"I think it means that people are now afraid that this might be swamped by people from the new culture... British character has done a lot for democracy... We are going to rather protest to those in... We are British with a thinking character...
SWAMPED? SWAMPED? SWAMPED IS THE OUTCRY. IT IS THE LIE, IT IS THE TRUTH.

"SWAMPED" is the word that reveals the racist face of the British ruling class, behind the facade of humanity a vicious being. SWAMPED is the word that defines today the predicament of the world.

SWAMPED IS THE WORLD; swamped by European values, by consumer culture and technology, by guns, tanks and bombers, by poisonous gases and toxic matters, . . . and above all by an ideology that denudes humanity to all peoples.

SWAMPED! Or perhaps the word is 'swamped'. That brings to mind LOCUSTS: the Earth being swamped by white locusts. The metaphor is not an exaggeration when one looks at the World, the world since the Renaissance. Its destruction and plundering under 'civilisation'.

TEN THOUSAND MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN DIE OF STARVATION EVERY DAY.

How could one forget what happened to the American continents, to Australasia, and the innumerable places where the White Man had set his foot? What happened to the Red Man? What happened to so many American tribes? Where are the Incas, the Mayas . . . ? Where are the Tasmanians - the "British character" has done the job well?

Everywhere they were welcomed - the Pilgrims, the Fathers, the conquistadors, the explorers and adventurers, and even the convicted criminals. What did the indigenous peoples get in return for their hospitality and innocence? Murders, genocide, rape and plundering. Those who managed to survive had their lives meaning taken away, their culture destroyed, their artefacts plundered and stolen.

And now those that "ruled the sea" are frightened of 2 million "numbers" at the bottom of the heap. Could anybody in one’s right mind believe that Britain could be swamped, swamped by a few million "people of a different culture" in the next decade? Even if there are going to be 5 million blacks in Britain at the end of this century, so what? Why should anybody be frightened?

There are about 500 million Europeans outside Europe. Should people be afraid of them? And how about the European culture which is alien to the rest of the world?

Our presence in this country is the direct result of what happened, and is happening, to our countries due to the greed and violence perpetrated by the West; the greed and violence that have now been universalised through the imposition of bourgeois ideology in the world. Moreover, YOU asked us to come. Why shouldn’t our women (or men) and children join us now?

We came here when you were passing through a difficult period. You needed us to run the factories, the hospitals, the transport system. . . We worked hard, 12 to 16 hours a day, and helped rebuild the economy which was shattered by the War. But what did we get in return? Racist myths and propaganda about our inferiority! You have the nerve to tell us that we should go home. Is it your "character" to treat the people who had helped you in difficult times, with "rivers of blood"?

FEAR! FEAR! FEAR! "FEAR EATS THE SOUL" - Fassbinder, and destroys the body!

About 1½ million unemployed and more to go. THAT IS THE REAL FEAR. The bourgeois ruling class, which is bankrupt and can no longer deliver the goods, must instead CREATE a fear that has nothing to do with reality, a fear of the unknown. It must utter blatant lies to cover its own miserable incompetence. It must therefore perpetuate chauvinism and racial superiority among the white population to maintain its power.

RACISM HAS NO BIOLOGICAL ROOTS. IT IS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORY.

The black community in Britain today is under a constant threat of violence. THAT IS A REAL FEAR. The fear of being attacked in the street by racist thugs, of being maimed or killed. Two men killed in a month, and we should be worried. "You are being unnecessarily paranoiac", we are often told, "our police is there to help you."

Wednesday 5 July 1978: a gang of some 30 white youths ambushed a group of Bangladeshis who had just come out of the factory after finishing their daily work, in Edmonton, London. 13 of the Bangladeshis are injured. "I feel like a hunted animal", said Mirjan Ali, "I don’t know what will happen tomorrow or after. There doesn’t seem to be any reason, but they keep attacking us and shouting abusive language." (Reported by Sashi Brata in the Observer, 9 July 1978.) A week has passed and as usual no arrests. (The black community has no choice but to get up and fight back; which is already happening.)

EUROCENTRISM = HIERARCHY = DOMINATION = RACISM.

The present-day racism is one of the manifestations of the domination of bourgeois ideology: the black man’s predicament is not to be equated with that of the white man. Look at Rhodesia! Everybody is worried about the ‘plight’ of white man. Every time a white man is killed there is a big outcry in the British press.

Now look at these images from TV, of Rhodesia.

One image: a row of beautiful coffins with flowers waiting for the church service and funeral. The white man’s coffins.

Another image: soldiers piling up dead black bodies (look almost mutilated) or throwing them in a ditch, as if they were dead animals. NO COFFINS, NO FLOWERS, NO FUNERAL . . . THE BLACK MAN IS NOT SUPPOSED TO HAVE A SOUL.

