will not accept, but it is clear that the developed world is coming to depend less in sheer economic terms on the Third World than it has in the past. Improved techniques cut down the quantity of raw materials needed and often these can be replaced altogether by artificial products. The amount of trade between the developed countries is increasing in relation to the amount of their trade with the underdeveloped world. The expansionist dynamic of capitalism which once found its outlet in colonies, can now find an outlet in gigantic, technologically developed, military projects, such as MIRV and the moon landing. For all these reasons the straightforward exploitation of the third world countries may slow down, though the damage will have been done and the political and military domination will remain.

justified in terms of American profits from Indochina. If the struggle between white imperialism and the movements of national liberation continues to play an important part in world affairs, then as representatives of the Third World in Europe the Blacks of Britain, France and Belgium can scarcely avoid identifying to some extent with this *international* struggle for 'black power'.

And apart from all these particular reasons, the critical situation created by the very presence of black people in this country makes Black Power a possibility.

For among the unpleasant things we have to realize is that Enoch Powell is right when he says that the coloured immigrants are a threat to our national culture. And we should thank God that they are here to threaten it, for by their presence alone they challenge it in precisely those of its aspects which are most ugly—its conservatism and its racial arrogance. Before the immigrants came we could mouth phrases about human brotherhood because we did not have to put up with our human brothers. But now that they are here a decision has to be made. Either we accept them fully (which among many other things means changing the immigration laws and in general terms abandoning the theory that the first duty of the government is to the existing social structure, then to its own citizens and then to others) or else we reject them, driving them into the ghettos, if not actually out of the country. The very fact that the immigrants are here, with their strange appearances and different customs, and demanding homes, wages and social services¹ makes the choice a real one. We can no longer fuzzle over the issue with rhetoric. Britain becomes either decidedly racist or it adopts a real belief in human brotherhood.

It would be preposterous for me to argue in this article in favour of Black Power. Whether black people turn to Black Power or integration depends in the end on them and not on us, though what we do will affect their choice immensely. ('Us' here means the author and his fellow whites.) The black people may well choose integration, and if it proves possible, then we should be grateful because the sheer irrationalism of racial conflict makes it excessively dangerous. But we need to be careful to define our meaning of 'integration' here. If integration is to be acceptable then it must be integration into those sectors of our society that are working to free it

¹Every schoolboy knows by now that the immigrants take less *per capita* out of the welfare state than they put in it. This is because of the age structure of the immigrant population, i.e. they are mainly young and healthy married couples, with few old people. Reliance on this argument by liberals is extremely dangerous, quite simply because in a few years time it will no longer be true. The immigrants will become elderly. When their age structure approximates more closely to that of the population as a whole they may in fact begin to take more out of the welfare state because of their past exposure to certain diseases, or because of their lack of western education. While lies about immigrants coming to scrounge off the welfare state must be exposed, we must be quite honest in recognizing the cost of accepting the immigrants as human beings. When all is said and done it is likely to be less than the cost to the black countries of such white immigrants as the staff of the British East India Company or the traders who came to live off the slave states of Africa.

of forms of domination besides racial discrimination. If a coloured immigrant were to become integrated into our present society, quite simply this would mean that he would accept the dominant culture, which among other things holds him to be an inferior. Integration in that sense would make the coloured immigrant a mental cripple, and this is something that has happened to too many of them already. But if the black people decide that 'integration' even in the better sense is impossible and that black power is 'necessary', both in the sense that it is inevitable and in the sense that they need it, then there are reasons why we should welcome it.

Even if the white workers in a factory went out on strike purely because of discrimination by the management, or if white council tenants protested about a housing policy that was segregationist by implication, this would still not alter the basic dependence of black on white. Before black and white can unite it will be necessary for the black people to build up a sufficient power base in our society from which they can ensure that such a coalition will be a real one.¹ In political terms they will have to be in a position to bargain with the whites on, say, the factory floor and in local government in the areas in which they are concentrated, and in psychological terms they will have to affirm their won individuality and dignity, affirm that black is beautiful. The assumption that black depends on white is a prevailing one in our society, and one way or another this assumption will have to be turned on its head.

This is why one can argue with apparent paradox that 'Black and White Unite and Fight' is a good slogan for whites and a bad slogan for blacks (since a slogan is not a statement of academic precision, but an instrument for action). Whites must be more eager to unite with blacks if they are not to lose their own humanity. Blacks must be less eager to unite with whites if they are not to fall into the trap of liberal white superiority into which many, both black and white, saw the civil rights movement in the U.S. falling a few years ago. When they meet somewhere in the middle, then real progress can be made.

This is the essential response to the slur that 'Black Power' is simply black racism. A black racist movement is a possibility, but that possibility is not represented by the B.P.A. All the organizations within it recognize the common humanity of all races, however much stress they lay on the need for black people to organize their own movements at the present moment. Even if a racist black

¹It may shock many people to see how far Martin Luther King accepted this thesis in his book, *Chaos or Community?*, written in 1967 when Stokeley Carmichael's movement was at its height. He differs from Carmichael only in dealing with the role of violent resistance, and with the usefulness of the slogan 'Black Power': cf. 'There is nothing essentially wrong with power. The problem is that in America power is unequally distributed. . . . In his struggle for racial justice, the Negro must seek to transform his condition of powerlessness into creative and positive power. . . . This self-affirmation is the black man's need made compelling by the white man's crimes against him. This is positive and necessary power for black people' (pp. 42, 43 and 48, Penguin edition).

movement were to come into being, it would be necessary, while criticizing it, to recognize that it could not be equated with the white racist organizations in this country. The violence of the oppressed must never be equated with the violence of the oppressor. We must look to the situation. The racism of the Black Muslims in the States who divided humanity into white devils and black humans gave birth to a black power movement which seeks to create a new society of white and black in America from which racialism, as all forms of oppression, is absent. Welensky's platitudinous talk about 'partnership', by fogging the issue, led directly to the white racist régime at present in power in Rhodesia.

It is still possible that race conflict will not become an important political problem in Britain, though it would seem that this is unlikely if men of good will continue to indulge in exercises in papering over the blacks. But if it does become a political problem of the same magnitude as that in the United States and a significant Black Power movement grows up as a result, then those striving for reconciliation between races at the present must be prepared to recognize that movement as a necessary part of the struggle for a better society, as a necessary prelude to real equality of races. For at least three hundred years the white races have been at the top end of the see-saw in our world and the blacks have been at the bottom. A violent move to bring the blacks upward may be necessary before equilibrium can be obtained. It is in this perspective that B.P.A. and other signs of the times must be viewed.

The Natural Selection of Hierarchies

by David Hay

With all its attendant weaknesses, the current popularity of drawing parallels between the findings of animal ethologists and human behaviour may well prove to be a fruitful aid to our understanding of the human condition. I would like to take one rather commonplace example: It frequently happens in ethology laboratories and poultry farms that a group of hens meet each other in a fairly confined space for the first time. In the case of grown birds which are strangers, a series of single combats is engaged in, with each bird pairing off with every other in a way which to the casual glance appears random. Actually, what is developing is a 'peck-order' in which the leader of the flock can peck any other hen without herself being pecked, the second hen can peck all but the top hen, and the rest are arranged in a descending hierarchy ending with a hen which