

# *Black Nationalism in America*

---

EDITED BY JOHN H. BRACEY, JR.,  
AUGUST MEIER,  
and ELLIOTT RUDWICK



THE AMERICAN HERITAGE SERIES

# **Black nationalism in America**

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE SERIES

## **The American Heritage Series**

UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF  
*Leonard W. Levy and Alfred F. Young*

# **Black nationalism in America**

*Edited by*

**JOHN H. BRACEY, JR.**

*Northern Illinois University*

**AUGUST MEIER**

*Kent State University*

**ELLIOTT RUDWICK**

*Kent State University*

**THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY, INC.**

*Indianapolis and New York*



**© 1970 BY THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY, INC.**

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 79-99161

*First Printing*

**To three Black Queens**

**Helen, my mother**

**Connie, my sister**

**Jessica, my wife**

J.H.B.

**To Harold and Esther Wilson**

A.M.

**For Jo Ann Bogle and**

**Patrick W. Riddleberger**

E.R.



## Foreword

The fact that the phrase "the past illuminates the present" is abused should not prevent us from using it where it deserves to be used. Few, we believe, will turn away from this pioneering study of black nationalism without a deepened understanding of the movements that seemingly have burst upon the battle-scarred American racial scene since the mid-1960s.

This is the first collection of documents devoted exclusively to black nationalism, and the introduction is one of the few essays that attempt to lay out a pattern for black nationalism over the sweep of American history.

The editors, two of them historians, one a sociologist, have illuminated their subject in at least three ways. First, they have documented the persistence of black nationalism in American life. Simply put, the ideas that inform the current slogans of "Black Power" and "Black is Beautiful" have a long lineage. Doubtless it will amaze many to learn that in 1787 free Negroes named their separate church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church; and that in 1885 Francis J. Grimké advocated black teachers in black schools; and in 1898 Bishop Henry M. Turner preached "God is Black."

Second, the editors have defined the varieties of black nationalism which range, as they see it, from racial solidarity, cultural nationalism and religious nationalism, through economic nationalism (bourgeois and socialist) and political nationalism (both reform and revolutionary), to territorial separatism and Pan-Africanism. By illustrating each type of nationalism in successive phases called "Origins," "Maturation,"

"Flowering," and "Eclipse," they lay a basis for seeing both the parallels and unique features of the current "Revival."

Third, they have chosen selections not only from the few well-known nationalists—Marcus Garvey, Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver—but they have illustrated the subtle nationalist strain that twines through such central figures as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois. At the same time they have ferreted out the forgotten manifestos, speeches, leaflets, and letters that express nationalism at such root sources as Afro-American newspapers, Negro businessmen's leagues, and colored peoples' conventions.

It should not be surprising that the editors disagree in interpreting the history they document. They bring to their task diverse experiences as scholars and diverse points of view as participants in contemporary movements. It may establish a healthy precedent among collaborators, however, that they have set down their disagreement in the introduction. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, on the one hand—and John Bracey, on the other—disagree as to how to conceptualize the status of the black man in America, whether the emphasis belongs on the essential continuity or on the ebb and flow of black nationalism, and on how varied nationalisms relate to social class. Their book is thus an invitation to thought; its spirit manifests neither special pleading nor condemnation. And for this reason it is an outstanding demonstration of the contribution skillful scholars with a rich command of the sources can make toward clarifying present-day alternatives.

This book is one of a series created to provide the essential primary sources of the American experience, especially of American thought. The series, when completed, will constitute a documentary library of American history, filling a need long felt among scholars, students, libraries, and general readers for authoritative collections of original materials. Some volumes will illuminate the thought of significant individuals, such as James Madison or Louis Brandeis; some will deal with movements, such as the Antifederalists or the Populists; others will be organized around special themes, such as Puritan political

thought, or American Catholic thought on social questions. Many volumes will take up the large number of subjects traditionally studied in American history for which surprisingly there are no documentary anthologies; others will pioneer in introducing new subjects of increasing importance to scholars and to the contemporary world. The series aspires to maintain the high standards demanded of contemporary editing, providing authentic texts, intelligently and unobtrusively edited. It will also have the distinction of presenting pieces of substantial length which give the full character and flavor of the original. The series will be the most comprehensive and authoritative of its kind.

Alfred F. Young  
Leonard W. Levy



## Contents

INTRODUCTION	xxv
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	lxi
EDITORS' NOTE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	lxix

### PART ONE **Origins**

#### **Foundations of the black community: the church** 3

1. RICHARD ALLEN DESCRIBES  
THE FOUNDING OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1787–1816 4

*From The Life, Experiences and Gospel Labors of Richard Allen*

2. BISHOP DANIEL ALEXANDER PAYNE  
REVIEWS THE CONTRIBUTION  
OF THE NEGRO CHURCH 11

*From History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1891*

3. A LAYMAN EXPLAINS  
“WHY NEGRO CHURCHES ARE A NECESSITY” 14

*From L. H. Reynolds, A.M.E. Church Review, 1887*

#### **Foundations of the black community: the mutual benefit societies** 18

4. THE FREE AFRICAN SOCIETY  
OF PHILADELPHIA 19

*Preamble and Articles of the Society, 1787*



5. THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION OF BOSTON	22
<i>Prince Sanders, et al., to Captain Paul Cuffe, 1812</i>	
<b>Foundations of the black community: the press</b>	23
6. THE FIRST NEGRO PAPER: "TOO LONG HAVE OTHERS SPOKEN FOR US"	24
<i>Freedom's Journal, 1827</i>	
<b>Pleas for racial unity</b>	29 ✓
7. DAVID WALKER: "TO UNITE THE COLORED PEOPLE"	29
<i>Address to the General Colored Association at Boston, 1828</i>	
8. DAVID NICKENS: "LET US CHERISH A FRIENDLY UNION WITH OURSELVES"	34
<i>Address to the People of Color in Chillicothe, Ohio, 1832</i>	
<b>Colonization</b>	38
9. PAUL CUFFE CALLS FOR THE UPLIFT OF AFRICA	41
A. <i>Petition to the President and Congress, 1813</i>	41
B. <i>Letter to Robert Finley, 1817</i>	44
10. JAMES FORTEN EXPRESSES A DEEP CONCERN ABOUT AFRICA	45
<i>Letter to Paul Cuffe, 1817</i>	

11. DANIEL COKER:  
 "MY SOUL CLEAVES TO AFRICA" 46  
*Letter to Jeremiah Watts, 1820*

12. A WOULD-BE EMIGRANT:  
 "WE HAD RATHER BE GONE" 48  
*Abraham Camp to the  
 American Colonization Society, 1818*

## PART TWO

# Maturation

- The antebellum colored conventions** 51
13. COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION  
 OF 1848 ON "COMPLEXIONAL"  
 AND WHITE INSTITUTIONS 53  
*From Report . . . of the Colored National Convention, 1848*
14. FREDERICK DOUGLASS:  
 "OUR ELEVATION AS A RACE,  
 IS ALMOST WHOLLY DEPENDENT  
 UPON OUR OWN EXERTIONS" 57
- A. *To Our Oppressed Countrymen* 57  
*The North Star, 1847*
- B. *Self-Elevation*—Rev. S. R. Ward 60  
*Frederick Douglass's Paper, 1855*
15. COLORED NATIONAL CONVENTION  
 OF 1853: "A NATIONAL COUNCIL  
 OF THE COLORED PEOPLE" 63  
*From Proceedings of the  
 Colored National Convention, 1853*

<b>Revolutionary nationalism</b>	67
16. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET CALLS FOR SLAVE REBELLIONS	67
<i>From An Address to the Slaves . . . , 1843</i>	
<b>Colonization</b>	77
17. AN ALABAMA NEGRO BUSINESSMAN WANTS TO GO TO LIBERIA	79
<i>Letters of S. Wesley Jones to officials of the American Colonization Society, 1848-1851</i>	
18. BLACK CITIZENS OF CINCINNATI "SEEK A HOME WHERE WE MAY BE FREE"	85
<i>African Repository, 1850</i>	
19. NATIONAL EMIGRATION CONVENTION OF 1854: "A PEOPLE, TO BE FREE, MUST NECESSARILY BE THEIR OWN RULERS"	87
<i>From Proceedings of the National Emigration Convention, 1854</i>	
20. JAMES THEODORE HOLLY SPEAKS OF "THE CONTINUED ADVANCEMENT OF THE NEGRO NATIONALITY OF THE NEW WORLD"	110
<i>From A Vindication of the Negro Race, 1857</i>	
<b>Cultural nationalism</b>	114
21. HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET DESCRIBES THE GREATNESS OF AFRICA	115
<i>From The Past and the Present Condition, and the Destiny of the Colored Race, 1848</i>	

### PART THREE

## Flowering

<b>Race pride, race solidarity</b>	123
22. THE A.M.E. CHURCH REVIEW: "WE MUST LEARN TO LOVE OURSELVES"	126
<i>A.M.E. Church Review</i> , 1886	
23. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL: "WHAT THIS RACE NEEDS IN THIS COUNTRY IS POWER"	128
<i>From The Greatness of Christ and Other Sermons</i> , 1882	
24. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL ON "THE NEED OF . . . SCHOLARLY MEN" TO "LIFT UP THIS PEOPLE OF OURS"	139
<i>From "Civilization, The Primal Need of the Race,"</i> 1897	
25. FRANCIS J. GRIMKÉ URGES BLACK TEACHERS FOR BLACK SCHOOLS	143
<i>A.M.E. Church Review</i> , 1885	
26. BISHOP HENRY M. TURNER: "GOD IS A NEGRO"	154
<i>Voice of Missions</i> , February 1, 1898	
<b>Territorial separatism and emigration</b>	156
27. A LEADER OF THE KANSAS EXODUS: "WE WANTED TO GO TO A TERRITORY BY OURSELVES"	161
<i>From Testimony before the United States Senate Committee to Investigate the Causes of the Removal of the Negroes from the Southern States</i> , 1880	

28. THE SOUTH CAROLINA EXODUS TO AFRICA: "AFRICA IS THE ONLY LAND THAT A COLORED MAN CAN SAY IS HIS"	170
Letters from <i>African Repository</i> , 1877-1880	
29. BISHOP HENRY M. TURNER DEMANDS AN INDEMNITY "TO GO HOME TO AFRICA"	172
Editorials, <i>Voice of Missions</i> , 1898-1900	
A. "The Negro has not Sense Enough," 1900	172
B. "War with Spain," 1898	174
C. "Emigration," 1900	176
30. ARTHUR A. ANDERSON: "PROPHETIC LIBERATOR OF THE COLOURED RACE," DEMANDS AN INDEMNITY FOR A SEPARATE TERRITORY IN THE UNITED STATES	177
From <i>Prophetic Liberator of the Coloured Race</i> , 1913	
31. THE GARVEY MOVEMENT DESCRIBED: "UP, YOU MIGHTY RACE!"	187
From Roi Ottley, 'New World A-Coming,' 1943	
32. MARCUS GARVEY: "ETHIOPIA SHALL ONCE MORE SEE THE DAY OF HER GLORY"	200
From <i>Philosophy and Opinions</i> , 1923, 1925	
A. "Lack of Co-operation in the Negro Race"	200
B. "An Exposé of the Caste System among Negroes"	201
C. "The True Solution of the Negro Problem"	209
<b>The rhetoric of protest and revolution</b>	211
33. T. THOMAS FORTUNE: "WE KNOW OUR RIGHTS . . . AND HAVE THE COURAGE TO DEFEND THEM"	212
From <i>Proceedings of the Afro-American League National Convention</i> , 1890	

<b>The ideology of accommodation</b>	223
34. WILLIAM HOOPER COUNCILL: "THE NEGRO CAN GROW ONLY . . . IN HIS OWN SPHERE, AS GOD INTENDED"	224
<i>Voice of Missions</i> , 1900	
35. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON URGES "CULTIVATING . . . FAITH IN THE RACE"	232
<i>From Future of the American Negro</i> , 1899	
<b>Bourgeois economic nationalism</b>	235
36. A COLORED CONVENTION RECOMMENDS NEGRO SUPPORT FOR NEGRO BUSINESS	236
<i>From Proceedings of the Colored Laborer's and Business Men's Industrial Convention</i> , 1879	
37. FRED R. MOORE: "NEGROES SHOULD NOW BEGIN TO SUPPORT NEGROES"	238
<i>From Report of the Fifth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League</i> , 1904	
38. A KANSAS CITY BUSINESSMAN URGES NEGROES TO "PATRONIZE THE COLORED MAN"	241
<i>From Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the National Negro Business League</i> , 1913	
39. A CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPER LOOKS AT THE NATIONAL NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE	243
Oakland, California, <i>Sunshine</i> , 1915	

<b>The nationalism of W. E. B. Du Bois</b>	246
40. ON THE CONSERVATION OF RACES: "THE NEGRO PEOPLE AS A RACE HAVE A CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TO CIVILIZATION . . . WHICH NO OTHER RACE CAN MAKE"	250
<i>The Conservation of Races, 1897</i>	
41. ON SUPPORT FOR BLACK BUSINESS ENTERPRISE	262
<i>From The Atlanta University Conference Resolutions, 1899</i>	
42. ON COOPERATION AMONG BLACK CONSUMERS	264
<i>From The Crisis, 1917-1920</i>	
A. "Cooperation," 1917	264
B. A Report, 1919	265
C. "Cooperation," 1920	268
43. ON PAN-AFRICANISM: "THE DIVINE RIGHT OF SUPPRESSED . . . PEOPLES TO . . . BE FREE"	269
<i>Manifesto of the Second Pan-African Congress, 1921</i>	
44. ON CULTURAL NATIONALISM: "LET US TRAIN OURSELVES TO SEE BEAUTY IN BLACK"	276
<i>From The Crisis, 1920, 1926</i>	
A. "In Black," 1920	276
B. "Criteria of Negro Art," 1926	278
45. ON BLACK SEPARATISM: "ORGANIZE OUR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POWER, NO MATTER HOW MUCH SEGREGATION IT INVOLVES"	288
<i>From The Crisis, 1934</i>	

<b>Cultural nationalism</b>	299
46. E. A. JOHNSON URGES THE STUDY OF AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY "FOR A NEW SELF-RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE"	302
<i>From A School History of the Negro Race, 1891</i>	
47. ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG ADVOCATES THE CREATION OF CHAIRS OF NEGRO HISTORY	304
<i>From Racial Integrity, 1913</i>	
48. CARTER G. WOODSON DESCRIBES THE WORK OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY	312
<i>From a leaflet of the Association</i>	
49. MONROE N. WORK: "NEGROES SHOULD NOT DESPISE THE ROCK FROM WHICH THEY WERE HEWN"	319
<i>"The Passing Tradition and the African Civilization," 1916</i>	
50. BENJAMIN BRAWLEY: "EVERY RACE HAS A PECULIAR GENIUS"	327
<i>Southern Workman, 1915</i>	
51. PAUL ROBESON: NEGRO SPIRITUALS ARE "THE SOUL OF THE RACE MADE MANIFEST"	331
<i>The Spectator (London), 1934</i>	
52. ALAIN LOCKE ON THE NEW NEGRO: A "FORCED ATTEMPT TO BUILD . . . AMERICANISM ON RACE VALUES"	334
<i>From The New Negro, 1925</i>	



- A plea for unity** 348
53. KELLY MILLER:  
 "BEFORE THE NEGRO BECOMES ONE  
 WITH THE REST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,  
 HE MUST BECOME ONE WITH HIMSELF" 349  
*From The Negro Sanhedrin, 1924*

- A Negro national anthem** 366
54. JAMES WELDON JOHNSON:  
 "SING A SONG FULL OF THE FAITH  
 THAT THE DARK PAST HAS TAUGHT US" 367  
*Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing, 1900*

## PART FOUR

# Eclipse

55. CHICAGO IN THE 1930s:  
 "MAKING JOBS FOR THE RACE" 371  
*From St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton,  
 Black Metropolis, 1945*
56. THE NEW NEGRO ALLIANCE:  
 "WE MUST ORGANIZE  
 OUR PURCHASING POWER" 377  
*From Ralph J. Bunche, "The Programs,  
 Ideologies, Tactics, and Achievements of Negro  
 Betterment and Interracial Organizations," 1940*
57. BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.,  
 ARGUES THE COMMUNIST POSITION:  
 "THE NEGRO PEOPLE A NATION" 386  
*From The Path of Negro Liberation, 1947*

58. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH AND THE  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT:  
"OPPRESSED PEOPLE MUST ASSUME THE  
RESPONSIBILITY . . . TO FREE THEMSELVES" 391  
*From March on Washington Movement Conference, 1942*

59. W. E. B. DU BOIS EMIGRATES TO AFRICA:  
"AFRICA HAD COME NOT UP FROM HELL,  
BUT FROM THE SUM OF HEAVEN'S GLORY" 396  
*"Ghana Calls," a poem, 1962*

## PART FIVE Revival

### **The Nation of Islam** 403

60. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD:  
"WHAT DO THE MUSLIMS WANT?" 404  
*The Muslim Program, 1962*

61. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD:  
"SEPARATION OF THE SO-CALLED NEGROES  
FROM THEIR SLAVEMASTERS' CHILDREN  
IS A MUST" 408  
*From Message to the Blackman, 1965*

### **Malcolm X** 412

62. MINISTER MALCOLM X  
ENUNCIATES THE MUSLIM PROGRAM 413  
*Muhammad Speaks, 1960*

63. THE ORGANIZATION  
OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY: "FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY" 421

*Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the  
Organization of Afro-American Unity, 1964*

**Toward a black cultural revolution 428**

64. L. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER:  
"BLACK IS COMING BACK!" 429

*Negro History Bulletin, 1962*

65. ROLLAND SNELLINGS:  
"WE ARE ON THE MOVE AND  
OUR MUSIC IS MOVING WITH US" 445

*Liberator, October 1965*

66. ASKIA MUHAMMAD TOURÉ  
(ROLLAND SNELLINGS): "WE MUST CREATE  
A NATIONAL BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA  
IN ORDER TO SURVIVE" 452

*Journal of Black Poetry, 1968*

**Black Power 463**

67. RUTH TURNER PEROT:  
"ORGANIZING THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR THE  
PURPOSE OF PROMOTING THE INTERESTS  
AND CONCERNS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE" 465

"Black Power: A Voice Within," 1967

68. STOKELY CARMICHAEL:  
"WE ARE GOING TO USE  
THE TERM 'BLACK POWER'  
AND WE ARE GOING TO DEFINE IT  
BECAUSE BLACK POWER SPEAKS TO US" 470

*Chicago speech, 1966*

69. NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY BLACK STUDENTS: "IF OUR DEMANDS ARE IMPOSSIBLE, THEN PEACE BETWEEN US IS IMPOSSIBLE TOO"	476
Demands of the Black Students at Northwestern University, 1968	
<b>Black capitalism</b>	486
70. AFRICAN NATIONALIST PIONEER MOVEMENT: "WE ADVOCATE COMPLETE ECONOMIC CONTROL BY THE BLACKS OF ALL AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA"	487
A. <i>A Manifesto</i> , 1959	487
B. " <i>Buy Black</i> "—Oscar Brown, 1959	489
71. FLOYD B. McKISSICK: "BLACK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT WITH SOCIAL COMMITMENT TO BLACK COMMUNITIES"	492
Brochure of Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc., 1968	
<b>Revolutionary nationalism</b>	504
72. GENERAL G. BAKER, JR.: "MY FIGHT IS FOR FREEDOM: UHURU, LIBERTAD, HALAUGA, AND HARAMBEE!"	506
Letter to Draft Board, 1965	
73. MAX STANFORD: "REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM, BLACK NATIONALISM, OR JUST PLAIN BLACKISM"	508
A. " <i>Towards Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto</i> ," 1964	508
B. <i>A Message from Jail</i> , 1968	513

74. THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA: "WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING BLACKS HELD CAPTIVE WITHIN THE UNITED STATES"	518
From interview with Milton Henry, <i>Esquire</i> , 1969	
75. JAMES BOGGS: "THE FINAL CONFRONTATION"	523
<i>Liberator</i> , 1968	
76. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY: "POLITICAL POWER COMES THROUGH THE BARREL OF A GUN"	531
A. <i>The Black Panther Party Program</i> , 1968	531
B. <i>An Interview with Huey P. Newton</i> , 1968	534
77. DRUM: "DARE TO FIGHT! DARE TO WIN!"	551
Constitution of Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement, 1968	
INDEX	557

## Introduction

Black men, throughout their history in America, have manifested nationalist sentiment. Some have always leaned toward separatist ideology and solutions. Even essentially integrationist and assimilationist thinkers have often had nationalist strains in their social philosophies. Thus, in 1897, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote:

. . . One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He does not wish to Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa.

He does not wish to bleach his Negro blood in a flood of white Americanism, for he believes . . . that Negro blood has yet a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Nationalist ideologies have been in the ascendant only at certain historical periods; in others, the major emphasis has been on racial integration and assimilation. During four periods, nationalist sentiment in various forms has been prominent in Negro thought: the turn of the eighteenth century, roughly

<sup>1</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, "Strivings of the Negro People," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXX (August 1897), 194–195.

from 1790 to 1820; the late 1840s and especially the 1850s; the nearly half-century stretching approximately from the 1880s into the 1920s; and since the middle 1960s. In general, nationalist sentiment, although present throughout the black man's experience in America, tends to be most pronounced when the Negroes' status has declined, or when they have experienced intense disillusionment following a period of heightened but unfulfilled expectations.

This introductory essay will describe the chief recurring varieties of black nationalism and trace black nationalism as a whole in the main periods of black history in the United States. In a concluding section the three editors will present their differing interpretations of the nature and pattern of the phenomena they first describe.

## I.

The term "black nationalism" has been used in American history to describe a body of social thought, attitudes, and actions ranging from the simplest expressions of ethnocentrism and racial solidarity to the comprehensive and sophisticated ideologies of Pan-Negroism or Pan-Africanism. Between these extremes lie many varieties of black nationalism, of varying degrees of intensity.

The simplest expression of racial feeling that can be called a form of black nationalism is *racial solidarity*. It generally has no ideological or programmatic implications beyond the desire that black people organize themselves on the basis of their common color and oppressed condition to move in some way to alleviate their situation. The concept of racial solidarity is essential to all forms of black nationalism. The establishment of mutual aid societies and separatist churches in the late eighteenth century had little ideological justification beyond that of racial solidarity.

A more pronounced form of black nationalism is *cultural nationalism*. Cultural nationalism contends that black people—in the United States or throughout the world—have a culture,

style of life, cosmology, approach to the problems of existence, and aesthetic values distinct from that of white Americans in particular and white Europeans or Westerners in general. Mild forms of cultural nationalism say merely that the Afro-American subculture is one of many subcultures that make up a pluralistic American society. The most militant cultural nationalists assert the superiority of Afro-American culture—usually on moral and aesthetic grounds—to Western civilization. Programmatic or institutional manifestations of cultural nationalism include the development of a body of social-science literature—history, philosophy, political science, and the like—written from the Afro-American point of view; the unearthing and publicizing of all the past glories of the race; the development of a distinct Afro-American literature, art, and music; the formation of appropriate vehicles for the transmission of Afro-American culture—newspapers, journals, theaters, artistic workshops, musical groups; the assertion of a distinct life-style and world view in such ways as assuming African or Arabic names, wearing African clothes, and speaking African languages.

Closely linked in forms and function to cultural nationalism is *religious nationalism*. Within the theological boundaries of Christianity are such nationalist assertions as that blacks should establish and run churches of their own, for their own people; that God, or Jesus, or both were black (the “Black Messiah” theme); that Afro-Americans are the chosen people. Religious nationalism has also taken non-Christian forms, as can be seen in such twentieth-century groups as the Nation of Islam, the Moorish Science Temple, the several varieties of black Jews, and the Yoruba Temple. A milder expression of religious nationalist feeling is manifested in the recent formation of black caucuses within the major Christian denominations. In Chicago in 1968 black Catholic priests conducted a “Black Unity Mass” to the beat of conga drums; they wore vestments of colorful African cloth and shared the altar with, among others, a Baptist preacher.

*Economic nationalism* includes both capitalist and socialist



outlooks. The capitalist wing, or the bourgeois nationalists, advocates either controlling the black segment of the marketplace by attempting to establish black businesses and by "buy-black" campaigns, or establishing a black capitalist economy parallel to the economy of the dominant society. Slightly to the left of the bourgeois nationalists are those who contend that formation of producer and consumer cooperatives is necessary. Further to the left are black nationalist socialists who feel that abolition of private property is a prerequisite for the liberation of the Negro people. (Such socialists should be distinguished from black integrationist socialists like A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin.) At the opposite extreme are those who call for the reinstatement of preindustrial communalism. Black nationalist socialists tend to coincide with revolutionary nationalists who apply Marxian theory to the experience of Afro-Americans, whereas those who favor preindustrial African economic forms tend also to be militant cultural nationalists. Negro capitalists tend to be bourgeois in their political and cultural outlooks as well.

In the area of *politics*, black nationalism at its mildest is *bourgeois reformism*, a view which assumes that the United States is politically pluralistic and that liberal values concerning democracy and the political process are operative. Programmatic examples of such a view are the slating and supporting of Negro candidates for political office; the drive for black political and administrative control of local and county areas where Negroes predominate; and the formation of all-black political parties. In contrast, *revolutionary black nationalism* views the overthrow of existing political and economic institutions as a prerequisite for the liberation of black Americans, and does not exclude the use of violence.

A most significant variety of black nationalism is *emigrationism*. From the earliest attempts of slaves to capture the ships bearing them to the New World in order to steer them back to Africa, a substantial number of black people have wanted to return to the ancestral homeland. However, to emigrationists for whom Africa was too far away in time and space,

or unacceptable for other reasons, the West Indies, South America, Mexico, Canada, and even the island of Cyprus have been touted as potential homelands.

Related to emigration is what we may call *territorial separatism*, a term best applied to the view of those blacks who wanted a share of the country that their labor had made so prosperous but who had no illusions about living in peace and equality with white Americans. Territorial separatists advocated the establishment of all-black towns, especially in the South and Southwest, all-black states, or a black nation comprising several states. Recent and milder forms of territorial separatism are often linked to the concept of political pluralism and advocacy of "black control of the black community."

Implicit in many of these varieties of black nationalism is the international extension of racial solidarity in the doctrines of *Pan-Negroism*, or *Pan-Africanism*. Both foster the belief that people of African descent throughout the world have common cultural characteristics and share common problems as a result of their African origins, the similarity of their political oppression and economic exploitation by Western civilization, and the persistence and virulence of racist theories, attitudes, and behavior characterizing Western contact with people of African descent. Afro-American advocates of Pan-Negroism historically assumed that Afro-Americans would provide the leadership for any worldwide movement. Only recently, with the political independence of African nations, have Afro-Americans conceded that Africans themselves might form the vanguard in the liberation of all peoples of African descent.

The varieties of black nationalism are often not sharply delineated, nor are they mutually exclusive categories. Any one individual may assume any number of combinations of black nationalism. Moreover, nationalism and racial integration as ideologies or as programs have often coexisted in organizations, in theories, and in the minds of individual Negro Americans. To deal exclusively with the varieties of black nationalism in American history is not to suggest that only black nationalism existed. In fact, a book of documents on

black nationalism is needed to correct the generally held view that integration and assimilation had an undisputed reign in the minds of black Americans. This book can serve to remind the reader that the problems of the complexities of human behavior are no less formidable where black folk are concerned.

## II.

The era of the American Revolution was a pinnacle of anti-slavery sentiment and racial equalitarianism. Largely influenced by the equalitarian ideology of the Revolution, northern states took steps to free their slaves. State legislatures usually provided for gradual emancipation during and shortly after the war, and Negroes enjoyed the same voting rights as whites in the original northern states for a generation after the Revolution. Even in the upper South, Virginia and North Carolina passed laws encouraging owners to emancipate their slaves. Moreover, during the eighteenth century the Methodists and Baptists, appealing to the poor and downtrodden, sometimes accepted Negroes and whites on a relatively equal basis, even in the South. Here and there Negroes ministered to white or mixed Baptist congregations, and early in the nineteenth century a Negro Baptist minister was elected first moderator of the Louisiana Baptist Association, which, except for himself, was composed of white clergymen.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, prospects for black men changed markedly. The Constitution of 1787, with its explicit recognition of slavery, symbolized the shift; six years later, in 1793, Congress passed the first fugitive slave law to implement the Constitutional clause on slavery. The invention of the cotton gin that same year presaged even more certainly the deteriorating future of Negroes in this country. In the North, although New York and New Jersey finally passed gradual emancipation laws (in 1799 and 1804 respectively), the equalitarian enthusiasm of the Revolutionary years was clearly on the wane—a trend best symbolized by the growing segregation and exclusion of Negroes in the hitherto often inter-

racial and relatively equalitarian Methodist and Baptist churches. In the context of worsening conditions and declining status the first clear tendencies toward black nationalism in America developed.

Negroes had always experienced a sense of alienation, of differentness, of separateness in American society, and during the Revolutionary era this was exemplified by the formation of the first Negro Baptist church in America, founded at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, in the 1770s. But separatism did not become a serious movement until black mutual benefit societies and churches were formed during the period beginning with adoption of the Constitution. Negro Masons in Boston and the Free African Society in Philadelphia appeared in 1787, and the A.M.E., A.M.E. Zion, and Baptist churches of the North appeared between the 1790s and 1820s, as a series of secessions from the increasing discriminatory white churches. In the late 1820s, the third major institution of the Afro-American community appeared: the press (Documents 1-6).

The turn of the century also reveals the earliest evidence of emigrationist sentiment. In 1789 the Free African Society of Newport sent a proposal to the Free African Society of Philadelphia, making a plea for return to Africa as a means for Negroes to escape from conditions in the United States. No results of this proposal are recorded, and actual emigration had to wait another quarter-century until in 1815 Paul Cuffe, a New Bedford shipowner, took 38 free Negroes at his own expense to Sierra Leone.

Several factors lay behind Cuffe's interest in colonizing Africa. For one thing, like so many after him, he hoped to Christianize Africa and to export Western civilization; for another, he hoped that this process could stop the slave trade and replace it by other forms of commerce between Africa and the United States. A number of Negroes wanted to go to Africa; by 1816 so many applications had come across his desk that Cuffe wrote "he believed he might have colonized the greater part of Boston and vicinity." And there are glimmerings of nationalist sentiment in a letter written by some of the migrants

to Liberia in 1818: "Be not fearful to come to Africa, which is your country by right . . . Though you are free, that is your country, Africa, not America is your country and your home"<sup>2</sup> (Documents 9–12).

The documents from this early period are few, and those that survive do not show a full-blown nationalist ideology. Nationalism at the end of the eighteenth century was just emerging in the Western world as a popular ideology, and besides, black leaders in the United States were largely bent on adjusting to practical realities. The documents from this period reveal an incipient group consciousness rather than a detailed argument for group separatism. Nevertheless, they do show how the gap between American democratic values and American racial practices encouraged both identification with Africa and belief in the need for separate racial institutions in this country. The very names of the early churches—African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches, the Abyssinian Baptist church—and the Free African societies epitomize these nationalistic tendencies.

Documents of the 1820s give only the sketchiest information about Negro thought. Evidently the majority of articulate Negroes denounced emigration and feared the American Colonization Society, many of whose members were interested in deporting the free black population rather than in ending slavery. Some Negroes, however, especially in Maryland where the strongest white state colonization society existed, were interested in emigration (Document 11). Later in the decade John B. Russwurm, co-editor of *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper in the United States, became a supporter of the American Colonization Society. After Russwurm broke with his anticolonizationist co-editor, Samuel Cornish, he turned the paper into an emigrationist organ. In the March 7, 1829, issue of *Freedom's Journal*, Russwurm wrote an editorial entitled, "Our Rightful Place Is in Africa." Not long after,

<sup>2</sup> Henry N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe and His Contribution to the American Colonization Society," *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, VI (1912–1913), 391–392.

he himself went to Liberia, having been appointed superintendent of schools there by the American Colonization Society.

On the whole, however, articulate black men of the late twenties advocated collective action to advance the race and achieve equality within the United States (Documents 7 and 8). One of these was David Walker, whose *Appeal* urged slaves to break their "infernal chains" by armed rebellion. Walker also had a vigorous race pride:

I would wish, candidly, however, before the Lord, to be understood, that I would not give a *pinch of snuff* to be married to any white person I ever saw in all the days of my life. And I do say it, that the black man, or man of colour, who will leave his own colour (provided he can get one, who is good for anything) and marry a white woman, to be a double slave to her, just because she is *white*, ought to be treated by her as he surely will be, viz: as a NIGGER! !!!<sup>3</sup>

### III.

The 1830s were years of renewed optimism on the part of Negro leadership, probably because the militant white anti-slavery movement had sprung to life, denouncing not only slavery but colonization and the "sins of caste." More typical than David Walker's viewpoint was the action of Negro leaders who in 1830 called for a national Negro convention. This gathering and the Negro conventions of the next five years were clearly a form of collective action based upon consciousness of the problems of black men as an oppressed minority in American society. Yet, the colored leaders debated the propriety and consistency of holding separate all-Negro conclaves as a means of fighting segregation and discrimination, and these early conventions did not themselves overtly express an ideology of nationalism (Documents 13 and 15).

The convention movement petered out in the middle of the decade, and some of its leaders organized the American Moral

<sup>3</sup> David Walker, *Appeal in Four Articles*, originally published in 1829 (New York: Hill & Wang, 1965), p. 9.

Reform Society, an all-Negro group which hopefully, but unsuccessfully, opened its doors to whites and discountenanced separate action by black men. A New York minister and editor, Samuel E. Cornish, denounced the Moral Reformers for showing that they lacked race pride by shunning such terms as "Negro," "colored," and "African," and identifying themselves instead as "oppressed Americans." "Oppressed Americans! *who are they?*" Cornish asked. "Nonsense, brethren! ! You are COLORED AMERICANS. The Indians are RED AMERICANS, and the white people are WHITE AMERICANS and *you are good as they, and they are no better than you.*"<sup>4</sup> Although separatist tendencies were a decidedly minor theme during the thirties, in pressing for a stronger racial consciousness and solidarity Cornish helped to lay the groundwork for the revival of the national Negro convention movement in 1843.

In the forties and fifties Negroes in the North and West continued to protest and agitate, campaigning against disfranchisement, discrimination in the courts, exclusion from public schools, and segregation in public accommodations. In New York and Pennsylvania, for instance, they fought unsuccessfully to stem the tide of disfranchisement, although in 1841 Rhode Island blacks helped to defeat a new constitution that provided for universal white male suffrage. Negroes in the Northeast protested vigorously against jim crowism in transportation, but without much success except in Massachusetts. Some boycotted local omnibuses, while others tried to occupy seats reserved for whites. In the early forties, blacks like Frederick Douglass were forcibly dragged from white coaches for defying segregation on the Massachusetts railroads. Aided by leading white abolitionists, they agitated for remedies, and in 1843 the railroads in the state abolished separate coaches.

Blacks also protested inadequate public education; and although most Negroes helplessly accepted separate and inferior schools, some insisted on attacking school segregation directly.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Leon Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 238.

For example, during the 1850s Douglass led a victorious fight against the separate school system in Rochester, New York. The most notable desegregation campaign took place in Boston, where in 1849 Benjamin Roberts unsuccessfully sued the school board for excluding his daughter from a nearby white school. In 1855, however, the Massachusetts legislature, under pressure from blacks and whites, outlawed school segregation.

In the 1840s a number of converging developments turned Negro ideologies in more nationalist directions: the essential failure of the antislavery movement to liberate the slaves; the evidences of racism among many white abolitionists who failed to accord Negroes positions of real influence in the antislavery societies, usually avoided social contact with black men, and often discriminated against them in employment; increasing trends toward disfranchisement and segregation in public accommodations in many of the northeastern states, combined with the continuing pattern of discrimination in the Old Northwest that made the black man's condition there similar to that in the South; and the growing hopelessness of the economic situation, which was exacerbated by the rising tide of Irish immigrants vying with Negroes for their traditional jobs in domestic service and on the waterfront. At the same time, the Compromise in 1850, with its new and more rigorous fugitive slave law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the Dred Scott Decision all made the outlook bleaker than ever.

In the face of these conditions, many Negroes concluded that black men must band together and help themselves. The new spirit was manifested in several ways. One was the revival, in 1843, of the convention movement. A second was the serious debate over the advocacy of violence and slave rebellions. There were proposals for organizing the race, particularly for promoting economic cooperation along racial lines. There was growing interest in the history of the race's achievements in Africa and the United States (Document 21). There was even an experiment with an independent black political party. Finally, there was a dramatic upsurge of support for emigration.

The National Convention Movement was revived in 1843



with a conference at Buffalo, and it continued an active life through the rest of the antebellum period. Those who pressed for separate meetings denied any desire to eliminate joint activity with whites in the antislavery societies or in political organizations like the Liberty Party (Document 13). The 1843 convention was famous for the heated controversy aroused by the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet's speech, "An Address to the slaves of the United States of America." Garnet, a Presbyterian minister to a white congregation at Troy, New York, urged the bondsmen to kill any master who refused to liberate them (Document 16). Frederick Douglass, Charles L. Remond, and others argued that approval of Garnet's address would create further hardship for free Negroes in the slave and border states. A resolution endorsing the speech failed by only one vote, the convention declaring instead that "a righteous government" would destroy slavery. At the next convention, four years later, when Garnet's address was discussed again, it aroused far less disapproval. Indeed, during the late forties the use of violence to destroy slavery was widely discussed by black men in the North.

For the vast majority of articulate Negroes, the doctrine of racial unity and cooperation became a major theme. Douglass, as consistent an integrationist as any black leader in the history of the United States, during this period regarded black men as "my oppressed people," "a nation within a nation,"<sup>5</sup> and urged the organization of a National League (Document 14). All the major national conventions of the forties and fifties called for racial solidarity. The 1853 convention took a more nationalist position than any of the earlier ones and sought to tighten the bonds of racial unity by creating a national council to supervise a highly organized social system of racial uplift (Document 15).