More than 600 men, women and children are slaughtered by the South African troops in a raid (in which tanks and fighter bombers, supplied of course by the Western powers, are used) on an Angolan village on 4th May 1978: NOT A SINGLE HEADLINE IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

How COULD ONE THINK ONLY OF ART WHEN ONE IS SURROUNDED BY SO MUCH RACIST FILTH AND VIOLENCE?

WHAT CREDIBILITY THE WESTERN BOURGEOISIE [perhaps the adjective ‘Western’ here is unnecessary] HAS WHEN IT TALKS ABOUT ALL HUMANITY (REMEMBER VIETNAM!)?

HOW COULD IT TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS? IMPERIALISM HAS NO LIMITS IN ITS PRACTICE OF MORAL DOUBLE STANDARDS AND HYPOCRISY.

Now let us see if we have really swamped this country. How many black (or non-white) prime ministers we have had in Britain? (You are expecting TOO MUCH.) How many black MPs are there in the Parliament? (How could a black man REPRESENT whites!) Which sector of the British economy
KEEP BRITAIN FOR THE BRITISH

Only 200m to absorb

NGATA TE KOROU
Mausi teacher in New Zealand

...I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people of a different culture. The British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped, then people are going to rather hostile to those coming in. We are a British nation with British characteristics. Every country can take some minorities, and in many ways they add to the richness and variety of this country. But the moment the minority threatens to become a big one, people get frightened.

Mrs. Thatcher

MY PEOPLE are showing great interest in reports from England of the Immigration debate at present taking place. Many of them react strongly to the determination of Mrs. Thatcher not to let her own tribe lose its cultural values in the tidal wave of immigrants, although they seem surprised that the British should feel that less than 5 percent of the population is a cause for concern.

Perhaps it would comfort the British to know that we Moris have managed to keep our language and some of our traditions alive in spite of being over whelmed 10 to one by British immigrants over the last 150 years, and in spite of a determined attack upon our culture by the immigrant majority which lasted for over a century.

We also notice that elements of British political life wish to send back the immigrants from Asia and the Caribbean. This has given great heart to our own radical voice. They claim that this, thanks to the British passion for fair play, we can now expect constant threats posed by immigrants to Britain to be matched by equal pressure for the threat posed by British immigrants to other cultures, such as our own.

Should any future Conservative, Powellite, or National Front government succeed in repatriating immigrants, we will hope to see Oaxacan Indians from North America, or Moris from the Caribbean, or African blacks from South Africa, or Chinese from Singapore, or Indians from India, or of any group or culture, acting to take up the vacancies. It so happens that we have almost exactly the same number of so-called "cultural aliens" as Britain has coloured immigrants, about 24 million whites of predominantly British extraction. This means that the indigenous populations of other old Commonwealth countries should not expect any better.

This would mean that for every West Indian or Indian deported, we could send you, on a fair statistical basis, as replacements, one "Pakeha" New Zealander, four Australians, four Canadians, half a South African, white, part of a white Rhodesian, and no fewer than 50 American WASPS. It would take some time for you to absorb the extra 200 million people involved, but there is no reason why, if phrased over a decent period (say a century), and with sensible birth control measures being taken, England should not be the exclusive home of those who speak English and live in the English manner.

Others among us would prefer more moderate solutions to our immigrant problem—why, if the problem is not the same, why not Spanish, or Somali, or any other minority—nor would it be the same race. And we say it is the British who should have our culture, while preserving the good in our own. They say that the world is now too small for anyone to claim rights of ethnic homelands. We, Hitler did. This you must agree, shows great tolerance from those whose parents and grandparents were tricked by treaties, tricked by land grants, raged by wars, forced into even more land than evicted from what was left as a punishment for resisting the invader. And the children forced into schools in which their own language and cultural values were proscribed. In spite of that, our moderates, still dream of a world where only some can live, wherever he likes.

Our radicals on the other hand say that it is the whites who have allowed our forests to be felled by the hucksters, and that the dream of the return to the land which has been almost ruined by intensive and destructive methods of pastoral farming, is ridiculous and sentimental, and that we should accept that racism exists everywhere, and that everyone should go back to his own ancestral homelands as soon as possible.

They too have a dream, a dream of the forest returning to the land which has been almost ruined by intensive and destructive methods of pastoral farming, a dream of the return to a proper balance with nature. Perhaps the day may come again when we can live in the Kauras, and harvest the fruits of forests, in the woods and the sea. They dream of the warm comradeship of family group and subtribe, of culture, of culture stories around the cooking fires, as the long Pacific waves thunder on empty beaches. And never a single greedy, grasping, calculating, and face to be seen anywhere.

