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The question of nationality of African Americans in American history from its colonial beginnings to the present has always been a "nation within a nation." It was already there in the early days of the Republic, and over the years it has, re-emerged briefly in periods of national crisis, only to disappear again. In the last few decades it has re-emerged more firmly in political life, and seems destined to remain with us, however triumphantly or "separatist" tendencies appear at the moment. In some areas, black and white interpreters of the Afro-American experience have seen it as a separate national experience; others, black and white, interpret it as a more or less ethnically distinct component of a single regional or national experience. The closer one looks at the question, the clearer it becomes that no such formula can account for so rich and contradictory an experience.

In this book I refer to the "black nation" and argue that the slaves, as an objective social class, laid the foundations for a separate black national culture while enormously enriching American culture as a whole. But that separate black national culture has always been American, however much it has drawn on African origins or reflected the distinct development of black people in America. White and black southerners, however different they may claim to be and in some ways are, have come to form one people in vital respects. As G. Vann Woodward observes in *American Counterpoint*:

The ironic thing about these two great hyperpartisan minorities, Southern Americans and Afro-Americans, coexisting on their native soil for three and a half centuries, is the degree to which they have shaped each other's destiny, determined each other's isolation, shared and molded a common culture. It is, in fact, impossible to imagine the one without the other and quite futile to try.

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