<sup>5</sup> Douglass, "The Present Condition and Future Prospects of the Negro People," speech at annual meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May 1853, reprinted in Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, II (New York: International Publishers, 1950).

The ideology of racial self-help and unity was applied to the political scene. In 1855, some New York Negroes, despairing of any effective action on their behalf from the Republican party, which merely called for the exclusion of slavery from the territories and remained silent on the voting rights of Negroes, formed a New York State Suffrage Association. This group intended to act as a political party and to serve as a balance of power in close elections. Although it did not run candidates of its own and reluctantly threw its limited weight behind the Republicans, it symbolized the Negroes' estrangement from the mainstream of American politics.

Finally, during the 1850s, a growing group supported colonization. Some leaders embraced this ideology, only to spurn it later, but a greater number, including some of the most prominent—Alexander Crummell, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Henry Highland Garnet, and Martin R. Delany—rejected their earlier emphasis upon struggling for equality in the United States and remained consistent colonizationists until the Civil War. Of the views of the mass of black freedmen we have no evidence; even of the elite we cannot say with precision what proportion espoused colonization—but the leading authority on the subject maintains that in the late 1850s the majority of prominent black men had become supporters of emigration and colonization<sup>6</sup>—although they were divided on the issue of whether Africa, Central America, the West Indies, or the far western frontier of the United States would be the best place in which to establish separate black communities.

Black colonizationists held their own national conventions in 1854, 1856, and 1858. As the most practical site for colonization some chose the Caribbean, especially Haiti, whose ruler encouraged their aspirations. Several preferred Baja California and the far West of the United States. But the most popular place was Africa. A few leaders, most notably Crummell, even made their peace with the American Colonization Society. All

<sup>6</sup> Howard H. Bell, "A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement, 1830-1861" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1953).

agreed that it was hopeless to continue agitating for equal rights in the United States. They agreed, too, in articulating a nationalist ideology which insisted that Negroes had contributed to world civilization in the past, and that by destroying the slave trade and redeeming and Christianizing Africa, they were to make such a contribution in the future. Crummell, an Episcopal clergyman who had received a degree from Cambridge University before going to Africa on behalf of the American Colonization Society, summed it up best when he described Liberia as "this spot dedicated to nationality, consecrated to freedom, and sacred to religion." (Documents 17-20).

#### IV.

The Civil War and Reconstruction brought about a marked shift in black ideologies. Emancipation, congressional legislation, the Constitutional amendments, and the perceptible increase in white support for the black man's rights produced an overwhelmingly non-nationalist outlook in the overtly expressed ideologies of Negro leaders and spokesmen.

Nationalist sentiments and tendencies did not, of course, entirely disappear. During the Reconstruction conventions the generations-old issue whether Negroes were justified in holding separate conclaves was debated. For instance, the national convention in 1865 declared that united action was needed for racial elevation; that "the want of union among us . . . is so palpable, the lack of thorough combination and organized effort so manifest" that equal-rights leagues should be formed in every community.<sup>7</sup> The self-help and racial solidarity doctrines of the fifties survived in attenuated form, most notably in some statements of Frederick Douglass, as one aspect of his multifaceted approach toward achieving acceptance in American society. Evidence of pro-emigration sentiment cropped up sporadically, though much research will be needed in order to

<sup>7</sup> *First Annual Meeting of the National Equal Rights League, . . . 1865* (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 14.

estimate its true extent. Finally, and most important, the widely expressed and dominant philosophy of participation in the "body politic" did not entirely replace the desire for a separate group life. In fact there were marked tendencies toward institutional separatism, especially in the South. Thus the black members of Congress and of the South Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1868 opposed legal school segregation, but assumed that most Negroes and whites would want their children to attend schools peopled by members of their own race. Especially significant was the rapid spread of Negro churches and fraternal societies in the South, where they had been permitted only a sharply restricted existence before the war. The major black denominations actively proselytized among ex-slaves, and new connections like the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church appeared as black people withdrew from the white-dominated churches in which they had been raised. The fraternal orders based in the North—the Masons, the Oddfellows, the Good Samaritans—spread widely in the South; at the same time numerous local mutual-benefit societies spontaneously appeared among the freedmen.

All these developments need careful study and analysis—and research about them has scarcely begun. Yet it cannot be overemphasized that the prevailing articulated thought during Reconstruction was characterized by a broad program for the integration and assimilation of black men into American society.

## V.

After the collapse of Reconstruction, the Negro's position in American society deteriorated steadily. By the turn of the century, disfranchisement, lynching, jim crow laws, and farm tenancy were the Negro's lot in the South. Throughout the country labor unions excluded him from the skilled trades. After 1900 race riots became commonplace in the North.

In this context of changing race relations, with black men deserted by their erstwhile white allies, two trends became

prominent in Negro ideologies. One was the ascendancy, for nearly a generation beginning in the 1890s of a philosophy of accommodation. Booker T. Washington and other spokesmen for this viewpoint blamed Negroes themselves for their subordinate position in American society and for white prejudice against them. They flattered southern whites and northern philanthropists, advised acceptance of segregation and disfranchisement, and urged blacks to earn the respect of whites by cultivating thrift, industry, and Christian character, by acquiring property, and by leading lives of middle-class respectability. In the early years of the twentieth century a tiny but articulate minority of Negro intellectuals agitated against this philosophy of accommodation; in 1905, under the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois, they formed the Niagara Movement, and in 1909 they joined with a small band of concerned white progressives and socialists to found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). By the end of World War I protest had in large measure regained the ascendancy among leading spokesmen for the race.

Secondly, during the entire period from the 1880s to the 1920s, with Negroes forced back upon themselves as contemporaries put it, various kinds of nationalist ideology moved to the forefront. Colonization during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not enjoy the vogue it earlier claimed, but belief in the importance and value of racial self-help and solidarity was the most widely held ideology among blacks in all sections of the country during the half-century beginning around 1880. (Frederick Douglass, who died in 1895, was exceptional in his clear-cut rejection of these doctrines in the last decade of his life.) Appeals to race pride and race unity became commonplace, and separate educational, religious, and economic institutions were more and more widely advocated (Documents 2, 3, 22, 23, 25, 26). These ideas pervaded the spectrum of black social thought in the nineties and after the turn of the century, although, in general, they characterized the thinking of accommodators like Booker T. Washington more than that of protest leaders. The emphasis shifted with the

rise of the NAACP, whose interracial leadership symbolized the renewed concern of an influential minority of whites for the black man's citizenship rights; and in the post-World War I years ideologies of integration and of separatism were both prominent in Negro thought. In fact, these postwar years produced the largest and most dramatic colonization movement in the black man's history in the United States. Finally, there was a direct connection between the separatist and nationalist tendencies of the prewar generation and those of the 1920s.

The ambiguous way in which nationalism has functioned in Negro thought was never more apparent than during this period. Almost always, except in the case of out-and-out colonization movements, separatism was advocated as a means of paving the way for full acceptance in American society. At the turn of the century doctrines of racial solidarity, self-help, group pride, and collective action were integral parts both of the philosophy of protest, as exemplified in the Afro-American League and Council (Document 33) and of the philosophy of accommodation epitomized by Booker T. Washington (Documents 34 and 35). Washington's nationalism was especially related to his ideology of economic advancement—of urging Negroes to work hard, save their money, and support black businessmen—as the best way to improve the race and achieve recognition of Constitutional rights (Documents 36–39). Yet protest leaders like Du Bois also advocated economic nationalism, along lines very similar to those of Washington (Document 41), although early in the twentieth century Du Bois personally took the exceptional step of becoming a socialist and an advocate of the consumers' cooperatives (Document 42). Moreover, unlike Washington, who stressed industrial education and working with the hands, Du Bois believed passionately in the necessity of higher education for what he called a "Talented Tenth" who would be a black elite, the leadership cadre of a united race, uplifting their brethren and advancing the race's welfare and status. For this doctrine of the "Talented Tenth" Du Bois owed a great deal to Alexander Crummell (Documents 24, 43).

Of all the black intellectuals Du Bois was the one who most deeply identified with Africa. At the time, most American Negroes felt ambivalent, at best, toward the ancestral continent, accepting prevailing white views about the barbarism and idolatrousness of its inhabitants (even while they glorified its ancient civilizations), and yet holding that Negro churches had a special responsibility for Christianizing the continent. Du Bois—two generations ahead of his contemporaries—expressed a view of Africa that did not become widely accepted until the middle of the twentieth century. He combined a sophisticated appreciation for the history and cultures of West Africa with a deep emotional commitment to Africa and to people of color throughout the world. Du Bois was probably the first American Negro to express the idea of Pan-Africanism: the belief that all people of African descent had common interests and should work together in the struggle for their freedom (Documents 40 and 43). No matter where Negroes lived, they owed a special attachment to Africa as the race's "greater Fatherland."

Upon the initiative of a group of West Indian intellectuals, the first Pan-African Conference was held in London in 1900. Du Bois wrote the conclave's "Address to the Nations of the World," urging self-government for Africans and West Indians and the creation in Africa of "a great central Negro State of the world." Although he envisioned no back-to-Africa movement, Du Bois believed that the formation and growth of such an African state would raise the status of Negroes everywhere. Between 1919 and 1927 Du Bois convened four Pan-African congresses in Europe and the United States. Like the original London conference, these conclaves, dominated by Du Bois's personality, ceaselessly condemned racism and imperialist exploitation of Africa. Two decades later, after World War II, Du Bois pursued his interest in Pan-Africanism by attending the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, and publishing *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace*, which called for the liquidation of the British and French colonial empires.

The cause of African emigration or colonization was pressed

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by a handful of prominent clerics and a larger group of obscure and humble individuals. After World War I the teeming ghettos, swelled by the great northern migration, produced Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, the emigrationist movement that had the largest popular following. The U.N.I.A. provided a compensatory escape for Negroes to whom the urban promised land had turned out to be a hopeless ghetto. It is significant, however, that the relationship between Negro migration within the United States and nationalist ideologies was not a new one. Since the Civil War the peaks of interest in African colonization among Negroes had coincided with peaks of domestic migration—in the late 1870s, around 1890, and again on the eve of World War I. In many cases, in fact, spokesmen for the migrants regarded African colonization as an alternative to seeking better opportunities elsewhere in the United States. Economic misery seems to have been the chief stimulus both for Negro migration and for the upsurges in colonization sentiment; but colonization attempts ordinarily had a strongly nationalist emphasis, as, to a lesser extent, did internal migration. This was particularly true of the all-Negro towns—the most famous of which was Mound Bayou, Mississippi—and of the even more ambitious attempt to found an all-black state in Oklahoma in the nineties. Later, when their dream collapsed, many Oklahoma emigrants became intensely interested in the prospect of going to Africa. Thus, though it existed in a ghetto setting, the Garvey ideology and movement were part of a larger pattern associated with migration tendencies among southern Negroes (Documents 27–32).

The Garvey movement came at a time when nationalistic tendencies of other kinds were exceedingly popular in the cities, especially in the North. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton have described the "Dream of a Black Metropolis," cherished by many black Chicagoans: the dream of a self-contained black community, with black capitalists and professionals supported by the patronage of the black masses, who



would elect black men to office—a vision based upon the values of race pride and racial solidarity.<sup>8</sup> It was popularly believed that unity and cooperation among the various black organizations and advancement movements would be essential in solving the problems facing the race (Document 53). The doctrine of economic nationalism was widely held by all social classes, though it was aggressively pushed by the small but growing business elite, which depended upon the Negro market (Document 39).

Best known, however, during the 1920s, was the maturing of a cultural nationalism. If economic and political nationalism were especially characteristic of Chicago, cultural nationalism centered in New York, where the literary and artistic movement known as the Harlem Renaissance developed. The advocates of cultural nationalism ranged from those who felt that Negroes had a peculiar genius for the arts to those who asserted that a cultural renaissance was an essential stage in the awakening of any people. Rooted in the prewar period, the cultural nationalism of the twenties expressed pride in the race's past, celebrated the black man's unique cultural achievements and contributions, called for specifically black literature, art, and theater that would reflect the life, interests, and needs of the Negro people of America, and explored with equal verve and sensitivity the experience of both the Negro elite and the black masses (Documents 44, 46–52).

Together, the developments of the war and postwar eras produced what contemporaries called a New Negro. The New Negro was described as proud of his race, advocating racial self-help and solidarity, and urging blacks to depend upon themselves; he was militant, self-assertive; he was no meek accommodator, but a vigorous protester, claiming his rightful place in American society. It is true that the Garvey movement, which can be regarded as the lower-class counterpart of the middle- and upper-class New Negro, reflecting the bitter al-

<sup>8</sup> St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1945), pp. 80–82.

ienation of the slum dwellers who had so hopefully migrated to the northern cities in search of better conditions, advocated expatriation to Africa. But as Alain Locke indicates (Document 52), and James Weldon Johnson's song, which became known as the Negro National Anthem (Document 54) shows, nationalist expression in broad sectors of the Afro-American community was characterized by ethnic ambivalence and by a distinct optimism about the future of the black man in American society.

## VI.

The proliferation of nationalist ideologies and organizations that reached a climax during the 1920s was followed by a thirty-year period in which nationalism as a significant theme in black thought was virtually nonexistent. From the thirties until the sixties, with few exceptions, leading Negro organizations stressed interracial cooperation, civil rights, and racial integration. Among the chief reasons for the temporary demise of nationalism were the effects of the Depression and the consequent necessity of relying on the New Deal for survival, and the influx of trade unionists and Communists into the black community preaching and practicing racial equality and brotherhood. The principal ideological concerns of articulate blacks during the Depression decade focused on very practical aspects of the Negro's relationship to New Deal agencies and the Roosevelt administration, on the role of industrial unions in the advancement of the race, and on the relevance of Marxist doctrines to the Negro's problems.

The depression ended all effective support for the Garvey movement, which was already in decline. Only a few fringe sects represented territorial and emigrationist nationalism: the emigrationist Ethiopian Peace Movement was formed in Chicago in 1932, and the National Movement for the Establishment of a Forty-Ninth State was founded there two years later. Religious nationalism was represented by Noble Drew Ali's Moorish-American Science Temple, founded in Newark, New

Jersey, in 1913, and by the Nation of Islam, established in 1930 by W. D. Fard, leader of one faction in the Moorish Temple. Many ex-Garveyites found their way into the sects of Daddy Grace and Father Divine and into the new industrial labor unions. Some of the cultural nationalists of the Harlem Renaissance responded sympathetically to the propaganda of the Communists and submerged their nationalism in the class struggle.

The Communist party during the period 1928–1935 advocated the formation of a black Soviet Republic in the southern part of the United States under the slogan “Self-Determination in the Black Belt.” This rather mechanical application of Soviet nationality theory to Black America attracted few adherents and is mentioned only in passing since it was not a projection of the Negro community. The party played down the idea in the period of the “United Front”; Benjamin J. Davis’ pamphlet of 1947 (Document 57) represents a return to this earlier theme.

During the Depression nationalist tendencies were chiefly evident in the economic realm. The bourgeois economic nationalism of the black business advocates retained considerable popularity (Document 55). A new departure was the “Don’t-Buy-Where-You-Can’t-Work” campaign, which utilized the methods of boycott and picketing to get jobs for Negroes in white-owned stores located in black communities. At times, elements of cultural nationalism were present—for example, in the case of Sufi Abdul Hamid, an American black who adopted a Muslim name and Oriental clothing and led demonstrations in Chicago and Harlem. These campaigns occurred in many cities of the North and upper South; in some places they were led by NAACP and Urban League officials, in others by purely local groups (Document 56).

The major ideological debate over nationalism during the 1930s occurred when W. E. B. Du Bois resigned his post with the NAACP in an argument over his proposal for a separate all-black cooperative economy to solve the economic problems of the Negro masses. Though the issue arose because Du Bois felt that the NAACP was middle-class in orientation and failed

to come to grips with the problem of poverty, the argument centered on the separatist aspects of his proposal. In the course of the discussion Du Bois made a searching exploration of the question of segregation, foreshadowing the distinction between segregation and separation that was to become widely held in the 1960s (Document 45).

Like Du Bois, A. Philip Randolph throughout his career has championed the interests of the black working class. His concern took a nationalist turn in the March on Washington Movement, which Randolph established in 1941. He threatened a mass Negro convergence on the capital if President Roosevelt failed to secure greater employment for Negroes in the defense industries. Roosevelt forestalled the march by creating a Fair Employment Practices Committee. The March on Washington Movement, though its career was brief, prefigured things to come. An avowedly all-Negro protest movement, it consciously drew on the power of the black masses (Document 58).

## VII.

From World War II through the early sixties, integration continued to be the overwhelmingly dominant ideology, though the Nation of Islam (Documents 60, 61, 62) and the small groups that succeeded Garvey's U.N.I.A., such as the African Nationalist Pioneer Movement in Harlem persisted (Document 70). In the mid-fifties the Montgomery bus boycott initiated an era of nonviolent, direct-action protest. On the world scene Ghana's independence in 1957 and the continuing dissolution of the British and French empires in Africa sparked a growing interest in and identification with Africa among an increasingly large segment of Afro-Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois's move to Ghana in 1961 was a return to the motherland for Afro-America's leading intellectual; for others it was a symbol of the revived place of Africa in their thinking (Document 59).

The civil-rights protest, despite the dominance of an integrationist ideology, produced a growing strand of nationalism at its fringes. In the late 1950s revolutionary nationalism was

prominent in the actions and rhetoric of Robert F. Williams and Malcolm X. Williams, who headed the NAACP chapter in Monroe, North Carolina, advocated armed retaliation against Ku Klux Klan violence, and organized the black community for self-defense. Later, charged with kidnaping a white couple, he fled first to Cuba and then to China where he continued to publish his newsletter, *The Crusader*. Williams developed an ideology of revolutionary nationalism and armed struggle which had a growing influence, inspiring such later groups as the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Republic of New Africa.

Malcolm X rose to national prominence by candidly criticizing the integration movement. A minister of the Nation of Islam, undoubtedly the largest nationalist organization of the early sixties (see Document 62), he was the most effective spokesman for the Black Muslim program of separatism, self-defense, and liberation "by any means necessary." Most Muslim adherents were lower-class blacks, and the group was particularly effective in organizing prison inmates. Malcolm left the Nation in 1964 because of differences with Elijah Muhammad and broadened his approach beyond that of the Muslims' bourgeois economic nationalism and territorial separatism. At the time of his assassination in 1965 he was formulating a revolutionary nationalist viewpoint (Document 63).

The intensity of the integration struggle unleashed a number of social forces which produced a striking ideological convergence of older nationalist groups, such as the Muslims and the surviving Garveyite groups, and militant civil-rights activists of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). This eventually manifested itself in the black power and black nationalist movement so prominent after 1966. A group anticipating this convergence was RAM, formed in 1963, whose members involved themselves in integration-oriented civil-rights activities, but at the same time expressed an ideology that would fall "somewhere between the Nation of Islam and SNCC" (Document 73).

Interest in Africa had been rising throughout the sixties; even more important, it was reciprocated by Africans who spoke out in the United Nations about the plight of their Afro-American brothers. African leaders invited civil-rights workers to visit Africa, and some Africans went into the American South to bear witness to the black struggle there.

The expectations of black America were on the rise after the early successes of the boycotts and sit-ins, and defeats became harder to take. New methods and solutions were being sought for the most recalcitrant areas of the deep South, and for the economic and social plight of the urban and rural poor. Bourgeois political nationalist movements, such as the short-lived Freedom Now Party and ACT, were attempts to give direction to a movement that was meeting increasingly stiff resistance as it shifted attention from the rural and small-town South to the ghettos of the urban North and West. The Freedom Now Party, launched in 1963 at the time of the March on Washington, advocated independent black political action. ACT, a confederation of black groups and individuals in the militant wing of the civil-rights movement, bridged the gap between civil-rights protest and nationalism by projecting an all-black organization as a necessary instrument for attaining equal rights.

Negro reaction to the bombing of a church in Birmingham, after the optimism of the March on Washington in 1963, epitomized the increasing doubt in the minds of many civil-rights workers about the adequacy of the nonviolent, direct-action approach. The rejection of the claims of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation by the Democratic party convention in 1964, coupled with racial uprisings in Harlem that same summer, were further stimuli for growing militancy and the painful reevaluation of nonviolence and integration as meaningful methods and goals.

The racial disturbances in the Watts section of Los Angeles in August 1965 signaled the end of the interracial nonviolent, direct-action movement. Within the year CORE moved to oust whites from positions of leadership, SNCC elected Stokely

Carmichael chairman as it converted to an all-black group, formed the Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Democratic Organization, or Black Panther party, as the initial step looking toward a political takeover of areas in the South where blacks constituted a majority of the population, and "Black Power" had become a national slogan (Documents 67 and 68). Ignored in the uproar were previous uses of the phrase, such as Richard Wright's book about Africa, *Black Power* (1954); C. E. Wilson's article in *Liberator* (March 1964), "Towards Black Community Power"; the conference called to establish an Organization of Black Power in the summer of 1965; and Adam Clayton Powell's speech before Congress and Howard University baccalaureate address in the spring of 1966.

Since 1966 a wide spectrum of black nationalist ideologies and organizations has developed, reminiscent of the ferment of the 1890s and 1920s. Cultural nationalism has flourished in such small journals as *Black Dialogue* and *Journal of Black Poetry*, and even in such mass-distribution black publications as *Negro Digest* and *Ebony*. Le Roi Jones's Spirit House Movers in Newark and the Chicago-based Organization for Black American Culture are but two of many cultural organizations. Black poetry, art, and literature are currently enjoying a renaissance comparable to that of the 1920s (Documents 64-66). And the African theme has never been more pronounced in cultural nationalism: the adopting of African names, the wearing of African-styled clothes, and the speaking of African languages.

Territorial separatism has a host of advocates: Robert S. Browne, an economics professor at Fairleigh-Dickinson University; the Republic of New Africa, a group that has declared its independence of the United States and seeks five southern states and reparations to form a black nation (Document 74); and Max Stanford, field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (Document 73). Emigration has had a minor revival; for example, the Al-Beta Israel Temple, a group of black Jews based in Chicago, has recently acquired land and founded a community in Liberia.

An intensification of religious nationalism is apparent in such theological works as Elijah Muhammad's *Message to the Blackman* (1965, Document 61), and the Reverend Albert Cleage's *The Black Messiah* (1969). Cleage, in keeping with his beliefs, has changed the name of his church in Detroit to the Shrine of the Black Madonna, and the building interior is highlighted by a wall-filling portrait of a black Madonna and Child in the tradition of Garvey's African Orthodox Church.

Militant black student groups are now commonplace on the nation's campuses, north and south. Asserting their claim to an education relevant to the needs and expression of black people, they have been demanding and obtaining courses in black studies, admission of more black students, employment of more black faculty (often with a voice in the hiring), and at times separate living and extracurricular facilities (Document 69).

The two earlier forms of economic nationalism are being reasserted. CORE, the Nation of Islam, and numerous local groups are imitating and implementing bourgeois nationalist programs in the hope of developing black capitalism (Documents 70 and 71). In Mississippi and Alabama, black cooperative movements have been started.

Most striking, revolutionary nationalism has been revived by an increasing number of groups with ghetto constituencies: RAM, which endorsed the ideas of armed struggle for a separate nation (Document 73); the Republic of New Africa, which named Robert F. Williams its president (Document 74); and the Black Panther Party, which, borrowing its name from SNCC's political experiment in Alabama, was founded in Oakland, California, in 1966. The Black Panthers soon emerged as the leading nationalist organization among black youth. By 1969, the Black Panthers were deemphasizing their nationalism, and were working more closely with such white left groups as S.D.S. and the Communist Party (Document 76). A significant variety of revolutionary nationalism has recently appeared among young black industrial workers such as those who formed the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). They are challenging both the traditional trade-union move-



ment as well as management (Document 77). Older working-class theoreticians such as James Boggs, disillusioned with the failures of Marxist integrationism, are now directing their attention to the tactics and strategies of the new movements (Document 75).

Racial solidarity or black consciousness has pervaded all strata of Afro-America. Black caucuses have been organized by such groups as teachers, social workers, priests, lawyers, scholars, and athletes. Paradoxically, this increasingly effective display of racial solidarity has actually produced more integration than the advocates of separatism perhaps realize. Black politicians are gaining in number and influence within the two-party system. Blacks are more highly visible in government, private industry, and the mass media than ever before. In the trade-union movement, black caucuses are gaining more representation in leadership positions.

The attainment of any of the ultimate nationalist goals—whether black capitalism or a separate nation—is in the future, if it occurs at all. In terms of ideology, rhetoric, and programs, most features of the black nationalism of the 1960s have been seen before: cultural nationalism, territorial separatism, emigrationism, religious nationalism, economic nationalism, and revolutionary nationalism. What appears to be distinctive about the current trend is the depth and intensity of black nationalist feeling; the widespread acceptance of black consciousness, at least at the rhetorical level, among all classes of Afro-America; the willingness of the nation's business and government leaders to recognize some varieties of militant black separatism and black power as a legitimate and respectable ideology; the sharing of ideologies with independent African nations; the tendency of some blacks to reject completely the legitimacy of American values and institutions; and the widespread advocacy of armed self-defense and retaliation.

## VIII.

In distinguishing the varieties of black nationalism and in selecting the representative expressions that make up this an-

thology, the editors are in essential agreement. In interpreting black nationalism they disagree, and they sketch here the broad outline of their differences. The areas of their disagreement are threefold: first, the status of the black man in America—whether it is that of colonial nation or of minority group; second, the pattern of black nationalism in American history—whether one should emphasize an essential continuity or an ebb and flow; and third, how the various kinds of nationalism may be related to social class.

First, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick interpret black nationalism:

Black nationalism in the United States must be viewed as an example of the nationalist tendencies characteristic of ethnic minorities in modern nation-states. Its history has especially striking parallels in the ideologies of European Jews and of groups that have migrated to the United States from Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The experience of black men in the United States is, of course, hardly identical with that of the other minority groups. Of all the national and racial minorities in this country, Negroes and American Indians have suffered the most oppression and discrimination and have had least access to the larger society. Nevertheless, the ethnic dualism discussed earlier in this essay makes it necessary to place American black nationalism in a category quite distinct from that of colonial peoples. The spectrum of Negro ideologies is remarkably similar to that of American Jews, ranging from assimilation through cultural pluralism to emigrationism (for the Jews, Zionism).

We hold that this ethnic dualism, this ethnic ambivalence—this identity both with the larger American society and with the black minority—is central to an understanding of black nationalism in America. Like the various immigrant groups in the United States, Negroes for the most part have, as Du Bois expressed it, wanted to maintain their group identity yet be full-fledged Americans. Even today, most black power spokesmen privately would say, as Booker T. Washington and others put it quite explicitly, that black separatism and black con-

sciousness are the prerequisites for developing the power Negroes must have if they are to secure integration into American society on a truly equal footing. It is our thesis that throughout American history—and today as well (as the most recent public opinion polls demonstrate)—the dominant thrust of black ideologies has been the desire for inclusion in the broader American society. It would be unfortunate if that fact were obscured by current popular excitement over separatist tendencies, or by the focus and emphasis of this volume.

In this introduction and in the headnotes preceding the documents, are a number of references to the relationship between certain nationalist ideologies and the different social classes in the black community. We agree that by and large, as with other minority groups in American society, the thrust toward integration and assimilation has been strongest among the black middle and upper classes, while separatist tendencies have probably been strongest among the lower class, whose members are most alienated from the larger society. However, such a generalization oversimplifies the complexity of historical reality, as the widespread interest in African emigration among the black elite before the Civil War, the presence during the 1930s of many lower-class ex-Garveyites in the ostentatiously interracial sect of Father Divine, and in the 1960s the thrust for separatism from certain articulate spokesmen of middle- and upper-class origins all demonstrate.

Indeed, the analysis of the whole relationship of social class to nationalist ideology is complicated by several factors. Not all members of a particular social class share the same outlook. Moreover, the attitudes that are ascendant in a particular social class have varied sharply from one period to another. Finally, adequate sources of information, especially about the thinking of the lower classes—and often that of the middle and upper classes as well—are sadly lacking. Extensive research will have to be done before even an approximate picture of the relative extent of nationalist tendencies in the different social classes in various historical periods can be drawn, and in view of the nature of the evidence, it may be impossible to produce any-

thing more than a series of challenging and conflicting interpretations.

Nevertheless, the evidence clearly indicates an instability in black ideologies, and an ebb and flow in the popularity of nationalist doctrines among all social classes. Negro thinking has varied under the impact of changing social conditions. Noting that to a large degree black Americans have been "denied identification with the nation or with national groups," Gunnar Myrdal perceptively observed more than a quarter-century ago:

[T]o them social speculation, therefore, moves in a sphere of unreality and futility. Instead of organized popular theories or ideas, the observer finds in the Negro world, for the most part, only a *fluid and amorphous mass of all sorts of embryos of thoughts. Negroes seem to be held in a state of eternal preparedness for a great number of contradictory opinions*—ready to accept one type or another depending on how they are driven by pressures or where they see an opportunity. Under such circumstances, the masses of American Negroes might, for example, rally around a violently anti-American, anti-Western, anti-White, black chauvinism of the Garvey type, centered around the idea of Africa as the mother country. But they might just as likely, if only a slight change of stimulus is provided, join in an all-out effort to fight for their native country . . . for the Western Civilization to which they belong, and for the tenets of democracy in the entire world. . . . Or they might develop a passive cynicism toward it all.<sup>9</sup>

Basically, nationalist tendencies and ethnic ambivalence have always been present in all classes of the black community. On the other hand, the rise and decline of nationalist sentiment, and of particular varieties of nationalist ideology, must be regarded as caused by the changing conditions which Negroes as a whole—and the different classes within the black community—faced, and by their changing perceptions of those conditions. Only in this way can we account for such phenomena as the dramatic drop in colonization interest among the black elite

<sup>9</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 782.

during the Civil War and Reconstruction or among the black masses during the economic depression of the 1930s, or the current thrust toward black separatism, based upon a feeling that social conditions are worsening, when in fact many indices demonstrate that in a number of respects the status of black men in America has actually improved.

John Bracey sketches his interpretation of black nationalism:

First, Black America exists in a state of colonial subordination to White America. Black America is a Colony.<sup>10</sup> It is and has always been subjected to political, economic, social, and cultural exploitation by White America. These circumstances define Black America's "underdevelopment" as a nation. Political decisions are made by whites outside the black community; no black bourgeoisie with any meaningful economic power has been allowed to develop, and the major vehicles for cultural expression such as schools, radio, television, and the printed media are under white control.

Second, black nationalism is a variety of the nationalisms of non-Western peoples in general, and of the black peoples of Africa and the West Indies in particular. Years ago in his study of this question for the Carnegie-Myrdal volume, *An American Dilemma*, Ralph Bunche noted that the same historical conditions that produced nationalism throughout the Western and

<sup>10</sup> The colonial approach has been discussed more extensively in recent articles such as Robert Blauner's "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt," *Social Problems*, XVI (Spring 1969), 393-408; Charles V. Hamilton's "Conflict, Race and System-Transformation in the United States," *Journal of International Affairs*, XXIII, No. 1 (1969), 106-118; and Albert and Roberta Wohlsetters "Third Worlds' Abroad and at Home," *The Public Interest*, No. 14 (Winter 1969), 88-107. Among other relevant discussions are Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); Kenneth Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967); Harold Cruse, *Rebellion or Revolution* (New York: William Morrow, 1968); and Harry Haywood, *Negro Liberation* (New York: International Publishers, 1948). Of interest also is "Colonialism and Liberation in America" special issue *Viet-Report*, Vol. 3, Nos. 8 and 9 (Summer 1968).

non-Western worlds were operative in the United States among black Americans.<sup>11</sup>

Third, the development of black nationalism has been slow and winding, but persistent and intensifying, from 1787, if not earlier, to the present. The documents in this volume testify to the persistence of nationalist ideologies and institutions. To even consider the idea of “integrating” black churches and social clubs requires tremendous effort. To compare the experience of Black America to that of immigrant groups who came to the United States voluntarily is to distort the reality that for the vast majority of black people most of the time they have spent in this country has been as slaves. And few slaves, if any, were ever concerned with joining the “mainstream” of American society. The documents in Part Five of this book certainly indicate the intensification and pervasiveness of nationalism today.

Fourth, the different social strata of Black America exhibit nationalism in varying degrees. The intensity or strength of black nationalist sentiment and institutions can *generally* be related both to the colonial status of Black America and to the socioeconomic status of black Americans. Black nationalism has shown greater strength and persistency in the minds and institutions of lower-class blacks than among the black upper classes and intelligentsia. Historic factors account for this, as they account for the slow and uneven development of black nationalism, but there is no justification for the view that nationalism is of little importance among blacks or no more than an “extremist” ideology.

In antebellum United States, north and south, free Negroes, because they were few, beleaguered, and cut off from meaningful contact with the enslaved black masses, were limited in the development of nationalist alternatives to mutual-aid and fraternal societies, separatist churches, conventions, and emigration schemes. The enslaved masses developed the “invisible

<sup>11</sup> Ralph Bunche, “Conceptions and Ideologies of the Negro Problem” (unpublished memorandum for the Carnegie-Myrdal Study of The Negro in America, 1940), pp. 149–150.

church," as E. Franklin Frazier so aptly put it, as their chief nationalist expression.

After the Civil War the nationalism of the masses of freedmen asserted itself in aspirations for "40 acres and a mule" and for emigration to Africa and elsewhere. But black political leaders who tended to be middle and upper class opted for the limited but tangible benefits of assimilation, and the masses, left without leadership, channeled their nationalistic impulses into their churches and into further development of their folk culture. The nationalist stance of some black church leaders at the turn of the century is not surprising, given such impulses among their constituents.

In the next generation Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, whose contrasting ideologies are paralleled among black leaders in colonial Africa and the West Indies, symbolized the bourgeois nationalisms of the masses and of the western-trained elites during this period. Du Bois was too ambivalent, Washington set the price for the development of an economic base for nationhood too high: a broad multiclass nationalist movement failed to develop. Given the strident racism and imperialism, perhaps such a nationalist movement could not develop at this time in Black America any more than it could in colonial Africa or the West Indies.

After World War I Garvey tapped the latent nationalism of the masses, but he failed for a number of reasons to come to grips with the bourgeois nationalism manifested in Du Bois's Pan-Africanism, or the Harlem Renaissance. Consequently, through the 1920s the black masses remained separate from their potential leaders and thinkers. The jobs movements of the Depression demonstrated that the masses still harbored nationalist feelings. So did the thrust from local black communities in the South to secure the "equal" side of the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" formula. In the fifties and sixties the integration movement was middle-class run and oriented: no one can contend that the pressure of the black masses produced the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in 1954, or

that there was then any great rush of lower-class blacks to get their children into white schools.

In the sixties with the combination of successes and failures of the civil-rights movement, some younger middle-class blacks turned more and more to a nationalist rhetoric in an attempt to gain wide support for their essentially assimilationist goals and to maximize any gains from the annual summer rebellions of the lower-class blacks. Since then, the unstructured rebellions of the black lower classes have been linked to the articulate rhetoric and ideologies of the black middle-classes and intelligentsia. For the first time in the history of the United States, there is a full-blown black nationalist movement with nationalist leadership and a nationalist ideology which is accepted and openly espoused through all strata of the black population. Bourgeois and cultural nationalism predominate, but such groups as the League of Revolutionary Black Workers suggest the prospect of a strong, continuing revolutionary wing of nationalism.

This interpretation of the sources and nature of black nationalism will, of course, be subjected to the charge of insufficient monographic evidence. But this is more an indication of the antilower-class and antinationalist bias of most historians—black or white—of the black experience—than it is of overinterpretation on my part. It is true that scholars have written little on the subject; but I would argue that one of the few detailed studies we have of black nationalism, written by one of my co-editors, supports my contention that today's black nationalism results from a long historical development and is not merely a specific response to immediate conditions.<sup>12</sup> More research is needed. But for scholars to ignore the actions of the black masses and the many manifestations of black nationalism, and then to decry the lack of evidence on which to base any conclusions, is to have one's cake and eat it too.

<sup>12</sup> August Meier, "The Emergence of Negro Nationalism: A Study in Ideologies from the American Revolution to the First World War" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1949).



Our disagreement as scholars mirrors a larger disagreement in American society. The future of the black man is still very much undecided. We think our readers will agree that the centuries-old conflict between White America's rhetoric of equality and the reality of oppression will continue, as will the conflict between Black America's blackness and its "American-ness."

**JOHN H. BRACEY, JR.**

*Evanston, Illinois*

**AUGUST MEIER**

*Layton, New Jersey*

**ELLIOTT RUDWICK**

*Layton, New Jersey*

*July 1969*

## Selected bibliography

With the exception of several documentary collections and a few works which combine documents and analysis, this bibliography consists of the more important and more accessible secondary sources on black nationalism. The editors made no attempt to be comprehensive, but merely to guide the reader to the most relevant literature.

Documentary collections with varying degrees of attention to the theme of nationalism are Herbert Aptheker's *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Citadel Press, 1951); Francis L. Broderick and August Meier's *Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Carter G. Woodson's old but still valuable *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860* (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926); and Howard Brotz's *Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representative Texts* (New York: Basic Books, 1966).

An early analysis of black nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is August Meier's unpublished master's thesis, "The Emergence of Negro Nationalism: A Study in Ideologies from the American Revolution to the First World War" (Columbia University, 1949), a condensed version of which was later published in *Midwest Journal* as "The Emergence of Negro Nationalism (A Study in Ideologies)" *Midwest Journal*, IV (Winter 1951-52), 96-104 and (Summer 1952), 95-111. This treatment reflected the influence of Ralph Bunche's memoranda prepared for the Carnegie Foundation-Gunnar Myrdal Study, *An American Dilemma*: "Conceptions

and Ideologies of the Negro Problem" and "The Programs, Ideologies, Tactics and Achievements of Negro Betterment and Interracial Organizations." Typescript copies of these two memoranda are in the Schomburg Collection of the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York Public Library. Microfilm copies can be ordered.

