

TITLE PAGE

A SUBSTANTIVE THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY  
STANLEY-OLATUNJI-COTTON

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

JULY 17, 1987

R

P= 105

## ABSTRACT

### SOCIAL WORK

Stanley-Olatunji-Cotton  
Social Work  
July 17, 1987

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION  
OF SELECT BLACK INTEGRATIONIST AND BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS  
IN THE U.S.: TOWARD THE ROLE OF BLACK SOCIAL WORKERS

This study examines the Ideological orientation of various African-American groups on the question of Black liberation. It is an effort to provide an Afrocentric frame of reference for Black liberation, from which Black social workers can develop appropriate problem solving strategies and techniques to address the African-American condition. The empirical referents for this study is directed by a Comparative Analysis of data collected from organizational documents of the groups examined and other related secondary data.

The major findings suggest that there exist a positive relationship between Black Nationalist oriented groups and the theoretical framework for Black liberation. The study concludes that this relationship is significant to social work practice in the African-American Community.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
EXHIBIT 1 . . . . .	95
EXHIBIT 2 . . . . .	96
EXHIBIT 3 . . . . .	97
EXHIBIT 4 . . . . .	98
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
General Overview of Proposed Study	
Statement of Problem	
II. LITERATURE REVIEW . . . . .	12
Overview of Major Theoretical Orientation	
Review of Relevant Empirical Studies	
Principal Variables Examined	
General Hypothesis	
III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK . . . . .	64
IV. METHODOLOGY . . . . .	73
Introduction	
The Sample	
Data Collection Procedure	
Operationalization and Measurement	
Methods of Analysis	
V. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS . . . . .	77
Analysis	
Results and Discussion	
Implications	
IV. CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE . . . . .	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	102

## INTRODUCTION

### General Overview

Throughout their sojourn in America--people of African descent have waged various struggles to free themselves from the yoke of an oppressive and exploitive society. While these struggles have been multivariate in nature, two appear to represent central paths toward liberation over time. These are those guided by the nationalist perspective and those guided by the integrationist perspective. This thesis will examine the impetus behind each perspective; the historical outcomes each perspective has achieved; analyze outcomes in the context of the current objective conditions of Black Americans, and suggest how professional social workers, especially those committed to the liberation of an historically disenfranchised and oppressed people can use these understandings in their practice portfolios.

The major problems confronting Black people (African-Americans) have their roots deeply grounded in the very nature of Black people's relationship to the American economic and political system. Therefore, an analysis of these complex problems, which Black social workers must somehow address, must be informed by an historical understanding of this relationship. Black social workers must clearly understand that America's institutions were constructed toward maintaining a racially

exploitive social system and that these institutions have evolved; not away from, but toward this objective. But most of all, they must understand the plight of the colonized Africans in America, in the scheme of foreign domination, economic exploitation and political oppression. Without such an analysis to guide problem solving efforts, it would be erroneous, at best, for Black social workers to believe that their proposed intervention will do more than aggravate or even facilitate the problematic condition of Black people.

It must be understood that unlike most "Americans", the presence of Black people in this country was not due to emigration. They were not looking for new lands or new prosperity; they are here as a result of the European domination and subsequent colonization of Africa. Black people came to these shores as African captives for the purpose of slave labor. It is this reality, that of having been captives (subject people) in a land not their own that characterizes their relationship to America. This relationship has been more clearly defined as a domestic form of colonialism; the economic and political exploitation and oppression of one race of people by another for the profit gained from such a relationship. The profit motive in this case being the European's effort to find a cheap and efficient way of extending colonies into newly discovered (conquered) lands. The export and import of African slaves proved to be an efficient answer to the European colonizers need for readily exploitable labor.

By the end of the sixteenth century, many Europeans realized that across the Atlantic they had found a sparsely populated hemisphere to conquer, exploit and settle. South of their so often cold and crowded lives, they had also come upon a great, warm Black continent to provide the slave workers who would create much of the wealth of the New World. That brutal connection between the vast, potentially profitable lands of the Western Hemisphere, and the apparently inexhaustible sources of labor in Africa, became the critical nexus in the minds of Europe's ruling and commercial classes, as they anticipated the wealth and power these human and physical resources would bring to them. Out of that combination of vision, enterprise and avarice, the African slave trade was born.<sup>1</sup>

The consolidation of the African slave system in America led to the creation of a new and independent White state, created and maintained for the benefit of White people at the expense of Black and other subject labor forces. This fact cannot be denied and should not ever be overlooked. The erroneous idea of emancipated slaves and the success of integration, fails miserably in opposing the fact that Black Americans are still a powerless and subject people, economically exploited by capitalist America, and politically and socially oppressed.

Civil rights laws, voting rights, desegregation, federal and state social assistance are all the result of Black Americans' actions to address a captive condition. These actions have failed to change the basic position of African-Americans in this society. African-Americans remain an enslaved labor force without the power of self-determination over their own affairs. The few insignificant gains of individuals are

---

<sup>1</sup>Vincent Harding. There Is A River: The Black Struggle For Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 1983), p.6.

unworthy of consideration here, for there are no independent institutions capable of consolidating, and advancing the empowerment of Black people. The proof of this is no more apparent than the fact that here in the 1980's, some four hundred years after the first slave ships landed, Black Americans find themselves under the Euro-American conservative Reagan Government, struggling to try and maintain pretenses of progress for which they have already bled and died.

During the first four years of the Reagan Administration we have witnessed a broad-based attack on the affirmative action concept. The Administration's 'neo-conservative' approach to equal opportunity threatened to destroy governmental enforced efforts to increase employment and educational opportunities for Black men and women. The planned demise of policies and programs of affirmative action garnered wide-scale support, with its destruction being championed by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and gaining legal sanction of the U.S. Supreme Court. In addition, a series of proposed changes in existing laws and regulations which govern affirmative action policy provided further evidence of the government's dwindling support for anti-discriminatory programs and the concept of affirmative action. Therefore, it is reasonable to anticipate that the Administration's attack on affirmative action will continue during the second term, producing negative employment and education impacts on members of the Black community.<sup>2</sup>

Black social workers as social scientists, must study the sociological, psychological, economic, political and ethical aspects of Black oppression in the U. S. in order to understand how these conditions have influenced the problems social workers are attempting to address. It can be easily argued that the experience of chattel slavery set the foundations for the erosion of the Black family. The slave masters had

---

<sup>2</sup>National Association of Black Social Workers, Inc., Position Papers March-1985, (New York: National Association of Black Social Workers, Inc., 1985), p. 32.

little interest in maintaining the African or Black family as a viable institution; to the contrary, their design was to reduce such relationships to mere procreation for a steady source of slave labor. No relationship was promoted that would challenge a master's right to do whatever he wished with his slaves. The Black male who would have normally functioned as protector and provider of his family, had no such role as a slave.

To this very day, Black males in general have been denied the social economic avenues as well as the appropriate cultural indoctrination that would facilitate the appropriate performance of their roles in their families. Clearly such would be contrary to the design of colonial oppression. The "social welfare" system in the past has helped to reinforce this assault on the Black family, by long denying assistance to families where unemployed fathers were present. This act worked to force many Black men out of their deprived families while blaming them; in the face of their women and children, for conditions they had little control over. Such factors fuelled by the sexist indoctrination of Black males in a White-dominated, male-supremist society gave birth to a number of problems in the Black community. What has happened and continues to happen to Black men in America is clearly a problem of major concern to the survival of African-American people.



The institution of slavery is generally assumed to have been destructive to the institution of marriage in that it flagrantly subverted the relationships between the sexes. The system is believed to have imposed responsibilities on black women that were inconsistent with the conventional feminine role vis-a-vis the masculine role, and granted to them an 'unnatural' superiority over black men. Moreover, the dual role of husband/father was institutionally obliterated, thus denying to black men a significant place and function in the family. In short, the black male was put in a predicament in which conformity to masculine norms was all but impossible, and then he was, in effect, both rewarded and punished for not conforming to them. The inferior role in which he was cast—docile, humble, and irresponsible—is alleged to have compromised and severely damaged his masculinity. Indeed, the role he came to play with such admirable skill was itself an adaptive device purchased at considerable psychic cost. Hence, the process of emasculation begun under slavery was compounded and intensified by the relationship to women it imposed, and a somewhat similar set of circumstances produced the same effects on subsequent generations of black men.<sup>3</sup>

The ever-rising increase in the single parent female-headed household, the sexual and physical abuse of Black women and Black children, the rise of homosexuality among Black men and women, the high rate of teenage pregnancy in the black community are surely influenced by the inappropriate socialization of Black people under colonial oppression. Without the power to produce, control and maintain institutions which serve their own interest, Black Americans can never adequately address the problems in the community. It is not in the interest of White oppressors to solve Black problems, only to further exploit them. Therefore, it is totally illogical to import institutions under the control of White oppressors to provide permanent solutions to Black problems.

---

<sup>3</sup>Doris Y. Wilkinson and Ronald L. Taylor, The Black Male in America: Perspectives on His Status In Contemporary Society, (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1977), p. 1.

In the area of employment, for example, where America has historically been willing to exploit Black people's labor, the need for such labor in the 1980s is fast becoming obsolete. An historical analysis reveals that of the large amounts of wealth White America received from Black exploitation, much was invested into industrial mechanics and computer technology in an effort to achieve even greater profits. As U. S. capitalism grew and continued to expand outside of its own borders, it continued its search for cheaper labor and greater profits. Presently, this combination of cheaper foreign labor and advanced technology is steadily negating the need for African-American labor in almost every area of employment. The unemployment rate among Black teens coming out of high school is 50 per cent, the worst nation-wide. In that youth are future, this level of unemployment is clearly another major problem facing Black people.

NABSW recognized that until America changes its traditional domestic policy of destroying African-American families, there will not be the types of social changes that will allow African-Americans to benefit fully from their American citizenship. America's tendency to deny the sanctity of African-American families has allowed it to tolerate the chronic under-employment and unemployment of African-American male adults in a male-dominated society. It has facilitated the preponderance of female-headed households in a society in which women are grossly undervalued. The nation has also permitted African-American children to be educationally unprepared for centuries, such that competition by African-Americans in a technologically advancing society is almost impossible. Such multi-faceted attacks on African-American families are the result of a domestic policy that must be eradicated and replaced.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>National Association of Black Social Workers, Inc., Position Papers March-1985, (New York: National Association of Black Social Worker, Inc., 1985), p. 25.

As the need for Black labor diminishes and the competition for jobs overall becomes keener, one can see certain political parallels. The rise of right-wing conservatism in the 1980s is accompanied by an assault on social service programs which Black people have become heavily dependent on as a result of having fewer avenues for economic survival. We find that Black colleges are threatened with extinction, affirmative action with repeal, and social protest with law suits, and yet, far too many Blacks continue to ignore the reality of their relationship to America.

Ideally social work has been defined as the professional activity of helping individuals, groups or communities to enhance or restore their capacity for social functioning, and to create societal conditions favorable to their goals. From the perspective of the White ruling class (the colonizer) social work means one thing for those who are of the same race as the ruling class, while quite another for those who are the colonized. Social work for White's is ideally seen as a humanistic approach toward providing Social "Welfare" Services to those who, due to some misfortune, have been unable to reap the benefits of the system. It is seen as short term aid to clients while working to channel them back into the economic mainstream of White privileges. While on the other hand, social work among the oppressed is viewed with no such humanistic ideal. The same Social "Welfare" Services rendered to Blacks are seen as unwarranted handouts to shiftless and lazy niggers. Institutional racism prevents any such channeling of Blacks into the economic mainstream, so for most Blacks short term aid becomes long term subsistence or the minimum maintenance of the oppressed.

This strategy deals with the fact that millions of dollars indeed pass through the Black community annually via welfare recipients. Under the present system it is impossible to retain this money in the Black community in a way that aids community development. The following statement gives the essence of the process: 'The money comes into the Black community... It is paid out to absentee landlords, to exploitative merchants, to credit gougers and loan sharks. The people we traditionally call 'welfare recipients' are in fact, really conduits. They conduct money from one segment of the economy (public treasury) to another (into the hands of private entrepreneurs): The real welfare recipients are those people who prey on the conduits every welfare-check day.' Therefore, economic exploitation and political dependence must be understood as interrelated parts of a system of neo-colonialism. This relationship serves the economic interests of White American by preventing equitable participation of Blacks in the political process.<sup>5</sup>

Given the aforementioned African-American reality, restoring the capacity for social functioning for African-American people in America, can mean only one of two things: 1) Political, economic, and social equality, under the present White system of government or 2) Allegiance to an independent Black system of government directed toward facilitating their own political, economic and social equality. Both are current strategies for the "liberation" of African-Americans in the U.S., and if Black Social Workers are to play an effective role in addressing not only the current condition of black people, but also their future survival in America; given the sociological indicators, they must be able to clearly identify the path to liberation.

---

<sup>5</sup>Arthur J. Cox, A Black Perspective On The American Social Service System, (Hebron, Conn. Practioner's Press, 1984), p. 337.

Liberation must be viewed as a phase in a larger movement from survival which sustains existence and the ability to engage in those politically liberating acts that lead ultimately to self-realization, self-actualization, self-fulfillment--'being'. The process of movement through phases is an important perspective because it is the only means by which the Black community can ever hope to transcend an inhuman society and achieve at last non-oppressive social functioning.<sup>6</sup>

Liberation strategy has paralleled the African-American experience and rightfully so. Although the struggle for "freedom" has varied from all out open warfare to passive "non-violent" resistance, it has indeed been characterized by two basic social movements. The Black Nationalist or Separatist Movement and the Black Integrationist or Assimilationist movement represent these two basic social trends. The Nationalist movement is characterized by an ideology that asserts that Black problems in America began with their forced enslavement here and that their oppressors have installed an economic, political and social system that is not only designed to maintain an exploitive relationship with Black people, but is structurally dependent on exploitation and oppression. Hence, Black people will know no true progress as a people until they are able to correct the original injustice through a struggle for national liberation and self-determination. On the other hand, the Integrationist ideology asserts that since African-Americans are presently in America and have been so for "x" number of years; since their slave labor has helped to build America, they are entitled to share equally in the political, economic and social life of America. Hence, their

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 342.

liberation lies in a struggle for equal rights, as they attempt to transform the exploitive nature of the system through equal participation in it.

