

アメリカ史学会第9回年次大会 シンポジウム—アメリカ例外論再考  
「公民権運動とブラック・インターナショナリズム」

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How is a black man going to get “civil rights’ before he first wins his *human* rights?”

## 1. はじめに

「アメリカの夢」と「アメリカの悪夢」、myth-making と debunking の併存  
黒人の政治運動とアメリカ例外論の関係

バラク・オバマのメッセージ (資料1) とキングのアメリカン・ドリーム

Gunnar Myrdal, *American Dilemma* (1942) (資料2) と「アメリカの世紀」

リサーチ・執筆のタイミング ミュルダールのポジショナリティ

「長い公民権運動の決定的第1局面 decisive first phase」 [cf. Dalfiume]

"long Civil Rights Movement," [Hall, Dittmer] "long Black Power Move-

ment," [Joseph] ⇔ "long Movement as vampire" [Cha-Jua and Lang]

「冷戦公民権研究」 [Dudziak, Von-Echen, Plummer, Merriwether]

"Movement truncation"

1960年代後半のラディカルな運動の「脆弱さ」／ラディカルたちの「彷徨」の意味

## 2. 1930年代とブラック・インターナショナリズム

1930年代の変化：都市化、労働運動・左翼運動との接触の加速

1931-35年 スコッツボロ・ボーイズ救済活動の拡がり [Miller, et.al] と国際共産主義運動

1934年11月- イタリアのエチオピア侵攻 (図1)

Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia 結成; CPUSA の失墜の始まり (A.

Philip Randolph, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. の態度硬化); 1935年3月 NAACP が

国際連盟に抗議; (UNIA と NAACP、CPUSA の対立)

大西洋憲章 第2次世界大戦

March On Washington Movement の "We Are Americans, Too, Conference" (資料3)

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\* Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1964), 207.  
[イタリックは原典ママ、下線強調報告者]

1945年春 連合国会議に先立ち、NAACP、Colonial Conference 開催  
戦争、貧困、アメリカ国内の人種対立、植民地問題の解決がリンク (資料4)  
世界労連 World Federation of Trade Union 大会と汎アフリカン会議マンチェスター大会

### 3. 公民権ユニオニズムから公民権アメリカニズムへ

NAACP 国連提訴(Oct.23, 1947) : on behalf of two-thirds of people of the earth  
エレノア・ローズヴェルト⇔W・ホワイト⇔デュボイス V.L. パンディット  
R. カーター デュボイス : 権利保障の "the only recourse" としての国際機関 (資料5)  
1948年大統領選挙 デュボイスの実質上の解雇  
NAACP 職員の選挙運動禁止 (1944年に討議~1964年まで維持)  
大統領公民権委員会とトルーマンの公民権運動への接近 (資料6)  
アフリカ問題会議 Council on African Affairs の軌跡(年譜1/資料7)  
南アフリカ民族会議の Defiance Campaign と NAACP 提訴(資料8)

### 4. アフリカン・アメリカンの国際主義、急進主義の「脱臼」

「アメリカン・ディレンマ」の変容、カラー・ブラインディズムの出現  
政治変革から行政的司法的調整へ  
E. フランクリン・フレイジャの社会学研究と社会批評活動のコンテクスト  
P. ルムンバ暗殺抗議国連デモ (国連暴動) (資料9)  
マルコム X の J. Robison 批判  
急進主義の「脱臼」と60年代の「遺産」  
ロバート・F・ウィリアムスとアフリカ共和国  
リチャード・アオキとブラック・パンサー党 (年譜2/資料10)

### おわりに

戦中から戦後直後 : 白人至上主義との闘争 : ジム・クロウ / 植民地支配の親近性  
"Seize the Time": political movement / political imagination  
⇒ 「波動」としての公民権 / ブラック・パワー運動 例外論との距離  
ジェシー・ジャクソンとバラク・オバマ

## 資料

### 【資料 1】 Barack Obama

I stand here knowing that my story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all of those who came before me, and that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible.

Keynote Address at the Democratic National Convention at Boston, July 27, 2004

Hello, Chicago. If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.

Victory Speech at Chicago, November 6, 2008

### 【資料 2】 Gunnar Myrdal

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on. This is the central viewpoint of this treatise. Though our studies includes economic, social, and political race relations, at bottom our problem is the moral dilemma of the American – the conflict between his moral *valuations* on various levels of consciousness and generality. The "American Dilemma," . . . is the ever-ranging conflict between, on the one hand, the *valuations* preserved in the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, *the valuations* on specific planes of individual and group living, where personal and local interests; economic, social and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular person or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.

Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, lxxix. [イタリック、報告者]

【図1】 黒人紙・通信社の通信員が派遣されている地域(1935-1945)



Plummer, *Rising Wind*, p.26

【資料3】 We Are American, Too, Conference, Flyer (1943)

For sixty-eight [*sic*] years the Negro has struggled for his full share of this democracy. He has made use of every parliamentary device to make known his grievances and demand redress. He has asked for full-fledged citizenship with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities pertaining thereto. Alas, he has enjoyed second class citizenship with a Black Cabinet between him and his Government. . . Now, we are engaged in a great world revolution testing whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated to double standards of citizenship and justice can long endure. . . People of all races and colors are battling against fascist slavery and dictatorship and for freedom. In North Africa, India, China, Australia, on Guadalcanal, on the Solomon Islands and in London and Stalingrad, men -- white, black, yellow and brown, sweat and bleed and die that democracy might live.

From the throated millions of Negroes everywhere comes the cry: "WHAT SHALL WE DO?"

The need for mass organization is now. Negro Americans must awake to the cause of their nation's freedom. Black men who have so long seen and cherished democracy from afar must arise and take this sacred goddess for themselves. Democracy must be saved for America and hence for the world. We must join the swelling ranks of all people who are on the march toward a free world.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Papers, Chicago History Museum, Box 7

**【資料 4】 Resolution, Colonial Conference, April 6, 1945**

1. Colonialism must go, for the reason that it has caused poverty, illiteracy and disease which affects not only the colonies, but also the world, therefore, world peace.
2. There should be an international body established to oversee the transition of peoples from colonial status to such autonomy as colonial peoples themselves may desire.
3. That on such an international body the colonial peoples themselves shall have effective representation.
4. That prime objet of this international body shall be to improve the economic and social condition of the colonial peoples.

Colonial Representatives Stand for Freedom Now, April 12, 1945, NAACP Papers, Box A197

**【資料 5】 W. E. B. Du Bois to Walter White, November 24, 1947**

What is wrong about human rights is not the lack of pious statements, but the question as to what application is made of them and what is to be done when human rights are denied in the face of law and declaration. For this reason, I have worked for a year on a specific case of denial of rights.

W. E. B. Du Bois Papers [microfilm], Reel 60.

**【資料 6】 President Truman's Speech to NAACP on Human Rights (1947) [sic]**

The consciousness of our nation, and the legal machinery which enforce it, has not yet secured to each citizen full freedom from fear. We cannot wait another decade or another generation to remedy these evils. We must work, as never before, to cure them now.

The aftermath of war and the desire to keep faith with our nation's historic principles makes the need a pressing one. The support of desperate populations of battle-ravaged countries must be won for this free way of life. We must have them as allies in our continuing struggle for the peaceful solution of the world's problems. Freedom is not an easy lesson to teach, nor an easy cause to sell, to peoples beset by every kind of privation. They may surrender to the false security offered so temptingly by totalitarian regimes unless we can prove the superiority of democracy

The way ahead is not easy. We shall need all the wisdom, imagination and courage we can muster. We must and shall guarantee the civil rights of all our citizens. Never before has the need been so urgent for skillful and vigorous action to bring us closer to our ideal.

We can reach the goal. When past difficulties faced our nation, we met challenges with inspiring charters of human rights – the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Emancipation Proclamation. Today our representatives, and those of other liberty-loving countries on the United

Nations Commission on Human Rights, are preparing an International Bill of Rights. We can be confident that it will be a great landmark in a man's long search for freedom since its members consist of such distinguished citizen of the world as Mrs. Franklin [sic] D. Roosevelt.

Transcript, *New York Times*, June 30, 1947.

### 【年譜 1】 アフリカ問題会議

1937年 International Committee for African Affairs として結成: Channing Tobias、Mordecai Johnson、Ralph Bunch らが参加

1942年 改組、Paul Robeson (chairman)、Max Yergan (president)、W. Alphaeus Hunton (exc. secy) Hunton を編集長に機関誌 *New Africa* を刊行開始 教育啓蒙活動から、植民地問題のロビーを含める活動へ方針転換

1945年 国務省にアフリカ問題に関する情報を提供

1947年 11月 連邦司法省 破壊活動団体のリストに加える

1948年 4月 Yergan の FBI 協力開始

1948年 9月 W. E. B. デュボイスが vice-chair として参加

1953年 5月 連邦司法省 破壊活動防止委員会での査問の意向を発表

1955年 6月 14日 解散を決議

### 【資料 7】 Paul Robeson (1944)

One important part of the solution of the Negro problem here will be the pressure of other countries on America from outside. There are 100,000 Negroes now in the Army in the English theatre of operations. Americans wanted their segregation, as at home. The English, however, insisted on their being mixed in. This shows the possibility of action within the Anglo-Saxon world, and it also shows the power of foreign opinion. . .

