

the 1958 Convention on the Territorial Sea provides for "innocent" passage through this type of strait. Arthur Bean, the U.S. representative, said this was a "new rule" and that the United Arab Republic has not signed the treaty. Query: What did Russia say in reply to this? Did they come to the defence of the U.A.R.? Or were they silent?

A right of "innocent" passage does not mean that it is a right of "free" passage for any cargo at any time.

"Passage is innocent so long as it is not prejudicial to the peace, good order or security of the coastal state." (i.e. the U.A.R.)

In April, 1967, Israel assaulted Syria with a devastating raid and then threatened her with even larger raids. The critical question was: Was Egypt required by international law to continue to allow the Israelis to build up their oil and other military supplies via Egyptian territory; that is, supplies which would aid Israel to expand her military raids? The U.A.R. had the legal right to close the Strait of Tiran to Israel. Now the tables are turned: as of June 19, 1967, the Israelis now have this legal right - and will use it. (Roger Fisher, Professor of Law, Harvard University has more to say about this. See the U.S. version of the Sunday N.Y. Times Letters 6/11/67.) Hence 'de jure' the U.A.R. is correct in its actions, but 'de facto' they are incorrect and the scoundrels.

The view and racist experience from within The Imperialistic Monster (which harbours some of the most ruthless and influential Zionists in the world) forces me to conclude that the U.S. and Russia will ultimately act according to racist and religious contentions rather than according to Law. The American brand of neo-colonialism weakens a developing Bandung country by economic means; whereas Russia's brand of neo-colonialism weakens by political coitus interruptus - which creates permanent psychological damages within Bandung leaders seeking their support.

It is clear, as the current Arab-Israeli Crisis point out, that our revolutionary brothers are only in Fanon's "Second Phase" of intellectual development; full of the "literature of just-before-the-battle" filling them with experiences of death, distress, difficulty, disgust and the frustrations of not being of the people.

"We spew ourselves up; but already underneath laughter can be heard." - Frantz Fanon, "Wretched of the Earth", Grove Press. p. 179.

## 2 What Black America's Youth Say

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It is time for change - very basic change - and it is the present generation of Black Youth who must initiate this change. 450 years of overt racism and exploitation has taught Black People a lesson and has



1 Only in the Second Phase

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History has shown that the Western Imperialist powers have aided Israel in every possible way. But this does not justify Jamal Nasser's fighting-talk without being prepared to fight, nor does it justify Nasser and other Arab leaders to make the same mistake Kwame Nkrumah made in terms of controlling his military. (During the Congo Crisis, the Ghanaian military blocked Patrice Lumumba from utilising the Ghanaian radio facilities and other vital military resources, yet allowed Tshombe et. al. to use these facilities. A Colonel Ankrah was the man in charge of this counter-revolutionary act - the same Ankrah who is now a general in the Ghana of today. (The story is told in detail in Kwame Nkrumah's "Challenge of the Congo".) In other words, if there was any semblance of solidarity within the Arab ranks (1) the more "militant" Syrian and Palestine Liberation Armies would have been controlled and used as swift razor forces cutting from within and without the Israeli forces, and (2) the Arab leaders would not have blindly assumed that Russia was going to "back them up" in an all-out confrontation with Israel.

The last point is extremely important in terms of understanding the limited commitment of white socialist liberals in general and Russia specifically. For all practical purposes, Russia sees Israelis as white and the Arabs as non-white. It would be no surprise to the author if the "Hot Line" conversation between the U.S. and Russia consisted of an agreement between the two white powers that no matter what happened between the Arabs and Israelis, neither would interfere. At the time of the "Hot Line" conversation, the Israelis practically had defeated the Arabs on three of the four fronts. Further, Russia, the U.S. and Israel were fully aware of the legality of the Arab's position.

The Arabs had very good legal reasons for restricting traffic through the Strait of Tiran (i.e. The Gulf of Aqaba). It is questionable whether international law allows any right of "innocent" passage through this type of waterway. In spite of the Israeli request, in 1956 the International Law Commission found no rule which could govern the Strait of Tiran. It is very important to note that

solidified the position of today's Black Youth: RACISM WILL NO LONGER BE TOLERATED. Our refusal to tolerate white America's anti-Black system of life is founded on a clear understanding of 'the Man's' game. For we, the Black Youth, realise that:

"The Man" will never change his society for Black People - it will remain racist and against humanity for as long as we allow him to define and control our existence.

No amount of federal legislation, anti-poverty programs, or other neocolonial devices for cooling Black People out will ever eliminate white supremacy in America and the World.

The present "negro" organisations and institutions, which are fundamentally controlled by the white oppressor, can have no meaningful effect on the problems of Black People.

If Black People are to get a positive black and humanistic, and therefore revolutionary movement together, it must be created out of and for the Black community, as opposed to integration which is merely assimilation of the Black race.

Hence, it is extremely necessary for Black Youth to come together in a permanent national organisation dedicated to the needs and survival of Black People throughout the world. This organisation will coordinate the activities of Black Youth - both students and non-students - in the following areas:

Black Youth who are not students should create:

Defence and protection units for the Black community.

Economic cooperatives to aid in fulfilling the youths' and community's financial needs.

Educational and vocational training programs relevant to the Black community.

Political roles based around the concepts of social revolution

A communications network between Black Youth on an international basis.

National coordination to eliminate unrelated sporadic events that do more harm to Black People than to their oppressor.

Black Youth who are students should create:

Communication and dissemination of information between student groups across the nation, and Africa, Asia, Latin America.

A racially relevant education and, ultimately, a Black Ideological institute.

An apparatus for socially relevant research and evaluation programs.

A set of values opposed to the values of the "negro establishment" specifically and white America in general.

A political coalition with radical elements of **the white** Left who are willing to accept and **work under** the guid-lines of the coalition **defined** by the Black Student organisation.

Black Draft Resistance leagues to deal with the draft of Black Americans into the oppressor's colonial army.

## The Dead

### The Dead . . .

There is a white sun in their nightmare in eclipse!

There is a pure source discernible on the brink of  
night

in it, washing her limbs and her eyes and her  
only-begotten son,  
a woman, cradling her empty arms, festooning  
with trills

of song a crown for the dead, her madness  
all shiny with tears!

That woman who loses her glance with every kiss  
she gives,

the moon beholds her, a dog barks, sucks her breast  
That drop of milk which flows from her breast  
oh! it is the germ from which dawn takes its flesh  
to spread it on the path  
where the fortune-teller goes by.

What souls were moved o winds of the seas  
all the ferns of a valley in the sun  
disputed a puddle of water stagnating in the sun.

TCHICAYA U TAM' SI

Translated by Willfried Feuser from 'Epitome',  
in collection "L'aube dissout les monstres",  
(PJ Oswald, Paris and Tunis, 1962, p23)