The Black Social Worker must consciously realize that all social interaction in the Black community; e.g., how Black people perceive themselves and others, behavioral patterns within and outside the race, how they view religion, education, work, politics, economics, history, and the future, exist within these two ideological constructs for liberation. A review then, of these problem-solving theories should do much to inform the Black Social Work practitioner to a greater extent of the dynamics involved in servicing the African-American community in its quest for liberation. The liberation focus will at least insist that the practitioner began to make some sociological link between cause and effect in relation to the Black condition.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### The Development of Black Liberation Ideology in the U.S.

The following is a chronological comparative analysis of the development of Black nationalist and integrationist theory in America. The purpose of which, is to provide an historical underpinning for the development of appropriate problem solving social work practice in the African-American community. A review of related literature will highlight the tactics and strategies, Africans colonized in America, have employed to address their oppressed condition from 1626 to 1975. Although it is impossible within this chapter to cover the entire spectrum of this struggle, an overview of the major proponents in this struggle and their ideological orientation will be documented.

It began at the edge of our homeland, where the verdant forests and tropical bush gave way gradually to the sandy stretches of the Guinea coast. It began at the mouths of the rivers, from that northern point where the Senegal and the Gambia pour their troubled streams into the waters around Cape Verde, down the thousands of miles of coastline to the place where the mighty river Congo breaks out into the ocean. On these shores near the mouths of these rivers, we first saw the ships.

There was no way to know it then, but their crews of men and boys came from many ports and many pasts to find the shores of Africa. They sailed from Amsterdam and Lisbon, from Nantes and La Rochelle, from Bristol and London, from Newport and Boston on ships with strange names. They came to us on Brotherhood and John the Baptist, on Justice and Integrity, on Gift of God and Liberty; they came on the good ship Jesus. But by the time our weary lines of chained and mourning travelers saw the vessels riding on the coastal waves, there could be but one name, one meaning: captivity.<sup>7</sup>

The first collective expressions of liberation ideology by Black people in the U. S. were those of African slaves. These expressions were clearly nationalistic in that they represented an enslaved people's will to be free of their foreign captors and reunited with their African homeland and peoples.

The earliest recorded settlement that included Africans in the North American mainland was in what would eventually become South Carolina. In the fall of 1526, it also became the first clear location of black rebellion. Those Africans who participated struck for their freedom and fled to the surrounding Native Americans in search of safety. This was an understandable move, one repeated many times in the centuries that followed."<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle For Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House, 1983), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies vol. 4. University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980.



The first expressions of Black liberation in America was, clearly then, far from any attempt to be integrated into the social system their captors had devised; quite the contrary! Such an attitude did not develop among the African in America for some time to come. Throughout the period of legal slavery, the slave revolt characterized Black peoples' struggle for liberation and there were many such incidents in colonial America. Herbert Aptheker in his book, "American Negro Slave Revolts", records 250 slave revolts and conspiracies within the continental United States.<sup>9</sup> African men and women were no more ready to accept slavery in America than they had been prepared to submit peacefully to their forced removal from Africa. The movement for liberation got off the slave ships with the slaves. The African slave continued to deny the power of White oppressors over their lives. Some engaged in individual acts of rebellion and defiance; refusing to eat or work, fighting their oppressor or running away. Others resisted through group efforts, consolidating their strength for mass rebellions, armed attacks and other strategies for freedom.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before The Mayflower, rev. ed., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 101.

<sup>10</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle For Freedom In America. (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House, 1983), p. 30.

In the 1650s there were reports of fugitive slaves attempting to form small armed groups and setting up bases to which others could flee in the colony of Virginia. In 1712 Black slaves in New York revolted and killed nine Whites. In 1739 a group of marching slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, killed every White person who came within their reach.<sup>11</sup>

Historians, armed with hindsight, have written a great deal of romantic nonsense about the docility of the Negro slave. The planter who lived with the Negro slave knew him better. He knew from bitter experience that the Negro was a dangerous man because he was a wronged man. The Negro smiled; yes. But he also cut throats, burned down houses and conceived plots to rise up and kill every White person within reach. This happened so often that many White men weakened under the strain. Some died of heart failure. Some went insane.<sup>12</sup>

The first "legal" petitions of slaves to the oppressor's courts were petitions of nationalist liberation. In 1773 Black slaves in Massachusetts petitioned the colonial government to grant them the right to earn money for their transportation to "some part of the coast of Africa, where we propose a settlement." For at least the first two hundred-fifty years of slavery in America, Black people's perceptions of liberation were tied to concepts of separation and independence.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>12</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before The Mayflower, rev. ed., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 100.

<sup>13</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black nationalism in the United States, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Aside from the ever present threat of slave revolts, the early 1770s presented another crisis for White colonials of which many slaves looked to benefit from. These were pre-American Revolutionary times and many Black people sought to take advantage of any opportunity for liberation. As White colonists moved to break its colonial bonds with the English Crown, many enslaved Africans also moved to break their oppressive bonds with Whites. Thousands of Africans escaped to wherever they could find refuge. Many considered service in the revolutionary armies as a possible path to their own freedom. Even then there were fewer Blacks fighting for White American independence than there were fugitive Black "armies" in flight fighting for their own independence.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books A division of Random House, 1983), p. 42.

"While the confusion, crisis and chaos of the revolutionary period opened an escapeway for many thousands of Black fugitives, and at the same time drew some five thousand Black men into the American army, it is likely that other results were even more significant for the long-range development of Black struggle; specifically, the ideology of the White American Revolution and the uses that Blacks made of it. As democratic dogma and revolutionary rhetoric filled the colonial legislatures and reverberated through the Continental Congress, and were proclaimed in local communities seeking justification for armed rebellion for the sake of Independence, many Black people took careful notice. Was it so hard to grasp that the ideas of no taxation without representation, the equality of all men under God, and the divine right of humankind to freedom and self-government had some direct reference to their own lives? Indeed, in the fall the 1774 word spread among them that the Continental Congress had formally approved a resolution pledging the colonies to forsake the African slave trade altogether. Before long the radical rhetoric, promises, and ideas were firmly grasped by Africa's children in America and transformed for the purposes of their own freedom struggle."<sup>15</sup>

Up to this point, the dominate concept of liberation had a black nationalist flavor and understandably so. Africa was still fresh on the minds of her captive children and the slave trade brought new arrivals as often as possible, for the slave system was the main-stay of the colonial economy. The colonialists who viewed the slaves as property to be bought and sold, offered little notion of an integrated society based on equality with their slaves, heaven forbid! However, some Blacks mistook the revolutionary rhetoric of the period for a new white attitude and began to entertain naive integrationist ideas, but, needless to say, after the war they were disillusioned. A number of Blacks, however, small in proportion to the total Black population at the time, were given their freedom for services rendered in the war

---

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 42.

under various conditions, most of which were in the northern states. Limited efforts toward the emancipation of these "free negros" were made, slave codes were moderated, freedmen schools were established and laws facilitating manumission were passed. The strongest impulse for the "improvement" of these "Negros", however, came through new religious bodies during what had come to be known as a "tolerate" epoch in America among slaves and slaves' masters.<sup>16</sup>

Black Nationalism continued to manifest itself after the American Revolution. Many freed men became active in organizing independent African organizations for the further liberation of the enslaved members of the race. Most of these organizations were churches and in part their independence was due to the racially segregated condition which produced them. However, this African character and mission was clear. In 1786 Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and their fellow Black worshippers, founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church,<sup>17</sup> after being yanked from their knees and denied the right to unsegregated prayer in a white church in which they worshipped.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>Carter Godwin Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, The Negro In Our History, 12th ed., rev. and enl., (U.S.A.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 117-140.

<sup>17</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black nationalism in the United States, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 17.

<sup>18</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House, 1983), p. 44.

Allen and Jones also later formed the Free African Society of Philadelphia, which has been characterized as a social support organization for Africans.<sup>19</sup> This signaled the beginning of autonomous Black churches and Black social service organizations in the United States. The Black fraternal organization of Masons, was chartered in 1787, lodge no. 459. Like the Black church, these organizations were in response to discrimination by parallel white organizations. Though they could not be considered nationalist in the strict sense of the word;<sup>20</sup> E. Franklin Frazier asserts,

Contrary to the assumption that secret societies among Negroes represent a continuation of African traditions, the development of these societies occurred among Negroes who were farthest removed culturally from their African background. They developed among the free Negroes in the north who had taken over the culture of the Whites and participated to some extent in the White man's world.<sup>21</sup>

However, they did have a "four-fold" relationship to Black Nationalism:<sup>22</sup> 1) They were among the best organized institutions in the "African-American" community; 2) after 250 years of slavery, they

---

<sup>19</sup>Carter Godwin Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, The Negro In Our History, 12th ed., rev. and enl., (U.S.A.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 149.

<sup>20</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>Arthur J. Cox, A Black Perspective On The American Social Service System, (Hebron, Conn. Practioner's Press, 1984), p. 25.

<sup>22</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 17.

provided for the greater social participation of African people; 3) the leadership was largely independent of direct white control; and 4) they believed in African-Self Reliance and Self-government.

1787 also marked the convening of the constitutional Convention after the war for independence. The "founding fathers" were now able to press on with their real plans for social change. They passed national laws that shielded the slave trade against legislative prohibition, leveled import fees on new slaves, guaranteed slave owners the right to retrieve fugitive slaves, and promised federal troops to put down slave insurrections.<sup>23</sup> For the next few years, the slave trade reached new highs. Yet, the freed man and their enslaved brotheren were far from giving up the struggle for liberation. Although expressions of integrationist ideology had emerged and were recorded in the experiences of Blacks like, Crispus Attucks, Salem Poore and Peter Salem; some of the most noted, who had fought side by side with white slave masters for America's independence from the British; realized that they could not depend on "good white folks", for liberation.<sup>24</sup>

Black nationalist ideology continued to be fueled by fleeting accounts of African slave rebellions inside and outside of North

---

<sup>23</sup>Vincent Harding. There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books a division of Random House, 1983), p. 46.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

America. In 1791, Toussaint L'Ouverture and his able general Jean-Jacques Dessolines, led slave revolts in Haiti, which sent shock waves all the way to slave quarters in the United States.<sup>25</sup> These waves were felt by African-Americans like Gabriel, Solomon and Martin Prousser; slaves born determined to be free. Their planned slave revolt in Virginia involving several thousand slaves, was met with betrayal 1800.<sup>26</sup> Denmark Vesey's planned slave revolt in South Carolina in 1821 was another act of liberation betrayal, it was also said to involve several thousand slaves.<sup>27</sup> In 1831 "Nat" Turner and his co-conspirators in Virginia, got beyond the planning stage and killed some 55 Whites before their slave revolt was put down.<sup>28</sup> Gabriel Prosser envisioned a Black State in Virginia, over which he would be named king if their plans succeeded. Denmark Vesey's tactics and strategies were based on those of Toussaint L'Ouverture whose slave revolt led to an independent Black Haiti. Vesey also paralleled the plight of slavery in America to that of the Biblical children of Israel and their struggle to be free from bondage in Egypt to set up their own independent nation. Nat Turner had this vision as well and believed himself to be sent by God to lead his

---

<sup>25</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 104.

<sup>26</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Booksa Division of Random House, 1983), pg. 55.

<sup>27</sup>Lerone Bennet, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 19862), pg. 111-112.

<sup>28</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., Black Separatism And Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason. (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), p. 3.



people out of bondage. All three men were religious leaders in their communities and found much of their food for insurrection in the Bible.<sup>29</sup>

One of the major problems of Black Nationalist of the period; which continues to be present, was that of the "land question". Where would the liberated independent Black nation stand? Although many escaped slaves had returned to Africa by various means, most had not. A return trip across the Atlantic for Blacks "free" or slave was more of a dream than a reality. Many plans for national liberations were frustrated by this problem. Most options available to escaping slaves were still inside United States borders and subject to White rule. Escape to Canada was another option. This reality, more than any other, aided the development of integrationist ideology. This along with the human rights rhetoric of the American Revolution, the activities of freedmen in the north, and the growing number of slave revolts in the south, created conditions for the abolitionist movement and the continued growth of integrationist ideology.

Emigration, however, was still the major thrust of Black liberation ideology at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> The brutality of

---

<sup>29</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 119.

<sup>30</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 19.

slavery continued to obscure any notion of peaceful coexistence between Black slaves and White slave masters. Many White leaders including Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln felt that Blacks should be separated from whites as well, preferably in some territory outside the U.S.. For these Whites dealing with slaves was one thing, but dealing with free Negroes was quite another. From Jefferson's era to Lincoln's, colonization was most White's favorite solution to the "negroe problem".<sup>31</sup> In various ways, although for quite different reasons, this attitude among whites-lended support to developing Black Nationalist ideology while attempting to stifle the development of Black integrationist ideology. In 1816, the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color in the U.S. was founded in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C.<sup>32</sup>

The American Colonization Society, as it was often called, was supported by a number of noted Whites of the period. The scheme, one of whites colonizing "freed" Negroes in Africa, was met with much controversy and opposition by Black nationalist and integrationist alike. Early support of this form of immigration was used by the British to colonize Sierra Leone. Former slaves who had fought with

---

<sup>31</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 7.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

Britain in the war against American Independence, were used for this purpose and this strategy was advocated by Paul Cuffee.<sup>33</sup> Cuffee, a prosperous Black sea captain, who championed the cause of African repatriation petitioned the President, Senate, and House of Representatives in 1814 for assistance with his colonization scheme. Cuffee, at his own expense aided a recorded 38 Africans to Sierra Leone, however, his support of the white colonization scheme was also met with militant composition from large segments of Black leadership.<sup>34</sup>

In fifty years the colonization Society had only succeeded in transporting some 12,000 Blacks back to Africa at a cost of some \$2,500,000.<sup>35</sup> While this plan to address the Negro problem had some support among Blacks and Whites, it was seen as too slow in solving the problem. The abolitionist movement, for the most part, opposed the colonization scheme, arguing that such an effort should be spent fighting the abolition of slavery. In the late 1820s and '30s this movement was in full swing.<sup>36</sup> The abolitionist movement according to John Hope

---

<sup>33</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 20.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>35</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 11.