Other article-length discussions of the historical development of black nationalism are Herbert Aptheker's "Consciousness of Negro Nationality in 1900," in *Toward Negro Freedom* (New York: New Century, 1956), pp. 104-111; St. Clair Drake's "Hide My Face," in Herbert Hill (ed.), *Soon One Morning* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), pp. 78-105, and "Negro Americans and the African Interest," in John P. Davis (ed.), *American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 662-705; E. U. Essien-Udom's "The Relationships of Afro-Americans to African Nationalism: An Historical Interpretation," *Freedomways*, II (Fall 1962), 391-407; Hollis R. Lynch's "Pan-Negro Nationalism in the New World, Before 1862," in *Boston University Papers on Africa, II, African History*, Jeffrey Butler (ed.), (1966), 149-179; and George Shepperson's "Notes on Negro-American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," *Journal of African History*, I (No. 2, 1960), 299-312. George Padmore's *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1956), is both an analysis and an important document itself by a significant West Indian Pan-Africanist. For a recent controversial discussion see the proceedings of the 1966 Socialist Scholars Conference panel published as "The Legacy of Slavery and the Roots of Black Nationalism," *Studies on the Left*, VI (November-December 1966), 3-65. The participants were Eugene Genovese, Herbert Aptheker, C. Vann Woodward, and Frank Kofsky.

The literature on the "Origins" of nationalism is skimpy. Leon Litwack in *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) treats the institutional developments in a larger context. Charles H. Wesley's *Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom* (Wash-

ington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1935) is a study of the founder of the A.M.E. Church. An early essay on Paul Cuffe is H. N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe," *Journal of Negro History* (hereafter cited as *J.N.H.*), VIII (April 1923), 153-232. Bella Gross has done pioneering work on the early conventions and the first black newspapers: "Freedom's Journal and the Rights of All," *J.N.H.*, XVII (July 1932), 241-286; "The First National Negro Convention," *J.N.H.*, XXXI (October 1946), 435-443; and *Clarion Call: The History and Development of the Negro People's Convention Movement in the United States from 1817-1840* (New York: Bella Gross, 1947). William M. Brewer did a brief study of one colonizationist in "John B. Russwurm," *J.N.H.*, XIII (January 1928), 413-422. Charles I. Foster treats the Liberian experience in "The Colonization of Free Negroes in Liberia, 1816-1835," *J. N. H.*, XXXVIII (January 1953), 41-66.

The major work done on the period of "maturation" is that of Howard Bell. Bell has produced a doctoral dissertation: *A Survey of the Negro Convention Movement: 1830-1861*" (Northwestern University, 1953) and a number of articles including: "National Negro Conventions of the Middle 1840s: Moral Suasion vs. Political Action," *J.N.H.*, XLII (October 1957), 247-260; "The Negro Emigration Movement, 1849-1854: A Phase of Negro Nationalism," *Phylon*, XX (Summer 1959), 132-142; "Expressions of Negro Militancy in the North, 1840-1860," *J.N.H.*, XLV (January 1960), 11-20; and "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects, 1858-1861," *J.N.H.*, XLVII (January 1962), 42-53. Kathleen O'Mara Wahle gives a sympathetic treatment of an important figure in her "Alexander Crummell: Black Evangelist and Pan-Negro Nationalist," *Phylon*, XXIX (Winter 1968), 388-395. Louis R. Mehlinger's "The Attitude of the Free Negro toward African Colonization," *J.N.H.*, I (July 1916), 276-301, and William M. Brewer's "Henry Highland Garnet," *J.N.H.*, XIII (January 1928), 36-52, play down the nationalist sentiments of their subjects. A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "America in the Niger Valley: A Colonization Centenary," *Phylon*, XXII (3rd Quarter, 1962), 225-239, is a

brief account of the travels of Martin Delaney and Robert Campbell. Bill McAdoo's "Pre-Civil War Black Nationalism," *P.L.*, IV (June-July 1966) is a provocative interpretation.

The ideas of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois and other major and minor figures are dealt with in August Meier's *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963). Louis Harlan's "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," *American Historical Review*, LXXI (January 1966) takes up Washington's interest in Africa. George Shepperson's "Pan-Africanism and 'Pan-Africanism': Some Historical Notes," *Phylon*, XXIII (4th Quarter, 1962), 346-358, is a brief but insightful discussion of the Pan-Africanism of the period. The Kansas exodus is discussed in the following articles: Walter L. Fleming, "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus," *American Journal of Sociology*, XV (July 1909), 61-82; John G. Van Deusen, "The Exodus of 1879," *J.N.H.*, XXI (April 1936), 111-129; Roy Garvin, "Benjamin 'Pap' Singleton and His Followers," *J.N.H.*, XXXIII (January 1948), 7-23; and Glen Schwedemann, "St. Louis and the 'Exodusters' of 1879," *J.N.H.*, XLVI (January 1961), 32-46. The black settlements in Oklahoma are analyzed in depth by Mozell Hill in his doctoral dissertation: "The All-Negro Society in Oklahoma" (University of Chicago, 1946) and more succinctly in "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma: The Natural History of a Social Movement," *J.N.H.*, XXXI (July 1946), 254-268. William Bittle and Gilbert Geis deal with both internal and external migratory impulses in "Racial Self-fulfillment and the Rise of an All-Negro Community in Oklahoma," *Phylon*, XVII (3rd Quarter, 1957), 247-260; "Alfred Charles Sam and an African Return: A Case Study in Negro Despair," *Phylon*, XXIII (2nd Quarter, 1962), 178-194; and *The Longest Way Home: Chief Alfred Sam's Back to Africa Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964). Two interesting migration attempts are described in George B. Tindall, "The Liberian Exodus of 1878," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, LII (July 1952), 133-145, and in J. Fred Rippy, "A Negro Colonization Project in Mexico, 1895," *Journal of Negro*

*History*, VI (January 1921), 60-73. Edwin Redkey's "Bishop Turner's African Dream," *Journal of American History*, LIV (September 1967), 271-290, treats of one aspect of the thought of a complex figure.

The ambivalences of W. E. B. Du Bois are treated by Francis Broderick in *W. E. B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959) and Elliott Rudwick in *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Study in Minority Group Leadership* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960). The standard study of Marcus Garvey is E. David Cronon's *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955). To get the feel of the Garvey movement and of the man, one should also read Amy J. Garvey's *Garvey and Garveyism* (Kingston, Jamaica: United Printers Ltd., 1963). Elliott Rudwick details the ideological and personal differences between Du Bois and Garvey in "Du Bois vs. Garvey: Racial Propagandists at War," *Journal of Negro Education*, XXVII (Fall 1959), 421-429. Sterling Stuckey discusses the great interest that Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson had in Africa in his "Du Bois, Woodson and the Spell of Africa," *Negro Digest*, XVI (February 1967). Charles H. Wesley's "Carter G. Woodson-As a Scholar," *J.N.H.*, XXXVI (January 1951), 12-24, is a sympathetic portrayal of the pioneering efforts of the founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.

Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925) is indispensable for an understanding of the cultural nationalism of the 1920s. Charles S. Johnson's *Ebony and Topaz* (New York: National Urban League, 1927) also contains articles of value. Parts I and II of Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: William Morrow, 1967) offer a controversial interpretation and analysis of all aspects of black nationalism in Harlem in the 1920s. The entire period from the 1880s through the 1920s has to be subjected to detailed scholarly treatment; research here has just begun.

The paucity of secondary literature on the "eclipse" period parallels that of the documents. The definitive work on Randolph's March-On-Washington Movement is Herbert Garfinkel's *When Negroes March* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959). Harry Haywood's *Negro Liberation* (New York: International Publishers, 1948) is a lengthy analysis and advocacy of nationalism from the Communist point of view. Wilson Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951) details the Communist Party's varying postures towards black nationalism from 1919 through the 1940s. Arthur Fauset's *Black Gods of the Metropolis: Negro Religious Cults in the Urban North* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944) and Howard Brotz's *The Black Jews of Harlem: Negro Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Negro Leadership* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964) provided some data on religious nationalism. The outstanding sources for this period are the Bunche memoranda mentioned earlier.

Analyses of the "revival" of nationalism in the 1960s include John Henrik Clarke's "The New Afro-American Nationalism," *Freedomways*, I (Fall 1961), 285-295; E. U. Essien-Udom's "The Nationalist Movements of Harlem," *Freedomways*, III (Summer 1963), 335-342; Richard B. Moore's "Africa Conscious Harlem," *Freedomways*, III (Summer 1963), 315-334. Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, cited earlier, and his *Rebellion or Revolution?* (New York: William Morrow, 1968) are provocative and controversial. Ernest Kaiser's review of Cruse's work in *Freedomways*, IX (Winter 1969), 24-41 should also be consulted. A. James Gregor's "Black Nationalism: A Preliminary Analysis of Negro Radicalism," *Science and Society*, XXVI (Fall 1963), 415-432 is a well argued discussion of nationalist sentiment among the black lower classes.

The standard studies of the Nation of Islam are C. Eric Lincoln's *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), and E. U. Essien-Udom's *Black Nationalism: The Search for Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1962). Louis Lomax's *When the Word Is Given* (Cleveland: World Publishers, 1963) captures some of the flavor of the Muslim rhetoric. *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Grove Press, 1965) is a classic and with George Breitman's *Malcolm X Speaks* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965) is a useful introduction to an understanding of Malcolm's tremendous impact on Black America.

The literature on black power is legion. Floyd Barbour (ed.), *The Black Power Revolt* (Boston: Porter-Sargent, 1968) has many representative documents from the current period. Howard Dratch in "The Emergence of Black Power," *International Socialist Journal*, No. 26-27 (July 1968), pp. 321-365, gives an analysis of both the literature and the movement itself. Claude Lightfoot's *Ghetto Rebellion to Black Liberation* (New York: International Publishers, 1968) provides the Communist viewpoint on black power and the new nationalism.

Separatism in education is discussed at length in two special issues of *Negro Digest*: "The Black University," XVII (March 1968), and "Toward a Black University," XVIII (March 1969). LeRoi Jones's (now Ameer Baraka) and Larry Neal's *Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing* (New York: William Morrow, 1968) is a compendium of some of the literary output of the cultural nationalists. Of the many journals and magazines now being published, three of the most important are: *Negro Digest* (Chicago), *Liberator* (New York), and *Journal of Black Poetry* (San Francisco).

Two useful bibliographical essays that analyze and discuss the deluge of new works on black history and culture, and the literature of nationalism are Ernest Kaiser's "The History of Negro History," *Negro Digest*, XVII (February 1968), and "Recent Literature on Black Liberation Struggles and the Ghetto Crisis (A Bibliographical Survey)," *Science and Society*, XXXIII (Spring 1969), 168-196. The latter article is particularly useful in putting the literature of nationalism in its historical and historiographical context.





## Editors' note and acknowledgments

The many selections included in this volume have been printed as in the original in each case, even with variant spellings and grammatical usages. However, it has been necessary to abridge several selections in order to present a wide spectrum of black nationalist thought. Wherever this has occurred, ellipses mark the abridgement, but the reader may be sure that no passage has been pruned of its central thought.

We wish to acknowledge the helpfulness of the following libraries: Northwestern University, Kent State University, Princeton University, the Beinecke Library at Yale University, New Bedford Public Library, the Library of Congress, The Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library and the New York Public Library's main collection at 42nd Street, and the Moorland Foundation Room of the Howard University Library. We would like to express a special note of thanks to Mrs. Dorothy Porter of the Moorland Room, for opening the collection to us at a time when it would have otherwise been closed.

We are indebted to Professor James M. McPherson of Princeton University for calling our attention to the document by Francis J. Grimké, to Professor Donald M. Jacobs of Bridgewater State College for suggesting the document by David Walker, and to Professors Otto H. Olsen of Northern Illinois University and Edwin S. Redkey of the University of Tennessee for informing us of the existence of the *Voice of Missions*.

Messrs. Meier and Rudwick wish to acknowledge with appreciation the assistance of Gerald and Melinda Martin, Miss Betsy Cox, Miss Linda Van Keuren, Miss Eileen Petric, Mrs. Carol Toncar and Mrs. Barbara Hostetler in typing and other chores

connected with the preparation of the manuscript. They are also grateful for the support provided by the Kent State University Center for Urban Regionalism and its director, Professor James G. Coke.

Finally, we are indebted most of all to Alfred F. Young, general editor in charge of this volume, who gave us invaluable editorial assistance and friendly encouragement through every phase of preparation and publication. This book owes more than we can say to his constructive suggestions and perceptive criticism.

*John H. Bracey, Jr.*  
*August Meier*  
*Elliott Rudwick*

# Revival

**PART FIVE**



## The Nation of Islam

Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, the Nation of Islam, founded in 1930 by W. Fard Muhammad as a breakaway faction of the Moorish Science Temple and led by Elijah Muhammad after 1933, slowly built up its strength among the lower classes and prison inmates. By the end of the fifties, with the ferment of black protest and the rebirth of Africa, the number and influence of the Muslims was increasing rapidly. The Muslim program ( Document 60 ), while espousing equal opportunity and equal justice, contrasts radically with the integrationist ideology that dominated this period. Elijah Muhammad states clearly his desire for "complete separation in a state or territory of our own," and for prohibition of "intermarriage or race mixing." He moved to set up Muslim schools and establish Muslim businesses such as dry cleaning shops, grocery stores, and restaurants, as a first step toward developing black self-sufficiency. These actions in the economic sector carry on Garvey's ideas and foreshadow the black capitalist ideology of the late 1960s. *Muhammad Speaks*, the Muslim weekly newspaper, published accounts of the activities and struggles of black people throughout the world in addition to those of the Muslims themselves.

In 1965 Elijah Muhammad published a book about his views, *Message to the Blackman*. The brief selection from it includes a plea for racial separatism and illustrates the emphasis on self-definition that was a factor in the revival of the black pride and black-is-beautiful concepts in the mid-sixties ( Document 61 ).

## 60. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD: "WHAT DO THE MUSLIMS WANT?"

### What do the Muslims want?

This is the question asked most frequently by both the whites and the blacks. The answers to this question I shall state as simply as possible.

Since we cannot get along with them in peace and equality, after giving them 400 years of our sweat and blood and receiving in return some of the worst treatment human beings have ever experienced, we believe our contributions to this land and the suffering forced upon us by white America, justifies our demand for complete separation in a state or territory of our own.

1. We want freedom. We want a full and complete freedom.
2. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color.
3. We want equality of opportunity. We want equal membership in society with the best in civilized society.
4. We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own—either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and minerrally rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years—until we are able to produce and supply our own needs.
5. We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as the South.

Elijah Muhammad, "The Muslim Program," MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, July 31, 1962. Reprinted by permission of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS.

We want every black man and woman to have the freedom to accept or reject being separated from the slave master's children and establish a land of their own.

We know that the above plan for the solution of the black and white conflict is the best and only answer to the problem between two people.

6. We want an immediate end to the police brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States.

We believe that the Federal government should intercede to see that black men and women tried in white courts receive justice in accordance with the laws of the land—or allow us to build a new nation for ourselves, dedicated to justice, freedom and liberty.

7. As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities—NOW!

We do not believe that after 400 years of free or nearly free labor, sweat and blood, which has helped America become rich and powerful, that so many thousands of black people should have to subsist on relief, charity or live in poor houses.

8. We want the government of the United States to exempt our people from ALL taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the laws of the land.

9. We want equal education—but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers.

Under such schooling system we believe we will make a better nation of people. The United States government should provide, free, all necessary text books and equipment, schools and college buildings. The Muslim teachers shall be left free to teach and train their people in the way of righteousness, decency and self respect.

10. We believe that intermarriage or race mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hindrance, or suppression.



These are some of the things that we, the Muslims, want for our people in North America.

### **What the Muslims believe**

1. WE BELIEVE in the One God Whose proper Name is Allah.  
2. WE BELIEVE in the Holy Qura-an and in the Scriptures of all the Prophets of God.

3. WE BELIEVE in the truth of the Bible, but we believe that it has been tampered with and must be reinterpreted so that mankind will not be snared by the falsehoods that have been added to it.

4. WE BELIEVE in Allah's Prophets and the Scriptures they brought to the people.

5. WE BELIEVE in the resurrection of the dead—not in physical resurrection—but in mental resurrection. We believe that the so-called Negroes are most in need of mental resurrection; therefore, they will be resurrected first.

Furthermore, we believe we are the people of God's choice, as it has been written, that God would choose the rejected and the despised. We can find no other persons fitting this description in these last days more than the so-called Negroes in America. We believe in the resurrection of the righteous.

6. WE BELIEVE in the judgement; we believe this first judgement will take place, as God revealed, in America. . . .

7. WE BELIEVE this is the time in history for the separation of the so-called Negroes and the so-called white Americans. We believe the black man should be freed in name as well as in fact. By this we mean that he should be freed from the names imposed upon him by his former slave masters. Names which identified him as being the slave master's slave. We believe that if we are free indeed, we should go in our own people's names—the black peoples of the earth.

8. WE BELIEVE in justice for all, whether in God or not; we believe as others, that we are due equal justice as human beings. We believe in equality—as a nation—of equals. We do not believe that we are equal with our slave masters in the status of "freed slaves."

We recognize and respect American citizens as independent peoples and we respect their laws which govern this nation.

9. WE BELIEVE that the offer of integration is hypocritical and is made by those who are trying to deceive the black peoples into believing that their 400-year-old open enemies of freedom, justice and equality are, all of a sudden, their "friends." Furthermore, we believe that such deception is intended to prevent black people from realizing that the time in history has arrived for the separation from the whites of this nation.

If the white people are truthful about their professed friendship toward the so-called Negro, they can prove it by dividing up America with their slaves.

We do not believe that America will ever be able to furnish enough jobs for her own millions of unemployed, in addition to jobs for the 20,000,000 black people as well.

10. WE BELIEVE that we who declared ourselves to be righteous Muslims, should not participate in wars which take the lives of humans. We do not believe this nation should force us to take part in such wars, for we have nothing to gain from it unless America agrees to give us the necessary territory wherein we may have something to fight for.

11. WE BELIEVE our women should be respected and protected as the women of other nationalities are respected and protected.

12. WE BELIEVE that Allah (God) appeared in the Person of Master W. Fard Muhammad, July, 1930; the long-awaited "Messiah" of the Christians and the "Mahdi" of the Muslims.

We believe further and lastly that Allah is God and besides HIM there is no God and He will bring about a universal government of peace wherein we all can live in peace together.

**61. ELIJAH MUHAMMAD:  
“SEPARATION OF THE SO-CALLED NEGROES  
FROM THEIR SLAVEMASTERS’ CHILDREN  
IS A MUST”**

**Understand self**

There are some efforts to celebrate a so-called “Negro History Week,” and some of my people will participate. The planning of that week to teach the slave a knowledge of his past is not complete, sufficient or comprehensive enough to enable my people to learn the true knowledge of themselves. It is important that my people learn the true knowledge of self, as it means their salvation.

We are not Negroes, because God, whose proper name is Allah, has taught me who we are. We are not “colored” people because God has taught me who the colored people are. The American Negro is without a knowledge of self. You are a so-called Negro because you are “not” a Negro. Allah has given to me our proper names, the people from whom we were taken and brought here to the shores of North America and the history of our forefathers. Allah has taught me and today I do not fear to tell you, that you can discard that name “Negro.” We are not “Negroes.” We are not colored! Those are some of the main things which we should remember.

We must become aware of the knowledge of self and the time in which we are living. You must know these things whether you agree that Elijah Muhammad is on time or out of time. If what I say is out of season, it goes for nothing. If I am on time or in season, then all I say will bear fruit.

There is much misunderstanding among us because of our

**From Elijah Muhammad, MESSAGE TO THE BLACKMAN  
(Chicago: Muhammad Mosque of Islam No. 2, 1965), pp. 34-37.  
Reprinted by permission of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS.**

inferior knowledge of self. We have been to schools where they do not teach us the knowledge of self. We have been to the schools of our slave-master children. We have been to their schools and gone as far as they allowed us to go. That was not far enough for us to learn a knowledge of self. The lack of knowledge of self is one of our main handicaps. It blocks us throughout the world. If you were the world and you were a part of the world, you would also turn a man down if he did not know who he actually was. If we, the so-called Negroes, do not know our own selves, how can we be accepted by a people who have a knowledge of self?

Are we representing ourselves as Negroes and "colored" people in the ancient history of black men? Our search of the ancient history of the black man of the earth will prove that not once in time were Negroes or "colored" people living in Asia or Africa. How did we come by those names? The names are from the slave-masters. They have called us by their names and the nicknames used among themselves.

It even seems that we like being called by the slave-masters' name. After nearly a hundred years of freedom, we are still representing ourselves by the names our slave-masters called us! We must learn that the slave-master's names are not accepted by God or by the righteous people of God.

It is time for us to learn who we really are, and it is time for us to understand ourselves. That true knowledge is here for you today whether you accept it or reject it. God has said that we are members of the original people or black nation of the earth. Original means first. Historian J. A. Rogers points out in his book that beyond the cotton fields of the South and long before the white man himself was a part of our planet, we were the original people ruling the earth, and according to the Holy Qur-an, we had governments superior to any we are experiencing today. Trace over the earth. Check back 5,000, 10,000 or 20,000 years ago. Look at history. Who were those people? They were our people. Today, we are confronted with proof of who the original people are and who shall live on this earth and call it their own.

### **Help self before helping others**

Many of my people, the so-called Negroes, say we should help the nations of Africa which are awakening. This has been said as if we owned America. We are so foolish! What part of America do you have that you can offer toward helping Africa? Who is independent, the nations of Africa or we? The best act would be to request the independent governments of Africa and Asia to help us. We are the ones who need help. We have little or nothing to offer as help to others. We should begin to help at home first.

We are 20 million strong. Many of the nations today that have their independence, and those who are getting their independence, are much smaller in number than my people in America. We are dependent on the slave-master. We do not have 2 feet of earth for our nation of people. You and I, here in America, are licking the boots of the slave-master, begging him for the right of independent people. Yes, we are licking his boots. "Sir, let me shine your shoes?" You have been doing that for approximately 400 years. Today, if one rises up in your midst and says, "We should not lick the slave-master's boots, we should lick our own boots," you would say, "He should be killed! He should be killed because he is teaching us to hate." My people, you are in a dangerous position. Get that fear out of you and stand up for your people! Who are you not to die for your people? Who am I not to die for my people! If I am shot down or cut down today, who is little Elijah Muhammad to 20 million of you! If a million of us throw ourselves in the fire for the benefit of the 20 million, the loss will be small compared to the great gain our people will make as a result of that sacrifice. Hundreds of thousands of Muslims gave their lives in Pakistan to get their nation's independence. They were successful. The black men in Africa are fighting and dying today in unity for their independence.

We sit here like pampered babies. We cannot even stand up on the floor, not to mention taking a chance of crawling out of the door. We are too careful of shedding blood for ourselves.

We are willing to shed all of it for the benefit of others. I am not trying to get you to fight. That is not even necessary; our unity will win the battle! Not one of us will have to raise a sword. Not one gun would we need to fire. The great cannon that will be fired is our unity. Our unity is the best. Why are you afraid to unite? Why are you afraid to accept Allah and Islam?

It is only because the slave-master did not teach you of this! We must unite to ourselves as a nation of people.

Separation of the so-called Negroes from their slave-masters' children is a MUST. It is the only solution to our problem.

You must know that this is the time of our separation and the judgment of this world (the Caucasian), which you and I have known. Therefore, Allah has said to me that the time is ripe for you and me to accept our own, the whole planet earth. Are you waiting for the Divine Destruction? Come! Let us reason together. First, in order for us to reason, you must have a thorough knowledge of self. Who is going to teach you that knowledge of self? Who are you waiting for to teach you the knowledge of self? Surely, not your slave-master, who blinded you to that knowledge of self. The slave-master will not teach you the knowledge of self, as there would not be a master-slave relationship any longer.

## Malcolm X

More than any single person, Malcolm X symbolized the nationalist revival of the 1960s, first as the brilliant, articulate, and charismatic spokesman for the Nation of Islam, and then as a revolutionary nationalist. Leading the short-lived Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm kept the doctrines of nationalism—self-determination, self-defense, separatism—before the American public as alternatives to racial integration and nonviolence. A school dropout and underworld figure in his late teens, Malcolm was convicted of burglary and sentenced to prison at the age of twenty-one. He was converted to the Nation of Islam while in prison, and after his release in 1952 he became an active follower of Elijah Muhammad.

While he served as a minister in New York and Washington, Malcolm's intelligence and ability to command the immediate respect of those he met were factors in his rise to national prominence as the Nation of Islam's leading spokesman. The speech at the Harlem Unity Rally in 1960 is typical of this period in Malcolm's career (Document 62). The scathing denunciations of Western society and of those who advocate integration into it, the disapproval of interracial marriage, the plea for black self-discipline and unity, and the emphasis on land as an essential prerequisite to black nationhood are all included. This is the Malcolm who became a symbol of black manhood.

Because of differences with Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam, issuing a "Declaration of Independence" in March 1964. Shortly afterward he formed the Organization of

Afro-American Unity, a movement largely inspired by the Organization of African Unity. The views expressed in his public statement issued June 28, 1964, outlining the aims and objectives of the organization (Document 63) contrast with those in the earlier document in secular tone, concern with specific problems, and international orientation. Since his assassination in February 1965, Malcolm's status has grown, and his *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) has a commanding place in the nationalist literature of the sixties.

## 62. MINISTER MALCOLM X ENUNCIATES THE MUSLIM PROGRAM

*AS-SALAAM-ALAIKUM, Beloved Brothers and Sisters*  
*WELCOME TO OUR HARLEM FREEDOM RALLY*

When we say "our" we do not mean Muslim nor Christian, Catholic nor Protestant, Baptist nor Methodist, Democrat nor Republican, Mason nor Elk. By "our" Harlem Freedom, we mean the Black people of Harlem, the Black people of America, and the Black people all over this earth.

The largest concentration of Black people on earth is right here in Harlem, so we are gathered here today in Harlem Square to a Freedom Rally, of Black people, by Black people, and for the benefit of Black people.

We are not here at this Rally because we have already gained freedom. No!!! We are gathered here rallying for the freedom which we have long been promised, but have as yet not received. This Rally is for that perfect freedom which up until now this government has not granted us. There would be no need to protest to the government if we were already free.

From MUHAMMAD SPEAKS, September 1960, pp. 2, 20-22.  
Reprinted by permission of MUHAMMAD SPEAKS.



Freedom is essential to life itself. Freedom is essential to the development of the human being. If we don't have freedom we can never expect justice and equality. Only after we have freedom do justice and equality become a reality.

Today we are gathered at this Rally to hear from our leaders who have been acting as our spokesmen, and representing us to the white man downtown. We want to know how our leaders really think, how they talk, how they feel . . . and most important of all, we want them to know how we feel.

Many of these leaders have suddenly become "experts on Harlem" and as such are often regarded by the white man as the "voice of Harlem." If this must be the case, then we want the voice of these leaders to ring sometimes in Harlem too.

Leaders have differences, and these differences oftentimes cause serious division among the masses. But the HOUR is too short today for Black people to afford the luxury of "differences."

Again I repeat, we are not gathered here today because we are Muslims or Christians, Protestants or Catholics, Baptists or Methodists, Democrats or Republicans, Masons or Elks . . . but, because as a collective mass of Black people we have been colonized, enslaved, lynched, exploited, deceived, abused, etc.

As a collective mass of Black people we have been deprived, not only of civil rights, but even our human rights, the right to human dignity . . . the right to be a human being!

This Freedom Rally is to be a united effort by all our leaders. We have set aside all petty differences, and in the Spirit of Bandung we have come together on this same platform, wherein each one can voice his personal feelings and his personal solution to this grave crisis we face.

The Western World today faces a great catastrophe. It stands on the brink of disaster. Mr. Muhammad says the only way our people can avoid the fiery destruction that God Himself will soon unleash upon this wicked world, is for our people to come together among themselves in unity and practice true brotherhood. Mr. Muhammad says God is with us to unite our people into one brotherhood, and to aid those that are oppressed, and to uplift those who are downtrodden.

The Western World, filled with evil and wickedness, is groping and stumbling blindly through spiritual darkness toward its inevitable doom. Mr. Muhammad says we must qualify ourselves so that God's Spiritual Light will guide us past the pitfalls of destruction.

The Western World is filled with drunkenness, dope addiction, lying, stealing, gambling, adultery, fornication, prostitution and hosts of other evils. These evils must be removed if the world is to have peace. These evils are the primary cause of troubles all over the earth. These evils promote greed and lust, increase wickedness and unrest, and destroy all hopes for peace.

You want peace. I want peace. Everyone craves for a world of peace. Mr. Muhammad says anyone who will submit to the God Of Peace will have peace. Even the white man himself can prolong his time today if he will submit to the God of Peace, and give Freedom, Justice and Equality to the "people of God" . . . the so-called Negroes here in America.

The city of Nineveh in the bible to whom Jonah was sent to warn is a good prophetic example of today. They were actually spared because they repented when the warning came to them from God. God will spare our slavemaster today too if he will repent.

The whole Dark World wants peace. When I was in Africa last year I was deeply impressed by the desire of our African Brothers for peace, but even they agree that there can be no peace without freedom from colonialism, foreign domination, oppression and exploitation.

The God of Peace and Righteousness is about to set up His Kingdom of Peace and Righteousness here on this earth. Knowing that God is about to establish His Righteous Government, Mr. Muhammad is trying to clean up our morals and qualify us to enter into this new Righteous Nation of God.

The American so-called Negroes must recognize each other as Brothers and Sisters . . . stop carrying guns and knives to harm each other, stop drinking whiskey, taking dope, reefers, and even cigarettes. No more gambling! Save your money. Stop fornication, adultery and prostitution. Elevate the Black

woman; respect her and protect her. Let us rid ourselves of immoral habits and God will be with us to protect and guide us.

Then, we must form a platform that will be good for all of our own people, as well as for others. As Black people we must unite. We must recognize and give intelligent active support to our political leaders who fight for us unselfishly, sincerely, and fearlessly.

But, to prove their sincerity and their right for the support of the Black Masses, these leaders must first display fearlessness, intelligence, and unity among themselves. They must stop their public bickering with each other. They must stop attacking each other in front of the white man, and for the benefit of the white man.

If the Black leaders must have differences of opinion, learn to go into the closet with each other, but when you come from behind closed doors, show a united front in the face of the one who is a common enemy to all of us.

Mr. Muhammad has invited all of the leaders here today for that purpose. He wants our people united, but unity will never exist among the Black masses as long as our leaders are not united.

We want to get behind leaders who will fight for us . . . leaders who are not afraid to demand freedom, justice, and equality. We do not want leaders who are handpicked for us by the white man. We don't want any more Uncle Toms. We don't want any more leaders who are puppets or parrots for the white man.

We want brave leaders as our spokesmen, who are not afraid to state our case, who can intelligently demand what we need, what we want, and what is rightfully ours. We don't want leaders who are beggars, who feel they must compromise with the enemy. And we don't want leaders who are selfish or greedy . . . who will sell us out for a few pieces of silver.

A big election is coming up this year. What kind of leaders do we want in office? Which ones will the Black masses get behind? Mr. Muhammad has thousands of followers, and millions of sympathisers. He will place his weight behind any fear-

less Black leaders who will stand up and help the so-called American Negroes get complete and immediate freedom.

If these Black leaders are afraid that to be identified with us they will irk the white man, or lose the white man's favor or his support, then they can no longer expect the support of the Black masses.

They call us racial extremists. They call Jomo Kenyatta also a racial extremist and Tom Mboya a moderate. It is only the white man's fear of men like Kenyatta that make him listen to men like Mboya. If it were not for the extremists, the white man would ignore the moderates. To be called a "moderate" in this awakening Dark World today, that is crying for freedom, is to receive the "kiss of death" as spokesman or leader of the masses . . . for the masses are ready to burst the shackles of slavery whether the "moderates" will stand up or not.

We have many Black leaders who are unafraid, especially when they know the Black masses stand behind them. Many of them are qualified to represent us not only in this United States government, but could also represent us in this government if we are given 100% citizenship and the opportunity for FIRST CLASS participation . . . or else we can get behind these same leaders in setting up an independent government of our own.

We, the Black masses, don't want these leaders who seek our support coming to us representing a certain political party. They must come to us today as Black Leaders representing the welfare of Black people.

We won't follow any leader today who comes on the basis of political party. Both parties (Democrat and Republican) are controlled by the same people who have abused our rights, and who have deceived us with false promises every time an election rolls around.

Mr. Muhammad grieves over the disunity that exists even among the intellectual and professional so-called Negroes. It is these "educated" so-called Negroes who should be leading us out of this maze of misery and want. They possess the academic knowhow, great amounts of technical skills . . . but they can't use it for the benefit of their own kind simply because they

themselves are also disunited. If these intellectuals and professional so-called Negroes would unite, not only Harlem would benefit, but it will benefit our people all over the world.

Mr. Muhammad says disunity is our number one stumbling block, and this disunity exists only because we lack knowledge of SELF (our own kind). So-called Negro "intellectuals" seem to think integration is the answer. But, is it? "Integrate" means to become as one unit. How can these "intellectuals" expect the white man to accept us into his social unit, political unit, or economic unit when we are not yet in unity (as a unit) among our own kind?

We, the Muslims, are for "Brotherhood," but not for integration! What is the difference? Brotherhood is based on love, which automatically produces voluntary acts of "sincere benevolence." But integration produces hypocrisy. It forces the white man to pose as a "liberal," to be pretensive and false. Thus, "benevolent" acts which are "forced by integration laws" are producing white hypocrites, and reducing chances of creating a "mutual-working-agreement" between the two races.

Your thirst for integration makes the white man think you want only to marry his daughter. We (Muslims) who follow Mr. Muhammad don't think God ever intended for Black men to marry white women. Mr. Muhammad and his followers are violently opposed to intermarriage.

This is conveniently and purposely misinterpreted by our enemies to mean that we are anti-white, anti-christian, and anti-American (simply because we refuse to chase after the white man's women!). Let the white man keep his women, and let us keep ours.

Some Negroes who love race-mixing, and want white women, are angry at Mr. Muhammad because he teaches against race-mixing . . . so they slip around and make the white man think we are anti-white. (I'm surprised that the white man is dumb enough to believe these Uncle Toms, who stoop so low, like JUDAS, to be stool pigeons against their own kind.)

We have oceans of Dark People on this earth: in Africa, Asia, and even here in America. Our women are the most beau-

tiful, like a bouquet of flowers. Why should we chase white women?

In this "changing" world today, what would we do married to a white woman? Her people don't want you in their neighborhood around them, and our fast awakening people don't want you to bring her back into our neighborhood any more to live around us. Thus, you both become a "misfit" . . . unwelcomed and unwanted in either society . . . where can you go?

Because we Muslims look at this as it is and face reality does not mean we are anti-white. We don't want his white mother, his white sister, nor his white daughter. We want only an equal chance on this earth, but to have an equal chance we must have the same thing the white man himself needed before he could get this nation started . . . WE MUST HAVE SOME LAND OF OUR OWN!

Why do we want some land of our own? Because land is essential to freedom. How else can 20 million Black people who now constitute a nation in our own right, a NATION WITHIN A NATION, expect to survive forever in a land where we are the last ones hired and the first ones fired . . . simply because we have no land of our own?

For over 400 years we have been very faithful to our American slave masters. Now God is warning them through Mr. Muhammad that they should be nice enough to give us some land so we can separate ourselves from them and get started for ourselves.

This is no more than what the white man should do. It is in complete accord with the Christian religion. Their bible says that when a slave is set free, his slave master should give him something to help him get started on his own . . . never send him away empty-handed.

If the Hebrews in the bible numbered only 600,000 in the land of their bondage, and God was concerned with giving them freedom in a land of their own, a land "flowing with milk and honey," . . . then what about 20 million so-called Negroes here in America, who have the "freedom" only to look for a job?

Can you not see that our former "leaders" have been fighting

for the wrong thing . . . the wrong kind of freedom? Mr. Muhammad says we must have some land where we can work hard for ourselves, make ourselves equal, and live in dignity. Then and only then we won't have to beg the white man for the crumbs that fall occasionally from his table. No one respects or appreciates a beggar.

Since we say Lincoln freed us, let us avail ourselves of that freedom by uniting together and doing something for our own kind. But, we must have some of this earth. We have been in America over 400 years. We have been so-called "free" a 100 years, and yet he still calls us "the white man's burden."

We Muslims don't want to be a burden on America any longer. God has given Mr. Muhammad a Divine Message, Program, and Solution. **WE MUST HAVE SOME LAND!** The white man should be glad to give his loyal "slaves" some land so we can get out of his way and go for ourselves.

We will then set up our own farms, factories, business, and schools . . . and show him how much we appreciate the education he has given us, by using it to become self-sustaining . . . economically and otherwise.

We want some land where we can create unity, harmony and brotherhood . . . and live together in peace. Since America now sees that this false show of integration and intermarriage will not work, she should make immediate steps to set aside a few of these states for us, and put us there to ourselves.

If America will repent and do this, God will overlook some of her wicked deeds (as in the days of Nineveh) . . . but if America refuses to give Mr. Muhammad what God instructed him to ask for, . . . then, like the biblical houses of Egypt and Babylon (slave empires of the bible), God will erase the American government and the entire race that it favors and represents, from this planet . . . and God will then give the whole earth back to the Original Owners, The Black Man!

### 63. THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY: "FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DIGNITY"

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, organized and structured by a cross-section of the Afro-American people living in the U. S. A., has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity established at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May, 1963.

We, the members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity gathered together in Harlem, New York:

*Convinced* that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

*Conscious* of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro-American unity;

*Conscious* of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

*Inspired* by a common determination to promote understanding among our people and co-operation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

*Convinced* that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained;

*Determined* to unify the Americans of African descent in

**"Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity" (June 28, 1964), in George Breitman, THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X: THE EVOLUTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY (New York: Merit Publishers, 1967), pp. 105-111.**

Copyright © 1967 by Merit Publishers. Reprinted by permission.



their fight for human rights and dignity, and being fully aware that this is not possible in the present atmosphere and condition of oppression, we dedicate ourselves to the building of a political, economic, and social system of justice and peace;

*Dedicated* to the unification of all people of African descent in this hemisphere and to the utilization of that unity to bring into being the organizational structure that will project the black people's contributions to the world;

*Persuaded* that the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the U. S. A. and the Bill of Rights are the principles in which we believe and these documents if put into practice represent the essence of mankind's hopes and good intentions;

*Desirous* that all Afro-American people and organizations should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of our people will be assured;

*Resolved* to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a non-religious and non-sectarian constructive program for human rights;

*Do* hereby present this charter.

