THE COMBAHEE RIVER COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

INTRO we are a collective of black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974, during that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. the most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking, the synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives, as black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face.

we will discuss four major topics in the paper that follows: 1 / the genesis of contemporary black feminism; 2 / what we believe, i.e., the specific province of our politics; 3 / the problems in organizing black feminists, including a brief hystory of our collective; and 4 / black feminist issues and practice.

THE GENESIS OF CONTEMPORARY BLACK FEMINISM

PART I before looking at the recent development of black feminism we would like to affirm that we find our origins in the historical reality of afro-american women's continuous life-and-death struggle for survival and liberation. black women's extremely negative relationship to the american political system (a system of white male rule) has always been determined by our membership in two oppressed racial and sexual castes, as angela davis points out in “reflections on the black woman's role in the community of slaves,” black women have always embodied, if only in their physical manifestation, an adversary stance to white male rule and have actively resisted its inroads upon them and their communities in both dramatic and subtle ways. there have always been black women activists—some known, like sojourner truth, harriet tubman, francis e. w. harper, ida b. wells barnett, and mary church terrell, and thousands upon thousands unknown—who have had a shared awareness of how their sexual identity complicated with their racial identity to make their whole life situation and the focus of their political struggles unique. contemporary black feminism is the outgrowth of countless generations of personal sacrifice, militancy and work by our mothers and sisters.

a black feminist presence has evolved most obviously in connection with the second wave of the american women's movement beginning in the late 1960s. black women, primarily located in the movement have served to obscure our participation. in 1973, black feminists, primarily located in new york, felt the necessity of forming a separate black feminist group that became the national black feminist organization (nbfo).

black feminist politics also have an obvious connection to developments in black liberation, particularly those of the 1960s and 1970s, many of us were active in those movements (civil rights, black nationalism, the black panthers), and all of our lives were greatly affected and changed by their ideologies, goals, and the tactics used to achieve their goals. it was our experience and disillusionment within these liberation movements, as well as experience on the periphery of the white male left, that led to the need to develop a politics that was anti-racist, unlike those of white women, and anti-sexist, unlike those of black and white men.

there is also undeniable a personal genesis for black feminism, that is, the political realization that comes from the seemingly personal experiences of individual black women's lives, black feminists and many more black women who do not define themselves as feminists have all experienced sexual oppression as a constant factor in our day-to-day existence. as children we realized that we were different from boys and that we were treated differently, for example, we were told in the same breath to be quiet both for the sake of being “ladylike” and to make us less objectionable in the eyes of white people. as we grew older we became aware of the threat of physical and sexual abuse by men. however, we had no way of conceptualizing what was so apparent to us, what we knew was really happening.

black feminists often talk about their feelings of craziness before becoming conscious of the concepts of sexual politics, patriarchal rule, and most importantly, feminism, the political analysis and practice that we women use to struggle against our oppression. the fact that racial politics and indeed racism are pervasive factors in our lives did not allow us, and still does not allow most black women, to look more deeply into our own experiences and, from that sharing and growing consciousness, to build a politics that will change our lives and inevitably end our oppression. our development must also be tied to the contemporary economic and political position of black people, the post world war ii generation of black youth was the first to be able to minimally partake of certain educational and employment options, previously closed completely to black people, although our economic position is still at the very bottom of the american capitalistic economy, a handful of us have been able to gain certain tools as a result of tokenism in education and employment which potentially enable us to more effectively fight our oppression.

a combined anti-racist and anti-sexist position drew us together initially, and as we developed politically we addressed ourselves to heterosexism and economic oppression under capitalism.
PART II :: what we believe above all else, our politics initially sprung from the shared belief that black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else’s but because of our need as human persons for autonomy.

This may seem so obvious as to sound simplistic, but it is apparently not. Sensibly progressive movements have ever considered our specific oppression as a priority or worked seriously for the ending of that oppression, merely naming the pejorative stereotypes attributed to black women (e.g. mammy, matriarch, sphinx, whore, butt-dagger), left alone cataloguing the cruel, often murderous, treatment we receive, indicates how little value has been placed upon our lives during four centuries of bondage in the Western hemisphere. We realize that the only people who care enough about us to work consistently for our liberation are us. Our politics evolve from a healthy love for our ourselves, our sisters and our communities which allows us to continue our struggle and work.

This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the politics of black women and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to reacting to and sometimes opposing a foreign situation. In the case of black women this is a particularly repugnant, dangerous, threatening, and therefore reactionary concept because it is obvious from looking at all the political movements that have preceded us this is more work that needs to be done, and there is such ourselves. We reject paternalism, queen-hood, and walking ten paces behind, to be recognized as human, sexually human, is enough.

We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in black women’s lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously, for example, we know we are never seen as anything but a thing as racial-sexual oppression which is neither solely racial nor solely sexual, e.g., the history of rape of black women by white men as a weapon of political repression.

Although we are feminists and lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive black men and do not advocate the further oppression of not only the women who are separatists, but to our situation as black people, necessities that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors, we struggle together with black men against racism, while we also struggle with black men about sexism.

We realize that the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy. We are socialists because we believe that work must be organized for the collective benefit of those who do the work and create the products, and not for the profit of the bosses, material resources must be equally distributed among those who create these resources, we are not convinced, however, that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and anti-racist revolution will guarantee our liberation. We have arrived at the necessity for developing an understanding of class relationships that takes into account the specific class position of black women who are generally marginalized in the labor force, while at this particular time some of us are temporarily viewed as outside of the system, this is not the case at white-collar and professional levels. We need to articulate the real class situation of persons who are not merely raceless, sexless workers, but for whom racial and sexual oppression are significant determinants in their work/leisure lives. Although we are in essential agreement with Marx’s theory as it applied to the very specific economic relationships he analyzed, we know that his analysis must be extended further in order for us to understand our specific economic situation as black women.