<sup>36</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), p. 3.

Franklin, was an anti-slavery movement that has developed out of a religious crusade. It was part of a larger humanitarian movement, sweeping Europe and America, stemming from growing popular concern for the welfare of underprivileged persons.<sup>37</sup> Most of the early leaders of this movement were northern White ministers and their parishioners.

The abolitionists worked out an elaborate argument against the perpetuation of slavery. In the first place, they insisted that it was contrary to the teachings of Christianity, since Jesus taught the doctrine of universal brotherhood and one of the cardinal principles of Christianity was that all men were created in the image of God. In the second place, the abolitionists contended that slavery was contrary to the fundamental principles of the American way of life, which valued freedom as an inalienable right of the individual. Slaves were denied this right: they had no freedom in seeking employment, no religious freedom, no marriage or family rights, no legal protection, and few opportunities to secure an education. They also contended that slavery was economically unsound, because the workers could not be expected to be efficient and there was such a waste of physical and human resources in the plantation economy.<sup>38</sup>

Many free African Americans and ex-slaves joined the abolitionist movement and were also founding members of its multi-racial anti-slavery

---

<sup>37</sup>John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1980), p. 182.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

societies. By 1830, free Africans had organized some fifty such organizations dedicated to abolition of slavery and aid to Black people.<sup>39</sup> These alliances with liberal whites and the fact that many such organizations published their own news organs, went far to advance the integrationist ideology in the Black community. It was during this period that Black integrationist ideology began to assert itself and seriously compete for the liberation of Black people. The main focus during this period among Blacks was one of self help and mutual aid to improve the conditions of Africans in America. Hundreds of Africans became involved in organizational efforts directed toward the common goal of black liberation, some of the most notable being: Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and David Walker just to name a few.

As the aforementioned host of Black freedom fighters might indicate, Black liberation ideology was being hotly espoused in both lecture and print. Some of the publications by Blacks during the era, "included such decisive works as David Walker's Appeal (1820) which was a severe and famous criticism of slavery, a call for revolt by the slaves and for aid by the free; George Moses Horton's Hope of Liberty (1829), and Robert Young's Ethiopian Manifesto as stringent as Walker's criticism, Henry Highland Garnett's Address (1843), and Frederick Douglass' Narrative of My Life (1845) among others".<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 93.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

Although Black nationalist and Black integrationist theories had cross paths in abolitionist lectures and printed works, they were the development of the Negro Convention Movement, which set the stage for national debates on Black liberation ideology. In 1817, The Negro Convention Movement was organized in Philadelphia. In addition to opposing the activities of the American Colonization Society; of which it was a strong opponent, the Convention Movement sought various solutions to improving the status of Black people. By 1830 and up until the Civil War the Convention Movement met annually.<sup>41</sup> The Convention Movements main activities centered around the abolition of slavery, Civil Rights for free Blacks and emigration to Canada, although integrationist and nationalist factions continually debated these concerns. Charles Lenox Redmond, among the first Blacks to rise to prominence as an abolitionist, leaned toward the tenets of non-violence and non-voting; Henry Highland Garnet, on the other hand urged slaves to kill any slaveholder who refused to release them: Sojourner Truth, though illiterate, was an unforgettable speaker for equal rights; Harriet Tubman, a woman of action, had little time for speeches, she personally freed over three hundred slaves.<sup>42</sup>

The Garrisonians (integrationists), led by the Philadelphians and Charles Remond, condemned what they called "complexional institutions", Negro churches, lodges, school, etc. They abandoned political action

---

<sup>41</sup>Alphonso Pikney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 17).

<sup>42</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 137-146.

and advocated passive moral force. The hard-boiled New Yorkers, (Samual R. Ward, Henry Highland Garnet and Frederick Douglass after his break with the Garrisonians) favored ballots, if possible and bullets, if necessary.<sup>43</sup> Though they accepted integrated institutions, they favored independent ones. At its 1835 meeting opposition came up in the convention over the use of term African when referring to independent ones. At its 1835 meeting opposition came up in the convention over the use of the term African when referring to independent Black institutions. It was believed, by many, to have negative connotations in reference to the American Colonization Society's efforts to colonize free Blacks in Africa, which they strongly opposed. Some felt that Blacks should call themselves Negroes, while others felt the use of the term colored was okay. A complicating factor was the presence of Martin R. Delany, who was a strong Black nationalist of whom Douglass said; "I thank God for making me a man simply, but Delany always thanks him for making him a Black man".<sup>44</sup> Delany argued that no people who gave up their identity could ever be respected.

Although the integrationist ideology of Black liberation had grown into a formidable opponent by the 1840s, Martin Delany had the spirit of Nat Turner; of whom he had heard of as a boy. A descendant of African chiefs, Delany was the grandson of slaves and has often been referred to as the "father of Black Nationalism". He was a Harvard-trained physician and a skilled journalist, yet, his greatest

---

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p.148.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 149.

pursuit was the repatriation of African-Americans to Africa. At age 31, Delany was espousing his Black Nationalist views in a weekly newspaper he published called the *Mystery*. In 1846, for a short time, he formed a temporary partnership with Frederick Douglass and co-edited Douglass' *North Star*.<sup>45</sup> In 1852, Delany published what came to be known as his best work and the first book on Black Nationalism, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*. Delany went on to publish other significant Black nationalist work as well. His early works indicated that his advocacy for Black nationalism sprang from his disenchantment with the reluctance of Whites to grant or accept Blacks as full equals.<sup>46</sup>

Delany was a leading force in the Negro Convention Movement and was a principal figure in its 1854 convention on national emigration. It was here that he made his impassioned speech, "Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent". Delany had earlier advocated for Black emigration to Canada, the West Indies, and Central and South America, but later became fixed on advocating for an autonomous Black State in Africa.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup>Theodore Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 21-22.

<sup>46</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 24.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.



"Convinced that Blacks could never achieve equality with Whites in the United States, Delany told the audience at the convention, 'Let it then be understood, as a great principle of political economy, that no people can be free who themselves do not constitute an essential part of the ruling element of the country in which they live.' He continued, 'The liberty of no man is secure, who controls not his own political destiny... A people to be free, must necessarily be their own rulers; that is each individual must in himself, embody the essential ingredient- so-to-speak- of the sovereign principle which compass the true basis of his liberty.'

In this extraordinary speech, Delany said he was convinced that Blacks should settle in an area where Anglo-Saxons were not the ruling element in the population, for 'The Anglo-Saxon has taken the lead in this work of universal subjugation. But the Anglo-Saxon stands preeminent for deeds of injustice and acts of oppression unparalleled perhaps in the annals of modern history.' Consequently, he continued, 'to be successful, our attention must be turned in a direction toward those places where the Black and Colored man comprise, by population, and constitute by necessity of numbers, the ruling element of the body politic.'<sup>48</sup>

After the 1852 convention, Delany did extensive traveling in Africa, and became an even stronger proponent of repatriation to Africa, "Africa for the Africans" became his rallying phrase. Unquestionably Delany was the leading propagater of Black Nationalist ideology in the two decades preceding the Civil War. During the Civil War, Delany aided the north in recruiting Black troops and later served as a Major over a Black infantry. After the war, he worked in a Freedman's Bureau in Charleston, South Carolina and later became active in politics. Some noted contradictions in the last decades of Delany's life, but he remained firmly committed to the cause of Black liberation.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

It is clear that the efforts of the Black abolitionist, participants in the Negro Convention Movement, the giants among the African Methodist Episcopal Church, like Daniel Payne, Alexander Crummel, and other Blacks in advancing Black liberation ideology, played a major role in escalating the conflicts between Whites in the slave south and those in the "free" north, which led to the Civil War. The Black nationalist ideology of Delany and others found more receptive ears among the Black community in the decade of the 1850's after a series of responses by the U.S. Government to the challenge of rising Black integrationist ideology. The passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law made the fugitive slave guilty until proven innocent. In 1854, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which repeated the Missouri Compromise of 1850, which had prohibited slavery north of Missouri. This allowed slavery advocates to attempt to expand slavery into the Kansas-Nebraska Territory. In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case that no free or enslaved African was a U.S. citizen and Blacks had no rights that Whites were bound by law to respect.<sup>50</sup> This period did not fare well for those who pursued the liberation ideology of integration.

Although many factors can be cited as causes of the Civil War, the most central among them would have to be the struggle for Black liberation. Blacks were anxious to fight for the end of slavery as an

---

<sup>50</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaiida Publications, 1982), p. 103-104.

institution, and with Lincoln's promise of freedom, over 200,000 did so. Once Blacks were allowed to fight on the side of the Union Armies, the days of the Civil War were numbered. The end of the war in 1865 brought with it the emancipation of slavery and efforts toward reconstruction. With the promise of government support, equality on the horizon and "freedom" in-hand, the ideology of integration was now clearly dominate in the Black community. A Colored People's Convention held in Charleston, South Carolina in November of 1865 marked the first such effort in the state. The convention demanded equal suffrage for Negroes and all other rights of citizenship.<sup>51</sup> Earlier in March of 1865, congress had passed the Freedmen's Bureau Act setting aside the abandoned lands of confederate supporters, to be given in forty-acre allocations to free Black families. Congress also passed the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1868), and Fifteenth (1870) Amendments which essentially, abolished slavery, gave Blacks citizenship rights, and gave Blacks the right to vote respectively.<sup>52</sup> Indeed it seemed that freedom had truly come.

However, as most of the Black population would soon find out, things were not always what they seemed. Integration and equality on paper is one thing and experiencing in real life is quite another. Congress did not give Blacks the support they needed economically or otherwise,

---

<sup>51</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 34.

<sup>52</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 106-107.

especially in the south, to protect their new found "freedom" from further oppression and exploitation. Most Blacks found that they were,

"Still victims of poverty, prejudice, and discrimination, confronted by the problems of an increasingly industrializing, urbanizing, and expanding nation. Though reconstruction was designed to aid the newly freed slaves, it did not do enough, long enough, to change radically the traditional power relations. By the end of the 60s the Republican Party was ready to compromise its commitment to Black equality in favor of promoting commercial and industrial national progress. The Democratic Party, the party of white redemption, again openly advocated "Jim Crowism" and black subordination."<sup>53</sup>

✓ What had actually happened was that whites had again used Blacks, as they had during the American Revolution, to settle their own internal disputes by promising Blacks freedom, by way of emigration and integration, when in both cases the economic basis of their colonial oppression would be maintained. Whether colonized in Liberia or Sierra Leone, the Whites would still maintain economic control over the labor power of "former slaves or free Negroes" colonized there. In the U.S., after the civil war, this relationship was one in the same. Economically the newly "emancipated", supposedly integrated Blacks were still colonized. How can a people be "free" when they do not control their means of production? The White capitalist industrialist ruling class of the north, had effectively taken away the control of White ruling class plantation owners in the south to exploit Black labor and

---

<sup>53</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason, (New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1977), p. 4.

consolidated economic exploitation, under new state power. There was no concern for the rights of Black people; or poor Whites for that matter, as the ruling class had clearly indicated time and time again.

The Black integrationist, however, had already made their position clear in a Black convention held in Syracuse, New York in October 1864, when it was clear to most that the war would bring a Union Victory. With some one-hundred and fifty delegates, the largest official roster yet, including for the first time significant representation from southern states, they organized themselves into the National Equal Rights League, with John Mercer Langston, the President and made the following declaration,

We hereby assert our full confidence in the fundamental principles of this government, the forces of acknowledged American ideas, the Christian spirit of the age, and the justice of our cause; and we believe that the generosity and sense of honor inherent in the great heart of this nation will ultimately concede us our just claims, accord us our rights, and grant us our full measure of citizenship under the broad shield of the constitution.<sup>54</sup>

They stopped short of calling for representation in the nations leadership or any effective economic control as Delany had advocated a decade earlier, but they did ask for a fair share of land. Douglass in his address stated that Blacks would be a constant cause of discussion and irritation, troubles that Whites could avert by stating that the American people would give Blacks justice.

---

<sup>54</sup>Vincent Harding, There Is A River: The Black Struggle For Freedom In America, (New York: Vintage Books A Division of Random House, 1983), p. 30.