They are depending upon the success of Britain's ultra Right wing institutions under the domination of black people? Which black artist is recognised in Britain, or which art-history book, art journal or institution, recognises the presence of black artists in Britain and their contributions to its contemporary art? Why don't you stick to your ethnic traditions? How many black artists have been sent abroad to represent Britain? (You must be joking: a black artist representing Britain! Art is not football or boxing.)

Are people really so frightened in Britain that they have stopped travelling by the public transport (since it is run by blacks)? Are people so scared, lest they be poisoned, that they have stopped going to the Indian/Chinese restaurants? Are people so fearful of the 'demons' spirits of our ancient tribes cast a deadly spell, that they are no longer visiting the British Museum?

Yes, we have swamped your little island with millions of our cultural artefacts; so much so that three million artefacts have to be kept wrapped in the safe-boxes in a Shoreditch warehouse, away from the ordinary people lest their British values are threatened. We are very sorry!

Yes, we are grateful that you have given us 'civilisation'. You have given us Rolls-Royces, Mercedes, colour TVs, pin-striped suits with matching shirts and ties, aeroplanes, guns, tanks, bombers, ... WE EAT THEM TO FILL OUR HUNGRY STOMACHS!

Thank you for "democracy, for law, and (doing) so much throughout the world..." Look at Rhodesia, Southern Africa, Cyprus, Palestine, Northern Ireland...!

"OVER 100 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WITH 50% OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, ACCOUNT FOR ONLY 14% OF THE GLOBAL PRODUCT. IN CONTRAST, SOME 25 DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, WITH ONLY 18% OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, ACCOUNT FOR 66 PER CENT."

The present predicament of mankind is the direct result of bourgeois ideology and its economic system which has now become international monopoly capital. It can only exist and survive by virtue of its exploitation of not only the people in its metropolises but more brutally by super-exploitation of the Third World. It has nothing to offer to the world except starvation and human misery. The capitalist system must now give way (it won't do it by itself, of course) to a system that totally rejects greed and competition as natural and which recognises and fulfils the equal needs of all peoples throughout the world. The resources of the world cannot be left in the hands of a few lunatics of multinational corporate states, who could bring life on earth to an end by the turn of this century.

How could then one continue creating an art that fails to depict the enormity of the bourgeoisie ideology? How could one shut one's eyes to the predicament of mankind and continue making an art that ignores the reality of its time; and yet continue making claims about its universality? How could one continue clinging to bourgeois illusions which have in fact led so many artists recently to intellectual masturbation and farting, masochism and self-destruction, pessimism, depression, nihilism, voyeurism, exhibitionism, etc, etc, ... The bourgeoisie, of course, loves all this because there is nothing in these states and their resulting activities that it would threaten it. It actually pays ANYTHING for that is useless and meaningless, and for that which causes self-emasculcation of the artist, thus destroying a potential critic of its ideology or revolutionary.

TO SAY THAT "THIS COUNTRY MIGHT BE SWAMPED BY PEOPLE OF A DIFFERENT CULTURE", AT A TIME WHEN THE WHOLE WORLD IS BEING VICIOUSLY DOMINATED BY THE WEST, IS TO PERPETUATE IMPERIALIST LIES; LIES WHICH MUST BE EXPOSED
"PAKI BASTARD"
(Portrait of the artist as a black person)
a live event with slides and sound by
RASHEED ARAEEN

"Paki Bastard" is the 2nd part of the trilogy (art events) which was conceived in 1976-77 as part of Preliminary Notes for a BLACK MANIFESTO published in Black Phoenix No.1 and which deals with the relationship between the Third World and the West. "Paki Bastard", first performed on July 31 1977 at the ARTISTS FOR DEMOCRACY, London, specifically reflects upon the predicament of black people in Britain; showing also how a black artist, uprooted from his original environment in the Third World and rejected by white society in the West, eventually comes to terms and identifies with the reality of his people. The 1st and 3rd parts, called "Noble Savage" and "Blood Sausages" respectively, will, it is hoped, be performed later this year.

NOTE

The following 6 photographs is a selection from 50 sequences. The text is not exactly the interpretation of the images here, but contains some of the thoughts that went into the making of the work. And although it contains autobiographical references, it would be wrong to read it at personal level.

He sits there facing a slide projector, blind and gagged, holding a broom that defines his role in the contemporary world. In the background is the flute sound he made some time ago when he was very depressed. (He can't play 'music'.) The projector projects on him the image of one of his earlier works, the purpose being to create an artistic identity which is used throughout the piece in various manners. It also alludes, at a different level, to the mythical space, which is elevated, privileged and universalised, and in which the artist of the bourgeois world ends up cocooned and incarcerated. It is the mythical space within which the bourgeois 'freedom of artistic expression' manifests, and which is inversely proportional to the real space at the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid. The black, Third World, person thus remains outside this space confronted with reality.
of going to Paris and instead becoming a famous artist. They wouldn't understand. He had to tell them a lie, that he was going abroad for higher education... He remembers the day when he left. The whole family came to see him off at the harbour. How his two youngest sisters refuse to leave the ship... About three weeks later he was actually in Paris, lonely and homesick. He thought Paris was the centre of civilization... He thought of going back home, but he couldn't face the idea of being called a coward by his friends.... Instead he took train to London... Fourteen years is a long time... How could he come to terms with his 'failures'...