We shall have a tremendous lot to say about what happens in Africa. I have learned through conversation with English friends that the British conservative realizes that India is lost, and that now "the gravy" is in Africa. The African problem is very urgent one, and will come into the picture more and more. Mr. Churchill can fall as quickly as Mr. Chamberlain did, if he does not see eye to eye with the British people. This is obviously not a race war – it turns rather, on the idea of peoples that are free and those that are not free. The American Negro has changed his temper. Now he wants his freedom. Whether he is smiling at you or not, he wants his freedom. The old exploitation of peoples is definitely is past.

*New York Times*, April 12, 1944.

### 【資料 8】 NAACP Petition to US. U.N. Delegation(1952)

The United States clearly faces a whole series of critical policy decisions relating to events in various parts of Africa. The long list of African issues on the agenda of the Seventh Assembly of the United Nations and current events in Africa itself given plain warning that Africa is taking its own major place in the pattern of world crisis and conflict. We cannot ignore it. We cannot give it secondary place . . . We dare not act in a way that will shut off the United Nations as the last hope of millions increasingly desperate Africans and thus dive them down the dark path of violence and anarchy. We have to think and act in a manner consistent with our great purpose, which is to help bring into being a world of free men whose freedom will give them the will and the strength to turn back and dissipate the forces of despair and Soviet totalitarianism.

It is primarily because we failed to achieve this kind of consistency in our policies in Asia during the past seven years that we suffer today from the consequence of Communist victories there. In non-Communist Asia we earned for ourselves a heritage of mistrust and rejection which continues to weaken us and hamper the common struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

NAACP, To the United States Delegation, October 28, 1952, NAACP Papers, Group II, Box A7

### 【資料 9】 Congo Protest at UN (1961)

#### Fred Shuttlesworth

The Congo murder of Patrice Lumumba is as disturbing to colored Americans as it is to the diplomats of the United Nations. . . Becoming increasingly more interested in world affairs, and especially concerned and anxious about the progress of the newly emerging African nations, we view as alarming and despicable any developments or impediments which stand in their way of freedom, dignity, and unity.

Fred Shuttlesworth, "A Southerner Speaks. . ." *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 25, 1961.

#### James Baldwin

Their [communists] presence [at UN demonstration] is not as frightening as the discontent which creates their opportunity. What I find appalling- and really dangerous-- is the American assumption that the Negro is so contented with his lot here that only the cynical agents of a foreign power can rouse him to protest.

James Baldwin, "A Negro Assays the Negro Mood," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 12, 1961.

#### A Jimmy McDonald

To me, those who speak for me should be a part of the Negro community, and I don't mean in color, but in

the aspirations of the Negro people. Such as the people who are going to jail in the South, the women who lay down in front of a train in South Africa, or who live in a tent in Fayetteville, and last but not least the child who goes to school under the protection of a Federal Marshal. In closing, sir, let me say that in the future when you are apologizing, do not attempt to apologize for the man on the block because we are tired of scratching when we don't itch, tired of laughing when we want to cry and moreover tired of saying yes when we mean NO.

Jimmy McDonald to Roy Wilkins, March 9, 1961, NAACP Papers, Group II Box A34.

## 【年譜 2】 Richard Aoki

1938 年 カリフォルニア生まれ 45 年以後はウェスト・オークランドに居住

1957 年 高校卒業後、陸軍に志願入隊

1960 年 社会主義労働者党で活動開始

1964 年 Merritt College に入学

1966 年 ブラック・パンサー党の結党に参加 バークレーの field marshal を務める

1968 年 Asian American Political Alliance の創設に加わる

## 【資料 10】 Richard Aoki Oral History

I have to admit, at the beginning of strike, I didn't think the cause was all that significant. After fighting hard on the street of Oakland [as a black panther], the Berkeley strike seemed like a petit bourgeois struggle for upward mobility. I now see the importance of strike. Number one, we practiced Third World solidarity. We hung in there tight, we hung in there tough. That's why we won. Second, we created a new revolutionary concept. Together with the San Francisco State strike victory, this was the first time Ethnic Studies was part of the education system. The strike itself wasn't a total victory, but it set up the framework for developing the Ethnic Studies Department. Third, in the long term, many of the students who participated in strike returned to their communities as professionals. Those individuals set up programs and organizations, some of which have served to this day. Fourth, the strike provided an inspiration to other students groups throughout the country and that continues to today. This wasn't just within U.S. We inspired students movements worldwide. This was dialectical in nature because the revolutionary movements throughout the Third World were an inspiration to us.

Fujino, Samurai among Panthers, p.207

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W. E. B. Du Bois Papers [microfilm]

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