## **I—Establishment**

The Organization of Afro-American Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters on the African Continent.

## **II—Self-Defense**

Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right of self-defense.

The Constitution of the U. S. A. clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of the unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend our-

selves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club.

Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with basically moral people or a moral system. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, bombers, lynchers, floggers, brutalizers and exploiters.

### **III—Education**

Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and people rediscover their identity and thereby increase self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today.

Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest run schools in New York City. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children. The textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country. The Board of Education's integration program is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in the New York City school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure.

The Board of Education has said that even with its plan there are ten per cent of the schools in the Harlem-Bedford-Stuy-

vesant community they cannot improve. This means that the Organization of Afro-American Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the ten per cent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community. We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to us to be used in these schools.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education.

Through these steps we will make the ten per cent of schools we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people all over the nation.

If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. When these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will return to them.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. Afro-American parents must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly.

We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our effort and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every Afro-American community in America.

We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our children to become scientists and mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which auto-

mation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self-respect through their own efforts.

#### **IV—Politics—Economics**

Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic and political, with social power deriving from the two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political and social. This can only be done through organization.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro-American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and potential; we will start immediately a voter-registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an independent voter; we propose to support and/or organize political clubs to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community.

Economic exploitation in the Afro-American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America; twice as much rent for rat-infested, roach-crawling, rotting tenements; the Afro-American pays more for food, clothing, insurance rates and so forth. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will wage an unrelenting struggle against these evils in our community. There shall be organizers to work with the people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program. We propose to support rent strikes and other activities designed to better the community.

#### **V—Social**

This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and numerically. We believe that our

communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually and culturally in the struggle for human rights and dignity.

The community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality.

The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all-out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft, and who must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction; and create meaningful, creative, useful activities for those who were led astray down the avenues of vice.

The people of the Afro-American community must be prepared to help each other in all ways possible; we must establish a place where unwed mothers can get help and advice; a home for the aged in Harlem and an orphanage in Harlem.

We must set up a guardian system that will help our youth who get into trouble and also provide constructive activities for our children. We must set a good example for our children and must teach them to always be ready to accept the responsibilities that are necessary for building good communities and nations. We must teach them that their greatest responsibilities are to themselves, to their families and to their communities.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro-American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due him and the procedure for obtaining them. These veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using G. I. loans, etc.

Afro-Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro-American community, for it is home and it is power.

What we do here in regaining our self-respect, manhood, dignity and freedom helps all people everywhere who are fighting against oppression.

## VI—Culture

“A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself.”

Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery's scars. We come from Africa, a great continent and a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing of it. We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people.

Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they can depend on the Afro-American community for support and Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American for inspiration. We must work toward the establishment of a cultural center in Harlem, which will include people of all ages, and will conduct workshops in all the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, Afro-American history, etc.

This cultural revolution will be the journey to our rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the lower animals.

Armed with the knowledge of the past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past.

## Toward a black cultural revolution

One aspect of the nationalism of the 1960s is concern with breaking away from the cultural and psychological oppression that has fostered black self-hatred and belief in black inferiority.

The selections in this section relate the struggle for cultural liberation to the struggle for political and economic liberation.

L. Eldridge Cleaver's 1962 essay was written while he was still in San Quentin. With perception and sensitivity Cleaver explores the implications of the Negro's acceptance of white standards of physical beauty. He discusses the connotation of the words "black" and "white" in Western society, declaring it absurd for one "ethnic group to judge itself by the standard of some other group." Of particular interest are Cleaver's insistence on use of the word "black" in a positive sense, an idea not often expressed during the heyday of the integration struggle, his awareness that emerging African nations evoke pride in Afro-Americans, and his use of the term "black power." After his release from prison, Cleaver, who is now in exile, served as Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, and as an editor of *Ramparts* magazine. He has published two books of essays, *Soul on Ice* (1967) and *Eldridge Cleaver* (1969).

The two articles by Askia Muhammad Touré—the first under his original name, Rolland Snellings—a leading poet and cultural critic, are significant for the skill with which the folk culture of the urban ghetto is linked to the struggles going on around it. The first essay, which is itself a work of art, uses the sounds and rhythms of black music to effectively evoke the mood of the period. Touré does not attempt to assert the

existence of a separate black culture; he assumes it exists, and goes on to relate the uses that should be made of it. The second selection discusses the problems facing cultural nationalism and its relationship to revolutionary nationalism. The including of "concrete tasks" for black intellectuals and artists expresses Touré's concern for the translation of theory into practice.

#### **64. L. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: "BLACK IS COMING BACK!"**

In every society, in every historical period, it is demonstrable that human beings have always made some type of judgment as to what is beautiful and what is not beautiful. The things, or aspects of things, esteemed as beautiful have changed; but always men have looked upon some things as beautiful and others as unbeautiful or, condemnatorily, as ugly. Indeed, an entire branch of philosophy—Esthetics—has this phenomenon as its subject-matter.

As time goes by, these judgments seep into, and become deeply entrenched in, the culture of a people, and are looked upon as standards by which value judgments are made. To each cultural group, the acceptance of these traditional standards is as natural and unquestioned as is the acceptance by the group of any other aspect of its culture.

It seems that, from time immemorial, mankind has passed judgment on the human body, pronouncing these characteristics and traits beautiful and these un-beautiful—or ugly. As the judgments are reiterated over the years, they become objectified into standards by which the merits and demerits of individual human beings are determined. This practice can be observed

**L. Eldridge Cleaver, "As Crinkly as Yours," NEGRO HISTORY  
BULLETIN, XXV (March 1962), 127-132. Copyright © 1962 by Association  
for the Study of Negro Life and History, Washington, D. C.  
Reprinted by permission.**



amongst all people, be they so-called civilized or so-called primitive. They all ornament themselves in various ways—in conformity to an accepted standard of beauty; and failure to do so marks one as an oddity, an eccentric, or one type of freak or another.

This phenomenon would not be the subject of remark outside the bounds of the discipline which embraces it, were it not for the fact that the traditional judgments which Western Man has made, and still tenaciously clings to, are now (and, indeed, have been) the cause of very serious maladjustments in our society and, much more seriously, in the world at large. In this essay, the attempt will be made to show that the continued application of these judgments is the cause of an untold amount of mental illness and frustration.

In our culture, the recognized standard of beauty—one could just as well say, “the official standard of beauty”—is that of the Caucasian peoples; and since the Caucasian has possessed hegemony over the world for the duration of the epoch which is now drawing to a close, along with other values of Western culture, he has also exported *his* standard of beauty. In a profound sense, the Caucasian standard of beauty has been—and is now—one of the corner-stones of the doctrine of “White Supremacy.” We have only to observe in order to see the destructive psychological impact of this standard of beauty on the people around the world who have unknowingly fallen under its subtle influence. In this essay, the discussion will be confined chiefly to the situation as it relates to the American Negro; but by extension, most of what is said here can be applied in a general way.

It is generally held that the first incidence of Africans being seized and abducted from their native soil and brought to America and enslaved, occurred in the year 1619; if that is so, then that is the date on which the traditional standard of beauty of the transplanted African was first undermined and the corroding process of subversion began. Certainly, up until that time, the Africans had their own standards of beauty, and they accepted them just as naturally, proudly, and unquestioningly as all other people accepted their own.

But after being crushed down into a position of slavery, degradation, poverty and general wretchedness—but most important, after the arbitrary and more or less total disruption of his cultural continuity, due largely to the indiscriminate and unceremonious mixing of different tribes and cultural groups by the Slavers, who cared not a tack for the cultures of their prey—the black slave began to identify everything that fell to his lot with the conditions under which he suffered. The lodging that was forced upon him; the food that was parceled out to him; the crude work-a-day clothing that he was obliged to wear—all of these items became in his eyes, badges of bondage; and therefore he passionately hated them.

Under the harsh physical brutality, the taunts, castigations and deprecatory harassments of his slavemasters, who looked upon the black man as a sub-human beast of burden, after generation on top of generation of slaves, born into slavery and knowing nothing but the miseries of their state and the constant brain-washing of their every-day life, totally stripped of their own culture—under that pressure the slaves began to identify everything that is good and desirable with the Caucasians for whom they toiled. It was the Caucasians whom they saw dressed in the finest garments and attire that the fabulous profits of slavery could command; it was the Caucasians whom they saw inhabiting the palatial mansions of the plantations in the “great white world beyond . . .”—consequently the slaves came to regard the surroundings of the “whites” as a veritable heaven on earth; something to dream of, yet never attain. The pomp and show of the ostentatious Southern Aristocracy served to hammer the black man down, dwarfing his pride and extirpating his self-esteem by shackling to his neck the huge, iron collar of the inferiority complex. This went on for some 240 years, and after this blanket annihilation of his traditional way of life, the black man was set free in a “white” oriented society. With the advent of freedom, the adverse effects of the Caucasian standard of beauty on the black men upon whom it had been imposed became more apparent.

Following the Civil War, the great mass of “Freedmen,” now designated as “Negro,” were able, in a quasi-free way, to deter-

mine their own destiny. For the first time in the history of the race, black men found themselves 'free' en masse in the midst of Western culture and civilization. And if Negroes, while in slavery, identified the fabled 'Good Life' with the standards of the Caucasians, after freedom was achieved the desires and dreams of attaining this 'Good Life' mushroomed and took on new tantalizing proportions in their minds by virtue of the fact that the actual conditions to which they aspired were ever-present and all around them, as it were "so near and yet so far."

Negroes migrated to the big cities, to the fashion capitals of the nation, there to be fascinated and dazzled by, what must have seemed to them, splendor and finery fit for kings—treasures unparalleled in their most inspired dreams. And who possessed the objects of these dreams? The Caucasians. (It is important to remember that the ideals and values which were born in slavery were carried over and persisted into the new era.)

There were deeply imbedded in the thinking and folklore of the race such adages and beliefs as: "If you're white you're all right; if you're brown stick around; but if you're black—GET BACK!" And some of these same old sayings are still current in the Negro community.

Think on it: this was the era of the camera. Negroes saw photographs, paintings and portraits in which the beauty of the Caucasian was extolled saturatingly throughout the land. Negroes witnessed beauty contests in which Caucasian men and women were held up and proclaimed the most beautiful creatures that God had fashioned and placed upon the face of the earth (it never dawning on the Negroes that it was the Caucasians themselves who were pinning roses on their own lapels). Great numbers of Negroes were learning to read and write; and in the books which they read, the process took on a sweeping new dimension. When a Negro retired in solitude to relax and enjoy a *great* book, it was the Caucasian standard of beauty which was flaunted before him and held up for him to praise—and praise it he did, unable to resist or dispute, having no criterion by which to refute. In the novels, he met heroines with *creamy white skin, sparkling blue eyes, and long flowing*

*blonde tresses*; and heroes with *rugged Roman noses*, *wavy black hair* and perhaps a *gentle sun-tan*. And then the motion-picture industry sprang into being, and with it, a constant deluge reiterating and indisputably establishing the Caucasian standard of beauty.

At this point let it be recalled that *physical appearance*, i.e., skin color and texture of hair, is what primarily distinguishes the great majority of Negroes from other Americans. It is this salient factor—physical appearance—which points out the Negro and makes him readily available as a target of abuse and a more vulnerable mark for exploitation. Significantly, the historical fact is that the other despised minority groups which America has known were able, after a comparatively brief time, to disappear into the main-stream of our national life and take active parts in the social, political and economic affairs of the country. Unlike the Negro, the other minority groups could not be identified as such merely on the basis of physical appearance. For those minorities, assimilation was an accomplished fact simply by learning to speak English and smoothing out the family name from Schmidt to Smith.

To an excruciatingly painful degree, Negroes were very much aware of their “burden of color and bad hair.”

How can the effects of the Caucasian standard of beauty be identified in the thinking and actions of Negroes? Why, observe the great vogue of hair-straighteners, wigs, and skin-bleaches that sprang into being! Great geniuses were at work! One such savant, after much pondering and tedious toil, emerged and created a revolution amongst Negro women when he introduced that Magic Wand—the Straightening Comb:

“After one preparation, Madam, you too can have *silky-straight* flowing tresses, just as *beautiful* and *lovely* as your pale sister. Or perhaps you *require* a hank of this *flattering* Store Bought Hair? Just come as you are and when we are finished with you—well just come in to see us—then you be the judge!”

Another great benefactor was at work, but due to the fact that the Negro male would run the risk of burning out his brains if he took to the Hot Comb, this Einstein had a more difficult, arduous and exacting quest. But not to be daunted, he ex-

perimented, researched and concocted: and then one fateful day he returned victorious and announced to the world that, at long last, the Negro male, too, could have *silky-straight* locks, wavy and curly which, if you master the technique, you can even toss around a bit; it will even fall down in front of your eyes, just like the movie stars—that is, if you are prudent and do not overdo it.

"All you have to do, Sammy, my boy, is go see your barber, or go to the Beauty Parlor (oh, it's all right); just tell them to 'tighten' your mop for you, man, and when they get through applying their Lye Solutions, their Caustic Soda Preparations, their Miracle Acids and Combinations of Acids—after that, you will be just like Boss Charlie! You will have such Beautiful Straight Hair!"

Ah! Love that scientific spirit.

"After Madam and Monsieur have finished their coiffure, why go right around the corner to the Drug Store and buy a big fat bottle of Skin Bleach! Get the six-month economy size! Oh, don't worry about which brand, all of them are medically tested, proven, and guaranteed to bleach your dull skin Pretty-Pink and White!"

According to Ebony's Hall of Fame, Madame C. J. Walker, the "founder of the world's oldest and biggest Negro cosmetics company," became "the first Negro woman millionaire, after starting business with \$2 and an original formula for "refining the scalp and straightening hair," (as if the Negro's head was an unfinished product!). Madame Walker is acclaimed as a "pioneer in the field of Negro beauty culture," and was elected to the Hall of Fame for her "contributions to the progress of the Negro and the American way of life." Incidentally, Madame Walker mixed her first batch of hair straightener in a washtub; and her last prayer went thus:

"Not for me, O Lord, but for my race."

Apparently she felt that her "formula" had delivered the Negro from all evil.

Now it is not surprising that the Negro reacted so. That is the logical outcome of his historical experience. But it is time

that he checked himself. That he should continue to react in this way is not only surprising—it is beginning to be something of a scandal. Do not think that the reasons for such behavior have disappeared: on the contrary, they have gathered force and broadened. All of the mass media are constantly busy publicizing the Caucasian standard of beauty: the motion pictures, magazines, newspapers, television, literature, illustrated wall posters and bill boards—an unthinking (or money-hungry) Negro press—and most obvious and telling of all, the beauty contests.

What reaction do you think a young Negro girl has when a blonde haired, blue eyed 'white' girl is held up and proclaimed as Miss America, or Miss Universe? When this is done, implicitly they are saying:

"This type of female is the ideal, the most beautiful female on earth, and the more closely you approximate her characteristics the more beautiful you will be, otherwise, my dear little black girl, you are just plain ugly!"

What unspoken and unspeakable wretchedness must scorch and flame in the heart of the young black girl when she witnesses this type of thing! especially when the values of her friends, the Negro press—and in many cases—her own values, seem to acquiesce in applauding the Caucasian standard of beauty.

What Negro is there who has not felt an inarticulate questioning—deep down inside—upon being confronted with the Caucasian standard of beauty, especially if he has to make a decision, in his own mind, as to whether or not this is really beauty upon which he is looking? What rationalizations he is forced to make! And, oh! what frustration and feelings of inferiority result! How much pathological, insane, peculiar behavior, do you think, is a direct result of this frustration caused by the standard of beauty which Negroes have accepted? Undoubtedly the proportion would prove alarming. With all the mass media disseminating this doctrine, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a Negro who has not been influenced by it.

Implicit in the very acceptance of the Caucasian standard of

beauty is the negation of typical Negroid traits. If it is believed that blue eyes, long straight blonde hair, and non-colored skin are the component parts of beauty—then it logically follows that since Negroes generally do not share this particular variety of attributes, Negroes generally are not beautiful. To be sure, Negroes have eyes, and hair, and skins; but if you will just think about the words which Negroes employ to describe themselves, you will see that the words reflect degrees and gradations *away* from the Caucasian ideal of beauty.

Eye color does not present much of a problem, but notice that a Negro who possesses blue eyes, grey eyes, hazel eyes, light-brown eyes—a Negro with eyes of either of these colors is generally looked upon as being fortunate, whereas the majority of Negroes have eyes of a dark hue. It is axiomatic of the eye that when we look at it in search of beauty, we look for such things as the clearness—the sparkle, as it were—of the eyeball; the length and density of the eye-lashes and eye-brows, and the general contour of the eye. And it does not matter too much what the type of face is in which a beautiful eye is set. But still, when we consider the eye, we take our cue from the Caucasian standard of beauty.

But what happens when we consider skin color and hair texture? The very words that we use indicate that we have set a premium on the Caucasian ideal of beauty. When discussing inter-racial relations, we speak of “white people” and “non-white people.” We will refer to people all over the world as “white” and “non-white.” Notice that that particular choice of words gives precedence to “white people” by making them a center—a standard—to which “non-white” bears a negative relation. Notice the different connotations when we turn it around and say “colored” and “non-colored,” or “black” and “non-black.” Our thinking is so foggy on this issue that we describe our complexions as if they are qualities strewn along a yardstick, the opposite ends of which are painted black and white respectively—black being the negative end. In this type of thinking, to be black is extremely unfortunate, and the higher

up towards the white end of the yard-stick your complexion is located, the better off you are. We have a host of terms to fit the ascending graduations of the yard-stick: passing for white, high-yellow, real-light, light, high-brown, dark-brown, dark, black, blue-black, jet-black. In a sense these descriptive terms are accurate, because the complexions of those designated as 'Negro' run the gamut of the spectrum from 'jet-black' to 'passing for white.' However, it is our thinking—the relative value which we set on these various hues: and the fact that we do set *values* on them—that is what we are concerned with herein.

Now, when we consider the hair, we reach a topic on which we are extremely sensitive. This is because of the obvious variation between the texture of the typical Negro's hair and that of the typical Caucasian. But if Negroes are going to adhere to the Caucasian standard of beauty, must they not also pass judgment on the hair? Of course we must, and we have: we look upon our texture of hair as an affliction, a fiendish mockery of us by Mother Nature. Consequently we have another yard-stick for *evaluating* the relative *quality* of our hair. This one progresses from "bad hair" to "good hair." The straighter the hair—that is to say, the more one's hair resembles that of the Caucasian—the "better" it is. Good hair, bad hair, nappy hair, kinky hair and so on. And *short-haired women*? Good Gravy! (God bless the soul to whom we must forever be humble for inventing the "Boyish Bob") Short hair is looked upon as an especial abomination. We do not have even any flattering words with which to describe our hair: but this is not surprising since we do not look upon our hair as being particularly flattering.

In her brilliant play, *A Raisin in the Sun*, Lorraine Hansberry focuses the spot light squarely on this problem. But as it turned out, the lady Hansberry filed charges against the American Negro woman, and then refused to prosecute. In Act One, Scene Two, she has Asagai, the young Nigerian student who symbolizes the rebirth of Africa, tell Beneatha, an American Negro girl who is looking for her *identity*, that she has "mutilated" her hair; and this is what follows:



*Beneatha* A (Turning suddenly)—My hair—what's wrong with my hair?

*Asagai* (Shrugging)—Were you born with it like that?

*Beneatha* (Reaching up to touch it)—No . . . of course not. (She looks back to the mirror, disturbed)

*Asagai* (Smiling)—How then?

*Beneatha*—You know perfectly well how . . . as crinkly as yours . . . that's how.

*Asagai*—And it is ugly to you that way?

*Beneatha* (Quickly)—Oh, no—not ugly . . . (More slowly, apologetically) But it's so hard to manage when it's well—raw.

*Asagai*—And so to accommodate that—you mutilate it every week?

*Beneatha*—It's not mutilation!

*Asagai* (Laughing aloud at her seriousness)—Oh . . . please! I am only teasing you because you are so very serious about these things. (He stands back from her and folds his arms across his chest as he watches her pulling at her hair and frowning in the mirror)

How much worry, frustration—and wasted money—is a direct result of our attempts to run away from ourselves! We can pick up any issue of probably any Negro newspaper, and we will see a report of some opportunistic itinerant witch doctor, or perhaps an entire troupe of witch doctors, touring the country, hitting the big “progressive” cities, teaching the eager populace the latest methods of becoming carbon copies of the Caucasian via the “last word” in beauty culture.

That the Negro press is a primary sower of these seeds of inferiority complexes, feelings of rejection and self-rejection, can be seen at a glance. Open almost any one of the Negro publications which carry advertisements of skin bleaches and skin lighteners, hair straighteners, false hair and wigs, etc., all with an emotion-charged indictment such as “Why should you *suffer* with hard to manage kinky ugly hair? Use Dr. Flop's Hair Straightener and become a big hit!” “Do you suffer from dull ugly skin? Get Hosana Bleaching Cream and have a fair, beautiful complexion!” This type of advertising is usually accompanied by one of those convincing “Before and After” illustrations of some wretched, despondent young Negro girl or boy

who, immediately after applying the product advertised, is suddenly transformed into a sparkling young center of attraction.

Ebony Magazine, which is probably the most widely read Negro magazine, periodically runs a feature which it presumptuously entitles "The World's Most Beautiful Negro Women" or something to that effect.

And what are the contents of this feature? Why the Caucasian standard of beauty, of course! Invariably, they will crown Lena Horne, Dorothy Dandridge, or someone else whose appearance would nominate them to compete rather for the title of Miss Scandinavia, Miss Greater Europe, or Miss Anything—other than that which is indicated by the title of the feature. And what emotions do you think the typical Negro girl experiences when she reads this feature? Why obviously, exactly the ones that are evoked when she sees the results of the Miss America or Miss Universe contests!

Thus, it is obvious that while on one hand, through no fault of his own, the Negro is a victim of a set of cultural values—on the other hand it is equally true that the Negro's response to this vicious situation has been to adjust to the environment through the dubious process of "mutilating" his natural ethnic characteristics in order to conform as best he could, to the Caucasian standard of beauty.

Of course, it would be facetious of us to campaign for a law to ban the Caucasian standard of beauty; but it is of paramount importance that we realize that there is absolutely no such thing as a universal standard of beauty for all people—black, brown, red, yellow, white—measuring up to which they stand or fall. The standards of beauty which exist in the world today are nothing but manifestations of ethnocentrism. Our concepts of beauty enter our minds through social indoctrination. We think a person with a certain complexion, a certain type of hair, a certain shape of nose, a certain color of eyes—we think that person possessed of beauty, not because he is beautiful per se, but rather because we have been culturally conditioned to look upon the particular traits of which he is possessed as being the most desirable, the most becoming: the beautiful.

Let it be remembered that, historically, each ethnic group has looked upon its own characteristic traits as being beautiful.

If Negroes continue to respond blindly and unthinkingly to this indoctrination, then they as surely will continue to be plagued by the divisive self-hatreds, feelings of inferiority, etc., which are vestiges of the bygone days of the unchallenged sway of the odious doctrine of "White Supremacy." When we judge ourselves by the Caucasian standard of beauty and find that it does not fit us, if we have accepted that standard as absolute, then our reaction is not merely that we think our own individual selves ugly, it extends much farther than that: it touches every facet of our existence, it influences the very value which we set on ourselves as individuals, it colors our thinking and our opinion of the race as a whole—in short—it has a disastrous effect. This confusion pursues many of us all through life, "like the Furies in a Greek play," driving us deeper into a private hell.

To be sure, it is a hyper-ethnocentric act—but one consonant with the doctrine of "White Supremacy"—for the Caucasian to hold up one of his members and crown him or her Mister or Miss Universe; but it is *something* else when the Negro accepts this standard, and then proceeds with a host of contrivances to warp his natural characteristics in a vain effort to measure up to that alien standard. Until the social values of human beings evolve to the point where we no longer feel the need to aggrandize ourselves above our fellow men on the quicksand ground of ethnic superiority, until that time, we will have with us the spectacle of the Eskimos in Alaska saying that they are the most beautiful people in creation; the Chinese in China saying that they alone are beautiful; the Japanese, the Arabs, the Australian Aborigines, all in their own lands saying the same thing, while the Caucasian proclaims it to the entire world. But let us hope that the Negro will not still be running along behind in the "white shadows" with his Hot Combs and Bleaching Creams in an orgy of self-destroying mimicry.

It is superficially absurd for a given ethnic group to judge itself by the standard of some other group. If we were to take a

Caucasian man and woman and judge their beauty by a people's standard other than their own, that Caucasian man and woman would be judged as ugly. The same will be the result when we judge others by the Caucasian standard of beauty, or when we judge a member of one ethnic group by the prevailing standard of another ethnic group.

Would it not be superfluous for the Pygmys to take for their standard of beauty that of the Watusi? The average height of the Watusi is about 7 feet, while that of the Pygmy is about 4½ feet! In addition, the Watusi are rather large of body while the Pygmys are rather small. Would it not be a fallacy for the Pygmy to set about inventing contrivances with which to eradicate their natural physical endowments in order to measure up to the Watusi ideal of beauty? They could invent stretching machines to elongate their diminutive bodies; and they could inflate their torsos with helium and become Watusi-like! And wouldn't the Watusi seem ridiculous to try to approximate the ideal of the Pygmy? They would have quite a shrinking job on their hands! But should either of them consider himself inferior because of their differences? This is analogous to the Negro's present position.

Let it be remembered that the purpose of this essay is to call attention to certain unhealthy concepts and ideals which currently are held by all too many Negroes. Essentially, the problem is a psychological one. It concerns unexamined ideals and practices which are an integral part of our social heritage, and which are fostered and inculcated by the white oriented culture of which we are members. By becoming aware of the nature and origin of our beliefs and ideals, we are better able to understand and manipulate them if it becomes apparent that they need readjustment. When a group of ideals and beliefs become the authors of as much evil as the ones under discussion, then it is obvious that they require examination and readjustment. If there is a general stigma attached to the Negro because of his previous condition of servitude, and if the Negro does have something of an inferiority complex, it is composed of elements such as the ones isolated in this essay. We try to escape this

stigma and complex by becoming 'passively Negro,' i.e., we accept our status as Negroes only because we can not escape it. The danger lies in the fact that there are only three main positions from which one must choose on the issue of belonging to a particular ethnic group: there is a positive, a neutral, and a negative position. The ethnocentric bigot will take the positive; he who realizes that all men are brothers and that they are all of the same moral value must, in order to be consistent, take the neutral position; the negative is owned by those who despise what they are, consciously or subconsciously, their vociferations to the contrary notwithstanding.

Psychologically, a Negro of the negative position, i.e., a Negative Negro, attempts to purge himself of any and all traits which identify him as Negro. This brings us to a very important point, one which goes hand in hand with the Caucasian standard of beauty, and yet runs deeper and cuts deeper than any other facet of the entire affair.

### **The polarized western mind**

What we term as *The Polarized Western Mind* derives from the symbolism attached to the two colors, black and white, in the mind of Western man. These two colors are highly charged and the symbolization is deeply ingrained in the thinking and culture of the West. Everything that is good, desirable, beautiful, morally elevated, pure—in short, the highest abstractions of the Western mind are denoted by the celestial hue of white. And at the opposite end of the pole lies the degrading shade of black. Everything that is debased, corrupt, feared, evil, and ugly, is identified with the color black.

Even in those activities which touch us deepest, such as religion, we find manifestations of this polarization. For an instance, when persons are united in the *sacred* rites of matrimony the traditional garments worn by the bride to symbolize her virtue and chastity are of the color white. While at the other end of the pole, at the time of death, or rather the funeral following death, the traditional attire of those in mourning is

of the dreary hue of black. Instances of this polarization could be cited from now until dooms-day: there is an old Negro Spiritual which calls upon Jesus to "wash my sins away and make me white as snow." We speak of black cats causing bad luck, and black magic, and individuals with malignant black hearts.

This polarization affects the mind in very subtle ways. We are not conscious of it, as such, when it is in motion, but it colors our thinking just the same. An obvious and striking example of polarized thinking came to our attention recently. It concerned an illustrated cartoon satirizing the fallacious stupidity of the non-policy of segregation. The artist presents Jesus Christ hanging sufferingly from his cross; there ran a barbed wire fence through the center of Jesus and the cross, bisecting them; on one side of the fence kneeled a black man, and on the other side kneeled a white man; everything on the black man's side was painted black to symbolize the separation, and everything on the other side was painted white to further emphasize the separation; the cross, too, was painted black and white on the respective sides—but Jesus himself was pure white! If the artist had been logically consistent, he would have painted Jesus one-half black and one-half white. But the artist's polarized mind would not allow him to represent the Savior in the infamous hue of despised black.

And just as the Negro lives in the shadows cast by the connotations of the terms Negro and black, the Caucasian is living in the reflected glory of the term white. By describing himself as white, the Caucasian associates himself with the highest ideals and values in our culture.

Have you ever see such a thing as a *white* man? Wow, what a sight that would be! Actually, if the Caucasian were forced to describe his hue realistically, he would be hard pressed to discover a hue in the spectrum that would plausibly coincide with his own. But, having labeled himself *white*, whenever he hears that name called, a flattering process of association goes on in his mind. And whenever a non-Caucasian with a polarized mind utilizes the term white in referring to the Caucasian, the same associations are made.

When the term *black* is applied to the Negro (Negro being the Latin for *black*), the process is reversed. Along with all of the unsavory connotations of the word *black*, in the polarized mind, the Negro is subconsciously condemned and degraded. Not that the term *black* is, in itself, derogatory, but rather that it is incumbent upon the polarized mind to make the associations that the connotations of the term carry, and through those associations, the imperative condemnation follows.

A Negro with a polarized mind is daily committing a type of mental suicide on the installment plan. The component parts of his polarization are constantly gnawing away at his sanity. He has to make myriad rationalizations; but there are times when the mind is unable to come up with the appropriate rationalization; these are the times when the conscious mental aberrations occur, the crushing of the personality under the leaden weight of the inferiority complex, the slow burn of suppressed rage; and these are the times when the black hand will reach for the bottle of whiskey, narcotics, or what have you, to blot out the insupportable reality which hovers above one in a stultifying cloud of condemnation, and one is further crushed when this occurs because one will describe the burdensome reality as: "Ah, the *black* clouds!"

It is manifest, then, that for the sake of the people who are the victims of this polarization, they must shatter these antiquated clichés of thought and, as it were, de-polarize their minds. It is not to be supposed that values so deeply rooted in our culture can be refashioned overnight; but, by realizing that the problem exists the job is half-done.

What we must do is to stop associating the Caucasian with these exalted connotations of the word *white* when we think or speak of him. At the same time, we must cease associating ourselves with the unsavory connotations of the word *black*. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," how much truer this must be for the mind! We can talk, preach, and write about race pride and self-respect interminably, but in the last analysis, if we are indeed to have any pride, we must root-out from our

thinking and folklore those elements which have robbed us of our pride.

When a black President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, arrayed majestically in colorful tribal robes, can stride in towering dignity and pride onto the highest rostrum of the United Nations General Assembly, and deliver a rousing, epoch-making speech—without first pausing to either ‘straighten’ his hair or ‘bleach’ his skin, the unspoken message to his brethren is unmistakable: Black is Coming Back! The rebirth of Africa, black dignity and black power, is destined to raise the black end of the yard-stick from the depths to which it was crushed by the oppressive weight of the doctrine of “White Supremacy”—raise it back into proper equilibrium. And then when Africa asks the American Negro with what type of hair was he born, he will answer loud and clear, with dignity and pride: “As crinkly as yours.”

**65. ROLLAND SNELLINGS:  
“WE ARE ON THE MOVE AND  
OUR MUSIC IS MOVING WITH US”**

In the Lash Years when we wore the chains of our dishonor, we were a defiant, spirited people. So much so, that there occurred a slave revolt on the average of once every three weeks. The slave revolts were the outward PHYSICAL manifestations of the inner SPIRIT of the captive people. The inner SPIRIT was also manifested in what were to become the rudiments or foundations of African-american culture: the spirituals, hollers, field-chants, etc.

The African-american spiritual was an ingenious instrument

**Rolland Snellings, “Keep on Pushin’: Rhythm & Blues as a Weapon,”  
LIBERATOR, V (October 1965), 6–8.**

Copyright © 1965 by LIBERATOR. Reprinted by permission.



molded in the fires of oppression—disguised as mere “sacred songs,” the spiritual was a vessel which carried the message of resistance, escape, or revolt. Resistance, escape, or revolt, the message of the spiritual, has been handed down through the years, in the collective memory of our people, in the “double-talk” of the parables, folk-tales, folksongs, etc. of the Black Man.

Given the primary powerlessness of our people to Whitey’s brute force, we had to create a subtle instrument which would increase our “value” to the Beast while “taking care of business” for ourselves. “Boy, those niggers sure can sing; gather ’em up at the big house tonight from all over the plantation, so they can serenade us.” So, the “get togethers” were very instrumental in providing many coded messages, details, etc. to the Underground Railroad and networks developing throughout the South.

From the period of “Reconstruction,” where the neo-colonialism of White America was exposed for what it was, down to the outright betrayal and institution of color segregation, our people shifted their emphasis to the painful irony of the Blues (or Country Blues) to describe or “run down” our philosophy, attitudes, and outlooks. It is recorded that when Gertrude “Ma” Rainey gave a show in the Southern “back country,” the Black farmers and sharecroppers (landless peasants) came from miles around, from neighboring districts and counties, to view the scene.

Such songs as “Backwater Blues” (describing the tragedy of the floods), “Yellow Dog Blues,” and others were the crystalized philosophies, hopes, and aspirations voice FOR our people by their PRIEST-PHILOSOPHERS: the Black singers and musicians. (This attitude of the Black musician and poet as priest-philosopher goes back to the indigenous African civilizations, where the artist-priest had a functional role as the keeper or guardian of the spirit of the nation—as well as the ancestors.) This attitude, curiously enough, has remained among us despite the dehumanization of chattel slavery and the “white-washing” of the Western Missionary Educational System. It has, of course been either ignored or by-passed by bourgeois “negro” sociolo-

gists, either through ignorance of heritage or fear of being classified "alien" to American cultural standards.

ONCE MORE: We are a defiant, spirited people who have a history of over three hundred years of constant slave revolts, in which our music played a vital role. Our main philosophical and cultural attitudes are displayed through our MUSIC, which serves as the ROOT of our culture; from which springs our art, poetry, literature, etc. Our creative artists—especially singers and musicians—function as PRIESTS, as PHILOSOPHERS of our captive nation; a holdover from our ancient past.

"I got to keep on pushin', can't stop now. Move up a little higher, some way, some how.

'Cause I got my strength, don't make sense: Keep on pushin'!"

In the smoldering epoch of our times, eruptions of the Captive Nation are once again reflected in the songs of Black Folks. In the period of the early Fifties, JAZZ, which had been a vital part of Black people's music, was taken over by the racketeers and moved downtown into the clubs and bars of the middle-class pleasure-seekers, away from the roots, away from the Heart, the Womb, away from the home of the people: uptown-ghetto!

With JAZZ—Bird, Diz, Miles, Max, Lady Day, Lester Young—JAZZ all gone away: Rhythm and Blues was the only music left to sing out the aspirations and soul stirrings of Blacks folks uptown N.Y. and "uptown-ghetto" across the face of the land. This was, at first, a blow to the Soul Folks: What would they possibly DO without BIRD, DIZ, MILES or LADY DAY or LESTER YOUNG to make them "feel alright" deep down in the nitty-gritty of their hearts? But, being a people raised on change, raised with the insecurities of change throbbing in the nerve-ends of their lives, they ADAPTED themselves to expression with their only cultural weapon or potential weapon: Rhythm and Blues.

Yes, JAZZ, fine JAZZ, great JAZZ was gone away, gone away, away into the Ofay night, away from the warm earth smell of their rhythms and soul vibrations, to make the cash registers

clang and sing, ring and pile up green capital for the "negroes' 'FRIEND'" and sponsor "downtown" in the air-conditioned nightmares of the West.

The Fifties, the early Fifties, the later Fifties of suicidal Johnny Ace, Big Mabel, Chuck Willis, Chuck Jackson: all legendary Blues People, scorched with the pain reflected in bleary red-eyed heartbreak sweat-stained songs and tears flooding into the "Ebb-tide" of Roy Hamiltons or the Moonglows; Clyde McPhatter and the Drifters blown to the "White Cliffs of Dover" on the "Wind" of the Diablos; "Crying in the Chapels" of the Orioles; or shot down, cut and beaten up in "Smokey Joe's Cafe."

These were OUR songs, OUR lives reflected in a thousand blue notes, notes of hopelessness marked with thicker callouses on black hands, more muscle cramps in mama's knees, more heartache and unemployment for our fathers and brothers, as Korea loomed distantly and we went away to slaughter up the Yellow race for Whitey's cause.

My people, YES, a million lonely eyes burning to touch Happiness, to touch Human Sympathy, Brotherhood, Justice: all those BIG words that BIG white learned men invented to taunt us into dissatisfaction with eight kids to a room, bedside roach-crawl and rats gnawing at the eight kids to a room on gloom street, on your street, my street: Ghetto-uptown U.S.A.!

My people, YES, my love, my Fifties of Martin Luther King, minister of youth: Large liquid eyes then searching for the Gandhi-secret Freedom-message looming huge and idealistic from Southern horizons bleeding in the sun of a thousand lynch-fires; echoing whitely in the poison-voice of Eastland, Talmadge, Russell, Earl Long and other Favorite Sons of the "Land of the Tree." (In those years of Martin Luther King, bus boycotts and other evidence of our growing struggle, we grew up, developed, expanded our souls, our minds churning to the beat of our people's only music, Rhythm and Blues. We lived it; sang it in vocal groups, in cabarets, on street corners: junkies nodding in the rain. We didn't call it "culture," didn't call it "negro art," it was just OUR music, OUR soul, like OUR girl-

friends, OUR comrades, OUR families who didn't understand. It, again, was OUR voice, OUR ritual, OUR understanding of those deep things far too complicated to put into words—except those of Fats Domino, Little Richard, Ray Charles, Dinah Washington, Faye Addams, Ruth Brown, Lloyd Price and many more.)