He exits. He leaves behind the fantasies, his own memories, his old dreams, and enters the world of real. It took him some time to realise that his own predicament is not unique. He is in fact part of the people who have been colonised, dominated and uprooted. He finally comes to accept the fact that he is part of the humanity which is being denied its own history, its culture and civilisation being undermined and plundered. He begins to under-
Sitting alone in a café in Brick Lane, he listens to the sexy, jazzy, romantic, sugary, vulgar,... Indian film songs that pour out continuously from a jukebox. He is overtaken by nostalgia... He thinks of the time, his youth, when he himself secretly entertained the thoughts of becoming a film hero... He remembers his friends with whom he went to school/university, with whom he spent long evenings sitting in cafés and quite often talking about what was new from the West - literature, art, films, etc. How they all longed for the free and bohemian life in Paris, London, New York,... He thinks of his mother, father, brothers and sisters, who are still waiting for his return. They thought that their eldest son, their eldest brother, would one day be a successful engineer - after all he did complete his graduation. He would have been the pride of the family! But he had the crazy idea
Ahead of him in Hanbury Street was a young Bengali boy. As the boy approached a bend he was surrounded by six white youths. When Rouf rushed to his aid, the gang produced bottles from inside their coats and attacked him, cutting his scalp, cheek and wrists.

This was one of a series of random and vicious assaults.

I do not understand why he left his own country; why people leave their own countries and seek livelihood in the hostile and aggressive environment of Western cities. He can now see that the violence which is being inflicted upon people, whether it is physical violence or mental,

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is the violence of the international economic system that has reduced most of the mankind to poverty and starvation. He can see now the true face of the civilisation that he once cherished. But confronted with all this violence and miseries he feels helpless again.... He thinks of the wretched of the earth, of his own 'wasted' life... Depression overtakes him again.........
But fallen men and women rise up again with the call of liberation. Remember Algeria, Vietnam... The sound of early morning at Grunwick, perhaps the longest strike (690 days) in the history of working class struggle, wakes him up from his sleep, from his apathy. The struggle of the people all over the world against all kind of domination, physical as well as mental, gives him hope and courage. He gets up to join the people: they in turn become part of his new consciousness...

(The role of art in human struggle perhaps needs a comment here. Should art become an instrument of a political struggle in a mechanistic and functional way, or it should maintain its specific function vis-à-vis ideology. If we truly accept the dialectics of the process of transformation, the dialectical interaction between different human activities, taking into consideration both the collective and individual levels of conscious-
ness, as well as the subjectivity (psyche) of the individual which is necessary for the critical reflection of the system in which one is living, then any prescription that marginalizes the role of the art must be rejected.

However, the piece ends with a synthesis (above photograph). The top left is the face of an Indian woman who, after the big demo at Grunwick in which 10,000 people took part and in which many people were injured as the result of police violence (according to a Time Out report people received injuries on testicles and breasts), stands alone outside Grunwick holding a playcard that reads AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL. The word INJURY appears on the floor next to the artist cutting the broom into pieces. The top right is a sculpture done a few years ago by cutting the wood into pieces and then structuring them together...........
This essay is from a collection of writings completed by the author before the so-called "fascist coup in Chile and which were, along with hundreds of others, burned in Horcasitas as a reprisal. This collection was later published as Ensayos Quemados (Busted Essays) by Ediciones de la Flor, Buenos Aires, 1974. The English translation, by John Lyons, is being published for the first time here.

"Not so very long ago, the earth numbered two thousand million human beings. In one year, one thousand five hundred million of them died. The former had the Word; the others had the use of it. Between the two there was no more difference than between noche and asfalt, between beginning and end, which served as go-betweens in the colonized countries. The truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on: the nations that had to love them, something in the way mothers love. The European upper echelons, to manufacture a native elite, they picked out promising adolescents, they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of western culture, turned them into little Babars, into little Lopetises, into little sounding phrases, grandiloquent words that stuck to the thumb. After a short stay in the mother country they were sent home, to the故土. These were the native educated''s, the native intellectuals of their: they only executed obedience. From Paris, from London, from Amsterdam we would utter the words 'Parthenon' and 'Brotherhood' and let children in Africa and Asia lips. would devour.'"