As White politicians in the north continued to compromise the rights of Blacks and repressive White organizations like the Ku Klux Klan in the south began making Blacks pay for their defiance of white rule. The failure of Reconstruction became more and more obvious. The virtual re-enslavement of African-American people under wage slavery again generated wide spread interest in Black nationalism. American White supremacy had taken precedence over social justice. During this time, one of the most articulate and influential spokesman for Black Nationalism and emigration to Africa after the civil war came out of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Henry McNeil Turner.<sup>55</sup> After Delany's death, Turner was the leading spokesman for the resettlement of Blacks in Africa. Turner had attained national and international recognition as a leader of Black people, and used this recognition to promote Black liberation. Unlike Delany, Turner had mass following among poor southern Blacks as his ministry in the A.M.E. Church often spoke to their needs. As Reconstruction faltered, Turner would tell Blacks to hold up their heads and look to Africa.<sup>56</sup>

He became publications manager for the church and used the position to further Black Nationalist views in the *Christian Recorder*, the weekly newspaper of the church. Though he met with bitter opposition in the church for his emigrationist views, he had acquired a strong following among younger ministers and church members and was

---

<sup>55</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, *Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 27.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 28-30.

elected bishop in 1880. Turner also met opposition from most integrationist Black leaders, including Frederick Douglass and Benjamin Tanner, who were editors of the Recorder. However, convinced that powerless Blacks in the U.S. could never achieve freedom, Turner focused his efforts on establishing a Black nation in Africa for African Americans. Turner denounced the United States Constitution as a "dirty rag, a cheat, a libel and ought to be spit upon by every Negro in the land" and urged Blacks to either relocate or prepare for their eventual extermination. The church authorized Turner to visit Africa as several A.M.E. minister had already emigrated there and he was to assist their mission. He used this as an opportunity to do ground work for his emigration efforts. Turner was impressed with the liberty Blacks enjoyed in Liberia and returned to the U.S. to do whatever he could to get Blacks to emigrate there.<sup>57</sup>

The church placed him in charge of overseas missionary and he moved to establish a newspaper, the Voice of Missions, to assist him in his task. The Voice of Missions became one of the foremost organs of the time in the spread of Black Nationalist ideology for liberation. In 1893, Turner sponsored a congress on Africa in Chicago and issued a call for a national convention of African-Americans. This was his first attempt to extend his leadership to Blacks outside the south. There was opposition among the middle-class Black integrationist who fought against the success of the convention. However, the following year, Turner had

---

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 30-32.

greater success in founding the International Migration Society, a group of White southerners inspired by Turner to transport Negroes for a fee to Liberia. Over the next few years and after many difficulties, Turner was able to transport some 23 hundred Blacks to Liberia by way of the International Migration Society.<sup>58</sup>

Turner's plans to get Blacks back to Africa ran into two major problems. The first being that Africa attracted those poor and desperate Blacks, with extravagant hopes to the country, who were not ready politically or economically, and many of the emigrants suffered and some died. When the word was put out by those emigrants who were able to return to the U.S., this made prospects for further emigration dim.<sup>59</sup> Turner's emigration campaign also met its most formidable opponent, an advocate of the integrationist ideology for Black liberation, in the form of Booker T. Washington. Washington's accommodation scheme and his strong opposition to Black emigration were evident in his controversial "Atlanta Exposition speech where he inspired Blacks to "cast down your bucket where your are".<sup>60</sup> Although opposed by many Blacks, Washington's integrationist views were acceptable to wealthy influential Whites in and out of government, who helped him to espouse them. By 1906, the Voice of Missions and the International Migration Society had folded and Turner went on to start a

---

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 32-33.

<sup>59</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 45.

<sup>60</sup>Negro Heritage Library, The Winding Road to Freedom: A Documentary Survey of Negro Experience In America, ed. Alfred E. Cain (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1965), p. 205.



new journal, the Voice of the People and a new organization, the Colored National Emigration Association. After some successes and many failures, Turner turned his interest to local politics and trying to stop the disfranchisement of Blacks. However, he never stopped his advocacy for the emigrations of African-Americans to Africa.

It should be clear at this point that the ideology of Black Nationalism highlights separate development, whether it meant emigration to Africa or migration schemes to other parts of the U.S., as exemplified by "Pap" Singleton in 1879. Singleton, referred to as the "Moses of the Negro people", led a Black exodus from the south to Kansas. He argued that Blacks could escape white oppression by going to Kansas and setting up all-Black communities.<sup>61</sup> Ideally, Black Integrationism was opposed to the idea of separate development. Frederick Douglass opposed any Black exodus on the grounds that he felt the government should protect citizens rights, wherever they lived.<sup>62</sup> After Douglass' death in 1895, the question of separate but equal development in the U.S. was played out under the new integrationist leadership of Booker T. Washington, as the ideological debate over Black liberation, raged on into the 20th century.

The Atlanta Exposition speech made Booker T. Washington famous and set the tone for Black leadership for the next twenty years. Washington

---

<sup>61</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason, (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), p. 4.

<sup>62</sup>John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1980), p. 282.

had advocated that Negroes forget about social and political equality, he said that those things would take care of themselves in time. He felt Negroes should direct their attention towards "industrial education."<sup>63</sup> He refused to attack Jim Crow directly, but instead urged Negroes to subordinate their civil and social strivings to those of Whites. He was always careful not to offend southern public opinion, he once blamed the lynching of Blacks in Mississippi on the lack of education of Negroes. It is said that irony surrounded the man,

He bowed before the prejudices of the meanest southerner, but he moved in circles in the north which were closed to all but a few White men. He told Negroes that Jim Crow was irrelevant, but he himself violated the law by riding first class in Pullman cars with southern White men and women. And irony of ironies; he who advised Negroes to forget about politics wielded more political power than any other Negro in American history."<sup>64</sup>

Washington's industrial education of Negroes plan advocated that Negroes only be trained "in those arts and crafts in which they are now employed and in which they must exhibit greater efficiency if they are to compete with the White men."<sup>65</sup> In other words, Blacks should only seek education in areas peculiar to their life situation. Many felt that such a policy would hold Negroes to a class of laborers, and that Washington was advocating one standard of development for blacks and

---

<sup>63</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 251.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 276-277.

<sup>65</sup>Carter Godwin Woodson and Charles H. Wesley, The Negro In Our History, 12th ed., rev. and enl., (U.S.A.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 440.

another for Whites. However, poor and rich Whites alike had little trouble accepting Washington and his ideas. A year after Washington's Atlanta address, the Supreme Court ruled in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case that state laws requiring "separate but equal" accommodations for Negroes were "reasonable". In the face of Washington's submissive philosophy, Jim Crow lynchings and murders reached new heights, separate became more and more separate and less and less equal.<sup>66</sup>

Washington's leadership, even among Black integrationist, was seen as too passive and he was challenged. W. E. B. DuBois, who graduated from Harvard with a Ph.D., denounced Washington's position and labeled his Atlanta speech the "Atlanta Compromise". DuBois' style of integrationist leadership was a throw-back to the Frederick Douglass era of political activism, DuBois himself felt Douglass was "the greatest of American (Black) leaders". DuBois rejected Washington's demand that Blacks give up political power and moved to assume command of the scattered forces opposing Washington. DuBois favored immediate social and political integration and the higher education of a "Talented Tenth" who would champion the cause of Black liberation through integration. DuBois who argued that Washington wanted Black economic development at the expense of the political rights to defend it, insisted on thrift and self-respect, yet counseled submission and advocated industrial training

---

<sup>66</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962, p. 229-232.

while abandoning the higher education of teachers who would teach it. Although DuBois' challenge was consistent, Washington maintained his influence until his death in 1915.<sup>67</sup>

DuBois insisted on a more confrontational brand of integration, he believed that truth, dispassionately presented, would set Negroes and Whites free.<sup>68</sup> He advocated the pursuit of higher education for Negroes, from which a "Talented Tenth" among the Negro would emerge and these Black intellectuals would lead Black people to freedom and a higher level of human life. From 1885 to 1894 over 1,700 Negroes were lynched in U.S., and while DuBois was teaching at Atlanta University; a position he took in 1897, an average of Black every week was lynched. This led DuBois to conclude that education alone was not enough and that blacks must also act. In 1900, DuBois attended the first Pan-African Congress in London and in 1905 helped organize the Niagara Movement, which at its first national meeting issued the following address to the nation.

We will not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights... We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American-political, civil, and social and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us. We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth and forever."<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publication, 1982), p. 115-117.

<sup>68</sup>Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower, rev., (New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 280.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., pp. 280-281.

The Niagara Movement was composed of a group of young Blacks who wanted to take a more radical stand against White violence. William Monroe Trotter and Ida B. Wells Barnett were among this group. Although the organization disbanded after a few years it marked the beginning of a new period of organizational development in the Black liberation movement. After the break-up, DuBois and some others joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), organized in 1910 largely by White men and women who were both intellectual and biological heirs of White abolitionists. Trotter, who believed that Blacks should control organizations for Black freedom, had left the Niagara Movement earlier and founded the all Black National Equal Rights League. Ida B. Wells-Barnett went on to form the locally based, Negro Fellowship League in Chicago.<sup>70</sup> During the same time period another major Black integrationist organization was founded, the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes, better known as the National Urban League.<sup>71</sup>

DuBois gave the NAACP twenty of his most productive years from where he championed the integrationist philosophy as editor of the organization's organ, the Crisis.<sup>72</sup> DuBois also advocated

---

<sup>70</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution. Center for Afro-American Studies, vol. 4. University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), p. 90-92.

<sup>71</sup>John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1980), p. 321.

<sup>72</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution. Center for Afro-American Studies vol. 4. University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), p. 91.

Pan-Africanism by arguing that the colonial powers grant freedom to their African colonial territories, so that they might develop in their own best interest. He presided over four of the five pre-independence Pan-African Congresses and felt that America's Black "Talented Tenth", could be of aid to their African brethren. He stopped short, however, of urging African-Americans to emigrate to Africa although he went to live in Africa in his later years. He advanced socialism as a viable and necessary alternative to capitalism before he died in Africa, in 1963. Long before DuBois' death however, his integrationist ideas came under constant and heavy assault by one of the greatest champions of Black Nationalist liberation, Marcus Mosiah Garvey.<sup>74</sup>

The Jamaican born Marcus Garvey arrived in the United States in 1916, a year after his Black Nationalist predecessor Henry Turner had passed. Garvey had much in common with Turner in terms of his, flamboyance, eloquence, single mindedness, a fierce independent spirit and a widespread following.<sup>75</sup> Ironically it was not Turner who had inspired Garvey from America, but Booker T. Washington who's autobiography; *Up From Slavery*, Garvey had read while studying in London. Garvey was interested in establishing in Jamaica, industrial

---

<sup>74</sup>Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, (Inglewood, California Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 118-119.

<sup>75</sup>*Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey*, ed., Amy Jacques-Garvey (New York: Antheneum, 1923), p. 6.

colleges modeled on Washington's Tuskegee Institute.<sup>76</sup> He had written Washington and expected to visit him, but Washington also died in 1915 before Garvey could set out.<sup>77</sup> Garvey, however, later said of Washington's program,

If Washington had lived he would have had to change his program. No leader can successfully lead this race of ours without giving an interpretation of the awakened spirit of the New Negro, who does not seek industrial opportunity alone, but a political voice.<sup>78</sup>

Though not an immediate success when he arrived in New York's Harlem district, within a few years Garvey had tapped into the Black Nationalist sentiments of Blacks in the United States and was on his way to building the largest Black Nationalist movement in American history.<sup>79</sup> Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) published the *Negro World*, in which he espoused his strong Black nationalist philosophy. Garvey asked, "Where is the Black man's government? Where is his king and his kingdom? Where is his president, his country, and his ambassador, his navy, his men of big of affairs?"<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup>Marcus Garvey, Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa, ed. with an introduction and commentaries, by John Henrik Clarke with the assistance of Amy Jacques-Garvey (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1974), p. 8.

<sup>77</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications 1986), p. 118.

<sup>78</sup>Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed., Amy Jacques-Garvey, (New York: Antheneum, 1928, p. 56.

<sup>79</sup>Alphonso Pikney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976), p. 37.

<sup>80</sup>Marcus Garvey, Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa, ed., with an introduction and commentaries by John Henrik Clarke with the assistance of Amy Jacques Garvey (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House), p. 8.

He reminded African Americans that they had once been kings and rulers of great nations and would be so again. Garvey unlike other Black nationalist before him, developed the ideological foundations of Black nationalist liberation by emphasizing four components of Black nation building, economics, politics, religion and culture.<sup>81</sup> Economically, he argued that "A race that is solely dependent upon others for its economic existence sooner or later dies." He thus advanced the need for Black businesses and commerce based on self-help and self-reliance and advocated Black economic autonomy. Politically, he argued "Race First" as a principle of theory and practice, he advanced Delany's phrase "Africa for the Africans at home and abroad." He advocated for the global unity of Blacks and political participation directed toward Black community control. He also advocated continental liberation of Africa and the return of her people in the diaspora. He believed in armed self defense in the protection of one's human rights and armed struggle in the liberation of Africa, stating that, "any sane man, race or nation that desires freedom must first of all think in terms of blood." Religiously, Garvey advocated a race-specific God and stated that it was only human, to see God through one's own eyes. He felt that religion should be socially rooted and socially relevant and that therefore Black people should see God in their own image and in their own interest. He criticized white Christianity for preaching brotherhood while practicing the mass murder and brutalization of Black and Third World people. Culturally, Garvey advocated cultural

---

<sup>81</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 120.



nationalism, stating that whites "have tried to rob the black man of his proud past," but the Blacks, "have a beautiful history of their own," that they should rescue and reconstruct. He encouraged race pride and criticized those who prostituted the race.<sup>82</sup>

Garvey unlike DuBois was an effective mass organizer among the Black poor as well as the Black "middle class". He awakened in African Americans a desire to be the masters of their own destiny. He began to clash openly with DuBois and the NAACP for the ideological leadership of Blacks in America. Garvey constantly criticized DuBois' focus on integration and his being controlled by white NAACP board members. The giants of opposing Black liberation ideology became bitter rivals.<sup>83</sup>

One of the least offensive things Garvey said about DuBois was that he belonged to "the greatest enemies of black people in the world." And DuBois, in almost the same language, paid him back: "Marcus Garvey is, without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America and world. He is either a lunatic or a traitor."<sup>84</sup>

Garvey felt nationhood was the strongest security of any people and, if he was anything, history would witness that he was an institution builder toward that goal. Garvey organized the Black Star (shipping) Line, a chain of grocery stores, a

---

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>83</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 51.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

restaurant, a steam laundry, tailoring establishments, a publishing house;<sup>85</sup> bookstores, beauty parlors, barbershops and a host of other small business enterprises.<sup>86</sup> In short, Garvey was able to take Washington's separatist economic program and add his militant African emigration program and build the largest Black mass movement, claiming some (6) six million members throughout the world, although his efforts fell short of realizing their ultimate objective due to external U.S. government intimidation, infiltration and internal organization squabbles and mismanagement.<sup>87</sup> The theoretical and practical legacy Garvey left behind, however, served as a model for all subsequent Black nationalist in the U.S.<sup>88</sup>

Though Garvey's voice was the loudest advocate for Black nationalist liberation in the United States during this time it was not the only such response to the Black condition. The lynching of Blacks was a national pass-time in these days so much so that during World War I, "Negro lives were as much jeopardized by home front lynch mobs as by overseas enemy troops."<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>Philosophy & Opinions of Marcus Garvey, ed., Amy Jacques-Garvey (New York: Antheneum, 1923), p. Intro.