"Look, a 'look a 'yonder: what's that I see?  
Great big stone wall standing straight ahead of me.  
But I've got my pride, move the wall aside:  
Keep on pushin'!"

The Sixties, roaring in like a rocket, roaring through the Southland with freedom riders, more boycotts, sit-ins, wade-ins, stand-ins, kneel-ins; Black Muslims rising in the Northland new angry voice, young copper-skinned Malcolm X shaking up the psyche of the nations—Black and White. Lumumba, the U.N. Congo demonstrations, Robert Williams defends a Southern town against the Klan. WE are on the move, WE are moving to a New Tempo, to a New Dynamism—like Coltrane blowing SCREAMING in the downtown nightclubs: "Afro-Blue," "Blue Trane," "Africa," "Out of This World;" and we hear in his screams the bloody Whiplash moans and screams of our great-grandfathers and grandmothers bending low; eyes ablaze with terror at castration, rape, mutilation, SCREAMING into the Raven Universe, SCREAMING into the coming generations, SCREAMING into the Womb of Mother Africa violated and crushed by the Roman Prophylactic: AAAAAAAIIIIIII-EEEEEEEE! AAAAAAAIIIIIIIEEEEEEEE!

We sing in our young hearts, we sing in our angry Black Souls: WE ARE COMING UP! WE ARE COMING UP! And it's reflected in the Riot-song that symbolized Harlem, Philly, Brooklyn, Rochester, Patterson, Elizabeth; this song, of course, "Dancing in the Streets"—making Martha and the Vandellas legendary. Then FLASH! it surges up again: "We Gonna' Make It" (to the tune of Medgar Evers gunned down in Mississippi: POW! POW! POW! POW!) "Keep On Trying" (to the tune of James Powell gunned down in Harlem: POW! POW! POW!

POW!) "Nowhere to Run, Nowhere to Hide," "Change Is Gonna' Come" (to the tune of Brother Malcolm shot down in the Audobon: POW! POW! POW! POW! POW! POW! POW! POW!)

THIS is, once again, a people's music, THIS is the reflection of their rising aspirations, THESE are the Truths sung by their modern PRIESTS and PHILOSOPHERS: We are on the move and our music is MOVING with us. WE are expressing our heartfelt anger, conjuring up strong Black Armies marching to the tune of "The Same Old Song" while gas bombs and myths explode in Watts, Los Angeles, explode into the putrid white heart of the racist hell that has us STILL IN CHAINS! YES, IN CHAINS! Look at our Rhythm and Blues singers! Look at the musicians! WHO own their contracts? WHO are their agents, managers; WHO speaks for them? CHAINS! CHAINS! MORE CHAINS! WHITE CHAINS CLANKING IN OUR SOULS! But we are coming out, we are coming up (WHITE AMERICA: DO YOU HEAR?), we are coming out from the chains that bind us: whether culture, economics, politics, military chains: WE ARE COMING OUT! FORGET about his computers, jetplanes, rocketships, blue-eyed troops; FORGET about atomic bombs, police-dogs, cattle-prods and dynamite. OUR songs are turning from "love," turning from being "songs," turning into WAYS, into WAYS, into "THINGS." We are making BLACK magic, BLACK NIGGER magic with our SONGS, with our LIVES: this is our BOMB, our BLACK BOMB, our TIME BOMB, our TIME BOMB which will bring on the "DESTRUCTION OF AMERICA," A PLAY BY LEROI JONES. This Social Voice of Rhythm and Blues is only the beginning of the end. Somewhere along the line, the "Keep On Pushin'" in song, in Rhythm and Blues is merging with the Revolutionary Dynamism of COLTRANE of ERIC DOLPHY of BROTHER MALCOLM of YOUNG BLACK GUERRILLAS STRIKING DEEP INTO THE HEARTLAND OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE. The Fire is spreading, the Fire is spreading, the Fire made from the merging of dynamic Black Music (Rhythm and Blues, Jazz), with politics (GUERRILLA WAR-

FARE) is spreading like black oil flaming in Atlantic shipwrecks spreading like Black Fire: the Black Plague spreads across Europe in the Middle Ages—raining death. WORK your magic, BLACK magic, NIGGER magic across the Empire to the beat, to the dynamism of Social-conscious RHYTHM AND BLUES, NEW JAZZ, BLACK POETRY: WORK your NIGGER MAGIC in the sweaty smile of the Boston Monkey, “SUGAR PIE, HONEY-BUNCH:” twist and shimmy frug monkey down the Empire with thick ruby lips grinning like MAD like BLAZING RED EYES LURKING IN THE MOON.

EACH TIME a Black song is born, EACH TIME a Black Sister has another child, EACH TIME Black Youth says NO! to the racist draft boards, EACH TIME someone remembers Brother Malcolm’s smile, EACH TIME we write a poem an essay as a Way into “Things,” EACH TIME we love each other a little more: THIS THING QUAKES! WE are moving forward, WE are on the move, WE record it all in Rhythm and Blues, New Jazz, Black Poetry, WE—the Captive Nation listening to its priests and wisemen; growing stronger; donning Black Armor to get the job done so Rhythm and Blues can once again sing about “Love,” “mellow” black women, and happy children: after it sings this Empire to the grave, after it sings the Sun of the Spirit back into the lonely heart of man. (For Dinah Washington, Sam Cooke, Nat Cole, Eric Dolphy, James Chaney, James Powell, Medgar Evers, Brother Malcolm, Leon Ameer, Walter Bowe, Khaleel Sayyed, Robert Collier: Many Thousand Gone!)

Maybe someday, I’ll reach that higher goal.  
 I know I can make it with just a little bit of soul.  
 ‘Cause I’ve got my strength, don’t make sense:  
 Keep on Pushin’!  
 Ha-al-lelujah! Ha-al-lelujah!  
 Keep on Pushin’!  
 Keep on Pushin’!

**66. ASKIA MUHAMMAD TOURÉ  
(ROLLAND SNELLINGS): "WE MUST CREATE  
A NATIONAL BLACK INTELLIGENTSIA  
IN ORDER TO SURVIVE"**

### **Introduction**

The title of this essay was derived from a number of observations and conversations that I've had with conscious Black people across the country for the last two years; and last but not least, from a very recent conversation with Bro. Joe Goncalves.

If one would speak with the seemingly endless number of young nationalist intellectuals anywhere in the country about Black culture, one would be reassured that we're "T.C.B." (takin' care of business) in that area, and that things are getting better and better, "'cause we're really showing whitey that we don't need his western thing." But frankly, are things *really* getting better? Or are we so focused upon "anti-whitism" (the first stages of nationalism) that we're neglecting the hard, serious business of building Black cultural/spiritual awareness—the very core of a National Psyche or Consciousness?

And let's be *realistic*: when Black people talk about "Black Consciousness or Power," they are speaking indirectly of Nationalism—whether cultural, political, or economic. (America, according to Bro. Harold Cruse and others, is a nation of nations: white Protestant Anglo-Saxon, Jewish, Catholic, what remains of the Indian, and on the bottom, the African-American. The problem with the Afro-American is, unlike other groups, his intellectuals and professionals have never recognized their innate nationalism and proceeded to create the proper cultural philosophy, organizations, and attitudes to gear their people

Askia Muhammad Touré, "The Crises in Black Culture,"  
JOURNAL OF BLACK POETRY, I, 8 (Spring 1968), 2-10.  
Reprinted by permission of Askia Muhammad Touré.

for concrete survival in the West.) Anyone who denies this is either ignorant, blind, or dishonest. Because ultimate Black Power means *self-determination*, not “equality” (with mass murderers?), but self-determination. The main example of this is the Third World. The African, Asian, South and Central American Bros. are not asking for “equality” with racist colonialists and neo-colonialists, but are *demanding* self-determination: the right of nations and peoples to determine their own destinies; which means self-government or the setting up of a National State as an ultimate goal.

I am clarifying my position from the beginning in order to get to the basis of my perspective. We have among us a number of naive young Bros. today who are screaming “Black Power! Black Revolution!” etc., and when one naturally follows up the logical trend of their thought with Nationalism, they back off and reply: “No we’re not Black Nationalists! No not Nationalists—Revolutionaries!” and who, may I ask, ever heard of a “revolutionary” who wasn’t a Revolutionary *Nationalist*? Lenin, Mao, Ho, Fidel, Nkrumah were Revolutionary Nationalists, *first*, then Revolutionary Internationalists. Those “revolutionaries” who want Black Power, but are not Black Nationalists, you’ll find, are really *integrationists* (*assimilationists*) in *green field jackets*; for *ultimate* Black Power means Black Nationalism. They realize that the masses, being basically nationalistic, are not going to hear any of that old, March on Washington nonsense about “Black and white together” or “Love your enemies” or “nonviolence,” so they are opportunistically out-revolutionizing and out-“Blacking” the *true* revolutionaries—Revolutionary Nationalists—in order to maintain their waning influence over the awakening masses.

Now these polemics might seem rather far-fetched or off the subject, but my position is that when we view Black Culture in White America, we *must* view it from a straight-up, no monkey-business Nationalist perspective if we wish to resurrect the lives of our people. We must see ourselves as a separate entity, an alien Nation/Race—“alien” from white America—and that this is *really* how the whites view us and treat us (Southern colo-



nialism, Northern ghetto-colonialism) whether they *tell* us this or not. Now, from this perspective, everything that we as a separate entity produce is a product of our own special consciousness or world-view. So that our culture should be viewed as separate or belonging to Black People (our most important wealth, since we produce no raw resources) since it is the product of our spirit/awareness, consciousness, and reflects our Collective Psyche. Now if this culture is a product of Black Minds in motion in the world, Black consciousness, and is controlled politically and economically by whites (Jews, Italians, WASPS, etc.) *then Black Culture is indeed in crisis.*

## I

Black people are world renown[ed]—and have been since the Fisk Jubilee Singers of the nineteenth century—for Black music, which in this day seems to capture the dynamism, alienation, flux and change that is the “modern era.” Black music, especially Modern Afro-American Music (“jazz”), is the main music that has been played in most countries world-wide and serves as the root or core of African-American culture. This is true because Afro-Americans, during chattel slavery, became more musically inclined due to the fact that we were not allowed to read or write, and were only permitted to keep our music because it helped to get the work done and *seemed* to keep us quiet. When they stripped us of our obvious African culture (robes, drums, language, religion, etc.) the “abstract” non-artifact producing aspect of culture—our music—was the only thing, in altered form, permitted to remain. So, given this situation, Black people were forced to become more musically oriented than anything else; and the Black Man began to express his thoughts and feelings about Life, God, and the Universe musically. As time passed, the Black Musician became *and remains* the major philosopher, priest, myth-maker and cultural-hero of the Black Nation. What, again, we must be aware of is that Black Music is the *core* of our National Culture. Being the core or root, as *it* goes, so goes our spiritual/cultural life as a

nation of people. (Permit me to savor this term, "nation." Anywhere upon this planet twenty to sixty million souls, with a common history, language, and culture, constitute a good-sized nation.) We must remember that, with the exception of a few people of genius, Black People have only been producing literature in any large amount since the 'twenties of this current century. (Oh I know, Chestnutt, DuBois, Dunbar, Weldon Johnson, but I mean on a *massive* scale.) And yet, taking all of these facts into consideration, we see Black People today, possessing only a *few* literary journals. As far as Black Literature is concerned, the New Black Writing has produced a number of brilliant poets—Larry Neal, Jewel Latimore, Ronald Stone, LeRoi Jones, William Kgositsile, Don Lee, Le Graham, Sonia Sanchez, S. E. Anderson, to mention a few. Some of these writers also deal in essays, Ed Bullins and Jones in playwriting, but we still have much to accomplish in terms of serious fiction. In Bro. C. H. "Charlie" Fuller of Philly, we have perhaps the best short story writer that New Black Writing has produced so far; but the major Black literary journals—with the exception of *Black Dialogue*—have refused to publish his work. Bro. S. E. Anderson shows much promise as a short story writer also.

What New Black Writers must remember is that if we represent a New Black world-view, then this must be reflected in our creative literature which must be well-rounded: plays, short stories, novels, essays *as well as* poetry. We must remember that there have been Black literary movements of the past that can offer comparison with us. The so-called "Talented Tenth" generation of the early 1900's—Du Bois, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, etc.—were poets also, but where is the fiction work of the new writing that can compare with Du Bois' "Dark Princess," or Weldon Johnson's "Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man"?\* What new fiction can compare to Claude McKay's "Home to Harlem"? The "Talented Tenth" generation of writers offers an accurate comparison with us, because they were political activists and leaders—Du Bois,

\* What new book of essays can compare with the classic, "Souls of Black Folk"?

Weldon Johnson, journalist Monroe Trotter, historian Carter G. Woodson—as well as creative writers. If one seriously studies the writings of this “Talented Tenth” group—whether one shares their politico-cultural views or not—one can see that they had a *philosophy*, a clear-cut vision of themselves and of the world, and always projected this in their creative writing. Some of us write fairly good plays and essays; what we must remember is that many times a good short story will get across a new viewpoint or philosophy quicker and more effectively than a “hard-line,” no monkey-business political essay—which might tend to alienate new readers.

Also, we Black writers *must* produce more literary journals. It's a shame that our main journals—*Soulbook*, *Black Dialogue*, *Journal of Black Poetry*—are all located on the West Coast! There should be some kind of regular literary publication representing each area—East Coast, Mid-west, South, and West Coast—as well as publications geared for national and international circulation. The writers in each region should make it their responsibility to organize *workshops* to train young thinkers and writers in Black Consciousness and New Black writing. Presently we are organizing this for *Black Dialogue*. (More than likely, we'll become more organized and develop these things as our movement matures and as we gain more confidence in deciding just what we're really proposing to accomplish.) All magazines having to do with serious “jazz” criticism, or having to do with Rhythm and Blues, Country Blues, etc., *are in white hands*. With the notable exceptions of LeRoi Jones and A. B. Spellman, all serious critics of Afro-American music *are white men*. WHY??? It will be agreed by both Blacks and whites, that “jazz” is the main musical contribution of people in this country to the modern world. It will be agreed that Black music—Blues, Rhythm and Blues, Gospel, “jazz”—is surely the most dynamic musical culture in this land. *Then why don't Black intellectuals and Black people control Black Music and Black musical/cultural criticism???*

We are cultural slaves! Dig it! Victims of what Bro. Harold Cruse calls “Cultural Imperialism.” This means that since we

didn't have any raw resources for whites to exploit, they were able to exploit our cheap labor and the products of our National Black Culture (mainly music). Broken down further, this means that the recording companies are white-owned.† Broken down *even further*, this means, baby, that James Brown and the late Otis Redding, not to mention Aretha, are sending a lot of Jewish and Italian boys and girls to college and making their parents *rich* with the products of their Black souls. And further, *none, or very little, of this bread is going into the Black communities that inspire the music*. Yes, Brothers and Sisters, "intellectuals," whether we dig it or not, we are supporting Zionist Israel and the Mafia (Italian nationalism) with our Soul Music—and further helping to impoverish the Black Nation.

### **What is to be done: the role of an authentic black intelligensia**

First, we will say that the role of an authentic intelligensia is to organize Black people politically, culturally, spiritually, and economically. In other words, a true intelligensia of a people would seek to create the *forms*, the organizations, through which that particular people can, first survive, then prosper, and finally, rise to eminence or world power. The "negro" intellectuals (or "civil writers"), due to the ignorance of their roles, again as Bro. Harold Cruse points out, have failed to do this and thus the Black Nation/Race at the present time is defenseless.

The aware Black people who realize these dangerous weaknesses in our Nation must proceed to correct them: *we must create a National Black Intelligensia in order to survive*. What is this "intelligensia"? Again, it comes down to this, it is the *living mind* of the Black Nation/Race. Today we in Black America are like a tremendous giant with amnesia: we cannot remember who and what we are. However, our Memory is

† The booking agencies are white owned; the radio stations, the theatres, and the night clubs where the music is heard, are white (usually immigrant) owned.

gradually returning—piecemeal. We must set about to organize methods through which we can speed-up the process of “remembering who we are,” or Self-Realization. First and foremost, we must create a Black Cultural Philosophy and Ideology: the projection of the Black Spirit/Awareness, or the Dynamic Black Psyche, into the realm of intellectual ideas. This Philosophy/Ideology is the most important thing at this time because it will provide the Basis for any future moves that we collectively make in the world. In other words, when we define and articulate our collective World-view, we will *know* how to move and act in the future. This philosophy/ideology should create a system of ethics which would show our people how to live life. Much of Afro-American thought is based upon a defense-reaction to White American racism. In other words, we are caught up in reacting to Ofays, in being “anti-white” rather than “pro-Black”; we have loosely defined what we’re *against*, but not what we’re *for*, what we really want.

*Where will this Black Intelligensia come from?* The New Black Intelligensia is emerging today from independent radicals, the campuses—especially the new Black Student Unions that are in formation—and from those youth from the streets who’ve been awakened and influenced by Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and the young Black Power advocates. Black Youth is reading and studying like never before in our history. Black Youth is the most dynamic element of the Black Nation—as goes Black Youth, so goes Black America—as well as being the majority of the population: according to reliable sources, the major portion of our people is under thirty-five (35) years of age and growing.

*Concrete Tasks:* Even at this time, with the Philosophy/Ideology still in formation, there are some things that Black intellectuals can be/should be doing. First, there should be concrete moves made to bring about a working unity among the Black creative artists. There is no reason in the world why James Brown and Aretha Franklin should not know LeRoi Jones, Larry Neal, or Abdul Karim. Some of the newer Black writers are familiar with the New Musicians—and are even in-

fluenced by them—but this does not, however, extend to Rhythm and Blues or Gospel. Of all of the Black creative artists, the Black writers are the most “conscious” in terms of Black political/cultural awareness, and should, therefore, take the lead in unifying the creative artists. Moves should be made to “collectize” Black culture: in other words, bring it all under one standard or banner. This can be initiated by many methods. Some older thinkers have suggested the formation of such organizations as Black writers, artists, and musicians’ leagues and unions leading, finally, to a National Congress of Black Culture. Also, the institution of a National Journal of Black Music. Locally, in our communities, such institutions as Black Musical/Cultural Institutes, and Black Repertory Theaters (in formation in Harlem), as well as community liberation schools should be initiated. These are relatively simple undertakings: look at the progress of the Chicago artists—the Wall of Respect plus the community workshops in the arts that they formed. (As far as I am concerned, every large Black community should have a Wall of Respect. *We must learn from each other.*) Yes, these moves are relatively simple, if the creative artists are consciously dedicated to preserving Black culture.

Again I would like to stress the important link-up of the New Black intelligentsia with the Black popular artists. The Rhythm and Blues singers are the cultural heroes of the Black Masses (Black Youth), along with the popular disc jockeys. The Impressions are *obviously* Nationalistic Black Artists; who ever disagrees with this should listen to their latest release, “We’re a Winner.” (In 1965, I wrote, for *Liberator* Magazine, the first creative essay to center around Black Music, mainly Rhythm and Blues and New Music, for the New Black writing. At that time, my theme was the Impressions’ “Keep on Pushin,” which I had borrowed from David Henderson’s epic poem based upon the famous Harlem uprising of ’64. More of these things must be attempted by Black writers.) Also, Black Student Unions should strive to create on campus/off campus Black Studies and cultural programs which would involve the Black communities closest to their schools. Black students should see themselves

as the political/cultural/intellectual extension of the Black community upon the local college campus. They should also participate in Black community forums and engage in tutorial programs in the community, thus solidifying mass intellectual unity.

### The crisis

Probably quite a few Black people who read this essay will judge me an impractical, utopian schemer, because they do not realize the seriousness of the current crisis in Black culture. Let me illustrate my point. White musicians and intellectuals have hung around Black musicians and entertainers since the 'twenties. Always they have attempted to imitate these musicians and produce a diluted "hip" white style of their own. In the twenties we had white "Dixieland," in the 'thirties and 'forties we had white "Swing" music and "jazz" with Harry James, Benny Goodman, Paul Whiteman and other white "Fathers of (ha!) 'jazz.'" In the 'fifties we had whites pushing harder—inventing the cold, sterile "Third Stream" music (a mixture of "jazz" with western "serious" music), and in the popular field, the Elvis Presley—Bobby Darin raucous, rowdy "Rock and Roll" that sought to challenge the smooth, lyrical Black Rhythm and Blues. Now, in the 'sixties, we have the final "successful" white imitation: so-called hippy or "Rock" music. This music was, at first, a carry-over from the Everly Brothers—Elvis Presley "Rock and Roll" school; but with the emergence of the British Beatles (who rode to glory by imitating the great Chuck Berry, Muddy Waters and others) and the Hippies, this white cultural-hybrid, "Rock," stands to replace *both* Rhythm & Blues and New Music or "jazz" as the popular music of this country. Now, due to their dependence upon the merchants of the white music industry for economic subsistence, the Black musicians, both "jazz" and R & B, are in trouble. In many Eastern cities—and, indeed, on the West Coast—the white musical establishment is beginning to *replace* Black musicians—on the radio and in the clubs—with hippie groups.

Opportunistic white music "critics" such as Frank Kofsky, who writes for *Jazz Magazine* which has lately been changed to *Jazz & Pop* (Rock?), have recently pointed out that certain Black Music is too "ivy-league," too establishment, not "Revolutionary" enough, etc. That "Rock" is now *the* new music, *the* thing; and "jazz" should become more "soulful" by linking up with hippie rock music. Dig it!! Due to this latest example of opportunist, white cultural nationalism, many young "jazz" musicians are being thrown out of work and are, in some cases, starving—than going and setting up their music in the Black community, for the interests of their own people. Now this does not mean that the merchants of the white music industry have finished draining Black music; no, on the contrary, the white music merchants continue to feed upon the *top* Black artists, James Brown, Aretha and others, while gradually beginning to cut the young "up-an-coming" musicians, who follow them, loose. As they see the growing popularity of hippie "Rock" music with white youth, they will begin to substitute it for Rhythm & Blues and "jazz." The young "jazz" musicians and vocal groups will find themselves unable to survive unless they return to the roots of "Home," the Black community. Efforts are now in progress to begin to link Black Music totally with the Black community. Jihad Productions (LeRoi Jones), Milford Graves and other musicians are beginning to cut their own sides. The controversial Don Warden pointed out on his San Francisco "talk" show that Bro. Otis Redding and his group were assassinated by the Mafia for *daring* to attempt to organize an independent, all-Black music corporation with some of the major Black recording artists. If this is true, we can see that the Italian nationalists (the Mafia) have robbed the Black Nation of a cultural giant. I don't know the truth of the matter, but Warden and others have stated that the white authorities *refused* to raise Bro. Otis' plane from the Minnesota lake in order to investigate the reasons behind the tragic crash. (And poor *Jet* magazine talking about the "eery" similarities of Otis' death with Bro. Sam Cooke's death; but only "eery" in terms of similar dates, etc. *God help us!*)



If what Warden implied is even *remotely* true, we are indeed pitiful; and we must speed up the proposed contacts between the Black Intelligensia and the popular artists. If Bro. Otis Redding did, indeed, proceed upon this basically *nationalistic* music venture, he should have been aware of its consequences, and should have had *protection* until he completed the deal. This is another role that strong organized nationalists can play: protection of Black artists, writers, and political figures. Had Bro. Otis been conscious enough to have contacted a group like Bro. Karenga's "US" organization for protection, he might still be thrilling us today. (Also, Dammit, there was no, *absolutely no*, reason for 'Roi Jones and the brothers to be riding around Newark *alone*, without protection, or Huey Newton to be gunned down, again unprotected, in Oakland. If we don't protect our leading people, how do we expect to survive?)

So we must see that many risks will be involved in organizing Black people on even cultural levels; but we have no choice if we expect to continue to exist as a national/cultural entity. Only in this way—the creation of a National Black Intelligensia; the development of a Black Cultural Philosophy/Ideology; the creation of a working unity of all Black artists; the development of National Black Cultural Institutions and Bodies—can we overcome the current Crisis in Black Culture and move to fulfill our National and Racial Destiny. "MOVIN ON UP!"

## Black Power

The slogan "Black Power" covered a wide variety of ideologies and specific strategies. Where SNCC stressed revolutionary rhetoric, CORE emphasized a reformist program. In the first months after the "Black Power" slogan became popular, CORE enunciated a program of broad scope. Its leaders hoped to attack a wide range of issues by organizing and mobilizing the potential power of the people in the black ghettos. CORE's outlook at this stage is illustrated by an address of Mrs. Ruth Turner Perot (Document 67), who was special assistant to the national director of CORE. Subsequently CORE, funded in part by foundation grants, engaged in specific action projects in selected urban centers. Particular efforts were directed at political organization, as in Cleveland, and, more recently, at the development of black capitalism (see Document 71).

SNCC, reflecting a growing disillusionment with the inadequate progress of the civil rights movement in the South and the mounting rebelliousness of the ghettos, shifted its focus from civil rights protest and voter registration in the South to radicalizing youth in the ghettos and on the college campuses.

Beginning in the summer of 1966, when the "Black Power" slogan first gained national prominence, SNCC spokesman Stokely Carmichael (chairman 1966-67), and H. Rap Brown (chairman 1967-68) espoused their brand of racial solidarity and black revolution. The speech by Carmichael presented here (Document 68), which he delivered in the summer of 1966 to an audience of black Chicago youth, typifies his utterances to black audiences during that period. The themes of black unity, self-awareness and Black Power are discussed.

Typical of the new militancy of black students to which Carmichael addressed himself was the confrontation that took place at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, in the spring of 1968. On May 3 the black students, who were organized in two groups—F.M.O. (For Members Only) and the Afro-American Student Union—seized and occupied the university business office. They held it until a list of demands was negotiated the following day. Such demonstrations have since become commonplace on the nation's campuses and the sequence of events leading up to the confrontation is familiar: the entrance into predominantly white schools of large numbers of ghetto blacks fortified by assertive pride in their blackness and intent to maintain their cultural identity; a refusal of university officials and faculty to comprehend or accede to the distinctive outlook of the black students; a period of tension and conflict between black and white students, faculty and administration; unsuccessful negotiation for changes black students feel to be necessary and conducive to their pursuit of education; a realization by black students that existing university arrangements do not easily accommodate these special needs; confrontation or some move to force the university to act on their demands. The resolution of the Northwestern confrontation, with the University administration agreeing in substance to meet the demands, created a model for black students throughout the country. These demands ranged from those relating specifically to the needs of black college students to those that spoke to the larger needs of the black community. The unifying theme of the demands is self-determination for black people (Document 69).

**67. RUTH TURNER PEROT:  
“ORGANIZING THE BLACK COMMUNITY FOR THE  
PURPOSE OF PROMOTING THE INTERESTS  
AND CONCERNS OF THE BLACK PEOPLE”**

What would America have done in recent months without “black power”? What subject could have drawn so many headlines, editorials and TV news comments? What theme would have been so timely for discussion groups or seminars? How else would politicians have explained their loss of grip and unions the growing conservatism of their ranks? How else would liberals have rationalized their disenchantment with a civil rights movement they could no longer lead nor understand? What would many Americans have used as a scapegoat—Americans insecure and frightened, anxious about a War in Vietnam and convinced that Negroes had gone far enough in their pursuit of total equality? What could they all have blamed for their performance at the polls in California or Florida, Georgia or New York, if it had not been for “black power”?

Interestingly enough, black power was never intended to render such service. In fact, it was never intended for the ears of white America at all. Black power was a rallying cry aimed directly at the black community and, in particular, the many millions who had not yet been touched by the efforts and gains of the old civil rights movement. It was timely and necessary and called for, if we will but analyze where the civil rights movement had arrived in the summer of 1966 and where it had to go.

Where had we come by 1966? We had seen a massive march on Washington—the granddaddy of all efforts to prick America’s conscience. You will recall that a month or two later, four

**Ruth Turner Perot, “Black Power: A Voice Within,” OBERLIN ALUMNI  
MAGAZINE, LXIII, May 1967), 17–19. Reprinted by permission of  
Mrs. Ruth Turner Perot and OBERLIN ALUMNI MAGAZINE**

little girls were bombed to death in Birmingham. A year later, three civil rights workers were found dead in Mississippi. We had also seen two civil rights bills, 1964 and 1965. Although many young militants maintained that they were unnecessary since they reiterated the Constitution, they represented *some* kind of progress. Yet they had to be enforced.

Today, there are still not enough federal registrars in Southern counties. The Office of Education moved reluctantly and when it finally began to enforce the law, was criticized by no other than liberal Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, one of the chief architects of the empowering legislation. We had seen further, the shooting of James Meredith—proof that a Negro could still be assaulted in 1966 while exercising his rights under the Constitution.

CORE listened. From deep in the hearts of Northern ghettos and the backwoods of the South we hear little people speak:

"Marches are fine and bills are fine, *but* I can't afford a hamburger or a room in that fancy integrated hotel."

"I have nobody worth voting for."

"I can't get a good education."

"I've gotten an education but I still cannot find a decent job that pays decent money."

"I don't want to live in an integrated neighborhood, but I do want a decent place to live and raise my family."

We took a closer look. Dazzled by the successes of the Thurgood Marshalls, Constance Baker Motleys, the Edward Brookes, Robert Weavers, etc., we had overlooked the plight of the millions. That plight was actually getting worse.

Schools were more and more segregated. In Cleveland over 90% of the children were attending public schools that were Negro or nearly all Negro. Schools were also getting worse. In Central Harlem 87% of the pupils are reading below level, 50% were in that position in 1954.

Negroes were closing the educational gap very rapidly (less than one year's difference between Negroes and whites 24 and under), but Negro income remained only 56% of white income in 1965. (It was 57% in 1952.) It is also estimated that in 1966,

Negro college graduates could expect to earn as much in a lifetime as whites finishing three years of high school.

Unemployment rates among Negroes remained consistently at 2.1 times those of whites (and are now almost triple), although black soldiers were overrepresented in Vietnam and this was a period of relative prosperity. Neighborhood deterioration often is the result of federal programs supposedly designed to help. There is no better example than the ravages of urban renewal on Cleveland's Hough area.

After this analysis, the logical question became: where were decisions made affecting schools, housing, jobs and neighborhoods? The answer was obvious: city halls, state houses, Capital Hill and Wall St. No moral appeals could succeed in these places. Rather the pertinent questions were "Can you buy, can you sell, how much and how many votes can you deliver?" That, in anybody's language added up to power. And if black men wanted to influence those decisions, they had to have black power.

There was more feedback from the ghettos and the backwoods—psychological feedback from stress on integration as a goal in and of itself. The civil rights movement had been saying "Good schools are integrated schools and only integrated schools are good schools. Good neighborhoods are integrated neighborhoods and only integrated neighborhoods are good neighborhoods."

Integration simply could not be gained at the expense of black self-worth. No other ethnic group had been forced to lose its identity to succeed in integrated society. Why was it necessary for black people to do so?

Thus "black power" was born, the organizing of the black community for the purpose of promoting the interests and concerns of black people. An old American tradition, by the way, as David Danzig wrote in *Commentary*: "The effort to encourage Negroes to see themselves as a power bloc and to act as one is entirely in keeping with American minority politics." It was, in fact, the procedure by which the Irish captured Boston and Tammany Hall, the Italians Newark and Cleveland.

Black power is further an audacious prideful affirmation of self, without which Negroes cannot assume a *respected* position in an integrated American society.

So why the hue and cry? Clearly there was and is a good deal of deliberate distortion of "black power"—to sell newspapers, to divide and weaken the civil rights movement, to create a convenient scapegoat, for an anticipated swing to the right. There is also the inability to adjust to change. White men have been startled by the phenomenon of Negroes "no longer plodding and asking for eventual freedom" but insisting and demanding it now, as men and women not as their younger counterparts.

Others feel threatened. Of course, none need feel threatened unless they have misused power or have too much of it. Least of all should the poor white feel threatened since he has no power except that which his white skin may represent and black power does not want that.

Then of course, there is a panicky reaction to black power because of fear. If it is fear of power that drives us, then we had better come to terms with that. This is the most powerful nation on earth and we ought to understand who has it, why, and what we are doing with that power.

More operative, probably, is the fear of blackness. Whatever the fear and its cause, white men had better discover why they fear lest they fall prey to those who will exploit fear for selfish and evil purposes, as in Nazi Germany or more recently, in the New York City elections.

Does black power exist? Is it myth or reality? The answer to that question appears obvious. The political emasculation of Adam Clayton Powell who represents not only his district, but *all* black people, gives the key. That and the President's decision to substitute a constituency of South Vietnamese for a constituency of Negroes indicate that Negroes have no political power the Democratic or Republican parties are bound to respect.

However, that is not the whole story. Black power to CORE means the organization of the black community into a tight and disciplined group, for six purposes:

1. Growth of political power.
2. Building economic power.
3. Improvement of self-image.
4. Development of Negro leadership.
5. Demanding federal law enforcement.
6. Mobilization of Negro consumer power.

Let me give some examples of how CORE programs the concept:

—In Baltimore, MFU, an independent union organized by CORE, raised wages of nearly 100 members, workers regular labor unions did not want to organize, from 35¢ to \$1.50.

—Baltimore, CORE's 1966 Target City, also demonstrates black power in the November elections. As a result an intensive mobilizing and organizing by CORE and other groups, Negroes switched 35 to 1 to vote for Republican Agnew over "Home is your castle" Mahoney. Mahoney was defeated. We were so effective, in fact, that the Ku Klux Klan has chosen Baltimore as Target City.

—CORE ran eight Negro candidates for school board elections in Democratic primaries in Louisiana. All won, first time since Reconstruction.

—Also—Louisiana (Opelousas)—Sweet potato cooperative. 375 farmers, 15 white, growing and marketing their sweet potato crops. This is economic black power.

—Watts, Operation Bootstraps, "Learn, Baby, Learn." 12 teenagers, graduates of computer course, have set up their own business, offering up-to-date skills for pay.

—Freedom School in Baltimore and plans for Black Arts and Afro-American Institute. A place where black people learn of history and contributions to world culture and civilization. Power of self-knowledge. Also in Baltimore, a leadership training for neighborhood people.

—As result of CORE insistence, federal examiners sent to South Carolina and Mississippi counties. Result: registration climbed.

We believe that these building blocks will become a bulwark that will protect the next Adam Clayton Powell, multiplied



many times over. There is no other choice. If power for the powerless is not achieved so that changes within its structure can be made, this nation will not survive.

What can black power mean for America?

It can mean the reaffirmation of the concept of a pluralistic American society, respect of an individual's heritage and contribution, and a respect of difference in a nation that tends too readily to become amorphous, dull and conformist.

It can and has meant increased dialogue and conversation about methods and goals within the civil rights movement.

It can offset the growing strength of reactionary forces which would reverse progress and stifle growth. Black power can build cities, communities, institutions and men worthy of American ideals.

Black power can force the honest appraisal of who, what, and where we are.

**68. STOKELY CARMICHAEL:  
"WE ARE GOING TO USE  
THE TERM 'BLACK POWER'  
AND WE ARE GOING TO DEFINE IT  
BECAUSE BLACK POWER SPEAKS TO US"**

This is 1966 and it seems to me that it's 'time out' for nice words. It's time black people got together. We have to say things nobody else in this country is willing to say and find the strength internally and from each other to say the things that need to be said. We have to understand the lies this country has spoken about black people and we have to set the record straight. No one else can do that but black people.

From a speech by Stokely Carmichael, July 28, 1966,  
in **NOTES AND COMMENT** (Chicago: Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee, 1966), mimeographed.

I remember when I was in school they used to say, "If you work real hard, if you sweat, if you are ambitious, then you will be successful." I'm here to tell you that if that was true, black people would own this country, because we sweat more than anybody else in this country. We have to say to this country that you have lied to us. We picked your cotton for \$2.00 a day, we washed your dishes, we're the porters in your bank and in your building, we are the janitors and the elevator men. We worked hard and all we get is a little pay and a hard way to go from you. We have to talk not only about what's going on here but what this country is doing across the world. When we start getting the internal strength to tell them what should be told and to speak the truth as it should be spoken, let them pick the sides and let the chips fall where they may.

Now, about what black people have to do and what has been done to us by white people. If you are born in Lowndes County, Alabama, Swillinghit, Mississippi or Harlem, New York and the color of your skin happens to be black you are going to catch it. The only reason we have to get together is the color of our skins. They oppress us because we are black and we are going to use that blackness to get out of the trick bag they put us in. Don't be ashamed of your color.

A few years ago, white people used to say, "Well, the reason they live in the ghetto is they are stupid, dumb, lazy, unambitious, apathetic, don't care, happy, contented," and the trouble was a whole lot of us believed that junk about ourselves. We were so busy trying to prove to white folks that we were everything they said we weren't that we got so busy being white we forgot what it was to be black. We are going to call our black brothers hand.

Now, after 1960, when we got moving, they couldn't say we were lazy and dumb and apathetic and all that anymore so they got sophisticated and started to play the dozens with us. They called conferences about our mamas and told us that's why we were where we were at. Some people were sitting up there talking with Johnson while he was talking about their mamas. I don't play the dozens with white folks. To set the record

straight, the reason we are in the bag we are in isn't because of my mama, it's because of what they did to my mama. That's why I'm where I'm at. We have to put the blame where it belongs. The blame does not belong on the oppressed but on the oppressor, and that's where it is going to stay.

Don't let them scare you when you start opening your mouth—speak the truth. Tell them, "Don't blame us because we haven't ever had the chance to do wrong." They made sure that we have been so blocked-in we couldn't move until they said, "Move." Now there are a number of things we have to do. The only thing we own in this country is the color of our skins and we are ashamed of that because they made us ashamed. We have to stop being ashamed of being black. A broad nose, a thick lip and nappy hair is us and we are going to call that beautiful whether they like it or not. We are not going to fry our hair anymore but they can start wearing their hair natural to look like us.