"This essay will not be the first in which the phenomenon of the native is closely related to that of capital. "Capital", the child is the enemy of reality itself. A native's lips, if he has, a country of his own, which remains pristine, in which capital is absorbed, that is the child. I mean not a country that is like a child; I mean that reality-stricken from those sectors of his personality that simultaneously eminently--" enemies come to look for him ("two little elephants completely separated").

"This first contact between Babar now enviored, almost adult one native" characters, who are like reflections of what one desires, anvan's desire, the future's desire, the native's desire. His desires are immediately. Incorporated into the world of the old lady, she dresses then. The native's desire. But it is an illusion that the first step--the fear to seek to ask us to look at the asset dominates the zones which the child, which makes lovely, attractive, the happy which facilitates the fluid transition towards state cup, the sweet-child, the asset adult. Having demonstrated the superiority and the effectiveness of his education, counting on allies, on a girl (later he will marry Creutz). This strategy, we can never return to.

"But he will never forget the old lady..."

"They set off drinking, starting, with allures, boasting and making all the native's desires; does it satisfy the desires of tomorrow, just as he points in any history; there the underdeveloped comfort, turning.

"The benefit of the system itself, but the system that benefits them will be the real enemy, and they will not facilitate the existence of the pedagogical process which the dominant idea, and the system which its agent, wishes to impose on the child. Since Babar is not much of a native..."

"I am not speaking of those cases where the child is the enemy of reality itself. A native's lips, if he has, a country of his own, which remains pristine, in which capital is absorbed, that is the child. I mean not a country that is like a child; I mean that reality-stricken from those sectors of his personality that simultaneously eminently--" enemies come to look for him ("two little elephants completely separated")..."

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of thirty full of vitality, although often undisciplined, are realities which give the hope that, through a well disposed effort of cooperation, the future might not only put a roof to the present, but in a more spiritual way, also to the future of the continent.

This theory, as the other socialists have demonstrated, 17 relies on the self-defence of the working class, which, in the future, will be able to act as a real class. In this perspective, the communist suggests that when a mature middle classes emerges, the "unemployed middle" will feel that the working class is becoming a real class.

The middle classes, perhaps the most formidable obstacle to social change, will find their idealism as unrealistic as that of the other classes.

The middle classes are those who have no desire to change, and they will remain loyal to the system. They are the ones who will hold the key to the future of society.

We have already shown, through the example of the middle classes, how important it is to focus on the working class. The working class is the one that can create a better world. The middle classes are not interested in change, they are interested in maintaining the status quo.

The working class is the one that can make a difference. They are the ones who can create a better world. The middle classes are not interested in change, they are interested in maintaining the status quo.

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Sitting alone in a café in Brick Lane, he listens to the sexy, jazzy, romantic, sugary, vulgar, ... Indian film songs that pour out continuously from a jukebox. He is overthrown by nostalgia... He thinks of the time, his youth, when he himself secretly entertained the thoughts of becoming a film hero... He remembers his friends with whom he went to school/university, with whom he spent long evenings sitting in cafés and quite often talking about what was new from the West – literature, art, films, etc. How they all longed for the free and bohemian life in Paris, London, New York, ... He thinks of his mother, father, brothers and sisters, who were still waiting for his return. They thought that their eldest son, their eldest brother, would one day be a successful engineer – after all he did complete his graduation. He would have been the pride of the family! But he had the crazy idea...
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This was one of a series of random and vicious assaults

of going to Paris and instead becoming a famous artist. They wouldn’t understand. He had to tell them a lie, that he was going abroad for higher education... He remembers the day when he left. The whole family came to see him off at the harbour. How his two youngest sisters refuse to leave the ship... About three weeks later he was actually in Paris, lonely and homesick. He thought Paris was the centre of civilization... He thought of going back home, but he couldn’t face the idea of being called a coward by his friends.... Instead he took train to London... Fourteen years is a long time... How could he come to terms with his ‘failures’... He exitis. He leaves behind the fantasies, his own memories, his old dreams, and enters the world of real. It took him some time to realise that his own predicament is not unique. He is in fact part of the people who have been colonised, dominated and uprooted. He finally comes to accept the fact that he is part of the humanity which is being denied its own history, its culture and civilization being undermined and plundered. He begins to understand why he left his own country; why people leave their own countries and seek livelihood in the hostile and aggressive environment of Western cities. He can now see that the violence which is being inflicted upon people, whether it is physical violence or mental, is the violence of the international economic system that has reduced most of the mankind to poverty and starvation. He can see now the true face of the civilisation that he once cherished. But confronted with all this violence and misery he feels helpless again.... He thinks of the wretched of the earth, of his own ‘wasted’ life... Depression overtakes him again........
But fallen men and women rise up again with the call of liberation. Remember Algeria, Vietnam... The sound of early morning at Grunwick, perhaps the longest strike (690 days) in the history of working class struggle, wakes him up from his sleep, from his apathy. The struggle of the people all over the world against all kind of domination, physical as well as mental, gives him hope and courage. He gets up to join the people; they in turn become part of his new consciousness...