<sup>86</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed. Black Separatism and Social Reality: and Reason, (New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1977), p. 6.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>88</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 120.

<sup>89</sup>Negro Heritage Library, The Winding Road to Freedom: A Documentary Survey of Negro Experience In America, ed. Alfred E. Cain (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1965), p. 232.

It is likely that the largest and most important single force of Afro-American men who caught some new international vision were to be found among the thousands of servicemen who were members of the American Expeditionary forces in Europe. Many of the dilemmas of the new age were caught up in them. They had seen both the shame and grandeur of modern European civilization. They had experienced all the racism and fear that the war had not dislodged from the lives of their fellow military men and American civilians overseas. They knew they had been used in a cause that was not ultimately theirs. They realized that their own first and last battlefield was in America.<sup>90</sup>

On return to America many of these men joined the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) led by Cyril Briggs. The ABB was among the first American based Black organizations that sought to develop connections between the struggle for Black liberation in the United States and revolutionary movements in Africa and elsewhere. In 1917 Briggs called for a self-governing Negro State in the Western U.S. but later (1919) opted for Africa, South America or the Caribbean. At its peak the ABB had over 2,000 members in parts of the U.S. and the West Indies.<sup>91</sup> The ABB eventually lost its way between the Garvey movement and the rise of the Communist party,<sup>92</sup> however, in 1919 it represented a definite part of the developing ideology of Black nationalist liberation in the U.S.

---

<sup>90</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies, Vol. 4. (University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980, p. 103.

<sup>91</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 62-63.

<sup>92</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies, Vol. 4 (University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), p. 103.

The Garvey movement was in full decline by the late 1920's but the heights it had reached was a clear sign that African Americans were far from satisfied with their colonization in America and still looked to Africa in their quest for redemption. The early to mid-1930s marked a crucial period in ruling class white capitalism in the U.S. The earlier Garvey movement had indicated the discontent of Blacks, the Communist Party movement which began around 1919, had grown by the 30s and continued to attack the foundation of capitalist exploitation, there was a growing labor union movement and the country was in economic depression. The ruling class at the dawn of imperialist expansion had to make critical decisions as to the maintenance of the system. They turned to John Maynard Keynes theory of "new Economics" which called for a greater role of the imperialist state in managing the operations of capitalism and controlling the economy through federal spending and taxation.<sup>93</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt effectively characterized his move to stabilize the exploitive ability of the U.S. government as the "New Deal".

A deal which would be hard to turn down since it incorporated many of the demands which had dominated the trade unionist working class struggle of North Americans (whites) for the previous 100 years: unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, and the right to organize trade unions.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup>Omal: Yeshitela, Stolen Black Labor: The Political Economy of Domestic Colonialism, with assistance by Rick Ayers and David Barber (Oakland: Burning Spear Publications, 1983), p. 74.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

When some of the benefits of the "New Deal" began to "trickle down to Blacks: slum clearance projects and public housing, guaranteed old age and unemployment insurance, social welfare, collective bargaining, WPA employment of Black actors and writers, and Roosevelt's Black cabinet of advisors,"<sup>95</sup> made many integrationist-minded African-Americans actually believe they had been dealt a New Deal. Such was being supported by the NAACP, the Urban League and other Black organizations of the integrationist persuasion. However A. Phillip Randolph, a more radical integrationist, had the insight to make the following statement at a 1936 organizing conference of the National Negro Congress, "The New Deal is no remedy. It does not seek to change the profit system. It does not place human rights above property rights, but gives the business interests the support of the state."<sup>96</sup> Randolph correctly understood that Roosevelt's New Deal was only saving the capitalistic system for the capitalists.<sup>97</sup>

The NAACP and Urban League continued to champion the integrationist philosophy on into the 1950s before their leadership would be challenged by another predominantly Black organization advancing integrationist ideology. A proliferation of small, sect-like groups characterized the Black nationalist of the 1930s. None came close to acceptance that

---

<sup>95</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 126-127.

<sup>96</sup>Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, with a forward by Bazel E. Allen and Ernest T. Wilson III (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 172.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 172.

Garvey had until the rise of the Nation of Islam. Although the organization had its beginnings in 1930s and developed under different leaders it reached its height under the leadership of Elijah Poole, better known as Elijah Muhammad.<sup>98</sup> From the 1940s to the late 50s this organization was the only Black nationalist group to effectively promote a campaign for black liberation.<sup>99</sup> Elijah Muhammad's contribution to Black nationalist ideology was embedded in his religious doctrine of Islam. He reasserted that African Americans were the descendants of the original Black Nation of Asia, from the continent of Africa.<sup>100</sup> He advanced that Negroes in America were a lost and enslaved part of that original nation and that he and other Islamic Prophets of God (Allah) had been sent to free them. As a Muslim he advanced that the "Holy Qur-an" was a truer representation of the word God than the Bible and used it as the foundation of his nationalist ideology.<sup>101</sup>

Muhammad posed that Christianity was the oppressor's religion and advanced Islam as a necessary alternative. He broke the traditional monopoly Arabs and other Asian Muslims had on the doctrinal interpretation of Islam and established a socio-historically specific

---

<sup>98</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), p. 134.

<sup>99</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason. (New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1977), p. 7.

<sup>100</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 79.

<sup>101</sup>Elijah Muhammad, The Fall of America, (Chicago, Illinois: Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 1973), p. 262.

form of Islam for African Americans. He taught that God was Black and the devil White, and that the separation of enslaved Blacks in America from their White slave masters was a divine imperative. He said that separation was central in order to escape the degenerative effect of white society and the wrath of God who would destroy it.<sup>102</sup> He advocated that either his followers be given territory in the United States for their separate development; of which the government should support for twenty-five years, or be allowed without hinderance to return "to our native land and people", where you found us."<sup>103</sup> Through his Islamic doctrine, Muhammad organized a program of racial solidarity and moral upliftment through self-awareness and self-help. He broke the monopoly whites had on "God and God" by revealing an alternative truth to his Black followers and reinforcing it with positive self images and economic support. Like Garvey, the Black Muslims as they were commonly called, set up their own economy; they had numerous communal businesses including farms, groceries, restaurants, and clothing stores. They also ran their own school systems which included self-defense, and vocational training.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup>Maulana Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982), pp. 134-135.

<sup>103</sup>Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism, (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), p. 81.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam picked up new thrust when the next champion of Black Nationalist ideology, Malcolm Littel (Malcolm X, El-Hajj Malik Shabazz) joined in 1952. After a brief training period the quick-witted Malcolm X; as he was most commonly called, became largely responsible for an increasing Nation. Malcolm X broke with Muhammad over a dispute, yet went on to advance the ideological foundation of Black Nationalism. Malcolm's father had been a follower of Marcus Garvey and now it was his turn to contribute to the ideological development of the movement. Malcolm organized the Muslim Mosque Incorporated, and orthodox religious organization and the organization of African American Unity in 1964. Of these two organization Malcolm stated,

The Muslim Mosque, Inc., will have at its religious base the religion of Islam, which will be designed to propagate the moral reformation necessary up to the level of the so-called Negro community by eliminating the vices and the other evils that destroy the moral fiber of the community-this is the religious base. But the political philosophy of the Muslim Mosque will be Black Nationalism, the economic philosophy will be Black Nationalism, and the social philosophy will be Black Nationalism.<sup>105</sup>

We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary," so we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity which has the same aim and objective-to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people by any means necessary.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup>Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 5.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 37.



Malcolm was a devout student of history and he, more than any other Black nationalist of his period consciously and actively sought to further develop Black nationalist ideology. He understood that to do so meant the scientific scrutiny of history. "It is impossible to understand the present or prepare for the future unless we have some knowledge of the past... when you deal with the past, you're dealing with history, you're dealing actually with the origin of a thing. When you know the origin, you know the cause."<sup>107</sup> Malcolm was acutely aware of the absence of a political dimension to post-slavery Black nationalism, as well the absence of an ideological framework of thought and action that was based on the historical needs and experiences of Black people. He felt that such a void was not only largely responsible for the failures and setbacks of every Black nationalist effort since the Haitian Revolution, but that it had also cleared the way for the development of integrationist assimilationist organizations.<sup>108</sup> Malcolm defined the Black nationalist liberation struggle as a struggle against the political oppression of colonialism as well as the economic "Blood Sucking", exploitation of capitalism. He thus advocated political independence for the "22 million Afro-Americans colonized in America", and the pursuit of a socialistic system of government.

Malcolm's most formidable integrationist opponent began his rise to leadership in the mid-1950s, Martin Luther King, Jr. But before King, there must be mention of one who seemed to stand at the ideological

---

<sup>107</sup>Shawna Maglangbayan, Garvey, Lumumba, Malcolm: Black Nationalist Separatists, (Chicago, Illinois: Third World Press, 1972), p. 106-108.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

crossroad of Black liberation like a giant, orchestrating his multi-talents in steadfast support of Black freedom, Paul Robeson, a Pan African freedom fighter. Joined by a seasoned W.E.B. DuBois by 1945, Robeson and DuBois represented two of the most dramatic, courageous and defiant ideological challenges to colonialism during the post World War II McCarthy era. Both men were totally convinced of the essential need for Black liberation in America and united with the struggles for Black liberation throughout the world. They were also convinced that the struggles of colonized Black's for economic and political independence had to evolve into some form of socialism, rather than commitment to capitalism which had them oppressed. Both Robeson and DuBois were internationally recognized as two of the most intellectual scholars of their time, and in the rising tide of anti-communist hysteria; when most voices were quiet about such things, the two stood their ground. They attacked American capitalism as well as America's imperialist involvement in the oppression and exploitation of nonwhites throughout the world. Both were labeled communist sympathizers, had their passport revoked and were ridiculed and ostracized but remained steadfast.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies, vol. 4 (University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), pp. 141-144.

Most Black integrationist during this period kept a low profile and even some members of the integrationist NAACP went before congressional committees and publicly accused men like Robeson and DuBois.<sup>110</sup> The NAACP however, was more resigned to pursue its legal battles for integration, through which they received a measure of "success" with the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. The Board of Education* in 1954. The court ruled that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal, this put a legal end to the "separate but equal" doctrine established in its 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Under the leadership of the Black integrationist most African Americans saw this as a "second emancipation proclamation".<sup>111</sup> They could now go to school with whites and become "better educated". This marked a period in the Black civil rights movement, of integrationist political thrust to break down the remaining barriers to full Black participation in U.S. society.<sup>112</sup> However, the abandonment of Black control over the education of Black children, would surely prove to be a grave error and another setback to Black liberation.

By the end of 1955, Montgomery, Alabama became a symbol of the integrationist thrust. African Americans had organized a boycott of the city's public transit system in support of Rosa Park's refusal to give her seat to a white man. Into the leadership of this historic "Bus

---

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>112</sup>Maulauna Karenga, Introduction to Black Studies, (Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publication, 1982), p. 128.

Boycott" rose a Baptist preacher with a doctorate in philosophy, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.<sup>113</sup> In 1957 King among some sixty Black leaders; most of whom were ministers from ten southern states, founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which he was elected president. King quickly became the major proponent of the Black integrationist ideology, calling for a stronger and more aggressive Black leadership.<sup>114</sup> While pursuing the boycott tactic, the SCLC soon claimed the leadership of the Black civil rights movement. King advocated that integration could be advanced through a philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience and Mahatma Gandhi's technique of nonviolent resistance in India, and he attempted to weld the two concepts together and use them in the struggle for Black liberation in America.<sup>115</sup>

King supported the struggles for African independence as well, yet he counseled the use of nonviolence, and that blacks must not become victimized by a philosophy of black supremacy, substituting one tyranny

---

<sup>113</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies, vol. 4 (University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), p. 148.

<sup>114</sup>Editors of Ebony, Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Introduction by Lerone Bennett, Jr., Vol. III, Civil Rights Movement to Black Revolution (Nashville: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 7.

<sup>115</sup>Ernest Shaw Lyght, The Religious and Philosophical Foundations In the Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr., (New York: Vantage Press, 1972), pp. 60-65.

for another. He was convinced however, that for "Negros" in America" their ultimate goal is integration, which is genuine inter-group and interpersonal living. He was also convinced that "only through nonviolence can this goal be attained, for the aftermath of nonviolence is reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community."<sup>116</sup> His integrationist philosophy of nonviolence resistance was based on six major principles: 1) nonviolent resistance is not a method of cowards; it does resist 2) the objective of nonviolence is not to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding, 3) the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil, 4) there must be a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, 5) external physical violence and internal violence of spirit must be avoided, and 6) nonviolent resistance is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice.<sup>117</sup>

King advocated that these principles in the struggle for Black liberation be guided by "A gape Love".

---

<sup>116</sup>Negro Heritage Library, A Martin Luther King Treasury, (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1964), p. 72.

<sup>117</sup>Kenneth L. Smith and Ira G. Zepp, Jr., Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr., (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1974), pp. 57-62.

A love in which the individual seeks not his own good, but the good of his neighbor (I Cor. 10:24). A gape does not begin by discrimination between worthy and unworthy people, or any qualities people possess. It begins by loving others for their sakes. It is an entirely 'neighbor-regarding concern for others', which discovers the neighbor in every man it meets. Therefore, a gape makes no distinction between friend and enemy; it is directed toward both".<sup>118</sup>

Malcolm X thought King's nonviolent integrationist strategy was nothing short of madness.<sup>119</sup> He felt that it attempted to appeal to the oppressors moral conscious when in fact white America had neither morals nor a conscious, when it comes to Black people. However, under King's leadership African Americans amassed a number of integrationist victories in the form of social reforms during a decade of boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides, and protest marches. Though many Blacks may have questioned King's goals and tactics none questioned his courage and dedication to Black liberation. He moved on to become the premiere African American leader of the Black civil rights movement, despite over a decade of intense civil rights activity by leading integrationist proponents (S.C.L.C., NAACP and the Urban League). The Civil Rights movement had not secured effective responses to the more fundamental problem of African American colonization.<sup>120</sup> The concessions

---

<sup>118</sup>Negro Heritage Library, A Martin Luther King Treasury, (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1964), p. 72.