A political contribution which we feel we have already made is the expansion of the feminist principle that the personal is political, in our consciousness-raising sessions, for example, we frequently make use of the many ways we have examined women’s revelations because we are dealing with the implications of race and class as well as sex, even our black women’s style of talking/testifying in black language about what we have experienced has a resonance that is both cultural and political. We have spent a great deal of energy delving into our cultural and experiential nature of the oppression out of necessity because none of these matters has ever been looked at before. No one before has ever examined the multi-layered texture of black women’s lives, an example of this kind of revelation.

if black women were conceptualization occurred at a meeting as we discussed the ways in which our early intellectual interests had been attacked by our peers, particularly black males, we discovered that all of us, because we were ‘smart’ had also been considered ‘ugly,’ i.e., ‘smart-ugly,’ ‘smart-ugly’ crystallized the way in which most of us had been forced to develop our intellects at great cost to our ‘social’ lives, the sanctions in the black and white communities against black women thinkers is comparatively much higher than for white women, particularly ones from the educated middle and upper classes.

as we have already stated, we reject the stance of lesbian separatism because it is not a viable political analysis or strategy for us. It leaves out far too much and far too many people, particularly black men, women, and children, we have a great deal of criticism and nothing for what men have been socialized to be in this society—what they support, how they act, and how they oppress, but we do not have the misguided notion that it is their maleness, per se—i.e., their biological maleness—that makes them what they are, as black women we find any type of biological determinism a particularly dangerous and reactionary basis upon which to build a politic. We must also question whether lesbian separatism is an adequate and progressive political analysis and an appropriate base for those who would address it, since it so completely denies any but the sexual sources of women’s oppression, negating the facts of class and race.

we have found that it is very difficult to organize around black feminist issues, difficult even to announce in certain contexts that we are black feminists. We have tried to think about the reasons for our difficulties, particularly since the white women’s movement continues to be strong and to grow in many directions. In this section we will discuss some of the general reasons for the organizing problems we face and also talk specifically about the stages in organizing our own collective.

the major source of difficulty in our political work is that we are not just trying to fight oppression on one front or even two, but instead to address a whole range of oppressions. We do not have racial, sexual, heterosexual, or class privilege to rely upon, nor do we have even the minimal access to resources and power that groups who possess anyone of these types of privilege have.

the psychological toll of being a black woman and the difficulties this presents in reaching political consciousness and doing political work can never be underestimated. There is a very low value placed upon black women’s psyches in this society, which is both racist and sexist. As an early group member once said, “we are all damaged people merely by virtue of being black women.” we are dispossessed psychologically and on every other level, and yet we feel the necessity to struggle against the conditions of all black women, in “a black feminist’s search for sisterhood,” michele wallace arrives at this conclusion: “we exists as women who are black who are libertarians, each strand is acceptable, working independently because there is not yet an environment in this society remotely congenial to our struggle—because, being on the bottom, we would have to do what no one else has done: we would have to fight the world.” [1]


[2] munirah m. hill, black feminist and socialist, the marxist socialist party, (new york, 1982).

PART III :: PROBLEMS IN ORGANIZING BLACK FEMINISTS during our years together as a black feminist collective we have experienced success and defeat, joy and pain, victory and failure.

it would mean that everyone else would have to be free since our libertarians, each strand is acceptable, working independently because there is not yet an environment in this society remotely congenial to our struggle—because, being on the bottom, we would have to do what no one else has done: we would have to fight the world.” [1]
As black feminists we are made constantly and painfully aware of how little effort white women have made to understand and combat their racism, which requires among other things that they have a more than superficial comprehension of race, color, and black history and culture.

As black feminists and lesbians we know that we have a very definite revolutionary task to perform and we are ready for the lifetime of work and struggle before us.
the combahee river collective statement appeared as a movement document in april 1977. the final, definitive version was

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currently a presidential fellow pursuing an mfa in graphic design at the rhode island school of design, zoë pulley seeks to preserve generational narratives of black experiences through print media, textiles and other media, and to foster more design spaces that elevate black and brown people, such as www.blackjoyarchive.com


BOSTON CENTER FOR THE ARTS
COMBAHEE’S RADICAL CALL ::
BLACK FEMINISMS (RE)AWAKEN BOSTON

this design of the 1977 combahee river collective statement was commissioned as part of combahee’s radical call: black feminisms (re)awaken boston, a yearlong, multi-platform series of public installations and programs that recenter the vital legacy of black feminism(s), archives and the written word in boston. organized for boston center for the arts by co-curators arielle gray, cierra peters, and jen mergel, combahee’s radical call is inspired by and developed in direct dialogue with demita frazier, co-founder of boston’s combahee river collective; the group of radical, socialist, black feminists and lesbians was active in community organizing and publishing in boston between 1974-80.

in that spirit, from fall 2020 through spring 2021, this project commissions a broad range of black femme artists to occupy public spaces with installations, design, and digital resources. these creations are intended to amplify the voices (and counter the erasure) of black femme cultural leaders across boston’s neighborhoods, produced as a zine freely available to passersby in boston, the curators hope the commissioned design of this historic text will publicly mark the combahee river collective’s activist roots and legacy impacts on boston neighborhoods, and serve as an inspirational reference and resource for future generations of changemakers.

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