(The role of art in human struggle perhaps needs a comment here. Should art become an instrument of a political struggle in a mechanistic and functional way, or it should maintain its specific function vis-à-vis ideology. If we truly accept the dialectics of the process of transformation, the dialectical interaction between different human activities, taking into consideration both the collective and individual levels of consciousness, as well as the subjectivity (psyche) of the individual which is necessary for the actual reflection of the system he/those one is living, then any prescription that marginalizes the role of the art must be rejected.)

However, the piece ends with a synthesis (above photograph). The top left is the face of an Indian woman who, after the big demo at Grunwick in which 10,000 people took part and in which many people were injured as the result of police violence (according to a Time Out report people received injuries on testicles and breasts), stands alone outside Grunwick holding a placard that reads ‘AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.’ The word INJURY appears on the floor next to the artist cutting the broom into pieces. The top right is a sculpture done a few years ago by cutting the wood into pieces and then structuring them together...
CULTURAL COLONIALISM

Kenneth Coutts-Smith

This paper was offered to the Congress of AIGA held in Lisbon, September 1976. We are reprinting the paper here as the author's contribution to the debate initiated by "BLACK BRAAHS" and "WALKING IN THE FIRE." This debate was first published in winter 1976-77.

Traditionally, historians of culture in general and art in particular have tended to base their analyses and their theoretical frameworks upon the assumption that art exists in a vacuum, independent of the economic or social conditions of its external environment. This perspective is now being challenged as more and more art historians are coming to realize that the dynamics of cultural production are not invariable, but depend on the nature and degree of interaction with the world of social and economic forces. It is clear now that culture is not produced within a vacuum, but must be seen as a product of the social and economic forces that shape it. In this paper, I will examine the ways in which cultural production is influenced by these forces, and how these forces in turn are shaped by cultural production. The view of cultural production as a social and economic process is fundamental to understanding the relationship between culture and society.

The need to examine our present cultural assumptions in the light of the above content cannot be emphasized strongly enough. It would be a tragic mistake to assume that art exists in a vacuum, independent of the economic or social conditions of its external environment. This perspective is now being challenged as more and more art historians are coming to realize that the dynamics of cultural production are not invariable, but depend on the nature and degree of interaction with the world of social and economic forces. It is clear now that culture is not produced within a vacuum, but must be seen as a product of the social and economic forces that shape it. In this paper, I will examine the ways in which cultural production is influenced by these forces, and how these forces in turn are shaped by cultural production. The view of cultural production as a social and economic process is fundamental to understanding the relationship between culture and society.

In historical analysis, it is clear that our disciplines have vett begun to take much note of art's role in the formation of national identities. But the art of the last 200 years, particularly in the post-WWII period, is now occurring in the broader spectrum of world culture. In the case of European art, the term 'national art' has been widely used to refer to art produced within the confines of a particular nation-state. However, this term is increasingly being questioned, as the production of art is now occurring in a global context, and the boundaries of national identity are being redefined.

In the context of world culture, the term 'national art' has been widely used to refer to art produced within the confines of a particular nation-state. However, this term is increasingly being questioned, as the production of art is now occurring in a global context, and the boundaries of national identity are being redefined.

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Ahead of him in Hanbury Street was a young Bengali boy. As the boy approached a bend he was surrounded by six white youths. When Rouf rushed to his aid, the gang produced bottles from inside their coats and attacked him, cutting his scalp, cheek and wrists.

This was one of a series of random and vicious assaults

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(1The role of art in human struggle perhaps needs a comment here. Should art become an instrument of a political struggle in a mechanistic and functional way, or it should maintain its specific function vis-à-vis ideology. If we truly accept the dialectics of the process of transformation, the dialectical interaction between different human activities, taking into consideration both the collective and individual levels of consciousness, as well as the subjectivity (psyche) of the individual which is necessary for the critical reflection of the system to which one is living, then any prescription that marginalizes the role of the art must be rejected.)

However, the piece ends with a synthesis (above photograph): The top left is the face of an Indian woman who, after the big demo at Grunwick in which 10,000 people took part and in which many people were injured as the result of police violence (according to a Time Out report people received injuries on testicles and breasts), stands alone outside Grunwick holding a playcard that reads "AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL." The word "INJURY" appears on the floor next to the artist cutting the broom into pieces. The top right is a sculpture done a few years ago by cutting the wood into pieces and then structuring them together...
Traditionally, the state of culture in general and art in particular have tended to be seen as the prime reference points against which the normative construction of a sense of identity was achieved. However, as the study of culture - and, more specifically, the analysis of cultural diversity and cultural continuity - has progressed, it has become clear that the concept of "cultural identity" is not a static, monolithic entity but rather a dynamic and flexible one, shaped by a wide range of factors, including historical, social, economic, and political processes.