<sup>119</sup>Editors of Ebony, Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Introduction by Lerone Bennett, Jr., Vol III, Civil Rights Movement to Black Revolution (Nashville: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 81.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid., pp. 66-69.

integrationist had won from the white ruling class mainly benefited a rising yet unstable black middle class and not the African-American masses. These social reforms also proved indefensible, in that African-Americans depended on the white power structure for their enforcement and continued implementation. The frustrated efforts of integration led to the rise of the "Black Power" movement in the 1960s.

The ideology of integration clearly dominated the struggle for Black liberation from 1930 to 1965 at which point African Americans became disillusioned with the progress being made at alleviating genocidal conditions in the Black community. Two organizations which had been in the forefront of advancing integrationist ideology, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) made an ideological break toward Black nationalism in the mid-1960s.<sup>121</sup> SNCC was actually a training ground, from which a number of Black nationalist leaders would later emerge. In 1966 SNCC; under its newly elected chairman, Stokely Carmichael, advanced that African-Americans must begin thinking in terms of "Black Power".<sup>122</sup> Carmichael further stated that the once integrated SNCC,

---

<sup>121</sup>Raymond L. Hall, ed., *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*. (New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1977), p. 7.

<sup>122</sup>John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1980), p. 481.

"should be: Black staffed, Black controlled and Black financed," and that only by moving in this organizational direction could Blacks began to work out their destiny in America.<sup>123</sup> Carmichael would go on to found the All African People's Revolutionary Party, one of a number of Black Revolutionary Political Parties that would rise during this period to espouse a Black nationalist solution to African American colonial oppression.

The forerunner of such organizations was the Black Panther Party, formed in Oakland, California in 1966 by two young Black Nationalists, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.<sup>124</sup> The party's name had been inspired by the Black Panther symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which was formed by SNCC in 1965.<sup>125</sup> Seale felt that symbol was an appropriate one for Black people in that the Black panther by nature never attacked unless provoked and would then "respond viciously and wipe out the aggressor". Both Newton and Seale had been strongly influenced by Malcom X's emphasis on self-defense, and the party's character and ideology reflected it.<sup>126</sup> The ideology of the black Panther

---

<sup>123</sup>Vincent Harding, The Other American Revolution, Center for Afro-American Studies vol. 4 (University of California, Los Angeles and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980), p. 185.

<sup>124</sup>Editors of Ebony, Pictorial History of Black America, Introduction by Lerone Bennett, Jr. vol 3, Civil Rights Movement to Black Revolution (Nashville: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), p. 94.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-95.



Party while focusing on self-defense, embraced various aspects of a number of revolutionary movements, and ideologies. The party's founders attempted to synthesize the ideological positions of subsequent Black Nationalist as well as those of the African-Frantz Fanon, The German-Karl Marx, the Russian-V.I. Lenin, The Chinese-Mao Tse-tung and others to form their own militant Black Nationalist ideology.<sup>127</sup> In the words of David Hilliard, who was Chief of Staff of the party, responsible for political education, "The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experiences of Black people in America translated through Marxism-Leninism."<sup>128</sup>

The Party's ideology, based on a social scientific analysis, continued to advance; as Malcolm X had before, that Black people in the U.S. were colonial subjects. Thus in the party's ten point platform, point one called for the freedom of Black people and the power of self-determination for the Black community. Point ten of the platform summarize a list of autonomous aspirations which the party actively attempted to achieve in its short but dramatic history.

---

<sup>127</sup>Alphonso Pinkney, Red, Black, and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 98.

<sup>128</sup>The Black Panthers Speaks, ed., Philip S. Foner, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), p. 122.

We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nation--supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony, in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny."<sup>129</sup>

While the twenty years between 1955 and 1975 clearly marked one of the most militant and radical periods of Black liberation struggle in American History, from both; the Black integrationist and Black nationalist perspectives, the last ten years of that period also clearly noted America's answer to the call for Black liberation. As Samuel Yette points out in his controversial book "The Choice", American consciously decided to deny Black people any such liberation. Through its repressive agents like the F.B.I. Counter Intelligence Program, the House on Un-American Activities Committee and the standing police departments in every Black community, the U.S. government perpetuated the out and out murder, imprisonment, exile and harassment of national and local Black leaders and their active following to disrupt, discredit and destroy the Black liberation movement.

---

<sup>129</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This framework is based on Economic Determinism. Economic Determinism is based on the contention that all human social relations are determined by the state of economic organization. An historical analysis of human society will be used to help highlight this contention and development of a framework for liberation. Human beings can only create and sustain a society by entering into social relations with one another. The nature of these social relations characterize a particular society. Social Scientists have found that if one studies the social relations which have evolved among individuals and groups, fundamental laws of social development will become apparent. Despite the fact that humans may change the way they relate to each other for various reasons and at various times, there exist basic social relations without which no society can exist or develop. Primary among these is the condition that humans must interact with each other for livelihood.<sup>130</sup> It holds true that, within all human societies the collective behavior of people is essentially an effort directed toward adapting to or changing their natural and social environment in an attempt to address their survival needs. It follows then that development of human society is linked to the ability of a people to come together and produce food, clothing, and shelter: to wit economic organization.

---

<sup>130</sup>Maurice Cornforth, Historical Materialism, (New York: International Publishers, 1954), pp. 14-19.

The economic organization of society is therefore the cornerstone of social development, around which corresponding social institutions are built. In other words, social institutions are created to facilitate the economic organization of society and therefore insure its continued development. Social development is further characterized by how well a society, through its social institutions can manage and control its productive forces; e.g., how people inter-relate to produce what was needed for all, the types of instruments they employ in their productive activity and the skill at which these instruments are used.<sup>131</sup> In that production must take place in a "limited" environment, man is often in competition for natural resources which are the basic means of production. Therefore in the process of social development, social institutions and their related ideologies must address man's exploitation of man as well as one society's exploitation of another. It is within the latter context of exploitation that colonialism; the foreign domination and economic exploitation of one society by another, is manifested. There are social laws which characterize this relationship as well.<sup>132</sup>

Historically the intent of foreign aggressors, by virtue of their institutional (military) power, has been to gain economic advantages over a less powerful society. The major economic advantage is control over natural resources (means of production) and control over a conquered people's labor power (forces of production). The economic

---

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-37.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., pp. 39-54.

benefits gained from this forced relationship, act as an incentive for the oppressing society to maintain its exploitation of the oppressed society. Since social institutions are a function of economic organization, it stands to reason that under colonialism the social institutions of the colonizer respond by reinforcing such economic incentives. Hence the liberation of the colonized must be based on the emancipation of their means and forces of production. This objective must be part of the tactics, and strategy of liberation because it addresses the very foundation on which colonial oppression exist. Although initially the oppressed are overcome by the power of their oppressor, they must recognize that unless they regain control over territorial resources and the ability to produce in their own interest, their lives will never be the same. Their prospect for social development will be regulated by the will of their foreign oppressor.

The most serious blow suffered by the colonized at this point, is that they have been removed from their own course of social development and are no longer a history making people. Although they will continue to carry the burden of social development and history, often more cruelly than others, their efforts will contribute to the development of the oppressor.<sup>133</sup> No matter how brief or how long this oppressive situation may last, the colonized will be a reactive force in history as opposed to a proactive one.<sup>134</sup> Culture is the history making force in society.

---

<sup>133</sup>Albert Memmi, The colonizer and the colonized, Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 103.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

A society's culture represents the ideological rationale which governs social behavior and the conscious economic and social organization of the society. The colonial situation calls a halt to the national culture of the oppressed in almost every field and replaces it with the culture of the colonizer.<sup>135</sup> Any effort by the colonized to regain its potential to create its own history, is manifested through cultural resistance. Cultural resistance on the part of colonized, is an attempt to maintain a previous way of life. Such resistance represents a constant threat to foreign domination. In the eyes of the colonizer the old cultural life of the oppressed must be neutralized or destroyed to ensure their continued domination. By denying or obstructing the national culture of the colonized, the colonizer also denies and obstructs their historical development.<sup>136</sup>

One of the gravest obstacles to national liberation is that the colonized start to be absorbed into the culture of their colonizer.<sup>137</sup> Over time the oppressed can become domesticated and lose all memory of what it was like to be free of their oppressors. With their culture continually denied, generations are born who have never known true

---

<sup>135</sup>Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, Preface by Jean-Paul Sartre, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963), p. 237.

<sup>136</sup>Amilcar Cabral, Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral, ed., African Information Service (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), pp. 40-43.

<sup>137</sup>Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. Myra Bergman Ramos (New York: The Seabury Press, 1970), p. 36.

freedom and the oppressed begin to equate freedom with the status of their oppressors and wish to be like them. The struggle to be free of their oppressive situation becomes a struggle to share in the power of their oppressor. As the colonized adapts to domination, they claim more and more of the oppressors cultural values as their own. The oppressor's version of what is right and wrong become their version, his model of man and womanhood become their model. Even the oppressor's attitude toward the oppressed become their attitude toward each other. systematic, dehumanizing oppression and exploitation forges new relationships among the colonized and often place them at odds with each other, thus further breaking down cultural patterns.

The colonizer not only creates a system which represses the old cultural life of the colonized, but he consciously develops and provokes the cultural alienation of the colonized. By creating a superficial social gap between the masses of the oppressed and a more privileged assimilated class among them, the colonizer deepens the divisions among the colonized.<sup>138</sup> This more privileged class among the oppressed; who sees itself as culturally superior to its own people, joins with the oppressor in defaming what remains of the cultural memory of the oppressed. They act as a line of defense between the colonizer and their fellow colonized brethren. Their interest is tied to the colonizer, who tolerate their privileged status as long as they support

---

<sup>138</sup>Amilcar Cabral, Return to the Source: Selected Speeches of Amilcar Cabral, ed. Africa Information Service (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973), p. 45.

the existing state of affairs. It is clear therefore, that a struggle for national liberation must also include the reaffirmation of the cultural values and personality of the oppressed. A conscious strategy to revitalize and perpetuate the cultural essence of the colonized must be part of the overall liberation strategy. Such a strategy is needed to negate the destructive dehumanizing effects of the oppressor's culture. The persistence of cultural awareness among the colonized will support their continued development by providing direction and purpose to the liberation struggle.

The life of a people, however, must rest upon their institutions, and after a few centuries of colonial oppression and exploitation these institutions are either paralyzed or dead. The oppressed may scarcely believe in those which continue to show some signs of life.<sup>139</sup> In their efforts to address their oppressed condition, the colonized, like the proverbial matadors bull will continue to turn to the institutions of the colonizer in hopes of resolving their mounting problems. Like the bull, however, they will meet the same end. The failure of the colonized to understand that institutions are created by a people to meet their specific needs, will surely work against their liberation. Institutions work in the interest of the people who create them.<sup>140</sup> If the colonized

---

<sup>139</sup>Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 103.

<sup>140</sup>Albert B. Cleage, Jr., Black Christian Nationalism: New Directions for the Black Church, (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1972), p. 142.



are to be free, at some point they must realize that their oppressor's institutions, will not function in their interest. No matter how long they appeal for justice and redress through these institutions, such demands are institutionally blocked. No matter how hard they try to assimilate, the mass assimilation of the colonized is also institutionally blocked.

Institutions are the basis of power in any society.<sup>141</sup> The colonizer's institutions not only represent power over the oppressed but also power over their own people as well. In the colonial situation these institutions provide privilege for the oppressor population at the expense of their colonized subjects. The colonizer can not afford to make fundamental changes in their institutions without affecting the privileged status of their own populace. Their position of power and privilege would be at risk. The colonizer is as controlled by their institutions as the colonized is. The colonizer is committed to passing the control of these institutions down to their children in tact. Their children will readily accept their dominant position as just and right, and will fight to expand their control.<sup>142</sup> For the colonizer to relinquish the power of their institutions, is to bequeath an uncertain future to their children. This is something, understandably most will not be willing to do. It is clearly in their interest to maintain their dominant position of power at all cost. Therefore, for the colonized to depend on the institutions of their oppressor for their liberation is

---

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., pp. 125-128.

illogical. At best the colonizer can only offer modest reforms, because their own status is based upon maintaining their exploitive relationship with the oppressed.

It is clear then that the oppressed will not be liberated by embracing or petitioning the institutions of their oppressor, because these institutions are designed to maintain control over them. Hence, another condition for the liberation of the oppressed is that the oppressed must create, maintain, and perpetuate independent institutions in their own interest. These institutions must be grounded in a liberation ideology based on the historical experience and needs of the oppressed. To the extent possible these institutions must compete with the institutions of the oppressor while advocating the liberation of the oppressed. The oppressed, however, must realize that to challenge the institutions of the oppressor is to challenge their power to rule and this will inevitably lead to conflict. This conflict is the price of freedom which the colonized must be prepared to pay. For so long as their oppressors' institutions are permitted to exercise unchallenged power, there will be no liberation of the oppressed.<sup>143</sup>

We have seen that colonialism by its very nature materially and spiritually destroys the colonized. It distorts natural relationships to production, halts cultural development, and paralyzes or destroys social institutions. The mere existence of the colonial relationship

---

<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 125

creates the permanently oppressed and only the complete liquidation of the colonial relationship can grant the oppressed liberation. It can be concluded that a framework for national liberation of the colonized must at least include the following: the complete liberation of the productive forces of the colonized and the return of their natural supportive function in the life of the people; the reaffirmation and further development of the national culture of the colonized with all its positive indigenous cultural values, based on the history and struggles of the colonized; and the construction and development of independent economic, political, and social institutions which are technologically compatible with the requirements for addressing the needs of the colonized, while at the same time promoting their political and moral consciousness.