We have to define how we are going to move, not how they say we can move. We have never been able to do that before. Everybody in this country jumps up and says, "I'm a friend of the civil rights movement. I'm a friend of the Negro." We haven't had the chance to say whether or not that man is stabbing us in the back or not. All those people who are calling us friends are nothing but treacherous enemies and we can take care of our enemies but God deliver us from our 'friends.' The only protection we are going to have is from each other. We have to build a strong base to let them know if they touch one black man driving his wife to the hospital in Los Angeles, or one black man walking down a highway in Mississippi or if they take one black man who has a rebellion and put him in jail and start talking treason, we are going to disrupt this whole country.

We have to say, "Don't play jive and start writing poems after Malcolm is shot." We have to move from the point where the man left off and stop writing poems. We have to start supporting our own movement. If we can spend all that money to send a preacher to a Baptist convention in a Cadillac then we can spend money to support our own movement.

Now, let's get to what the white press has been calling riots. In the first place don't get confused with the words they use like "anti-white," "hate," "militant" and all that nonsense like "radical" and "riots." What's happening is rebellions not riots and the extremist element is not RAM. As a matter of fact RAM is a very reactionary group, reacting against the pressures white people are putting on them. The extremists in this country are the white people who force us to live the way we live. We have to define our own ethic. We don't have to (and don't make any apologies about it) obey any law that we didn't have a part to make, especially if that law was made to keep us where we are. We have the right to break it.

We have to stop apologizing for each other. We must tell our black brothers and sisters who go to college, "Don't take any job for IBM or Wall Street because you aren't doing anything for us. You are helping this country perpetuate its lies about how democracy rises in this country." They have to come back to the community, where they belong and use their skills to help develop us. We have to tell the Doctors, "You can't go to college and come back and charge us \$5.00 and \$10.00 a visit. You have to charge us 50¢ and be thankful you get that." We have to tell our lawyers not to charge us what they charge but to be happy to take a case and plead it free of charge. We have to define success and tell them the food Ralph Bunche eats doesn't feed our hungry stomachs. We have to tell Ralph Bunche the only reason he is up there is so when we yell they can pull him out. We have to do that, nobody else can do that for us.

We have to talk about wars and soldiers and just what that means. A mercenary is a hired killer and any black man serving in this man's army is a black mercenary, nothing else. A mercenary fights for a country for a price but does not enjoy the rights of the country for which he is fighting. A mercenary will go to Viet Nam to fight for free elections for the Vietnamese but doesn't have free elections in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, South Carolina and Washington, D.C. A mercenary goes to Viet Nam and gets shot fighting for his country and they won't even bury him in his own home

town. He's a mercenary, that's all. We must find the strength so that when they start grabbing us to fight their war we say, "Hell no."

We have to talk about nonviolence among us, so that we don't cut each other on Friday nights and don't destroy each other but move to a point where we appreciate and love each other. That's the nonviolence that has to be talked about. The psychology the man has used on us has turned us against each other. He says nothing about the cutting that goes on Friday night but talk about raising one finger-tip towards him and that's when he jumps up. We have to talk about nonviolence among us first.

We have to study black history but don't get fooled. You should know who John Hullett is, and Fanny Lou Hamer is, who Lerone Bennett is, who Max Stanford is, who Lawrence Landry is, who May Mallory is and who Robert Williams is. You have to know these people yourselves because you can't read about them in a book or in the press. You have to know what Mr. X said from his own lips not the Chicago Sun-Times. That responsibility is ours. The Muslims call themselves Muslims but the press calls them black Muslims. We have to call them Muslims and go to their mosque to find out what they are talking about firsthand and then we can talk about getting together. Don't let that man get up there and tell you, "Oh, you know those Muslims preach nothing but hate. You shouldn't be messing with them." "Yah, I don't mess with them, yah, I know they bad." The man's name is the Honorable Elijah Muhammad and he represents a great section of the black community. Honor him.

We have to go out and find our young blacks who are cutting and shooting each other and tell them they are doing the cutting and shooting to the wrong people. We have to bring them together and spend the time if we are not just shucking and jiving. This is 1966 and my grandmother used to tell me, "The time is far spent." We have to move this year.

There is a psychological war going on in this country and it's whether or not black people are going to be able to use the terms they want about their movement without white peoples

blessing. We have to tell them we are going to use the term 'Black Power' and we are going to define it because Black Power speaks to us. We can't let them project Black Power because they can only project it from white power and we know what white power has done to us. We have to organize ourselves to speak from a position of strength and stop begging people to look kindly upon us. We are going to build a movement in this country based on the color of our skins that is going to free us from our oppressors and we have to do that ourselves.

We have got to understand what is going on in Lowndes County, Alabama, what it means, who is in it and what they are doing so if white people steal that election like they do all over this country then the eyes of black people all over this country will be focused there to let them know we are going to take care of business if they mess with us in Lowndes County. That responsibility lies on all of us, not just the civil rights workers and do-gooders.

If we talk about education we have to educate ourselves, not with Hegel or Plato or the missionaries who came to Africa with the bible and we had the land and when they left we had the bible and they had the land. We have to tell them the only way anybody eliminates poverty in this country is to give poor people money. You don't have to headstart, uplift and upward-bound them into your culture. Just give us the money you stole from us, that's all. We have to say to people in this country, "We don't really care about you. For us to get better, we don't have to go to white things. We can do it in our own community, ourselves if you didn't steal the resources that belong there." We have to understand the Horatio Alger lie and that the individualist, profit-concept nonsense will never work for us. We have to form cooperatives and use the profits to benefit our community. We can't tolerate their system.

When we form coalitions we must say on what grounds we are going to form them, not white people telling us how to form them. We must build strength and pride amongst ourselves. We must think politically and get power because we are the only people in this country that are powerless. We are the only people who have to protect ourselves from our pro-

tectors. We are the only people who want a man called Willis removed who is a racist, that have to lie down in the street and beg a racist named Daley to remove the racist named Willis. We have to build a movement so we can see Daley and say, "Tell Willis to get hat," and by the time we turn around he is gone. That's Black Power.

Everybody in this country is for "Freedom Now" but not everybody is for Black Power because we have got to get rid of some of the people who have white power. We have got to get us some Black Power. We don't control anything but what white people say we can control. We have to be able to smash any political machine in the country that's oppressing us and bring it to its knees. We have to be aware that if we keep growing and multiplying the way we do in ten years all the major cities are going to be ours. We have to know that in Newark, New Jersey, where we are 60% of the population, we went along with their stories about integrating and we got absorbed. All we have to show for it is three councilmen who are speaking for them and not for us. We have to organize ourselves to speak for each other. That's Black Power. We have to move to control the economics and politics of our community. . . .

**69. NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY  
BLACK STUDENTS: "IF OUR DEMANDS  
ARE IMPOSSIBLE, THEN PEACE  
BETWEEN US IS IMPOSSIBLE TOO"**

Having rejected the basic principles on which our demands were based, the administration has forced us to speak for the last time on those matters discussed at the meeting of Wednes-

"Revised Demands of the Black Students,"  
in "Black and White at Northwestern University: Documents,"  
INTEGRATED EDUCATION, VI (May-June 1968), 36-41.

day, April 24, 1968. We demand that such action be taken to meet this, our final list of demands. The University must show itself flexible enough to take in the "peculiarities" of our culture and background. The only way, we feel, the University can display its understanding and flexibility is by the immediate approval and implementation of those demands submitted by the Black student body on April 22, 1968.

## **I. Policy statement**

Northwestern cannot begin to deal effectively with racism on this campus until it first realizes and openly acknowledges the extent of racism in American society. For this reason we reject the statement given to us in response and demand that a "new" policy statement be issued and made public from President J. Roscoe Miller asserting that the racism of American society which has penetrated all American institutions has also penetrated Northwestern University, and has thus affected the social and academic life here.

This statement is to include a declaration that the University is attempting to provide a multi-racial and cultural society within the university walls and that any racist attack and/or abuses shall be considered in direct opposition to the University's goals and a danger to the peaceful existence of such a society. The extent of this danger is such that the perpetrator shall be immediately excluded from this institution.

In order to alter the racist structure of this University, a change has to take place in the judiciary structures, attitudes, and practices. As of now, the University Disciplinary Committee is ineffective in dealing with racism on campus (examples include the Fiji incidents and the many encounters with Sigma Chi). We demand that this judiciary be changed and implemented to bring about swifter and fairer decisions, or that a special judiciary be created to deal with these special cases.

On acknowledging the racist structure of this country and this institution, Northwestern is committed to understand the negative effects of racism on Black people and other oppressed



people. The entire concept of justice has to be re-evaluated for this reason. Justice for Black people at this time does not mean equal treatment before a law or rule which is insensitive to our oppressive position in this country. We contend that justice for Black people means that extra consideration and efforts are to be made in order to balance the effects of racism. This means in effect that the U.D.C. decision to place 3 white students and 2 Black students on disciplinary warning is not justice and is thus unacceptable in our eyes.

Our experience in America has not been characterized by justice in any way. No white institution can right our hundreds of years of history and experience by suddenly treating us the same as white people (only at those times when it is strategic to do so) and call it justice and equality. No matter how one looks at it, idealistically or realistically, Black people know that we are still getting the short end of the deal. A new basis for administering justice must be developed and put into effect and it is with this that U.D.C., or any new judiciary which intends to deal with racism, has to concern itself.

The only concrete response from the administration was the establishment of a special University Committee on Human Relations. However, we are not satisfied with that response and demand the right of the Black student community to approve all appointments to this committee and to determine at least 50% of these appointments.

## **II. Admissions**

We understand that Northwestern has suddenly made a "substantial effort to change the composition of the undergraduate student body." However, this statement or any of the others which followed says nothing about a guaranteed increase of the number of Black students at Northwestern. We demand that each forthcoming freshman class be 10-12% Black and that it will be financially feasible for all those Black students accepted to come.

We demanded that 50% of each year's incoming Black stu-

dents be from the inner city school systems. The administration emphasized that in the past the Black enrollment contained at least 50% from the inner city and ended with the statement "There is no reason to believe that this percentage should change." In lieu of this statement there is no reason why we should not be given a guarantee that this percentage will remain the same.

We agreed that a committee will be appointed by the Black student community to assist the Admissions Office, especially in the area of recruitment. We demand that there be no restrictions placed on our selections, that this committee be in a salaried position, and that it have shared power with the Office of Admissions and Financial Aid in making all decisions relevant to Black students, including decision on which Black students are to be admitted.

The University has agreed to provide us with the names of all Black students who are known to the Administration as well as a list of all entering Black students. We demand a list of all Black students accepted as well as those entering with information relevant to our purposes such as residence (city and state). We further demand that such lists be compiled and turned over to F.M.O. for each subsequent freshman class.

In addition, the University agreed to arrange a meeting between us and the incoming Black freshman.

### **III. Scholarships**

As all Black people in America categorically suffer from the oppressiveness of this white society, we conclude that all Black students at Northwestern in turn categorically suffer from economic and social oppression and on that basis should categorically be given special consideration for increased financial aid which is not covered in the data of the financial aid form. The process of evaluating financial need and administering financial aid must be restructured to meet our vital needs. This re-organization can be done in conjunction with our established Admissions and Financial Aid Committee.

The acceptance of job and loan offers may be optional for white students attending Northwestern, but due to our plight in this country, they are not optional for us. Black students are forced to take jobs and loans to lessen the financial burden of our families who suffer categorically under the American political, economic, and social structure. Therefore the problems and pressures encountered by a Black student receiving financial aid are not the same one encountered by a white financial aid student.

The University has already acknowledged the deficiency in our high school preparation. By virtue of this fact, we contend that this deficiency can best be removed by allowing all Black students to attend the summer session as they so desire. Also, we strongly feel that Black students should have the same opportunity to continue their education through the summer as any other Northwestern student. Whether or not we work or attend classes should be *our option* and therefore the University should not restrict us by requiring that we work in order to substantiate our scholarships for the other three quarters.

As it stands now, Northwestern has neither a fair admissions policy nor a fair financial aid arrangement. Equal opportunity and rights for us imply much more than whites care to admit. Our demands still stand that our scholarships be increased to cover what is now included in our "required jobs" and to include funds for those who want or need to attend Summer session.

#### IV. Housing

As taken from the University's reply to our demands of April 22nd: "While we [the administration] can understand and appreciate the frustrations that lead to the demands . . ." We, the Black students of Northwestern, cannot *appreciate* the *frustrations* that led to making these demands. How the University can claim to understand our problems and/or frustrations and not concede to our demands is beyond our comprehension!

The University might be living with a severe shortage of on-campus housing. However, this does not affect us in that a

Black living unit would not necessarily call for additional space, only the relocation of students.

Furthermore, the Administration contends that the most important reason for denying this demand lies in the function the residence hall serves in the educational program of the University. "[The residence hall] is a place where students learn from each other and thereby further the education in which this institution is engaged. This function of University housing depends on a mixture of student types which cannot be achieved if certain groups are segregated from the rest of the living environment." Why, we ask, are the fraternities and sororities exempt from this educational program?

The University evidently helps to support living units (fraternities and sororities) on this campus which are in direct opposition to the above-quoted University policy. Therefore, the University should have no objection to supporting another living unit (Black) without this educational program.

Furthermore, according to the minutes of the March 5, 1968 CUL Subcommittee meeting, "Mr. Ihlanfeldt stated that as Director of Admissions, he feels his charge from the faculty is to recruit quality and dissimilarity within the student body. He sees the Greek groups as selecting others like themselves and opposes the extension of the system on that basis. He stated that he would accept the fraternity idea but not in the same way that it has been in the past where there is discrimination based on the same type of criterion. He would only accept an extension of the idea, such as converting Hobart and Rogers to models of the future that may tend to represent the philosophical idea of a master house plan. This could be all or predominantly Negro, but it would not be copying the fraternity system as it is." Evidently the idea of a Black living unit was at one time feasible. Why is it that this is no longer the case?

If the University genuinely believes that a Black living unit would be in direct conflict with their program and/or basic university policy, then we demand that the University should make a policy statement condemning the existing living units of this sort (i. e., fraternities and sororities) with a commitment

to get rid of them immediately. Otherwise, on the basis of this argument, we restate our demand that the University provide us with a Black living unit.

## **V. Curriculum**

Dean Strotz received a copy of our demands on April 21, 1968 as did the rest of the administration. It is our understanding that Dean Strotz heads the Committee for Curriculum Revisions. We have received no reply either from him or through the administration on the creation of a Black Studies Course. Therefore, we assume that he has either denied our request or he is thoroughly disinterested in the condition of the Black student at Northwestern.

Through University funds, the Administration has the influence to promote the hiring of Black faculty members. We demand that this influence be immediately put into effect and used to its fullest extent.

One concrete step in meeting our demand would be the creation of a visiting chair in Black Studies. However, we demand that the Black community have the ultimate decision as to which professor would occupy this chair from year to year.

## **VI. Counseling**

We want it understood that any hiring of personnel in the position of counseling to the Black community of Northwestern University must be approved by the Black community. Without such approval, we will totally absolve ourselves from recognizing or interacting with such persons. Further understand our position on the hiring of Mr. Calvin Smith. We will review his "qualifications"; however, if he does not meet our approval, steps must be taken to find an acceptable Black counselor.

## **VII. Facilities**

We acknowledge the Administration's reply to our demand for facilities.

### **VIII. Open occupancy**

We acknowledge the University's efforts toward the passage of the Evanston Open Occupancy Law. However, we demand access to the committee which has been studying open occupancy and discrimination, as well as review rights to the matters which they are discussing so that we may determine both their relevance and effectiveness.

The legitimacy of these demands cannot be debated. What is important to Black people is not necessarily important to the Administration or this University as a whole. The Administration has demonstrated that they are less concerned about our reasons and motivations for presenting these demands than about their own intentions to maintain ultimate control over our lives. Likewise, we are not interested in the reasons why these demands cannot be met.

In lieu of this, tension between us is inevitable and it is this tension which has to be reconciled. We realize that the factors leading to our presently being students at Northwestern were basically politically motivated and had little or nothing to do with a social interest in the plight of Black people in America. Being brought here essentially for purposes of exploitation, Northwestern has subsequently shown little interest in our needs except for those which were compatible with theirs. Therefore, the main responsibility for reconciling the tension between us lies with the Administration and not with us. All we can say is that if our demands are impossible, then peace between us is impossible, too.

In summary, we demand positive responses from the Administration to the following:

#### **Policy statement**

1. That the Administration will accept and issue a policy statement as outlined in this paper.
2. That the Administration restructure the UDC or create a new judiciary to adequately and justly cope with racial problems and incidents.

3. That the Administration effect a new judiciary standard (as outlined) and apply this standard retroactively to the UDC decision of April 15.

4. That the Administration allow the Black community to (a) approve all appointments to the Human Relations Committee and (b) determine at least 50% of those appointments.

### **Admission**

5. That each forthcoming freshman class consist of 10%-12% Black students, half of which are from the inner city school systems.

6. That the Administration will institute a committee selected by the Black community to aid the Admissions Office, especially in recruitment, and which will have shared power with the Office of Admissions and Financial Aid in making decisions relevant to us.

7. That the members constituting this committee be in a salaried position.

8. That F.M.O. will be supplied with (a) a list of all Black students presently enrolled at Northwestern (b) a list including names, addresses, etc. of all accepted and incoming Black freshmen, (c) a similar list of each forthcoming freshman class.

### **Financial aid**

9. That the process of evaluating financial need and administering financial aid be restructured in conjunction with our Admissions and Financial Aid Committee.

10. That our scholarships be increased to cover what is now included in our "required jobs and that funds be allocated for those who want or need to attend summer session.

### **Housing**

11. That the University provide us with a Black living unit or commit themselves to immediately getting rid of the present fraternity and sorority housing arrangements.

**Counseling**

12. That any hiring of personnel in the position of counseling the Black community of NU be approved by that Black community.

**Facilities**

13. That a committee of Black students selected by us work with the Administration in meeting our needs for a Black Student Union.

**Open occupancy**

14. That we have access to the committee studying open occupancy and discrimination with review rights to the matters which they are discussing.



## Black capitalism

Economic nationalism survived the ebbing of black nationalist thought during the 1930s and 1940s. A number of splinter groups from Garvey's UNIA continued to advocate "buying black" and to urge development of black capitalism. One such organization was the Harlem-based African Nationalist Pioneer Movement. Led by Carlos Cooks in the late 1950s, this group opposed the religious nationalism of the Nation of Islam and reiterated Garvey's secular goals of a separate black economy.

With the emergence of the Black Power slogan in 1966, one of the many definitions given it was black economic power. Floyd McKissick, a former national director of CORE, in a brochure promoting McKissick Enterprises, Inc., offers a rationale for the new thrust of black capitalism, and a description of the purpose, scope, and structure of the company and its specific projects. The ideas of a strong black business class coupled with the appeal to wealthy whites for assistance echoes turn-of-the-century economic nationalism.

**70. AFRICAN NATIONALIST  
PIONEER MOVEMENT: "WE ADVOCATE  
COMPLETE ECONOMIC CONTROL  
BY THE BLACKS OF ALL AFRICAN  
COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA"**

**A. A MANIFESTO**

**Buy Black!**

**Buy Black!**

**WHAT WE KNOW! !**

THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST PIONEER MOVEMENT advocates the uniting of all people of the African ethnic group into one, healthy, vigorous Black Race.

We are against miscegenation or race suicide.

We are against rich Blacks marrying poor whites.

We believe in the purity of the Black Race, and the purity of all other races.

We are against the white race or any race taking advantage of Black Women.

We know that the Black Race is as good as any other; therefore, should be as proud of itself as other races are.

We know that the social, political and physical separation of all races to the extent that they may promote their own Ideals and Civilization, and with the privilege of trading and doing Business with each other, is positively necessary.

We know that Nature has drawn indelible lines forever restricting the Black and White Races,—upon being integrated—from living equally free.

We know that the communist whiteman, as well as the capi-

**"What We Know! !" THE BLACK CHALLENGE (1959), p. 15.**

talist whiteman, stands on one platform, where it concerns the Blackman, that is White Supremacy.

We know that the Mongolians are interested in their own security, the Arabs have shown by their record as slave traders that they would gladly exploit the Blacks and Africa and are currently doing so through Mohammedanism.

We know that the Idea of God was conceived by man; hence man made God and that brotherhood among men is possible only between members of any one given race.

We know the rights of black men must be achieved and maintained by Blacks.

We adhere to: One Cause, One Goal, One Destiny.

We know that the Black Race's salvation cannot be attained within the realm of any religion, or apologetic Uncle Tom leadership; it must be BLACK NATIONALISM of eternal vassalage.

We are against all caste names whether; Negro, Colored, Sepia, Tan or "what have you." We prefer to be called what we are: Black Men and Black Women.

We strongly advocate the promotion of a powerful Black Nation in Africa (AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS).

We believe in the Political and Physical Independence of all men.

We advocate complete economic control by the Blacks of all African Communities in America, creating thereby *Self-Determination* and Race Pride.

WE say. BUY BLACK! So that your children will revere your memory. Patronize your own people's Business Enterprises, build a solvent economic future,

We know that we are not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others, therefore, are entitled to our own opinions, and the right to guide our own destiny.

**B. "BUY BLACK"**

Blacks were brought from Africa by whites. They were brought here as slaves. In the year 1619, the first slave ship landed at James Town, Virginia. The master determined the status of the slaves then, and he determines their status now!

In 1619 the slaves could not go to school with him, sit in buses beside him, nor go to church with him.

In 1959 the slaves still can't go to school with him, sit in buses beside him, nor go to church with him.

The master knows what the slaves are, and regardless of what they say or do, it does not change their status.

The Negro, as he has been called since slavery, has made all kinds of sacrifices for the master, including 245 years of free labor.

If he is no more today in the eyes of his master, than he was then, doesn't it seem foolhardy to waste his time trying to prove otherwise?

The master says he is a Negro, and a Negro he is!

Pere John criticizes Mr. Carlos A. Cook's ideas of retaining the wealth we lavish so freely in white establishments. In this Country there are millionaires—known as Industrialists. These fellows invest billions of dollars all over the world: Yet, they have protective tariff to safeguard their markets, so that no foreign enterprise can compete with them, for their money, in their own Country.

This simple minded Negro amuses me. Then if this is true, the Negro should keep every red cent he earns, out of the hands of those who do not look like him. More so, since he has to work like a horse to earn it.

If protective tariff is good for the millionaires, then "BUY BLACK" is more than good for Negroes, who earn \$25.00 to \$45.00 a week.

**From Oscar Brown, " 'Buy Black' Is the Only Logical Solution,"  
THE BLACK CHALLENGE (1959), p. 28.**

I say that if the Negro is only 10% of the population, he should not have a 75% ratio on relief. Nor should he have a 70% or more in penal and other institutions.

Harlem is not the only place where prostitution exist. Nor where drunks and dope fiends hang out. But if the Negroes wants to share the white man's vices, he should also share his virtues.

Are there any Negro Hospitals? Railroads? Textile Mills? Or any Negro Industrialists? You cannot tell a Negro business man who has nothing to sell because of lack of support, to give service. You first have to tell the Negroes to buy what he has, then he in turn will learn to give service if he wants their patronage.

Some of these white establishments are not only filthy, but they actually insult Negroes. Yet you see these Negroes crowding into these stores, not for bargains as Pere John would have us believe, but paying unheard of prices, for worthless merchandise.

Business is based on profit. Nobody gives anything away. Of course these are white establishments, and that is how they are supposed to treat Negroes. These are the same people who refuse to serve Negroes in the South. If Pere John is writing for a white newspaper, he is a hireling! If he is writing for a Negro newspaper, all he has to do is turn to page one. There he will see it in big bold letters, "Negro is last hired, and first fired."

Then let the Negro create employment for his own kind. This he can do only through business. And in order to have business, he must first learn to support Negroes in business. That is simple enough for even the Negro to understand.

Incidentally: I read a book on Gun Smithing. There the Author wrote, "Think Nigger—Think."

If Pere John had written this in 1800, I could see it. But not in 1959, when every group wants the right to control themselves Politically and economically. Note: Chinese, Mexicans, etc. etc.

But the Negro! He wants to remain a hireling. The master expects only so much patriotism. More than that, he know that you are either an ass, or expect special favors.

You claim that you wrote in 1931. How come you neglected to tell us of the then, existing slave market in the Bronx, where Negro women use to go to look for work? These women took garbage cans, put paper and wood in them, to light a fire to keep themselves warm. These women use to stand around these cans in colonies, and waited to be employed. Not only that, but they had to have their own clocks, because after 6 p.m. in winter, every hour look alike. Their employers use to turn their clocks back in order to get a day and a half work for one day's pay. Of course as a Negro writer, you are not suppose to know these things.

When we say Black, we don't mean Black in color, as some of you are prone to believe. We would prefer it that way. But in as much as Negroes are so mixed up, we are using a standard. We are Members of the Black Race. Since some Negroes are anything but Black in color, and many of them feel that to say Black, would mean a loss of Status. They fight like hell when you say Black, and strangely enough, they enlist the aid of persons who are Black in color to assist them.

People have rights to a certain extent. We support Whites, Chinese, etc, etc. They don't live among us. Then if a Negro Business man sees fit to move to the suburbs, although I can't see how any Negro Business man can move anywhere if no one supports him, grant it—he has his rights, and that should not offend us. True, Negroes do not look after each other's interest but after all, isn't that the way they were trained?

If however, we had a daily or weekly Newspaper that was really voicing our sentiments, we could change this.

**71. FLOYD B. McKISSICK:  
"BLACK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT  
WITH SOCIAL COMMITMENT  
TO BLACK COMMUNITIES"**

**An introductory message**

The many promises by the white society to achieve equality and economic freedom have not materialized. The tokens we have received have had the effects of drops of water in the sea.

Many of the promises of the past have raised the hopes of the Black Man, but by and large he is still in the economic bread line. What he has received is intended to placate him and lull him into false security. The result, however, has been turmoil in our great cities. Turmoil bred of frustration and growing fury. What has been done has been too little, too slow and much too late.

Many of the efforts may have been sincere, but have not been meaningful. Additional millions poured into unplanned poverty programs and welfare will not solve the dilemma posed by our ghettos. Billions of dollars are required, but the nature and control of the programs are more important than press releases about the amount.

I feel that my best service to the movement and to my people can be rendered by my full-time commitment to Black Economic Independence. The Black Man and Woman will no longer be content to eat leftovers in the kitchen. We want to sit at our own table and carve the financial turkey with all its trimmings.

The Black Man's sweat and tears have fertilized this economy. His blood has been shed in many wars to protect it. Even

**A brochure describing Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc., 1968.  
Reprinted by permission of Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Inc.**

now, it is being expended in a greater proportionate ratio than any other group in the world in Vietnam. Most of the Black folk, as well as white, still do not know what they are fighting for. While our Black Brothers are fighting to save the white capitalist society in Vietnam, we are going to fight here at home to create a strong Black Society for those fortunate enough to return home. We are going to create the economic tools and we will finish the job. The Black Man's only salvation is through his own efforts.

All over the world the struggle is for Economic Power and Self-determination. These bring respect to those who gain them. Black People are fighting for respect and dignity, not a handout.

Throughout American History, Black People have lived in circumstances and conditions dictated by whites and we have been urged to sit by while white people fulfilled their promises to us. From slavery, we were promised freedom. That freedom became separate and unequal apartheid. From segregation, we were promised integration into the life of affluent America. That integration became growing slum squalor and violence.

The very co-existence of Black and Whites in this society is being threatened. It is my belief that the development of Black Economic Power offers White America its last chance to save the Republic. If we are to exist together, it will be as equals. Equality depends on Black control of its own institutions.

This can be accomplished only through the rapid growth of *Black Corporate Structures*.

To coordinate and catalyze the formation of Black Business Enterprises, I have formed the organization, known as Floyd B. McKissick Enterprises, Incorporated. It is a corporation formed to create and distribute profits to millions of Black Americans. McKissick Enterprises will be a national resource center for Black individuals and communities who need assistance in developing new businesses.

McKissick Enterprises is located in the heart of Harlem. We are utilizing Black experts from all levels of business and industry.



We are currently organizing the following departments within the Company:

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| —Capital Resources    | —Technical Resources     |
| —Training Resources   | —Planning Resources      |
| —Management Resources | —Real Estate Development |

Each of the Departments will be manned by knowledgeable and expert staff and will be supported by a panel of consultants who will represent the highest achievements in their respective areas.

In addition to providing assistance to other companies, McKissick Enterprises will invest directly in the formation of new companies, some of which will be so constructed that ownership will be eventually transferred to local persons.

Much of the capital for our undertakings will be forthcoming from white financial institutions and business corporations. The success of our endeavors is dependent, however, on the efforts and toil of Black People—the same Blacks who have loyally contributed to the strength of this nation, and who spend over 40 billion dollars each year, but who realize little economic return. The Black man will no longer be a consumer, but a producer.

If a Black Man has no bread in his pocket—the solution to his problem is not integration; it's to get some bread. Real simple—that's what McKissick Enterprises, Inc. is all about.

### **The corporate goals of McKissick Enterprises**

McKissick Enterprises is planning to become a major American Corporation. Unlike most companies, however, its major objectives are *Black Business Development with Social Commitment to Black Communities*. Nevertheless, it recognizes that its social goals will be obtained only to the extent that it prospers and is able to reinvest and distribute profits.

The social goal may be stated very simply: to provide a means for Black People to become a part of the American cap-

italist system and thereby achieve social and economic parity with the white community.

*Translating these social goals into corporate objectives is a major challenge to McKissick Enterprises. Some of the dimensions of the challenge are discussed below.*

### **The unique nature of the company**

There have been many attempts to institute Black Economic Independence on this continent. Most of these attempts have been hampered, however, by unrealistic, even romantic, notions or by a lack of sound business practices, or both.

McKissick Enterprises, on the other hand, recognizes the requirement to work within the capitalistic system. *It neither supports nor condemns capitalism.* It simply recognizes it as a power fact of life and realizes that if Black Men and Women are to share in the productive wealth of the nation, they have no alternative at this time other than full participation as entrepreneurs.

No other business corporation is attempting to build Black Capitalism on a national scale. McKissick Enterprises is doing so and has the ability to channel the resources which will make success possible.

### **The scope of the company**

McKissick Enterprises is concerned with the fate of Black People throughout this country—and the world. It is not limited to big city problems, rural areas or a particular social class. It is concerned with large and small businesses, with sales, services and production.

McKissick Enterprises will actively seek to stimulate business activities among Black people and it will encourage the formation of numerous new independent undertakings. It will foster broad ownership and community control through stock corporations and “community corporations.” It will also help to establish family stores and shops.

*In the course of expanding its activities, McKissick Enterprises will carefully develop priorities for areas in which it will concentrate.*

### **The structure of the company**

McKissick Enterprises is formed to make profit and to return profits to those Black Persons who participate in its activities.

In certain regards, the company will function as a holding company. That is, it will organize new corporations with limited goals. Some of these corporations may be subsidiaries, while McKissick Enterprises may own only a minority interest in others. For most major activities a new corporation will be formed.

McKissick Enterprises will also enter into contracts with local organizations, corporations, communities and individuals to provide services and to bring together the talents and resources required to mount individual business endeavors and projects for total community development.

*In all cases, McKissick Enterprises will be concerned only with viable business ventures which appear to offer real opportunity for growth and stability and which promise to yield a high return relative on investment.*

### **The resources of the company**

McKissick Enterprises has a unique wealth of resources. The political climate of the nation demands Black participation and control. Presently, there are forward looking businessmen and politicians who stand ready to cooperate with sound, well planned Black Business ventures.

The major asset of the Company is, however, its President, F. B. McKissick. Mr. McKissick, a highly successful lawyer and businessman, has earned an international reputation for boldness and integrity of leadership. As Director of CORE, he was the first man in recent times to clearly articulate the meaning of "Black Power." More important, he was the only one to draft a

realistic program and design a structure for achieving Black Power and self-determination.

His drive and farsightedness led him to the founding of McKissick Enterprises, since he clearly perceived that the key to power in the United States was economic power.

McKissick Enterprises will be able to attract substantial capital backing for its projects. Lack of such capital has been a major problem facing Black Businesses. McKissick Enterprises will also develop the managerial skills which are required in order to mount new businesses. It is currently putting together a staff and body of consultants who will provide a management talent pool which is unsurpassed.

McKissick Enterprises is Black owned and controlled, but it recognizes the need to acquire talent and skill from a broad range of experienced businessmen and planners. It will utilize persons from every background as consultants, and in other capacities, as long as these individuals are willing to work to realize the long-term goals of the company.

The primary goal of McKissick Enterprises is economic independence for the Black Community. Economic Independence demands that comprehensive Black Industry be developed. Black People cannot hope to achieve a strong Black Economy without controlling their own industry from beginning to end. They cannot merely process and sell products designed and developed by the white community. In order to be effective, new Black corporations must be involved in production of goods as well as the import and export of products. Black American corporations can significantly affect positive trade relations with African countries, and stimulate a vast new market for the products of Black America. Such healthy economic relations should serve to further unite Black Americans with their brothers in Africa—resulting in a new awareness and harmony between the developing African nations and their western neighbors.

Existing Black Communities are, in many ways, like colonies. These communities are plagued by an imbalance of trade. Black People presently depend upon the larger community for their

employment as well as the goods and services necessary to urban life. Therefore, they must leave their communities to earn their money as well as to spend it. The few existing economic institutions in Black Communities are almost exclusively white owned and operated. Therefore, there is no funnel for capital into the Black Community. There is no chance for Black People to seriously affect the conditions in which they must live.

McKissick Enterprises future plans is to develop a Non-profit Small Business Development Cooperative which will function as a consultant for Black Businesses, and will serve to bring Black Businessmen together to exchange information and ideas pertinent to Black Economic Growth. Representatives of white corporations will also be encouraged to contribute by aiding in the development of a skills bank which would provide trained and skilled planners and workers for Black Industry.

In addition, McKissick Enterprises will aid young Black Businessmen by providing technical assistance and funds to people with sound business ideas. At times, new companies will be owned by McKissick Enterprises until they are sufficiently viable to become independent. At that point, these companies would become the property of those who provided the original inspiration.

McKissick Enterprises will be instrumental in the development of Profit-making economic institutions across America. McKissick Enterprises can provide the expert legal and technical assistance to prevent unnecessary failures in Black Economic ventures. It can provide information and arrange for mortgages and financing for new undertakings which will be ultimately beneficial to Black Communities. In this capacity, it is likely that McKissick Enterprises will be involved in the establishment of such diversified institutions as hosiery factories, construction companies and supermarkets.

McKissick Enterprises will be able to present Management Development Packaged Programs for operational Black Businesses and Communities. It will be able to provide training systems, secure private or public funds, in order to launch new Black Business Enterprises.

While consulting will be an important function of McKissick Enterprises, the primary function will be to develop Black Economic structures in as many Black Communities as possible. In order to accomplish such a complex task, the structure of McKissick Enterprises must remain flexible—adaptable to the requirements of each individual community.

McKissick Enterprises will distribute and operate franchises as well as build businesses, maintain businesses and bring together entire industries. McKissick Enterprises will acquire profits by the creation and operation of innovative training programs—ongoing programs throughout the nation which will be owned and operated by McKissick Enterprises—Automobile, Secretarial Training Centers, schools of Business Administration. The Black Community needs training programs to provide skilled personnel to work on every level of the economy. McKissick Enterprises will play a primary role in providing these programs.

McKissick Enterprises will participate in land development; acquiring land to be used for projects of benefit to the Black community. Such projects will be undertaken only after careful and thorough consultation with the community. *No project will be undertaken without the support of the local Black Community.*

Profits made in one community by McKissick Enterprises will be used to establish other profit-making projects in other Black Communities across America. In this way, great numbers of Black People will be positively affected by the activities of McKissick Enterprises. Most profits will be reinvested rather than distributed.

We will seek capital from two major sources. The Black community will provide much of the capital. Further capital will be provided by insurance companies, banks and private industry. Sources of substantial capital will have a number of incentives to make loans to McKissick Enterprises instead of investing funds in other companies in Black Areas. Black People will no longer accept white domination. The Black Community has

made it clear that it will not be exploited by white individuals or corporations. Therefore, if White Businessmen are to continue to reap any economic benefit from the Black Community, they will have to invest through Black Organizations and Corporations. At all times, these Black Organizations must retain control. The final decisions must be made by Black men when those decisions vitally affect the Black Community.

Banking institutions will also find it profitable to initiate loans to McKissick Enterprises. Frequently, rigid standards prevent banks from investing in businesses which do not meet stringent and often arbitrary standards. Therefore, if McKissick Enterprises can guarantee the bank's investment, the bank will be far more likely to invest.

Black Businessmen have historically received little help from banking institutions. There is hence a great reluctance on the part of many businessmen to deal with these banks. In many cases, these men would rather deal through a broker such as McKissick Enterprises, knowing that McKissick Enterprises was operating in their best interests and was aware of their special difficulties. In this way, McKissick Enterprises will serve to bring together businessmen and bankers who might not otherwise cooperate. The result will be the creation of new and viable businesses which might not otherwise be possible.

Already, plans are being outlined for the acquisition of a block of property in central Harlem. This is an area which is currently plagued with the worst problems of ghetto life,—drug addiction, poor housing, unemployment, crime. It is an area which can be successfully redeveloped, while retaining the existing dwellers and small businesses in the area. An arcade could be built, which could include training centers, a motel or hotel, as well as shops and stores. Other companies such as Corn Products Company have expressed interest in this project. This project would provide a model for Black Economic Development, and demonstrate the potential for growth in the Black Community.

Small businessmen or private tenants will not be dispossessed to make way for McKissick Enterprises. There is no doubt that

hotels can be built to include new and attractive apartments for those people already living in the area. Businessmen temporarily moved out can return to new and vastly improved quarters. But the culture of the community will be preserved. In many cases, renovation rather than rebuilding will be preferable.