The study of culture has traditionally been viewed as a means to understand and interpret the past, to explain the present, and to predict the future. However, it has become increasingly clear that this approach is too narrow, and that a more holistic understanding of culture is necessary. The study of cultural identity is a complex and multidisciplinary field, and it requires a range of different methods and approaches, including historical, sociological, economic, and political analyses.

In this respect, the role of art in shaping and reflecting cultural identity is particularly important. Art is not only a means of expression and communication, but also a powerful force in shaping social and cultural values. Art can be used to challenge existing power relations, to create new forms of social interaction, and to promote social change. However, it is also important to recognize that art is not a neutral force, but rather one that is shaped by and shapes social and cultural processes.

In conclusion, the study of cultural identity is a complex and dynamic field, and it requires a range of different methods and approaches. Art is a powerful force in shaping and reflecting cultural identity, but it is also important to recognize that art is not a neutral force, but rather one that is shaped by and shapes social and cultural processes.
countless generations of the collective of Christianity from the competitive goals of economic, and time, of individual men. Functional, functional, and social, the capital, the capital, itself, demand both constantly evolving trends of competition and social change. In opposition to the static and generational "policies" of capital, the world of capital is defined as a dynamic, constantly changing entity, constantly adapting to new needs and conditions. This process of change is both essential and inevitable, as the world of capital is constantly evolving to meet the demands of a changing world.

The impact between Capitalism and Romanticism has been both profound and complex. While Capitalism emphasizes the accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of profit, Romanticism values the beauty and richness of nature and the individual experience. These two ideologies have often been at odds, with Capitalism often seen as exploiting and degrading nature and individuals in the name of profit. However, there have also been moments of synthesis, where the two ideologies have been able to work together to create new forms of cultural expression.

In the 19th century, the industrial revolution was in full swing, and the world of capital was expanding rapidly. This period saw the rise of new ideologies, such as Socialism and Communism, which challenged the traditional role of capital in society. However, these ideologies were often met with resistance, as the world of capital was deeply entrenched and powerful. The outcome of these conflicts was often determined by the balance of power between those who benefited from the world of capital and those who were being left behind.

In the 20th century, the world of capital faced new challenges, as the global economy became increasingly interconnected. The rise of globalization and technological change has led to new forms of competition and social change. The world of capital is constantly adapting to these new challenges, but the impacts of these changes are not always positive. The world of capital has been accused of contributing to social inequality, environmental destruction, and other negative consequences.

The world of capital is a complex and dynamic entity, constantly changing and adapting to new needs and conditions. It is defined both by its successes and its failures, and it is a powerful force in shaping the course of history. Understanding the world of capital is essential for anyone who wishes to understand the world in which we live.
Since the arrest of Ngugi wa Thiong'o by the Kenyan Government on Dec 31st 1978, nobody has been allowed to see him, nor has he ever been informed of his charges.

The reason for his being kept in jail is obvious. He has committed no crime. It is not for the purpose of suppressing free speech or to prevent the expression of views, which the Art Community obviously holds, to be expressed. It is with a view to exposing the mentality of a society which has no conception of the necessity of freedom, or the value of human rights, that the fine Art Community, in this country, has taken the stand that this is a matter of concern to everyone, who is interested in the welfare of this community.

The expression of these ideas has been sanctioned by the authorities, and it is not to be expected that they would allow any further progress in this direction.

In the course of this trial, a number of important questions of law have been raised, and it is hoped that these will be fully considered in due course. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merits of these questions, but only to point out that they are matters of general importance, and that they deserve careful consideration.

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Notes on ART & LIBERATION STRUGGLE

N. Kilele

This note has two aims.

Firstly, to bring artists' protests (AP) from politics to protest poetry (PP), so that the struggle for each, as to increase the effectiveness of AP, I shall briefly con- sider the effectiveness of AP. I shall briefly con- sider the effectiveness of AP, so that the consequences of the attempted social revolution are clear in the eyes of these. The proportion of each kind is a social activity and is determined in the last instance by the most common social values. So, the manner in which the social is formed by a specific political practice must be determined by political criteria. It is not the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values. It is the strength of political action that gives rise to social values.
It propagates its ideology through the educational system strictly controlled by the government. Further, any forms of cultural activity has to be approved for by an array of the ruling party's officials, if the work is allowed.