Although the practical application of this framework must be adjusted to the specific condition of a particular colonized population, without these elements the struggle of the oppressed will not be one which will lead to liberation. What this framework represents is a reversal of social laws which characterize colonized oppression, it is therefore deductively valid. It is also then, a logical approach toward resolving the African-American condition. What follows is an appropriate methodology by which the ideological thrust of current Black nationalist and integrationist groups can be compared to this framework in relation to how each either promotes or inhibits liberation for the African-American. It is hypothesized that, to the extent that the ideology and program of current organizational proponents of Black freedom reflect a Black nationalist character, the more they will reflect the described framework for liberation.

## METHODOLOGY

The Methodology most appropriate for this study is an Historical Comparative Analysis. Attention to comparisons between practical alternatives relevant to the truth of a particular theory has been a standard form of sociological inquiry.<sup>144</sup> In that this study attempts to determine the role of Black Social Workers through a sociological analysis of the Black condition and Black people's response to it; the comparative analysis is indeed fitting. The methodological importance of comparative organizational studies is related to the reality that organizations are the main structural features of societies. It is through organizations that people respond to societal issues.<sup>145</sup> Therefore all comparisons among organizations are of possible importance in the advance of social theory.<sup>146</sup> The Comparative Analysis specifies that comparisons be made in such a way that they bear upon social theory and force the progressive elaboration and generalization of theory. In this light theoretical models and general scientific paradigms must be considered for their influences on comparative research.

---

<sup>144</sup>Comparative Methods In Sociology: Essays On Trends and Applications, ed., Ivan Vallier, (Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1971), p. 142.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p. 147.

A comparison will be made between two current Black organizations' representative of both the Black Integrationist Ideology and the Black Nationalist Ideology. The relevance of both perspectives toward addressing conditions in the African-American community has been documented earlier. Representing the units of analysis from the black integrationist perspective will be two of the most noted organizations among this group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under the national leadership of Joseph Lowery and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, under the national leadership of Benjamin Hooks. Representing the units of analysis from the Black Nationalist perspective are two of the most ideologically challenging forces among their group, the African Peoples Socialist Party under the national leadership of Omali Yeshitela, and the Black Christian Nationalists under the national leadership of Albert Cleage, Jr. This study will compare the ideological orientation of these select groups, to the derived framework for liberation in an effort to advance a logical theory for social work practice in the Black community.

The data collection procedure will employ the use of secondary data analysis. Data will be collected from the organizational documents of each organization, books, newspapers, pamphlets, written statements, etc... Data will also be collected from written material by other authors pertaining to the ideology and program of any of the select groups. The collected data will concentrate on the ideological orientation of each group and its strategies and tactics toward addressing the African American condition. Materials from which the data will be collected will be obtained from the selected groups

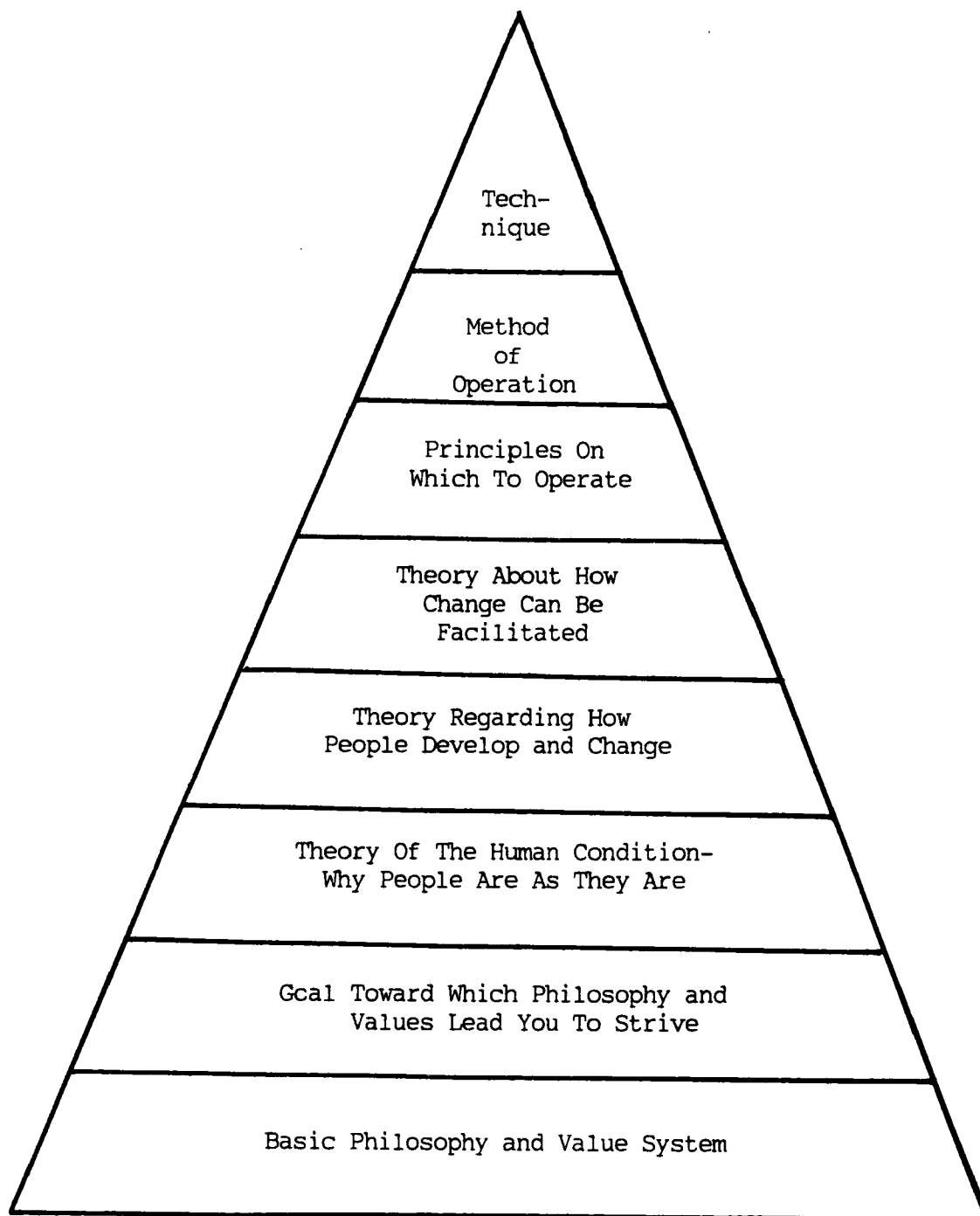
themselves as well as both public and private sources. In that the material gathered will comprise various doctrines of social change, an eclectic approach toward the representation of the data will be employed. An appropriate model is the Evolution of Techniques paradigm advanced by Naomi Brill. This method of analysis advances that work with people should evolve through a logical progression, consistent with a basic underlying philosophy of the nature of man and the overall goal of the change agent.<sup>147</sup>

Brill, points out that variations in basic values, philosophies, and theories about life give rise to differing ideas about how people change and about methods which successfully facilitate change. She adds that because working with people is difficult and change agents are faced with an array of theories that purport solutions to human problems, an approach may be abandoned without adequate reason or an effective replacement.<sup>148</sup> This line of reasoning is clearly appropriate to the comparative analysis at hand and the fact that the model is applicable from a generalist social work perspective adds to its effectiveness here. Each group will therefore be described by the variables in this model and conclusions will be drawn based on the stated hypotheses.

---

<sup>147</sup>Naomi I. Brill, Working With People: The Helping Process, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1973), p. 87.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 87



Evolution of Techniques Model by Naomi Brill

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS



## SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Basic Philosophy and Value System:

The basic tenets of Hebraic-Christian tradition coupled with the Gandhian concept of satyagraha i.e., truth force, is at the heart of SCLC's philosophy. Christian non-violence actively resists evil in any form. It never seeks to humiliate the opponent, only to win him. Suffering is accepted without retaliation. Internal violence of the spirit is as much to be rejected as external physical violence. At the center of non-violence is redemptive love. Creatively used, the philosophy of non-violence can restore the broken community in America. SCLC is convinced that non-violence is the most potent force available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom and dignity.<sup>149</sup>

Goal Toward Which Philosophy and Values Lead:

The ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the "beloved community: in America where brotherhood is a reality. It rejects any doctrine of black supremacy for this merely substitutes one kind of tyranny for another. The Conference does not foster moving the Negro from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage, for this would thereby subvert justice. SCLC works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine inter-group and interpersonal living--integration.<sup>150</sup>

Theory of the Human Condition:

Human life through the centuries has been characterized by man's persistent efforts to remove evil from the earth. Seldom has man thoroughly adjusted himself to evil, for in spite of his rationalizations, compromises, and alibis, he knows the "is" is not the "ought" and the actual, is not the possible. Though the evils of sensuality, selfishness, and cruelty often rise aggressively in his soul, something within tells him that they are intruders and reminds him of his higher destiny and more noble allegiance. Man's hankering after the demonic is always disturbed by his longing for the divine. As he seeks to adjust to the demands of time, he knows that eternity is his ultimate habitat.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>151</sup>Negro Heritage Library, A Martin Luther King Treasury, (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1964), p. 239.

Theory Regarding How People Develop and Change:

The Negro must come to see that there is much he himself can do about his plight. He may be uneducated or poverty-stricken, but these handicaps must not prevent him from seeing that he was within his being the power to alter his fate. The Negro can take direct action against injustice without waiting for the government to act or a majority to agree with him or a court to rule in his favor.<sup>152</sup> If the Negro is to achieve a goal of integration, he must organize himself into a militant and non-violent mass movement. All three elements are indispensable. The movement for equality and justice can only be a success if it has both a mass and militant character; the barriers to be overcome require both. Non-violence is an imperative in order to bring about the ultimate community.<sup>153</sup>

Theory About How Change Can Be Facilitated:

SCLC's basic program fosters non-violent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation--inferior schools, slums and second-class citizenship. Thus, the Conference works on two fronts. On the one hand it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards and on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. There MUST be a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation.<sup>154</sup>

Principles On Which To Operate:

At the center of non-violence stands the principle of love. The non-violent resisters would contend that in the struggle for human dignity, the oppressed people of the world must not succumb to the temptation of becoming bitter or indulging in hate campaigns. To retaliate in kind would do nothing but intensify the existence of hate in the universe. Along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can only be done by projecting the ethic of love to the center of our lives.<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>154</sup>People's College, Introduction to Afro-American Studies, 4th ed., vol. 2 (Chicago, Illinois: Peoples College Press, 1978), p. 346.

<sup>155</sup>Negro Heritage Library, A Martin Luther King Treasury, (New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1964), p. 72.

Method of Operation:

SCLC sees civil disobedience as a natural consequence of non-violence when the resister is confronted by unjust and immoral laws. This does not imply that SCLC advocates either anarchy or lawlessness. The Conference firmly believes that all people have a moral responsibility to obey laws that are just. It recognizes, however, that there also are unjust laws. From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the law of God. More concretely, an unjust law is one in which the minority is compelled to observe a code which is not binding on the majority. An unjust law is one in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote. In the face of such obvious inequality, where difference is made legal, the non-violent resister has no alternative but to disobey the unjust law.<sup>156</sup>

Technique:

SCLC believes that the American dilemma in race relations can best and most quickly be resolved through the action of thousands of people, committed to the philosophy of non-violence, who will physically identify themselves in a just and moral struggle. It is not enough to be intellectually dissatisfied with an evil system. The true non-violent resister presents his physical body as an instrument to defeat the system. Through non-violent mass direct action, the evil system is creatively dramatized in order that the conscience of the community may grapple with the rightness or wrongness of the issue at hand.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup>People's College, Introduction to Afro-American Studies, 4th ed., vol 2 (Chicago, Illinois: Peoples College Press, 1978), p. 345.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid., p. 344.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

### Basic Philosophy And Value System:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands for the full political, economic and social equality of white folk and Negroes. We have stood for this so long and fought so hard that it scarcely seems possible that anyone could misunderstand or successfully misrepresent our position. Our fight for political equality includes a half-dozen cases taken up to the Supreme Court of the United States and our repeated urging of independent voting. Our fight for economic equality has directed our attack upon discriminating unions and unfair employers and our advocating of cooperation and socialization of wealth. Our fight for social equality has meant a long struggle against residential segregation and anti-intermarriage bills. Beyond this, however, we recognize there are other and greater fields to conquer: there is the question of political rights for women, for the poor, for the unrepresented laboring millions through the world; there is the problem of economic justice in the distribution of income and in the democratization of the whole industrial process; and there is the question of caste and social class based on wealth and privilege.<sup>158</sup>

### Goal Toward Which Philosophy and Values Lead:

Absolute political and social equality has been the basic policy objective of the NAACP from its very beginning.<sup>159</sup>

Until the mid-1960s the goals of the NAACP generally reflected those of the black protest movement as a whole. These were: abolishing segregated public facilities, providing legal equality irrespective of race, and encouraging eventual racial integration at all levels of society.<sup>160</sup>

Though the NAACP changed its short-term goals to take into account economic issues, its long-term ideological commitments remained virtually intact. It resisted any movement towards black nationalism. Its longstanding commitment to the goal of an integrated society was strengthened by the 1954 Supreme Court decision and later by civil

---

<sup>158</sup>National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "Our Program", The Crisis 87 (November 1980), p. 72.

<sup>159</sup>Warren D. St. James, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: A Case Study in Pressure Groups (New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1958), p. 43.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

rights legislation of 1964 and 1965. That expectations of social, economic, and political progress for blacks were not quickly fulfilled did not shake the NAACP's faith in integration.<sup>161</sup>

Theory of The Human Condition:

The N.A.A.C.P.'s theory of the human condition can be summed up in one construct; human devaluation. How do you talk in terms of a fair share when you deal in statistics: horrendous statistics, with respect to the black condition in this country? We know them all. Yes--the terrifying rate of joblessness among our teens, and the more than double unemployment rate black adults suffer as compared to white adults; the sharp differential between what a black family of four earns (\$56) and what a comparable white family earns (\$100).