Feasibility studies will, of course, be necessary. McKissick Enterprises cannot hope to be successful if it undertakes projects with a high potential for failure. Nevertheless, every effort will be made to meet the demands of the community. It is the belief of McKissick Enterprises that the demands of the Black Community are just and reasonable. In the few cases where McKissick Enterprises will be unable to meet these demands, full and detailed explanations will be given to the community.

The following projects are under development:

*A. Black Top Restaurants, Incorporated*

Consideration is being given to establishing a chain of restaurants. A corporation has been formed. Currently a plan of action is being formulated, and a site for an initial Harlem restaurant is being sought.

*B. Shopping Center Development*

An initial proposal for the development of a shopping center in Harlem and/or Mount Vernon, New York has been prepared. Following several discussions, the International Council of Shopping Centers has agreed to participate. Plans are currently being drawn up to specify the nature of the corporate structure which would maximize community ownership and control.

*C. Harlem Human Development Consortium*

We have organized a Consortium and submitted a proposal to the United States Department of Labor for training the hard-core unemployed under the MA-4 Program. The Consortium will include large employers of cooks, bakers and meat cutters as well as Harlem civic and civil rights organizations.



#### *D. Publishing Company*

We are negotiating with several publishing companies for purchase of rights to a number of titles related to the history, struggle and future of Black America. Active consideration is being given to forming a new publishing company, alone or in conjunction with an already existing publisher.

#### *E. Black Drama Productions Incorporated*

A number of prominent Black Playwrights and Authors have secured the assistance of McKissick Enterprises in organizing and launching this company. Pioneer Productions will initially produce lecture series for colleges. It also plans to present Black Art, Music and Drama Programs as well as produce several plays. The nature of the agreement between our company and pioneer is being negotiated.

The feasibility of these additional projects is being investigated:

#### *A. Black Top Clubs, Inc.*

A chain of clubs presenting entertainment and African style dining is being considered. A corporation has been formed, but has not begun activities.

#### *B. New City Development*

Under consideration is the building of a new city in rural North Carolina. Initial talks have been held with Rouse and Company.

At present, resources do not allow McKissick Enterprises to develop its own market projections. Outside consultations will be required. Eventually, marketing and consulting firms will be added to McKissick Enterprises.

Numerous other business ideas are scheduled for consideration. Currently, McKissick Enterprises is investigating the possibility of further dealing in African artifacts, jewelry, sculpture, etc. Such a project could be not only economically rewarding, but would help arouse Black consciousness and cultural understanding.

McKissick Enterprises might also establish a bonding company, primarily for the purpose of bonding businessmen starting in the construction business. This is necessary since construction companies depend on such performance bonds and white companies have been unwilling to bond most Black People. Another worthwhile project might be an insurance company which would provide adequate and fair insurance coverage for Black Businessmen throughout the nation.

McKissick Enterprises believes that the development of Black Capitalism is so long overdue and of such importance that it takes precedence over job training programs and general education. Until now, Black People have been relegated to the bottom of the economic ladder. The only way to reverse this trend is to firmly establish Black People on every level of the capitalist structure—thereby guaranteeing organizations receptive to the Black Community and willing to aid in the training and education of the masses of Black People.

The success of McKissick Enterprises will have a tremendously revitalizing effect upon the Black American population. The development of products by Black People to be sold primarily, but not exclusively, to Black People, will have a beneficial effect upon young Blacks. Young people will be encouraged to participate in the economy and to study and train to assume responsible roles within that economy. They will be faced with strong evidence that they have a chance to make it. Presently, the number of Black Capitalists is so small and frequently so far removed from their community that their achievements mean little to most Black Youngsters. *The establishment of Black Economic institutions which are responsive to the needs and desires of the Black Community can be a force for positive change and optimism. It can be a force for the elimination of apathy and despair, the most volatile social components in this society.*

## Revolutionary nationalism

Revolutionary nationalism developed rapidly in the middle 1960s. The following documents illustrate the complexity and variety of its ideologies and organizational forms. A letter from General G. Baker, Jr., a young nationalist from Detroit, to his draft board (Document 72) responds to its request that he report for a physical examination. The spirit of this letter, written in 1964, echoes that of Bishop Turner in the war with Spain in 1898 (Document 29B) and anticipates the later chant, "Hell, no! We won't go!" The identification of the struggles of black Americans with those of oppressed peoples throughout the world epitomizes the outlook of *Soulbook*, the journal in which the letter appeared, begun late in 1964 by college-age blacks from New York and California.

One aspect of recent revolutionary nationalism is the belief that a violent confrontation will, and indeed must, take place before black people can really be free. All these documents reflect this view. The first article by Max Stanford, a young Philadelphia nationalist who was formerly field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), is a secular alternative to the revolutionary, but essentially religious, nationalism preached by Malcolm X. It illustrates the transition from civil rights protest to the later nationalism. The second article was issued as a news release from the Queens County House of Detention in New York City where Stanford was held for alleged conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy and related charges. It calls for the establishment of an independent black nation within the present boundaries of the United States (Document 73). Brother Gaidi (Milton Henry), first

vice-president of the Republic of New Africa, explains in Document 74 how his separatist group intends to establish just such a nation consisting of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Whereas RAM and the Republic of New Africa see the black revolution culminating in the formation of a separate black nation, James Boggs (Document 75) views the cities as the major focus of the impending struggle, foreseeing a series of black-controlled cities within a drastically restructured American society. Boggs, long an automobile worker in Detroit, has written widely on the theory and strategies of black liberation. His major works are *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook* (1963) and *Manifesto for a Black Revolutionary Party* (1969).

The revolutionary nationalism espoused by Robert Williams and Malcolm X, propagated in the pages of *Soulbook* and *Liberator*, and given wider currency by the militant speeches of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, manifested itself dramatically in the Black Panther Party, formed in Oakland, California, in 1966. Led by Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, and Eldridge Cleaver, the Panthers attracted wide publicity by their distinctive dress—black berets and black leather coats—and by their brandishing of weapons. The party platform and an interview with Huey Newton (Document 76) indicate their underlying belief that the needs of black people cannot be met within the capitalist system and their advocacy of self-determination. Such views were becoming increasingly common among local groups. Even at the time, as the interview with Huey Newton indicates, the Black Panthers were not averse to working with revolutionary white radicals. This tendency has recently become so marked that Stokely Carmichael has denounced the Panthers for deserting the nationalist cause.

One local organization, Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), was founded in 1968 by automobile

workers in Detroit who believed that both the union and the employers oppressed them. Successfully organizing on the basis of the specific problems of young black laborers, DRUM inspired similar groups in other automobile plants who early in 1969 formed a League of Revolutionary Black Workers. The DRUM constitution ( Document 77 ) presents an analysis of the present condition of black people, a solution, and an organizational structure. This spreading of revolutionary nationalist ideologies to the factories is perhaps one of the most significant developments of this period.

**72. GENERAL G. BAKER, JR.:  
 "MY FIGHT IS FOR FREEDOM:  
 UHURU, LIBERTAD, HALAUGA,  
 AND HARAMBEE!"**

*Gentlemen:*

This letter is in regards to a notice sent to me, General Gordon Baker, Jr., requesting my appearance before an examining station to determine my fitness for military service.

How could you have the NERVE knowing that I am a black man living under the scope and influence of America's racist, decadent society??? You did not ask me if I had any morals, principles, or basic human values by which to live. Yet, you ask if I am qualified. QUALIFIED FOR WHAT, might I ask? What does being "Qualified" mean: qualified to serve in the U.S. Army? . . . To be further brainwashed into the insidious notion of "defending freedom"?

You stand before me with the dried blood of Patrice Lumumba on your hands, the blood of defenseless Panamanian

General G. Baker, Jr., "Letter to Draft Board 100,  
 Wayne County, Detroit, Michigan," SOULBOOK, II (Spring  
 1965), 133-134. Reprinted by permission of the author.

students, shot down by U.S. marines; the blood of my black brothers in Angola and South Africa who are being tortured by the Portuguese and South African whites (whom you resolutely support) respectively; the dead people of Japan, Korea, and now Vietnam, in Asia; the blood of Medgar Evers, six Birmingham babies, the blood of one million Algerians slaughtered by the French (whom you supported); the *fresh* blood of ten thousand Congolese patriots dead from your ruthless rape and plunder of the Congo—the blood of defenseless women and children burned in villages from Napalm jelly bombs . . . With all of this blood of my non-white brothers dripping from your fangs, you have the damned AUDACITY to ask me if I am “qualified.” White man; listen to me for I am talking to you!

I AM A MAN OF PRINCIPLES AND VALUES: principles of justice and national liberation, self-determination, and respect for national sovereignty. Yet, you ask if I am “physically fit” to go to Asia, Africa, and Latin America to fight my oppressed brothers (who are completely and resolutely within their just rights to free their fatherland from foreign domination). You ask me if I am qualified to join an army of FOOLS, ASSASSINS and MORAL DELINQUENTS who are not worthy of being called men! You want me to defend the riches reaped from the super-exploitation of the darker races of mankind by a few white, rich, super-monopolists who control the most vast empire that has ever existed in man’s one million years of History—all in the name of “Freedom”!

Why, here in the heart of America, 22 million black people are suffering unsurmounted toil: exploited economically by every form of business—from monopolists to petty hustlers; completely suppressed politically; deprived of their social and cultural heritage.

But, all men of principle are fighting-men! My fight is for Freedom: UHURU, LIBERTAD, HALAUGA, and HARAM-BEE! Therefore, when the call is made to free South Africa; when the call is made to liberate Latin America from the United Fruit Co., Kaiser and Alcoa Aluminum Co., and from Standard Oil; when the call is made to jail the exploiting Brahmins in

India in order to destroy the Caste System; when the call is made to free the black delta areas of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina; when the call is made to FREE 12TH STREET HERE IN DETROIT!: when these calls are made, send for me, for these shall be Historical Struggles in which it shall be an honor to serve!

Venceremos!  
*General G. Baker, Jr.*

**73. MAX STANFORD:  
 "REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM,  
 BLACK NATIONALISM,  
 OR JUST PLAIN BLACKISM"**

**A. TOWARDS REVOLUTIONARY ACTION  
 MOVEMENT MANIFESTO**

RAM was officially organized in the winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who favored Robert F. Williams and the concept of organized violence. Through a series of workshop discussions, the group decided there was a need for a "Third Force" or movement that would be somewhere between the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) and SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.)

**Objectives**

1. To give black people a sense of racial pride, dignity, unity and solidarity in struggle.

**Max Stanford, "Towards Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto,"  
 CORRESPONDENCE (March 1964), pp. 3, 5.**

2. To give black people a new image of manhood and womanhood.

3. To free black people from colonial and imperialist bondage everywhere and to take whatever steps necessary to achieve that goal.

4. To give black people a sense of purpose.

The motto was "One Purpose, One Aim, One Destiny," meaning:

ONE PURPOSE—To free black people from the universal slave-master (slang for capitalist oppression).

ONE AIM—To develop black people through struggle to the highest attainment possible.

ONE DESTINY—To follow in the spirit of black revolutionaries such as Gabriel Prosser, Toussaint L'Overture, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, Dr. DuBois, Robert F. Williams, and to create a new world free of colonialism, racism, imperialism, exploitation, and national oppression.

Thus RAM was officially organized as a movement. With rotating chairmen to develop leadership, RAM immediately plunged into action. It helped organize one of Philadelphia's largest black mass rallies for the NAACP over the issue of a "research project" designed by white liberals for the black community.

We felt a need for "fresh, young and new ideas" to be discussed in the black community, so we began publishing a bi-monthly *Black America*. RAM then organized several street meetings in the heart of the black ghetto to bring its program to our people, obtained an office, and began to hold free weekly African and Afro-American history classes. Through a free weekly publication, *Ram Speaks*, RAM attempted to raise the consciousness of the black community by the discussion of political issues.

RAM found, through its active involvement and living with the black masses, that one of the main reasons that we (black people) are unorganized is because we (black people) are politically unaware. RAM then reorganized its program to edu-



cation in political revolution. We soon saw that the key to the black man's plight is his lack of revolutionary organization. We felt that this could best be brought about by the organization of a black political party. But we also felt that this black political party must have revolutionary objectives and not that of peaceful co-existence with the oppressor. In other words, we felt the need for a black revolution that could and would seize power.

In spreading revolutionary concepts throughout the community and especially among youth, RAM became a target for the power structure. When RAM demonstrated, along with many other groups over the racist-fascist police tactics used against unarmed women, children and men in Birmingham, the NAACP tried to oust RAM from a "united" picket line because of its sign stating, "We do not advocate non-violence in a police state." The more RAM pushed, the more the reformist leadership had to sound aggressive. When the NAACP decided to organize demonstrations over union discrimination on a school construction site, RAM played a major role. The racist-fascist police seized the opportunity to attack some RAM organizers and frame them on trumped-up charges of assault and battery, cutting, disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and conspiracy.

It soon became apparent that the NAACP and CORE were fighting to get headlines, so RAM ceased its public program and began to develop its members and those around them. RAM felt this was necessary since, in order to make our black revolt into a successful black revolution, we would have to train people in what real revolution means and what it is going to take.

To answer some questions raised by "orthodox black nationalists" and charges that RAM is an integrationist group, I will explain why we participated in the school construction site struggle.

As revolutionary black nationalists, we do not believe that standing on the street corners alone will liberate our people. Revolutionary black nationalists must act as a vanguard to

show our people how to seize power so that they may gain some control over their lives. The main reason they are treated the way they are is that they are powerless. In the school construction site demonstration, our people saw the system denying them opportunity. As our struggle developed, they saw that the police who represent the state or state power were not on our side but on the side of those who uphold racism. This brought in the concept of government, protection of the community by a black people's police force, and the concept that we are at war with white America. Thus by our action, our people gained a vital lesson in the need for a revolutionary organization that has power by physical example and involvement.

RAM soon found that just being out in the streets was not enough and that national revolutionary organization was the key to victory of our revolution. RAM also shifted its program to an accent on youth. After careful analysis through action and study, RAM feels that black youth are the key to our revolution. We see youth all over the world leading the revolutions of our people. In the Angolan liberation army the soldiers' age range is 17-20; in the Congo's guerilla force called "Youth" the age range is 14-20; in the Viet Cong the age range is 14-19; in Kenya the Mau Mau was started by roving bands of youth. In Cuba Castro's forces were very young.

During the summer of 1963 RAM reorganized and sent field organizers throughout the North to help local groups organize demonstrations. Through our experience we have developed an organization on three levels of involvement: 1) *Field Organizers*, who are full-time organizers with a period of orientation and training in the movement; 2) *Active Members*, who cannot be full-time but actively support RAM by physical, financial and other help, and have also been through a period of orientation; 3) *Associate Members*, who have been through a period of orientation but, for reasons approved by the movement, cannot give physical support but do pledge financial support. During the fall of 1963, RAM field organizers helped groups throughout the South develop a perspective beyond the

limits of the integrationist movement. Also in Philadelphia, RAM's home base, RAM in 1962 and 1963 fought several cases of police brutality and in one case achieved unity among the young black militant groups for a brief period. RAM has recently been active in organizing demonstrations around the frame-up of Mae Mallory and the other Monroe defendants.

### **RAM philosophy**

RAM philosophy may be described as revolutionary nationalism, black nationalism or just plain blackism. It is that black people of the world (darker races, black, yellow, brown, red, oppressed peoples) are all enslaved by the same forces. RAM's philosophy is one of the world black revolution or world revolution of oppressed peoples rising up against their former slave-masters. Our movement is a movement of black people who are coordinating their efforts to create a "new world" free from exploitation and oppression of man to man.

In the world today there is a struggle for world power between two camps, the haves (Western or white capitalist nations) and the have-nots (Eastern or newly independent nations struggling for independence, socialist nations). There are two types of nationalism. One type suppresses or oppresses, that is, a nation or particular group reaps profits or advances materially at the expense, exploitation, slavery or torture of another group or nation. In this nation and in the world today, this nationalism is considered "white nationalism" or the cooperation of the white Western nations to keep the new emerging oppressed world in bondage. This is capitalist or reactionary nationalism. The other type of nationalism is to liberate or free from exploitation. That is the binding force of a nation or particular group to free itself from a group or nation that is suppressing or oppressing it. In this country and in the world, this is considered black nationalism or revolutionary nationalism.

We can see that black nationalism is the opposite of white nationalism; black nationalism being revolutionary and white

being reactionary. We see also that nationalism is really internationalism today.

While defining nationalism as a force towards black liberation, we define nationalism as black patriotism.

Nationalism is an identification and consciousness of our own kind and self. Knowledge of self is an integral part of nationalism. Knowledge of our own history of struggle is an essential part of nationalism. Love for our own people and not for the enemy is nationalism.

RAM feels that with the rise of fascism, the black man must not only think of armed self-defense but must also think aggressively.

Our black nation is still in captivity. RAM feels that the road to freedom is self-government, national liberation and black power. Our slogan is "Unite or perish." Our definition of revolution is one group's determination to take power away from another.

In ending this manifesto, we (RAM) say, "Think what you wish, but we shall accomplish what we will."

## **B. A MESSAGE FROM JAIL**

The following proposals were released by Brother Stanford on March 5, 1968:

1. The African-American in the U.S. should demand independent Black Nationhood and take the U.S. government to the world court, the United Nations, and bring international indictment against the U.S. for its violation of Human Rights and racial war crimes of Genocide.

2. Black people in the U.S. must demand independent Black

**"Max Stanford Calls for Independent Black Nation," press release, Afro-American News Service, April 17, 1968, mimeographed.**

Nationhood (Land) and Reparations (repayment for racial crimes committed by the U.S. government).

The following message from Max Stanford thoroughly explains and supports his call for Independent Black Nationhood:

The Blackman in America must realize that integration of the Black and white races in the U.S. will never work. He must realize that he is not a citizen denied his rights but a colonized captive held in colonial bondage inside the U.S. Black people in America are a nation within a nation; a colonialized captive African nation. Instead of America establishing a colony in Africa as other European nations did, it brought its colony within its national boundaries.

A second class citizen is a 20th century slave. Our struggle is not a struggle for civil rights; it's a struggle for human rights and self determination. Our struggle is not a domestic problem, it is not a national problem, it is an international problem.

America is an enemy to all freedom loving peoples of the world. America spreads racism all over the world. It is an international racist criminal. It is the Fourth Reich worse than Nazi Germany. America doesn't want us to realize our struggle is one of human rights and nationhood because it knows it could be brought before the U.N. and tried by the world court for its racial crimes of Genocide and branded as a racist colonial power. Our friends worldwide could then help us and our real enemies would be exposed.

But this can never happen as long as we are begging for civil rights. The U.S. government can slaughter us in the streets as it's preparing to do and say it's a domestic problem. As long as we demand integration, we will be shot down in the streets. We must realize there is no mercy in this racist beast. He has proved this by bombing our children in churches, kidnapping young girls, raping our women, assassinating our leaders, lynching and shooting our young men.

We must fight for independence and nationhood like all other freedom loving peoples have done. By demanding an independent Black nation from the land that is rightfully ours: Missis-

issippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Virginia, South Carolina and North Carolina. The land we tilled, shed blood for 300 years for nothing (slave labor) and a 100 years for dry bones (sharecropping); we can get support from others.

We demand Reparations: repayment for racial crimes and injustices done to us for over 400 years. If we make no demand, how can anyone help us?

We must see through the oppressor's tricknology and take our question of human rights and self determination before the world court. Wake up before you find out too late *America is the Blackman's Battleground.*

### THE YEAR 1968, THE YEAR THE BLACK NATION WILL REALIZE THAT AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUND

The year 1968 will go down in history as the worst year yet of racial war between blacks and whites since the end of the civil war. It will also be recorded as the year the African-American challenged the question of his so-called second class U.S. citizenship and raised the question of separate nationhood. IT will be remembered as the year the Blackman realized *America is the Blackman's Battleground.*

It's too late to save America. America has a bad case of cancer called racism. For 300 years this cancer has been bred and spread all throughout American society without being checked. At first America benefited from this disease getting free profits, having her economy built from slave labor. America eventually built herself an empire from the economic and political exploitation of the Blackman. Its empire became so huge it could send its armies and navy around the world and dominate any nation at will. But like the invincible Greek warrior, Achilles, America had only one weakness, its cancer—racism. Now in the year 1968, America is about to be destroyed by its own creation—the so-called American Negro.

America is about to reap what it has sown. The reason why it's too late for her is because white Americans no longer need

Black slaves or servants; they have machines to replace us. With the rise of automation America doesn't have enough jobs for white people, let alone Black people. The average white man sees the Blackman as a threat. Racist groups are busy inflaming the average white middle-class American into believing the only way to save their way of life is by exterminating 22 million Black Americans. Instead of America admitting the truth of injustices done to the African-American and attempting to repay him, it has chosen instead to eliminate him. These racist groups led by the John Birch Society, Minutemen and KKK have infiltrated the army, government, police force, national guard and are preparing to unleash mass slaughter, a blood bath on the Blackman. The Fourth Reich is here. As time goes on these groups are gaining more control over the white masses. The more the Reich gains control of the white masses, the less tolerant they are to Black demands. Armageddon is here, race war is at hand.

Instead of racial tension getting better, it's getting worse. America is at the point of a race war. As America's economy drains in gold in order to maintain its world empire, it cannot afford racial turmoil within, it has decided to have complete control of the African-American or exterminate him. America is the 20th century Rome. America is the new Nazi Germany—the Fourth Reich.

The year 1968 will be recorded as the year when integration efforts proved a total failure. As the U.S. Army is training special "Black extermination" units, the Black Nation must realize it cannot depend on the federal government to help it or be on its side.

The U.S. government is a government of the majority, by the majority, for the majority—the white majority. When Black peoples fight for freedom no longer helps or benefits the white majority, the white U.S. government will not be on our side. Neither will the white National Guard, white state troopers, white city cops and white state and city governments be on our side. The whole Fourth Reich will be against us and will try to wipe us out when Black Americans rebel against racism.

The Fourth Reich will use the latest techniques of electronic, biological and chemical warfare against us. They know if they lose this war their whole empire will crumble. The Fourth Reich is designing chemicals such as Mace that can paralyze thousands of people at one time and make them helpless; they are working on sirens that make one's bowels break and nerves shatter. They have devices that can be sprayed on crowds that sting, blinds, shines in the dark and can't be washed off. The Fourth Reich will unleash a more brutal war on us than they're waging against the Vietnamese. It wants to kill two birds with one stone this summer—us and the Vietcong. Yes, they will eventually drop Napalm bombs on us. They will throw everything at us they can. This is what the U.S. government is preparing to do to us. Will this stop us? No.

Being outnumbered 9 to 1, each Black American must be physically, mentally and spiritually superior to the enemy. *All forms of self-defense must be well known in the Black community.* Karate, Aikdo, Kung Fu and other forms of martial arts should become the new national past time for Black youth. You must unite and prepare to survive the most vicious racist attack the world has ever seen. Time will teach the Blackman to be as swift as the wind and never fight on the enemy's terms. Time will teach the Blackman never to be where the enemy expect him, *never to fight when the enemy wants him to fight, to rise in the west, strike in the east; retreat when the enemy advances.*

The summer of 1968 will be a summer of a fight for survival for Black militants. Black militants will have to be very *wise* if they are to be around in 1969. As H. Rap Brown said when attacked, it's time to stop lootin' and to start shootin'. There are some who say Black Power will come from the barrel of a gun. Only time will tell. Anyway, one thing for sure, 1968 is the year the Blackman had better Arise, Awake, before he realizes too late: America is the Blackman's Battleground.



**74. THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA:  
“WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT  
FOR THE NON-SELF-GOVERNING BLACKS  
HELD CAPTIVE WITHIN THE UNITED STATES”**

How would it be possible to effect the transfer of power, money and land from the United States to the Republic of New Africa? In the following interview, Henry attempts to explain it:

**Q:** Do you consider your government already in existence?

**A:** Certainly. We are the government for the non-self-governing blacks held captive within the United States. We meet once a week in every consulate, and we have consulates in most of the larger cities right now. New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Cleveland—you name it. We're thin in the West, but we have strong consulates in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Soon we will be organizing a Congress.

**Q:** Are these just paper consulates?

**A:** They are real consulates with a consul and a vice-consul and at least two secretaries. We *should* be issuing passports but if we did the U.S. government would probably use that as an excuse to crack down on us.

**Q:** How do you propose shifting your government-in-exile into the Deep South and setting up a government-in-fact?

**A:** We have already begun the shift. We have bought a hundred acres in Mississippi. That isn't much land but it is sufficient for a base headquarters. Like the Jews moving into Israel we will start to organize along the lines of cooperative and collective farms. You have to be able to feed your people. But the collective farm does more than just provide food. It's a center where people can get together, can politic themselves and can protect themselves.

**From Robert Sherill, interview with Milton Henry, ESQUIRE  
(January 1969), pp. 73, 75. Reprinted by permission of  
ESQUIRE magazine. © 1968 by Esquire, Inc.**

Q: How many blacks will you ship into Mississippi to take control?

A: It won't have to be many. With a small movement of people we can do it. There are less than three million people in Mississippi and the blacks are already more than forty percent; in some counties they are fifty to seventy-five percent. Having a majority isn't meaningful until the day comes when we have enough people standing at the polls with guns to protect our vote.

Q: Does that mean you intend to seize the ballot machinery by democratic methods or by force?

A: Nothing is really peaceful. We may have to use arms. We will take over Mississippi county by county. To do that, we must have the power to get our votes counted. This embraces two needs: the power to ward off economic pressure and the power to ward off physical pressure. The reason we are setting up a Black Legion is so we will get our votes counted. If you bring in enough voters to take over a county, that gives you a sheriff. If you are wise in selecting your county—particularly in the Mississippi delta—you will have a large number of blacks to build with. Then we will have a legitimate military force, legitimate under U.S. law, made up of people who can be deputized and armed. The influence we will then exercise over the whole area of Mississippi will immediately be disproportionate to the numbers under our command. If we had only four sheriffs down there, with all that can be done with deputizing, we could change the state of Mississippi. Why did the Jews go into the Palestinian area and buy land? Because it gave them a base from which they could legitimately say, "We have land and we want to change the sovereignty." That's the way we are operating already.

Q: Where are you getting your money to buy the land? And where will you get your money to ship in blacks from the North?

A: Each black citizen is asked to buy one-hundred-dollar Malcolm X land certificates. It's something he can cherish and show to his children to prove he helped set up the black nation. The average black man can afford a hundred dollars. He can afford

money for everything else under the sun—he doesn't have any objection to buying the most expensive automobiles and everything else, and they wear out in three years. He sure can afford a hundred dollars to put down on his land.

Q: Will you feel you can take over the five states when you have five black governors?

A: We may not have to wait until we control these governors' offices before we make our demands as a new nation. The real question is not whether we control the governors but whether we control the land, and we can do that by controlling the sheriffs. That's the important thing: having physical control of the land. In terms of real control of the land and real confrontation—there will be other things going on in this country. It could be burned to the ground while U.S. officials are playing games with us. They could be engaged in very costly guerrilla activities. The problems in the North aren't going to be settled. We say the U.S. government will talk to us, and they will talk seriously to us about separation prior to the time we control the governors.

Q: If the government sees what you are up to and moves in to stop you, do you think you could whip the U.S. Army?

A: With the aid of nuclear weapons from our allies, such as China, sure we could. China could never help us until we could show that we were capable of a separate, independent existence. But we could show that by controlling a land mass. We could show it by the actual fact that we were there and had a majority of the people and were not subject to U.S. jurisdiction. Then China would back us with missiles. But we don't want to fight. It's better to have nice relations. We would only have to neutralize the U.S. Army, not fight it. We don't want another Vietnam, flames and napalm. Neutralizing the U.S. is the only way Castro could survive, and that's the way we would do it, too.

Q: At this point China is only a tentative hope for you to rely on. What do you have in the way of retaliatory firepower to fall back on until you can be sure of China's help?

A: We've got second-strike power right now in our guerrillas

within the metropolitan areas—black men, armed. Say we started taking over Mississippi—which we are capable of doing right now—and the United States started to interfere. Well, our guerrillas all over the country would strike. Our second-strike capability would be to prevent the United States Armed Forces from working us over, not the local forces. The local forces couldn't compete with our forces. We can handle them. The second-strike capability already exists, and all the United States has to do to find out is to make the wrong move. The guerrillas will be operative until we take possession of the physical land. Ultimately, when we have the land, we will get the missiles from around the world.

Q: What makes you think the U.S. will let you have the land when they wouldn't let the Confederacy secede?

A: It's a different situation. The South could be defeated separately, but if the whites defeat our objectives, the country will be ruined in the process. There are a sizable number of people who want self-determination, separation, land. They want that more than life itself. They can't shoot all of us. They can't shoot enough to discourage others. You see, the Revolutionary War would not have worked if that could have happened. And the war in Vietnam *isn't* doing so good. They aren't going to win in Vietnam and they can't win in the United States. We can fight from within. How are they going to get us out of here? Where would they make the guns to shoot us—in the United States? Do you think we are just going to let them keep on making guns? How will they transport their guns and soldiers—on railroad trains? The United States can be destroyed.

Q: Do you mean you would do all this by sabotage and guerrilla warfare?

A: Obviously. We're within the country. This country will either talk to the separatists today or will talk to them later. At which time perhaps this country will have lost a great deal, in terms of lives and property.

Q: As for the blacks who stay behind in the United States after you separate, how do you foresee defending them from revenge?

A: I don't think that is possible, and this is one reason why most

of them will come with us. It would be like Germany. Some would want to stay behind, but you get rid of ambivalence by oppression. There were some Zionists who even kind of welcomed the oppression because it helped unify the people toward the ideal of creating a nation. We've always said the white man is making more converts than we ever could. Every day the police walk through the black ghettos they make more converts than we can.

Q: When you have cut away the South as your own nation, what would happen to the industries that are already there, such as the steel companies around Birmingham?

A: We keep them. We take them and we keep them. The United States would pay reparations to those companies as part of our conditions for separation. The U.S. could give the companies tax credits for their losses. In those terms it wouldn't be very costly to the U.S. And of course our government would operate the plants. We don't have any hang-ups on socialism, which we call "ujaama," which is broader than socialism. It's an African conception of the organization of society. It means we have total responsibility for one another.

Q: Where will you get your technicians during the transition period?

A: If we need outside technicians, they'll be given resident visas. White people who feel they can live in the kind of society we're talking about can stay. But they'll have to be cognizant of the fact that we'll have a new kind of law. The white industrialists and technicians have too much power in Africa. I'm impressed every time I go back there—they have too damn much power in Africa. One of the things Castro did that helped his survival was to cut off the head of the industrial monster in the midst of his government. This is one of the problems in Algeria—they can't get out from under this economic thing. Those industrial guys are *powerful*.

Q: Since many of the whites who stayed on would hate your guts, wouldn't you be afraid of sabotage and guerrilla reprisals from them?

A (laughing): That kind of white would want to move. They'd

say, "Those goddamned niggers." I know there'd be a lot of people calling the President a bastard. Some of us who are helping getting the thing underway may never live to see the actual fruition of the government. But the government will go on.

Q: You say that your black followers are arming themselves for the day of separation. But where is this evident? If the blacks were really arming in large numbers, seriously, wouldn't the destruction and bloodshed in the riots of recent years have been far greater than it was?

A: The blacks have been arming along defense lines so far. We are now going through the period of holding action. But most astute people see that a different pattern is developing. Everywhere you can see a frustration, the willingness on the part of black people to say the hell with it. Some black people right now are so keyed up they just want to shoot it out. They want it all right now—right now. They don't want to wait. So far there has been sparing use of the gun and the Molotov cocktail. But we are urging that every black home have a gun for self-defense against the possibility of a Treblinka.

## 75. JAMES BOGGS: "THE FINAL CONFRONTATION"

Back in the early 1960's, at the time of the burning of the buses in Anniston, Alabama, which is not far from Birmingham, I proposed to the UAW that it immediately dispatch a busload of workers, Black and white, to Alabama to test what the Klan in 'Bama would do. I was, of course, not only interested in testing the Alabama Klan. I was also testing the readiness of the

James Boggs, "The Final Confrontation," **LIBERATOR**, VIII  
(March 1968), pp. 4-8. Copyright © 1968 by **LIBERATOR**.  
Reprinted by permission of **LIBERATOR**.

organized labor movement and of Northern white workers to clash with other whites on the issue of integration, which they allegedly supported.

The UAW took the easy way out. Instead of confronting the rank and file with this proposal, the leadership made a financial contribution to the NAACP—an organization which had already discredited itself by ousting Robert Williams (now in exile in China) from the presidency of the Monroe, North Carolina, branch of the NAACP because he had advocated Black people defending themselves from nightriding terrorist Klansmen (in his famous “Meet violence with violence” proposal). Today, nearly seven years later, the same Northern white workers who thought it was so noble for Black men and women not to defend themselves and their children from howling, club-swinging mobs in the South have themselves formed part of cursing, howling, bottle-throwing mobs and are openly arming and calling upon official and unofficial bodies to equip themselves with the most modern weaponry to try to push Blacks back into their place.

It was this same bus-burning incident which caused me to write an article entitled “The Second Civil War Has Begun in the U.S.A.” I was at that time chairman of a small radical newspaper called *Correspondence*, and there was much heated debate in the organization (which was primarily white) over the article. People argued that a civil war situation did not exist in the United States on the race issue because there were not enough people on each side clashing over fundamental issues. After all, they said, Blacks were only asking to be like whites and to be a part of the system. They were not clashing with whites, and they were not clashing with the system.

In one sense their argument was a sound one. At that time, Black people were still appealing to the moral conscience of America. They were only asking for civil rights, which are, after all, only the normal rights which a nation grants to its citizens. Black people had not yet learned that rights are what you make and take, and that it takes power to beget rights and even more power to secure and insure those rights after they have been

begotten. Black people had also not realized that any claims which the American people—Christian, atheist or agnostic—had to moral behavior had been refuted by their own history. This nation was built on the extermination of one race and the systematic degradation of another. It saw nothing wrong in fighting a war to free itself from colonial oppression and then continuing to keep Blacks in colonial oppression. Nearly a hundred years later it saw nothing wrong in allegedly fighting a civil war to free Blacks from slavery and then making a compromise to establish a new form of servitude for those Blacks, so that the nation could go on its merry way industrializing itself with the labor of immigrants.

But this is history we all know. What is new is that we are now in the early stages of another civil war and the system which was created by the last civil war is collapsing all around us. *The key to the future lies in being able to resist the temptation to reform the system so that it can work.* It is not difficult to recognize that a system is in trouble. What is difficult is to recognize this and at the same time recognize that *all* attempts to reform the system will in the end only create more bitterness and conflict with those forces already in motion, forces which can only survive by transforming the system from top to bottom. The example of Vietnam should always be kept in mind. In Vietnam, anything short of total revolutionary control of the entire country by the National Liberation Front—in other words, any attempt to set up other institutions to reform the system as the United States is attempting to do with one South Vietnamese government after another—means a bloody and extended civil war. *The only way to make the civil war briefer and less bloody is to hasten the destruction of the system by the revolutionary social forces.*

In Detroit today the Establishment is now trying to save the system by placing its own negro leader, William Patrick, at the head of a task force to build a "New Detroit" in the closest relation to multi-county government. It is the same thing that the United States is attempting in Vietnam, and it is sowing the seeds for the same kind of result.



There is a great difference between the issues that were posed in the first civil war and those that are being posed in today's civil war. The first was fought because one force in American society—the industrialists and the working people in the North—wanted to be the one to decide how the West should be developed, while another force, in the South, had its own plans. The issue was whether the West should be developed as a wheat-growing country by homesteading Northerners to act as a breadbasket for the rapidly industrializing North, or as cotton country developed by slave-owning Southerners. In other words, the fight was over who should control the West, *not* over any general principle of slave labor vs. free labor and certainly not over that of slave labor vs. free labor in the South.

Once this is understood, it is easy to see why the North was so willing to make the infamous Compromise of 1877 which allowed the South to reintroduce a new form of servitude for Black people in the South. But the American people always prefer to think that they are fighting for great moral principles rather than admit that the real issue is one of power and control. This genius that Americans have for disguising real issues of power as moral issues of principle is one of the chief reasons why we are today faced with a second civil war, one potentially much more complex and dangerous than the first.

The fight today is between two sets of people of two different races, one race having been systematically damned into underdevelopment in every facet of daily life—political, economic and social—by the other, a race which has pretended that both races were equal while at the same time discriminating against Blacks on the basis of race. The first group, the oppressed race, can therefore only free itself from the second, the oppressing race, by liberating itself as a race. Thus, for Blacks it is a war of national liberation, a war to free themselves as Black people from white America, past, present, and future—from its culture, its way of thinking, its history, its economic system and its politics.

The conflict is not only national but international, because the same white people who have colonized Black people at

home have done and are continuing to do the same thing to people of color all over the world.

How have we arrived at this point? For years radicals and liberals have been calling for unity between white and Black workers on the theory that white and Black were only divided by some external force, the ruling class, which is supposed to have created the division so that it could rule. But what this theoretical construct of "Divide and Rule" has failed to recognize is that the so-called lack of unity between white and Black is and has been in reality an antagonism between white workers and Black people, the kind of antagonism which is inevitable between oppressor and oppressed.

When Blacks were unable to get their rights through moral appeal, then they began to realize that they had to get them through power. And getting something through power means that one set of people who are powerless replace another set of people who are in power. Power is always concrete. It involves control of very concrete resources and institutions: (a) *economic resources and institutions*, such as banks and industries and stores; (b) *political resources and institutions*, such as local, state and national governments, courts and police forces; (c) *social resources and institutions*, such as schools and universities, churches, public places, foundations, etc.

Step by step, as Black people have rid themselves of the old rag-thoughts of moral misconceptions which cluttered up their minds, and as white people have revealed their determination to hold on to the resources and institutions of power, the clash has become inevitable. As usual, the more those in power are determined to hold on to their power, the more phrases they use to disguise the real issue. So today, everywhere, the hue and cry is that we must save democracy, enforce law and order, protect majority rule, defend property rights, save the free world, restore liberty and equality, etc., etc. All of these are the empty phrases of those who know that their power is being challenged and who are determined not to yield any real power.