The relatively autonomous nature of artistic production has often been discussed by various revolutionary leaders... [and] functionalist formalism, which has also been popular in the Third World. But it is not possible to use the present realities without recognizing the need for a new dynamic. For the time being, however, the ideological function of art is to serve as a basis for the ideological continuity of the past.

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A GIFT OF BLOOD

Searching for a garden in my world
you will find fiery winds, not spring.
No rainbow stirs here, in this grey afternoon;
from one end to the other strains the race.
Once upon a time the time and the essence
leaders to hear their way to many times!
Behind the soul of democracy,
they build pyramids in the desert and in the desert.
In the name of peace they are torn apart
in the vacuum of mediocrity.
Fear vois the heart and fire is raised.
Over the tops of iron bars stretched out.
You can never find solitude and expression
these ideas that have grown stronger to the imagination.
No necessary away can free birth
that give birth to the children of wretchedness.
As each step we take is to the border to the limbs that entangle with the darkness.
Onward moves the course of human progress
shaking the heart at the same time.
All around the drums of revolt are sounding
with a noise like flogged flames.
The whole earth is a boiling oven
the revolutions and the forests are silent.
It's easy to strike our enemies
but who will stop the chaffing of life?
The cold and the dry air is high
but who will stop the force of changing times?
You who shake the war of ideas
will stop the sword of rising men?
Let's form the very place of darkness
where you seek salvation
the arrival of salvation will emerge.
In the air cloud the next flag
The last and next converged.

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A PRISON NIGHTFALL

The night descends step by step down the stairs of grace.
The false gents by me
who is a kind and eloquent phrase.
The headless trees of the prison yard are
abstracting making patterns against the sky.
On the road the high heart
the freedom of the moonlight...now.
In dust it down the stone road
and in the king coming silver with moonlight.
To the dead.
As a wave of painful love
wakes the heart.
Definitely, a chapter sets me
how sweet life is at this instant.
Those that believe in diplomacy will today not tomorrow win.
They can put out the lamp of life
they cannot blind the moon!

All the poems are translated from Urdu by Mahmood Jamal.
In May 1978, Dr. Ania Adebola, in her book "Art and the Black Aesthetic," criticized the exhibition "African-Caribbean Art" in Britain and internationally. She argued that the exhibition presented a limited view of African-Caribbean art, focusing on traditional and cultural aspects rather than reflecting the complexity of the art form. Adebola believed that the exhibition failed to capture the essence of the work, often presenting it as a superficial copy of Western art. She also highlighted the lack of critical examination and the lack of a broader perspective on the cultural and historical context of the art.

Adebola's critique was part of a broader discussion on the representation of African-Caribbean art in exhibitions and galleries. She pointed out that the exhibition was curated by a single curator, which may have influenced the selection of works and their presentation. She argued that the lack of diversity in the selection of artists and the absence of curatorial expertise in the field hindered the exhibition's ability to present a comprehensive view of African-Caribbean art.

Adebola's analysis called for a more critical approach to curating exhibitions, emphasizing the need for a deeper understanding of the cultural and historical context of the art. She highlighted the importance of engaging with the work on a more intellectual level and promoting critical thinking about the art form. She argued that exhibitions should not only showcase the art but also provide a platform for dialogue and critical analysis, fostering a deeper understanding of the cultural and historical significance of the work.
To say that "this country might be swamped by people of a different culture" at a time when the whole world is being viciously dominated by the West, is to perpetuate imperialist lies; lies which must be exposed and denounced. — BLACK PHOENIX

The new form of children's literature will have to emerge in the struggle for a new society, they will become necessary in that combat. Only the destruction of the capitalist system, the gradual defeat of economic and mental neo-colonialism, can guarantee that one day, finally, Babar may risk killing the old lady and, by the loss of his innocence, hit upon the first step on the road to complete liberation. — ARIEL DORFMAN

It is not possible to separate either, historically, the development of bourgeois consciousness from the development of colonialism, or, socially, the bourgeois value-system from racist and imperialist assumptions of superiority... the Fine Arts have, historically, fallen victim to a myth concerning the absolute and metaphysical nature of its activity, as a result of which its actions and its products have been used to justify not merely a criminal structure of social relations but also the world-wide edifice of imperialism upon which this structure still depends. — KENNETH COUTTS-SMITH

While one can speak of an advanced mode of production or a higher level of productive forces, one cannot pass such qualitative judgement on aesthetics. It would be incorrect to say that African aesthetics are more advanced than European or vice versa. There cannot be one 'correct' aesthetics, nationally as well as internationally. — N.KILELE

Neo-colonialism is now being 'brought' home to the metropolis of the capitalist world, for there exists a people within the Western world that must be neo-colonised and marginalised. That means an intermediary class must be created, a counterpart of native bourgeoisie in the Third World, an ethnic bourgeoisie in the West — exotic and subservient. — RASHEED ARAEEN