To have some vision of what is necessary we must start not at the bottom but at the very top of this collapsing society. It is

a cold fact that neither the present President of the United States nor any of his aides nor any of the present aspirers to the Presidency of the United States could possibly resolve either the chief international issue or the chief domestic issue which faces this nation. The reason is that not one of them, from the moment that he began to exercise any power, could gain or maintain the confidence of the Third World either inside or outside this nation. There is no reason for any of the non-white nations of the world—which contain the majority of the world's people—to believe that the United States, as long as it is ruled by whites, could make a binding treaty that would respect their national sovereignty. The American people say that they believe in majority rule. Yet these two hundred million Americans are led to believe and do believe that they, a minority in the world, are entitled to use all necessary force and all the force at their disposal, to decide the course of the world. Only a Black people in power in this country could sign a treaty safeguarding the national sovereignty of other nations and setting up fair trade and technical exchange relations with other nations which could be acknowledged and respected by other nations.

The first civil war was fought over who would control the West. This civil war is to be fought over who will control the cities. In every major city inside this country, Black people are fast becoming the biggest ethnic majority, having been driven to the cities by the agricultural revolution in the South where they were at one time the only working class, but where their labor is no longer needed. They are also being driven to the cities for political reasons, the Southern whites having realized that if Afro-Americans remained in the counties of the South, they would soon constitute the ruling power in county government by virtue of majority rule. But whether in the North or South, when it comes to Black people the beautiful principle of majority rule is no longer a principle, just as in ancient Greece the beautiful principle of democracy was no longer a principle when it came to the slaves. Throughout the North, as is now

obvious, the whites have run away to the suburbs, abandoning the inner city to the Blacks. But they still want to run the city from the suburbs, maintaining their control of the reservation by their blue occupation army of the police at night until they return the next morning to civilize it by their presence. That is how Washington, D.C., is controlled, and the rest of the country follows the pattern of the nation's capital.

It is obvious that Blacks must rule the city from top to bottom. But it is not simply a question of the cities, because the cities are part of a nation. So the city must change its relation to the federal and the state governments. In place of the city-state relations, which have never worked adequately to supply the social and economic needs of the city, new city-federal relations must now be developed. These in turn require a new federal constitution. Therefore, Black political power in the cities is not only a challenge to the suburban whites who want to continue to rule the city and who are devising all kinds of multi-county regional schemes to do so; it is also a direct challenge to the federal government. But the federal government, which is constantly being called upon to intervene in local, city and state matters, is ruling on the basis of a set of constitutional rules and procedures in whose establishment Black people had no voice.

Thus the question of *whose* constitution, *whose* law and order, *whose* equality, *whose* justice, *whose* welfare, becomes a question of what kind of constitution, what kind of law and order, what kind of equality, what kind of justice, what kind of welfare, and the need arises to create a new political, economic and social system.

Let me say right here that no whites can participate directly in the resolution of any of these issues until they have recognized that other whites—not only those in power but those who support the ones in power (i.e., the majority)—are their enemies.

What does this recognition of other whites as enemies mean? Firstly, that these seriously concerned whites have acknowledged that the *others can't be changed by moral persuasion or*

*reason*. Only when this old rag-thought is thrown out will they be able to understand that a struggle for power between themselves and other whites is inevitable. And only then will they be able to prepare for such a clash. Secondly, it means the recognition that those in power and those who support the whites in power are a direct danger and threat not only to the Black man but to themselves; and that taking control away from those in power is, in fact, a matter of survival.

Only when some whites begin to act upon these fundamental recognitions and achieve power by virtue of their actions on these foundations, can there be a meeting of whites with power with Blacks with power to work out new constitutional procedures under which we can coexist. I am not saying that this will be easy, or even that it is likely to happen, because it is very difficult for the landlord to listen to the tenant, and it is even harder for those who are identified with those in power in every way except in intentions to recognize that the party is over and that it is not whether or not they like it but the cold realities which force the re-evaluation.

(I have not up to now mentioned the church. Whatever it could have done or should have done, it, too, is now caught up in the whirlwind of the revolution. Castro delivered the best message to the church in the early 60's when America thought it could use the church against the revolution. In his May Day speech in 1961, Castro made two important points about the Christian church. Christianity, he pointed out, originated as the religion of the humble, the slaves and the oppressed of Rome. He then reminded the church that it had been able to coexist with the Roman Empire, feudalism, absolute monarchies, and with the democratic republican bourgeoisie, always adapting itself. Why then, he asked, should it not be able to "coexist with a regime which in its social laws and social perspectives, in its defense of human interests and its defense of all men in society, its struggle against exploitation, is so much more like Christianity than are the exploitation and cruelty of feudalism, the absolute monarchs, the Roman Empire, the republican bourgeoisie or Yankee imperialism?"

Today most churchgoers are part and parcel of "the man"—no better, no worse. Only history can absolve them, and history may not be so kind.)

White Americans must realize that this country is already in the early stages of a great civil conflict between the revolution and the counterrevolution, both inside the country and outside, a conflict which can end only in the victory of the revolution or in the common ruin of the contending forces.

This conflict already has its own momentum, and as the President's Commission on Riots has pointed out, it is a momentum the majority of Americans will be virtually powerless to alter, whether they want to or not.

## **76. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY: "POLITICAL POWER COMES THROUGH THE BARREL OF A GUN"**

### **A. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM**

#### **WHAT WE WANT NOW! WHAT WE BELIEVE**

##### **What we want**

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our black community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true

**The Black Panther program, "What we Want Now! What we Believe,"  
THE BLACK PANTHER, March 16, 1968, p. 4.**

nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

7. We want an immediate end to *police brutality* and *murder* of black people.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

### **What we believe**

1. We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American business men will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the business men and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as retribution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered 6,000,000 Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50,000,000 black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the

land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We believe that black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black *self defense* groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment of the Constitution of the United States gives us a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for *self defense*.

8. We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been and are being tried by all white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of



nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—that *whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.*

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. *But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.*

## GUNS BABY GUNS

### B. AN INTERVIEW WITH HUEY P. NEWTON

*An Exclusive Interview with Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton in the Attornies' Room, Alameda County Jail, March 8, 1968. Present were: Charles R. Garry, [Newton's] Attorney;*

**"In Defense of Self Defense: An Exclusive Interview  
with Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton,"  
THE BLACK PANTHER, March 16, 1968, pp. 4, 16-18.**

*Ray Rodgers*, Los Angeles Times; *Joan Didia*, Saturday Evening Post; *Colin Edwards*, KPFA; and *Eldridge Cleaver*, Ramparts Magazine and The Black Panther Newspaper.

Q: Why did you drop the words for self defense from the official name of your organization?

A.: We ran into the problem of people misinterpreting us as a political party. They use the words for self defense to define us as a group that is paramilitary, or body guards, or something of this nature. But we found that it was very difficult, even though in our program we described or defined ourselves as a political party, people seemed to misinterpret the definition of what self defense was all about. We realize that when we are assaulted in the community by the gestapo tactics of the police that this is also a political thing. We are assaulted because we are black people, because the power structure finds it to their advantage to keep us imprisoned in our black community as colonized people are kept by a foreign power. So, the police is only an arm of the white power structure used very similarly to their military force—which it is—the local police is a military force, then there's the National Guard as the national police, and then there's the regular military as the international police. These police are used to occupy our community just as foreign troops occupy territory. The police don't live in our community, they have no respect for black people who do live in the community, yet they occupy the community. And they are not there occupying the community for the welfare and benefit of the people who live there, they are occupying it to make sure that the white businessmen who are systematically robbing our community are safe. So, this was part of our political stand—to make the Party basically clear for the intellectuals, because the grass roots of the community, the people we're most concerned with, the lower class black who represents about ninety-five per cent of the black population throughout this nation understood very well what we stood for. But, to make it clear to every one we changed the name to the Black Panther Party, to make it clear what our political stand was about.

Q: Mr. Newton, some newspapers, radio stations and television sort of brands the Black Panther leadership, you and

Mr. Seale and others, as anti-white, racists, or counterracists. Would you like to clear up this matter?

A: Yes, the Black Panther Party is against racism, we're not racists. But we stand to protect the black community, to rid America of racism. We're subject to the tactics of racists by the white establishment, but it's a very common thing for the people who are in control of the mass media to define the victim as a criminal, or to define the victim of racism as a racist. This is just a propaganda device that's used by the power structure so that they will gain support throughout the white community, a small portion of which happens not to be racist. But to consolidate *their* troops, they will claim that *we* want racism, and therefore turn all white people against us.

Q: Have you felt good about some of the young white people coming out in support of your case, and taking a political position on it?

A: Yes, the white revolutionaries or the enlightened part of the white community has responded and come to the defense of the vanguard group of the black community, which is the Black Panther Party. We think that we'll see more of this in the future.

Q: Would you tell us some more about yourself, your life, before the Black Panther Party?

A: I think that before the Black Panther Party that my life was very similar to that of most black people in the country. I'm from a lower class, working class family and I've suffered abuses of the power structure and I've responded as black people are responding now, so I see very little difference in my personality than any other black person living here in racist America.

Q: What shapes your attitude towards the racist institutions you're indicting?

A: Living here in America. It reminds me of a quote from James Baldwin. He says that, "To be black and conscious in America is to be in a constant state of rage," and I think that this is very true of black people in general in this country. Many black people, most black people, as I said, are uneducated and

they're not used to handling academic things and administrat-ing. So their response might have been somewhat different than mine, but they will rally behind a political party that's representing their grievances. So, all the Black Panther Party has done is to articulate and bring out the grievances of the black community.

Q: Can you recall some incident that sort of brought home to you the attitude of the majority of white people toward Negroes and the attitude of the white establishment?

A: You would like a specific incident?

Q: To bring home to people how this can scar one's soul.

A: I can understand that, it's very difficult for me to cite one specific incident because it's a very long process. I started to say that, "for a white person to understand, let him come to the black community," but this wouldn't be a good example, because he couldn't experience the alienation and the antagonistic attitudes of blacks that we receive in the white community. We live in a world, in white America here and any time a white person goes to the black community or a black country I doubt very seriously whether he experiences this alienation, because black people seem to have some priority on being humanist for some reason. Perhaps its a historical reason, I can't pinpoint why, but we seem to be more fair, as a people, to other people, than anyone else in the world.

Q: Have you had a chance to see this President's Commission on Civil Disorders Report?

A: I read a couple of accounts of it, yes.

Q: Did it seem pretty close to the mark?

A: I think that some of the statements in the report hit the mark, but as far as the conclusions or the solutions to the problem, I think they were wanting in that direction.

Q: Do you think the white establishment and white people as a whole will take it to heart and do something really effective to solve this problem of racism that it portrays?

A: I doubt seriously whether white America is mature enough and mentally well enough to solve this problem without a great catastrophe.

Q: Are you optimistic about your trial? Do you think it will be a fair trial?

A: Well, I think that black people will make sure that I receive a fair trial. I have no faith at all in the court system, because I've already suffered an injustice by being indicted by an all-white middle class Grand Jury, and so from my prior experiences I would expect no change. I also expect black people to come to my aid and to put pressure and see by any means necessary that all black men receive a fair trial, that's including those who are held in the various prisons and county jails at the present time. We're demanding immediate release for them because we realize they've suffered the same kind of injustice that I'm suffering now.

Q: You know the Peace and Freedom Party has sought to have you run as their candidate in the Seventh Congressional District, and we understand that you stated that if the Peace and Freedom Party would endorse the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party, then you would feel free to run. Would you like to comment on that?

A: That's very true. The Black Panther Party feels that the essentials that we cited in our platform, the Ten Point Program, is necessary for any group to accept if we're going to work in coalition with them. It's the basic things that the black community desires and needs; it's the basic demands of the black community. And without accepting the basic demands we would feel that the person who is seeking coalition is insincere if he cannot accept these ten basic philosophies.

Q: One of the points in the Ten Point Program [is to release] all black people from the draft, right?

A: Yes, that's part of it, we have a Ten Point Program of what we want and what we believe. We state that black people should not be made to fight in a war, to serve a military, to serve a government that is not working in our benefit, that's not working for our general welfare. That if the government is working against black people, and for the destruction of black people, we don't see any need at all for black people to serve in that military that's oppressing other colored peoples through-

out the world. So we are demanding that all black men be released from the military service until this government rights the wrongs that have been perpetrated against us.

Q: Is this in objection to a specific war or an objection to our government?

A: It's an objection to the specific war in particular and the governmental in general. We don't see where we would fight anyone for this racist government. It's only oppressing people for economic and racial reasons, as they're oppressing us in our black colony throughout America.

Q: How do you stand in relation to some black nationalist group, like Ron Karenga's in Watts, let's say?

A: In the first place, the Black Panther Party is a political party. I don't believe that Ron Karenga claims to be a political organ. And secondly, Ron Karenga and some other nationalistic groups seem to be somewhat hung up on surviving Africanisms, or what we call cultural nationalism. Cultural Nationalism deals with a return to the old culture of Africa and that we are somehow freed by identifying and returning to this culture, to the African cultural stage of the 1100's or before then. Somehow they believe that they will be free through identifying in this manner. As far as we are concerned, we believe that it's important for us to recognize our origins and to identify with the revolutionary black people of Africa and people of color throughout the world. But as far as returning, per se to the ancient customs, we don't see any necessity in this. And also, we say that the only culture that is worth holding on to is revolutionary culture, for change, for the better. We say the only way we're going to be free is by seizing political power which comes through the barrel of a gun. We say that we will identify so that we will have this consolidation of people: so we will have strength and we will respect ourselves and have the dignity of our past, but there are many things connected to the culture that we don't feel is necessary to return to.

Q: The Black Panther Party title and symbol was produced. I believe, by SNCC in Mississippi and Alabama when they started the Black Panther Party or movement down there. Was

this what gave inspiration to the creation of the Black Panther Party?

A: Yes, I was very impressed by the political party in Lowndes County. It called itself a freedom organization and they used the black panther as their symbol. They used the black panther because of the nature of a panther—a panther will not attack anyone but will back up first. But if the assailant is persistent, then the black panther will strike out and wipe out his aggressor, thoroughly, wholly, absolutely, and completely. So we thought that the symbol would be very appropriate for us. Also, I was very proud of the move that black people in Lowndes County made.

Q: Do you get any support from overseas?

A: At this time, black people all over the world are supporting each other. We realize that we're being treated by racist America within the country as other colonized people are treated abroad. We are abused for economic and race reasons.

Q: The communications are kind of bad up here between Huey and the outside world. They have imposed restrictions on newspapers and magazines, books, and so forth, which would keep him informed on what's going on around the world, very essential information. Were he able to get news from the outside, he would know that while Stokely Carmichael was in Africa, a Free Huey rally was held in Tanzania and President Kwame Nkrumah and Sékou Touré issued public statements to the effect that Huey Newton should be set free. So there is an awareness. News, clippings, and so forth are sent around the world and people around the world are aware of the pivotal nature of the case. If you are acquitted and set free, I presume you'll continue into a political career. Have you thought of returning to law, or are you definitely bound for a political career?

A: As far as career is concerned, I have one desire and that is to go on fighting for the liberation of black people throughout the world, and in particular black people here in America. I would like to relate to the Black Panther Party and our political stand that black people must arm themselves. I think that this

has been misinterpreted in a number of ways many times. We make the statement, quoting it from Chairman Mao, that Political Power comes through the Barrel of a Gun. The Black Panther Party has analyzed the statement and comes up with a clear realization that any time a people are unarmed and that the administrators of that country maintain a regular police force and a regular military, and the people of that country are unarmed, they are either slaves or subject to slavery at any given moment that that administration desires to inflict the force of that military or police upon the people. So we say that as long as the military or police force is armed, then black people should arm themselves. Many people have spoken of violence or of our advocating violence. Well, we're not advocating violence. We're advocating that we defend ourselves from the aggression. That if America is armed, and if it's right for America to arm herself and even commit violence throughout the world, then it's right for black people to arm themselves. If it's wrong for black people to commit this violence in self-defense, then it's wrong for America to commit this violence against people in America and throughout the world. This reminds me of a statement that Ronald Reagan made shortly after our appearance at the capital. He said something to the effect of, "In these enlightened times people cannot and should not influence other people by the use of physical force and the gun." But at the same time we see throughout America that the police are being heavily armed, not only being armed but are escalating the war against black people in our black communities by ordering heavy military equipment. Now we think Reagan should take a look at what he's doing and what the American government is doing before he criticizes black people for arming themselves to defend themselves against the aggression of America.

Q: Do you see yourself as playing a part, say things go through an orderly process now towards reform, playing a part in the political scene through the present political structures?

A: I think that the present political structure is bankrupt and this is what the game is all about. The present political structure



has perpetuated and protected and inflicted racism, so we say there has to be a drastic change in the political structure. As far as my running for office. I would only serve one purpose there—as a spokesman to articulate the grievances of the black community. And as far as playing the game that some black politicians have traditionally played, the day has come for this kind of action to stop. This is one of the reasons that we feel it's necessary for us to arm ourselves in a political fashion. It's a very important thing. For instance, when any candidate is going up for political office in the white power structure, he always has political power behind him. You can find political power in a number of areas; you have feudal power, or the farmers who own much land, and of course, they will put a candidate up who will serve their welfare and speak in their behalf. And his political colleagues, the people he has to work with understand that he has this political power behind him. If the farmers don't get what they want, if they don't get the price that they want for the crop, then they'll let the crop rot in the field. And then you have big business power, or economic power, where the people who own big businesses will get behind a candidate and this candidate will simply relay the message of these people who are big business. And it goes on, you have the cattle owners and so forth. We see that black people don't have this political power, they don't have economic power, they don't have land power—we've been robbed. For instance, our black politicians have been ineffective. Much of the time it's not their fault, it's simply because they don't have the grass roots political organization behind them. Even if we can vote for black people, simply to have the vote isn't political power. In the political arena, a thing is not political unless the people can inflict a political consequence if they don't get what they want. And black people in the past haven't been able to inflict this consequence. For instance, according to John Hope Franklin, the reason that Black Reconstruction failed where you had many black candidates holding office in the South wasn't because these black politicians were ignorant or inefficient. Many of the black representatives had been educated in France and in Canada and in

England and they were very efficient. The reason that it failed was because black people did not have economic or military power. After they put their man in office, he was still subject to those people who owned the land, he was still subject to these people who owned the military. So Black Reconstruction failed. We say now that we can develop political power by being a potentially destructive force. That if black people arm themselves in a political fashion, and the aggression is continued against us, we'll be able to offer a political consequence, very similar to Detroit.

Q: There's quite a phenomenon going on in the black community these days. It's quite clear that while you were out, there were a lot of groups and people who opposed your program and refused to approve of the Black Panther Party. But since you've been in jail a lot of people who opposed you have turned over and are now members of your party. Also, it's becoming necessary for people to take a public stand on this issue because the Black community is demanding that. One thing it's demanding is that Willie Brown, in particular, and all other black elected and appointed officials take a public stand. We're asking ones who're members of the Legislature to stand on the floor of the Legislature and speak out in your defense, they're demanding that. It's having a political effect because this is an election year. Byron Rumford and John Miller are trying to run for the same office in the 17th Assembly District. Willie Brown is running again, and John George is seeking to be elected to Congress. And all these people have before them the whole question of where they stand on Huey Newton, and not a meeting goes down without that coming up, and I thought you might be interested in knowing that. Would you expect that to happen?

A: Well, no. I'm very surprised that it did happen. But, after it happened, in retrospect, I understand what's going on. For instance, the black community is now forcing these political candidates into a direction that they want. They realize that they depend on black people to vote for them and black people identify with the Black Panther Party. They identify with the

Party more so now than they did in the past. And the reason for this, in my opinion, is that black people are always impressed by a reality. You could talk all day and articulate all sorts of beautiful things on how things could be and how things are and describing to the point. And you won't get the response that you would when a reality is put before them. Black people have understood what I've talked about and now that I'm being subjected to these very things that I've criticized, they can sympathize with the Party on this. And also, it makes them look around and observe, it brings to their consciousness many things that are happening in the Black community that are wrong. Many things that people have spoken about and many things that people have suggested be changed, and they haven't responded in the magnitude that they're responding now simply because now it's a reality. You cannot deny a reality. Anything that I've said in the past if it didn't relate to the situation, then it was my fault and it wasn't the situation's fault. So black people now are only relating to the reality of their existence. They realize that it's not only Huey Newton who's being persecuted, but it's the black community throughout America. And they are responding in their own defense.

Q: There's been a lot of talk about the generational gap in white families between the young people who are disillusioned with their parents and alienated from them. Is there a certain amount of this among black families, and is this part of the problem you have in bringing more adult black people into the movement?

A: I think that the older black people have realized for a very long time the problems, but they've been wanting in solutions, because in the past, the black political representatives have been somewhat misleading to the black community. In other words, we thought in the past that if we put a representative into office, we automatically got justice. But now its being realized that to have a black man in office doesn't necessarily mean that you're going to get political justice.

Q: Was the reason you dropped your studies of law that you got disgusted with the system of law here?

A: Of course, I'm disgusted with the judicial system, but more than that, I can only do so much, I can only be so many places at a certain time. And I felt it was more important to work to organize within the community than to continue law school.

Q: Are you allowed to have any contact with other prisoners in this courthouse here?

A: No, I'm kept in what's called the H tank. It's used as a hospital tank when someone is hurt. But I've recovered very well, and I've noticed that I haven't been moved away from the hospital cell. And I don't think the deputies here have any intention of moving me because it's been rumored that they don't want me to mix with the other prisoners. Although I've converted many black people, I shouldn't say converted because black people are Panthers by definition, but many people have joined the Party who have come through here simply by screaming back to my cell and I will define the Party and give them some understanding of the political direction of the Party. I haven't been abused here primarily for the reason that the department has been admonished by the black people to keep their hands off. For instance, when I first came here, this was a rumor again, from a reliable source, that the captain notified the deputies not to treat me any differently than other prisoners. So I haven't suffered any brutality here. The attitude of the deputies is somewhat hostile and just yesterday, for instance, I got into somewhat of an argument with one of the deputies for a very petty reason. The reason was this: the deputies here demand that when any of the prisoners addresses them, he must address them as sir or mister, and of course, they address the prisoners by the prisoners' first or last name. I was asking one of the deputies something yesterday and he kept walking; then he abruptly turned around and he came back and said, "Whenever you address me, you call me mister or you call me sir." And I told him, very fine, that I would do that, but in return I would demand equal respect and that he would speak to me as sir or as mister. He got very upset and he stormed out and approached the lieutenant and told the lieutenant his problem—that a pris-

oner wouldn't call him sir—and gave some indication that he wanted to put me in the punishment cell, where the—incidentally, I was asking him if I could shave, because we don't have the facilities within our tank to shave. We have to be taken to the barber shop; so, the lieutenant then told him, and this is heresay, that don't shave him until he says sir. Fortunately, another deputy came around and gave me a shave because if he hadn't I would be forced to grow a beard down to my knees before I would say sir if I wasn't getting equal respect. This is only to relate an attitude, but as far as physical brutality goes, I don't receive that.

Q: While you're here, what can you do?

A: Well occasionally, I get the paper about a day late. I have a few books that I have been reading. It's pretty difficult to get reading materials in, but I have received a few books, so I spend most of my time reading, and doing some writing.

Q: I wonder if you'd comment on something that struck me. Now some young white people, especially from the middle class, have dropped out from the middle class way of life but also from the activist role. This hasn't happened among young black people, they've sort of more or less shunned the drift into the drop-outs, marijuana, and everything.

A: Yes, among the dropouts I may infer that you're speaking of the hippies in Haight-Ashbury and if you analyze the Hippie movement you'll find that most of them were middle class, members of a middle-class family, upper or lower middle-class. These families have had just about every material thing that they could desire. Also, this class has had the opportunity to become well educated. And through this they realized how bankrupt the American system is, the governmental system, and as far as participating in it, they've chosen not to participate after their enlightenment, after their education and after they've analyzed the system. So because they're in a state of dismay about change, because the tremendous technology of this country sort of broke their spirits and they dropped out. Because the country has a great military and economic power, so they've concluded that they can make very little change, so

they've dropped out. Black people, in general, are not middle class, we're socially and economically of the lower class. We haven't received the basic things that we want because of the system. Because of a tremendous spirit, because of a great revolutionary fervor that we've had and we've kept ever since we were brought here to this country from Africa. We have not been broken, we're still striving. We say that our spirit is greater than the technological developments and we can and will make changes. So we don't have time for anyone who has dropped out of the struggle for freedom.

Q: There are a lot of people interested in the Executive Mandate No. 3 that you've issued to the Black Panther Party. Would you care to comment on that?

A: Yes. Mandate No. 3 is this demand from the Black Panther Party speaking for the black community. Within the mandate we admonish the racist police force that if they continue to break down our doors and be aggressive towards us and inflict brutality upon us, that we will be forced to protect our homes from them. Party Members have experienced, Bobby Seale, the Chairman, in particular, the police breaking down the door and coming into his house without a warrant and acting in a criminal fashion. We maintain the right to protect ourselves from criminals. When the police come into our house acting as a criminal, he should be brought to justice by the occupants of that house. In the Mandate, we relate the St. Valentine's Day Massacre that gangsters dressed up in police uniforms under the leadership of Al Capone and because they were dressed up in police uniforms they were admitted into the house of the individuals who turned out to be their victims. So, in other words, just because a man has on a police uniform, doesn't make him a representative of justice or a representative of a peace officer. He could be a wolf dressed in sheep's clothing. We realize this and we would like the police to know that anytime they break down our doors unjustly, without a warrant and without any provocation whatsoever, that we're going to defend ourselves against them.

Q: Are you and the other Black Panthers working out a con-

cept of what you'd like this country to be like, the specifics of what will replace this system one day?

A: Yes, the Black Panther Party, you'll note, has demanded full employment, we've demanded decent housing, we've demanded good education, and justice, and we feel that this system as it is, cannot give this to us. The American capitalistic Imperialist system has never been able to employ all of its people, particularly because of the greed of the private owner, and his so-called private enterprise. We know that when the American white people speak of free enterprise that goes along with the idea of capitalism. They assume that everyone has had the freedom of competition to compete with the next fellow, and it turns out the man who works hardest will reap more. This doesn't hold true for black people. When we move to the west where this free enterprise is working fairly well for white people. They were staking out land and the ones that would till the soil the hardest, would benefit the most. Well, at this period we were slaves, as we are now. We've never been given a chance to participate in this so-called free enterprise. We built this country, for the industrial system was built up on slave labor in the South. We made it possible for this country to industrialize. And we say since we have never benefited from free-enterprise and private ownership, this is not a good goal for us. And we say that every man that is born on the soil, he has a right to live. And to live, he's going to have to work. If he can't work because of some physical reason, then it's up to the administrators of that country to support the individual because of his right to live. If the administration says well, we can't possibly employ our people, then we say that system has to be changed, and we say that we'll put in new administrators who are really interested in the welfare of the people in the country. And as far as the means of production go, we say that if the way that the means of production are being handled now is not working, then it has to be changed. If we can't get full employment, then we say the means of production must be taken away from them and put in the people's hands, and we'll have managers or administrators to run our production for the welfare of the people in general of the

country. You say that this is the richest country in the world, and we're sure the country can give us full employment if it wanted to. If you didn't have the greed of profit and racism in this country, tomorrow you could have full employment.

Q: Mr. Carmichael recently said that Socialism doesn't fit black people and Communism doesn't fit black people, and here you say that Capitalism doesn't fit black people. Do you think that is significant, from what you've said you don't think Capitalism done good for the black people?

A: Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael said Communism had no answers to the problems of black people because it didn't relate to racism. I remember him saying that Capitalism didn't answer the question either. Perhaps I'm wrong on that, but as I read it he said that Capitalism didn't answer the needs of black people. What I want to point out is this: Say you had a Communist structure without relating to racism. Communism relates to an economic system, in which the means of production are in the hands of the people, and the people put up administrators to run their production material so there will be no profit, there will only be wages which will go back into the community for the general welfare of the people. Now if you just treat it per se as Communism in this country, I would say that it wouldn't work, I would say that until you get rid of racism—racism is a psychological thing that stems all the way back to England and Europe in general—no matter what kind of economic system you have, black people will still be oppressed. Racism began when the Europeans met the Africans, and I have my own conclusions as to what happened during that time, some conclusions that I've drawn about it, and I think that it goes so deeply psychologically, it goes into the difference in the culture of the European and the culture of the African and particularly in how the European worships. The European had this one god that he defined as all good. He was created in the image of this god. And, of course, god can do no wrong, and since he was like god, he could do no wrong. As far as sexual drives and so forth, this had no place in god's mind, so therefore it should have no place in the European's mind. But this was a



big deviation from human nature, discounting sex drives. So he looked for witches and everything else to blame his own human nature on. Since he couldn't fall beneath the grace of god, he had to be able to say, No, I'm not causing this within myself, so someone else must be. Then you have the contact with Africans who always had a god who was both good and bad. In Africa the religious system is called Dualism, in Europe you had Absolutism. And in Africa South of the Sahara where most black people came from you had Dualism, where the god had two or more heads, one good head and one bad head, and the Africans were created in god's own image. When he was out of the grace of the good head, he would try to manipulate to get back in so that the bad head couldn't do him any wrong. But, the African recognized himself as both bad and good. He had self acceptance. He didn't need to put his human drives off on other people. When the European met the African this was a good person for him to say these people are vulgar, these people are pagans, and every other kind of derogatory word. It had nothing to do at that present moment with anything economical, it was simply a difference of culture and a sick mentality in the Europeans. And I think you have the European coming to America and creating the American colony and bringing this psychological sickness with him. As far as an economical structure changing his sick mind, I doubt if this would happen. He needs a psychiatrist or some mental therapy. And I say economically black people cannot profit through Capitalism within the structure, and as far as Socialism solving the problems per se, and all together, I doubt very seriously whether it can. I believe that it can solve the economic problem, but as far as the mental attitude—who is to say that after we choose these representatives that if everyone is profiting, or is supposed to profit by the wealth or the materials that are in the country, who is to say that even this is not going to be handled in a discriminatory way? So, I say that any time we talk about a political or economic thing, we can't just dismiss the psychological part.

Q: You're looking for a more complete, fuller ideology, a more advanced one?

A: That's right.

**Q:** It's true, is it not, Huey, that racism got its birth through economic reasons so that one group could superimpose its economic power over another?

**A:** I would agree with that. I think the prime thing was the economic rape of Africa. But at the same time, why did Europeans choose the Africans South of the Sahara to enslave? Now, some accounts I read by Basil Davidson and Melville J. Herskovits stated that the priests in Spain said don't enslave those Africans North of the Sahara because they worship one god. But it's all right to enslave Africans South of the Sahara because they are pagans and not human as they lack a soul. So, what happened? They needed this justification to condone their economic exploitation, but this sort of ran haywire. Afterwards, it starts being imbedded so that the economic structure can go on and black people don't have souls and now you run into a problem where people who don't understand the economic situation still have been imbedded with the value system that black is bad, black is evil.

**77. DRUM:  
"DARE TO FIGHT!  
DARE TO WIN!"**

## **I. Preamble**

We the super-exploited black workers of Chrysler's Hamtramck Assembly Plant recognize the historic role that we must play and the grave responsibility that is ours in the struggle for the liberation of black people in racist U.S.A. and people of color around the world from the yoke of oppression that holds all of us in the chains of slavery to this country's racist exploitative system. Because we recognize the magnitude of the prob-

**Constitution of the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement  
(Detroit, Mich., 1968), mimeographed.**

lem and the dire predicament of our people, we do here proclaim our solemn duty to take this the first step on the road to final victory over the great common enemy of humanity; i.e. the monstrous U.S.A. and the aforementioned system of exploitation and degradation.

We fully understand after 5 centuries under this fiendish system and the heinous savages that it serves, namely the white racist owners and operators of the means of production. We further understand that there have been previous attempts by our people in this country to throw off this degrading yoke of brutal oppression, which have ended in failure. Throughout our history, black workers, first slaves and later as pseudo-freedmen, have been in the vanguard of potentially successful revolutionary struggles both in all black movements as well as in integrated efforts. As examples of these we would cite: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the beautiful Haitian Revolution; the slave revolts led by Nat Turner; Denmark Vesey and Gabriel Prosser; the Populist Movement, and the labor movement of the 30's in this country. Common to all of these movements were two things, their failure and the reason why they failed. These movements failed because they were betrayed from within or in the case of the integrated movements by the white leadership exploiting the racist nature of the white workers they led. We, of course, must avoid this pitfall and purge our ranks of any traitors and lackeys that may succeed in penetrating this organization. At this point we loudly proclaim that we have learned our lesson from history and we shall not fail. So it is that we who are the hope of black people and oppressed people everywhere dedicate ourselves to the cause of liberation to build the world anew, realizing that only a struggle led by black workers can triumph our powerful reactionary enemy.

## **II. Purpose and objective**

Our purpose is to come together as black workers to relieve the long suffering of our people under this demon system of racist exploitation. Our sole objective is to break the bonds of white racist control over the lives and destiny of black workers

with the full understanding that when we successfully carry out this mammoth task, relief will be brought to people all over the world oppressed by our common enemy. With stakes so high the enemy will undoubtedly resist with great ferocity, this tide of change that will sweep over him and his system like a mighty storm.

We must gear ourselves in the days ahead toward getting rid of the racist, tyrannical, and unrepresentative UAW as representation for black workers, so that with this enemy out of the way we can deal directly with our main adversary, the white racist management of Chrysler Corporation. In this way we will be able to overcome the obstacle that the enemy has erected between himself and black workers that denies us the necessary confrontation in order to bring down this racist exploitative system.

### **III. Procedure**

To reach our objectives, DRUM shall be a democratic organization demanding the full participation of all members. Our concept of democracy being, of course, different from the pseudo-democracy of the UAW and other so-called democratic institutions in this dictatorial land. Each member is required to prepare himself for full participation in the activities and discussions of DRUM through study and understanding the problems we face in carrying out our program. In our discussion, all relevant ideas should be raised and deliberated upon. And in our activities, great care must be exercised in planning and carrying them out to ensure their success. Meetings shall be chaired by an appointed chairman and an agenda will be circulated prior to meetings. Members will be required to exercise discipline over themselves to ensure an orderly meeting.

### **IV. Rules governing membership**

Membership in DRUM will be contingent upon a member's ability to commit himself to the DRUM program and dis-

charge his responsibilities to this organization. These responsibilities are: (1) Acceptance of the DRUM program which means full and resolute participation in activities and organizational affairs. (2) A member should be subject to evaluation and criticism of the members of the committee that he serves on. (3) The individual committees should set the criterion whereby membership is democratically granted, denied or withdrawn. (4) Membership is denied to all honkies due to the fact that said honkey has been the historic enemy, betrayer, and exploiter of black people. Any relationship that we enter into with honkies will be only on the basis of coalition over issues. (5) Members should pay their dues on a weekly or monthly basis. Each individual unit will have responsibility of collecting dues as well as deciding when a member is sufficiently delinquent to warrant disciplinary measures.

## V. Duties of officers

The duties of officers has been outlined in the discussion of structure. It should be further added that all officers are accountable to the membership and should be constantly scrutinized, evaluated, and subjected to constructive criticism in open discussion by his committee. Officers can be removed by a democratic vote within his compartment with recourse to the membership at large if so desired.

We recognize our struggle is not an isolated one and that we have common cause with other black workers in this racist nation and throughout the world. For this reason it is incumbent upon us to foster, join with, initiate and lead other black workers in our common struggle. By being in the forefront of this revolutionary struggle we must act swiftly to help organize DRUM-type organizations wherever there are black workers, be it in Lynn Townsend's kitchen, the White House, White Castle, Ford Rouge, the Mississippi Delta, the plains of Wyoming, the tin mines of Bolivia, the rubber plantation of Indonesia, the oil fields of Biafra, or the Chrysler Plants in South Africa.

Needless to say, our line is the hard line. We are in a life and

death struggle that has been raging savagely for 5 centuries. A struggle between master and slave, rich and poor, black and white, beast and prey, management and worker. A struggle which has shown no quarter to the black man and which we now wage and give no quarter. The ruthless and vicious nature of our enemy has brought us to a point where we are now prepared to be as ruthless and vicious, if not more so. All that the honkey has acquired, has been acquired through his exploitation of our people with his brutal tactics of murder, enslavement, mayhem, and rape. Our line is one of consistent struggle in which we support everything the enemy opposes and oppose everything the honkey supports.

### DARE TO FIGHT! DARE TO WIN!

Fight, Fail, Fight again, Fail again—Fight on to Victory!  
Long Live Black People in This Racist Land! Death to Their  
Enemies!  
Long Live the Heroic Black Workers Struggle!  
Long Live DRUM!



*a distinguished contribution to the study  
of american history from bobbs-merrill*

## THE AMERICAN HERITAGE SERIES

General Editors

Leonard W. Levy  
Brandeis University

Alfred F. Young  
Northern Illinois University



*John H. Bracey, Jr., now at Northern Illinois University, is a candidate for the Ph.D. in history at Northwestern University. An active black nationalist, Mr. Bracey has served as chairman of the Southside (Chicago) chapter of CORE, founding member of the Chicago chapter of ACT, and research assistant for the Chicago Urban League.*



Kent State University  
Publicity Bureau

*August Meier, University Professor of History and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Urban Regionalism, Kent State University, formerly taught at Tougaloo, Roosevelt, Fisk, and Morgan State College. He earned his doctorate at Columbia University. A specialist in Negro history and race relations, Professor Meier is the author of the definitive NEGRO THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1880-1915.*



The Wichita Eagle and  
The Wichita Beacon

*Elliott Rudwick, Professor of Sociology and Senior Research Fellow, Center for Urban Regionalism, Kent State University, received his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of several books, including W. E. B. DU BOIS: PROPAGANDIST OF THE NEGRO PROTEST.*

### RELATED BOOKS IN THE SERIES:

NEGRO PROTEST THOUGHT  
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY  
FRANCIS L. BRODERICK  
*University of Massachusetts, Boston*  
and AUGUST MEIER  
*Kent State University*

THE ANTISLAVERY ARGUMENT  
JANE AND WILLIAM PEASE  
*University of Maine*

*Cover design by Andrew Kner*