Health statistics, figures on the rate of death among black babies, adults (longevity); percentage of blacks on welfare rolls, the lopsided numbers of blacks in low-paying, menial jobs; dismal figures on housing--the entire laundry list of indicators tells us of the miserable status of too many of our people.<sup>162</sup>

Theory Regarding How People Develop and Change:

Just as we fought for civil rights legislation to guarantee our right to vote, to an equal education and to buy a home where our hearts desired and our means permitted, so we must now wage a struggle to educate America to the necessity to provide sustained assistance to black families in a systematic effort to redress the years of poverty and pain inflicted upon them<sup>163</sup>

Theory About How Change Can Be Facilitated:

I don't think there will ever be a sweeping Supreme Court decision like Brown vs. The Board of Education. I don't think there's anything left of that magnitude to change. It's now a situation where we've got to

---

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>162</sup>Benjamin L. Hooks, "From America's Wealth... We Demand Our Fair Share!" The Crisis 89, (March 1982): 4.

<sup>163</sup>Benjamin L. Hooks, "Profile of Black America--A Grim Picture", The Crisis 90, (December 1983): 4.

deal with individual problems. The laws pretty much exist. Maybe we've got to get them enforced on a more even footing.<sup>164</sup>

Through Operation Fair Share, the NAACP will seek to accomplish the following major goals:

1. Expansion of access of blacks to entry-level jobs in corporations.
2. Establishment of effective minority vendor programs in local, regional, and national companies.
3. The appointment of blacks to the boards of directors of corporations.
4. An increase in the number of blacks serving at the senior management level in corporations.
5. Enactment--where feasible--of industry-wide set-aside programs.

Operation Fair Share, in effect, suggests another approach to the problem of securing parity and equity for Black Americans in the American economy.<sup>165</sup>

#### Principles on Which to Operate:

Black America's collective buying power stood at \$140 billion in 1981. Underscoring the enormity and significance of this figure is the fact that Black America's earnings supersede the gross national product of all but six of the world's countries, up from our former position of 10th place. This forward movement--to be sure--is a most satisfying fact, but hardly an appropriate benchmark to measure whether blacks are equitable participants in America's economy.

Consider, instead, that based upon our percentage of the population, Black America's buying power should have reached the level of \$379 billion--some \$239 billion greater than the amount actually earned.

This \$239 billion buying power shortfall abundantly demonstrates that blacks are failing to get their fair share from America's economy. The glaring inequity evidenced by this huge income gap demonstrates the persisting malignant influence that race plays in America's economy.

---

<sup>164</sup>"Benjamin Hooks: Reaffirming the Strength of the NAACP." The National Leader, 18 July 1983, p. 20.

<sup>165</sup>Curtis E. Rodgers, "Operation Fair Share Points the Way", The Crisis 89, (March 1982): 6.

Measured in terms of the social reality of today's America, this income gap is, unmistakably, an inequality gap. As such, it calls forth a remedy: Operation Fair Share.<sup>166</sup>

Method of Operation:

This program seeks to focus Black America's economic power on specific firms in certain industries to achieve Fair Share goals. Resistance or inaction to Fair Share efforts will result in the withdrawal of black patronage from recalcitrant firms' products.

The Fair Share program has both a national and local component. While the Fair Share effort of branches is to focus on local or regional firms, the nationwide Fair Share program conducted by the NAACP National Office is to be directed at corporations offering their products or services to national markets.

Still, however, at the urging of and in coordination with the National NAACP, the branch is expected to hold discussions with the national target corporation's local affiliates in the branch service area.

The branch also may be requested to build a local support coalition and conduct in its service area a selective patronage campaign.<sup>167</sup>

Technique:

First, the major phases of Operation Fair Share, as a branch project include selection of a target company, negotiations, and finally, compliance.

Regarding target company selection, the central point is that a greater likelihood of program success is assured to the branch that carefully selects its target company. Branches are urged to: Select as a target that company which will find intolerable business risks flowing from its refusal to negotiate a Fair Share agreement.

The second major phase of Operation Fair Share is negotiation. Information, time and power are crucial factors in the negotiating process.

Information: The branch must be capable of clearly communicating Fair Share goals and their rationale to the target company, and to the community. It also must understand the target company's points of market vulnerability.

---

<sup>166</sup>Curtis E. Rodgers, "Operation Fair Share Points the Way," The Crisis 89, (March 1982): p. 6-7.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., pp. 6-9.

Time: Discussions should be undertaken within the context of a carefully thought out framework, and should continue only so long as the target company demonstrates good faith by providing positive signs of movement toward adoption of Fair Share goals. Finally, with respect to negotiation, is the power factor, which can cut two ways. Put to the test, the branch must be capable of effecting the withdrawal of black patronage of the target company's products.<sup>168</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., p. 9



## BLACK CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST

### Basic Philosophy and Value System

We are Pan-Africanists and our basic loyalty is to the worldwide unity of Black people and to the liberation of our motherland, Africa. We support the Black African, West Indian, and Latin American liberation movements. We support the Malcolm X Liberation University in Durham, North Carolina, which is training American Black people for settlement in Africa. We support the growing independent African Christian movements which are developing along lines similar to those of Black Christian Nationalism, which serves to focus attention on African history and culture and motivates Black creative artists to find inspiration both in the Black man's glorious past and in his heroic struggle to be free. This is to the direction in which we move and the framework within which we work.

We are pragmatic realists. We understand our own people and we understand the enemy. We understand the psychology of individualism and the effects of social fragmentation. We deduce from the history of the Black Nation, Israel, and the life and teachings of the Black Messiah, Jesus, basic principles which give form and direction to our leadership. We are sensitive to the revelations which God has given to Black men since the beginning of time, and we seek a deepening spirituality in order that we may receive continuing revelations and new insights.<sup>170</sup>

### Goal Toward Which Philosophy and Values Lead:

As Black Christian Nationalists, we seek to change society in order to accomplish the liberation of Black people; and we realize that we are engaged in a struggle for power and for survival. We believe that nothing is more sacred than the liberation of Black people. We must transform the minds of Black people by freeing them from dependence on white cultural values and from their unconscious acceptance of the White man's declaration of Black inferiority. We must restructure our relationships within the Black Nation toward unity and love in preparation for a realistic power struggle against our White oppressors. We must control all the basic institutions which dominate the Black community. Self-determination and community control must become realities in every area of ghetto life.<sup>171</sup>

---

<sup>170</sup>Albert B. Cleage, Jr., Black Christian Nationalism: New Directions for the Black Church, (Detroit: Luxor Publishers, 1972), p. 9.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

Theory of the Human Condition:

For four hundred years we have lived with powerlessness and the White man's declaration of Black inferiority. We have been conditioned by oppression, brutality, and exploitation. We have been systematically structured out of white institutions and the white power establishment. We have become a non-people seeking to disappear into the "superior" white group through integration. We have accepted the White man's declaration of Black inferiority and, seeing ourselves through the White man's eyes, we have come to hate ourselves and to identify with our White oppressor. We have accepted his materialistic, individualistic value system, and in every way we have contributed to our own enslavement.<sup>172</sup>

Theory Regarding How People Develop and Change:

People find it difficult to unite in groups, and when they do, they find it difficult to stay together. We have deep individualistic tendencies and we do not like external controls of any kind. But out of basic human experience individuals learn that only groups are capable of developing the power necessary for survival. And only individuals who can recognize the necessity for delegating power and authority are capable of merging themselves into a group, a tribe, or a nation.<sup>173</sup>

As group or a nation comes into being, the individuals who make it up understand their roles and their responsibilities. They delegate authority, responsibility, and power. They know that they are going to get something from the group and that group is going to demand something from them in return. Institutions are necessary, so they give institutions certain kinds of power to serve their needs and interests.<sup>174</sup>

Theory About How Change Can Be Facilitated:

We must begin to build structures that reflect the realities of the Black Liberation Struggle. These will be separatist structures, because our basic reality is the fact of separatism which has been forced upon us. The Black man must build his future in terms of the reality of his separatism. We must begin to build separatist institutions as the only possible basis for power.<sup>175</sup>

To build a system of counter institutions, we must first build one basic Black institution which has the acceptance of the masses of Black people. This institution should facilitate economic stability which is

---

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., p. 209.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., p. 156

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., p. 151

not directly dependent on the hostile white world and one which has the capacity to spin off all the other institutions needed for the establishment of a Black Nation within a nation.<sup>176</sup>

We begin with the basic premise that the Black church is this one institution and it is essential to the liberation struggle, because it is controlled by Black people and is capable of being restructured to serve the Black Revolution.<sup>177</sup>

#### Principles on Which to Operate:

The Promised Land symbolizes man's eternal dream of heaven on earth. Our Biblical account begins with Abraham. God spoke to Abraham and sent him out to found a nation. "I will be your God and you will be my people". Abraham was in Chaldea and God said, "This is not where you belong; separate yourself from these people, establish a nation". The concept of separatism as opposed to integration is a recurring theme in the Old Testament, and God is always on the side of separation. "You must separate people who are wrong, who are against you, who are corrupting you, and set up a nation in which you can control your own institutions."

The existing nation was corrupt, so God sent a man out to establish a new nation. Israel began with the search for a Promised Land, a place to build a nation. Moses continued the search when he led Israel out of bondage. A nation's search for a Promised Land flowing with milk and honey, where every man can sit with dignity under his own vine and fig tree, is a basic part of the religious experience.<sup>178</sup>

#### Method of Operation:

In a local Shrine, action groups have seven important functions which determine their agenda and program:

1. To perform assigned tasks, to support the total BCN program, and to involve members in Nation-building which is the program of BCN at work in the community.
2. To help members grow in their understanding of the theology, philosophy, and program of BCN through group discussion which leads to increased commitment and participation, and to help members grow in the development of necessary skills through attendance at training workshops, classes, and cultural center activities and programs.

---

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., pp. 173-174.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., p. 173

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., p. 202

3. To recruit program specialists from the Nation as needed.
4. To provide opportunities for group fellowship which foster unity and the friendly spirit of African communalism.
5. To participate actively in the action council and its related community organizations.
6. To recruit new members for the Black Nation through a planned program of community outreach designed systematically to touch the total Black community.
7. To develop a leadership cadre of seven capable of organizing a BCN Information Center, a BCN Shrine, and a BCN Cultural Center in another community, city, or country.<sup>180</sup>

Technique:

BCN defines SEVEN BASIC PROGRAMS AREAS in its attack on oppressive white institutions and in its building of Black counter-institutions:

1. NIA (Purpose) - Research and Training.
2. IMANI (Faith in Blackness) - Communication.
3. UMOJA (Unity) - Community Organization and Action.
4. KUUMBA (Creativity) - Cultural Development.
5. KUJICHAGULIA (Self-determination) - Political Education and Action.
6. UJAMAA (Co-operative Economics) - Commune Development and Consumer Organization.
7. UJIMA (Collective Work and Responsibility) - Development of Medical and Social Service Institutions.

The Black Nation will be built around small well-trained cadres who go out from our central commune and training center to organize and train Black people everywhere.<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup>Ibid., p. 235

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., p. 221-222

## AFRICAN PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY

### Basic Philosophy and Value System:

All our work is guided by our understanding that our struggle for national liberation within U.S. borders is an integral part of the whole African Liberation Movement.<sup>182</sup>

We believe that the U.S. North American government and society were founded on the genocide of Native People, the theft of their land, and the forcible dispersal, enslavement, and colonization of millions of African people. We believe that the present condition of existence for African people within current U.S. borders is colonialism, a condition of existence where a whole people is oppressively dominated by a foreign and alien state power for the purpose of economic exploitation and political advantage. We believe further that this colonial domination is the primary basis of the problems of African people within the U.S. and that we shall know neither peace, prosperity, nor human dignity until this colonialist domination is overthrown and the power over our lives rest in our own hands.<sup>183</sup>

### Goal Toward Which Philosophy and Value Lead:

Our struggle is about taking the power over our lives away from those who would force us to exist as we do. Our struggle is for the political power to rectify the problem we have and protect us from the enemies who would give us more.<sup>184</sup>

### Theory of the Human Condition:

We believe that our problem with education results from our inability to control our own schools and determine the education of our own children, and the inferior and racist quality of the education we do receive--are caused by colonialism.

---

<sup>182</sup>Omali Yeshitela, Stolen Black Labor: The Political Economy of Domestic Colonialism, with assistance by Rick Ayers and David Barber (Oakland: Burning Spear Publications, 1983), p. 99.

<sup>183</sup>Ibid., pp. 103-104.

<sup>184</sup>Joseph Waller, Colonialism: The Major Problem Confronting Africans In The U.S., (St. Petersburg, FL.: Burning Spear Publications, 1978), p. 6-7.

As African people, forcibly transported to a foreign land by European settlers, also foreign to the land, it is our primary responsibility to struggle for the liberation of Africa, our national homeland, by waging a fierce battle within current U.S. borders against U.S. imperialism and for independence in our lifetime.<sup>185</sup>

We believe that our problem with health care--from the absence of black controlled and operated health clinics and institutions throughout our communities to the hazardous health conditions imposed on us by poverty and callous government decisions are caused by colonialism.

We believe that our problems with food and clothing from the terrible quality and quantity which are imposed on us by blood sucking merchants, to our inability to produce and distribute them for and among ourselves are caused by colonialism, where our whole people is dominated and oppressed by a foreign and alien state power for the purpose of economic exploitation and political advantage.<sup>186</sup>

#### Theory Regarding How People Develop and Change:

All oppressed people desire freedom and liberation; all oppressed people want an end to police terror and national and racial humiliation. How do oppressed people demonstrate this? Sometimes it is demonstrated by spontaneous riots where the people throw stones at the police and destroy foreign-owned property. Sometimes the people hold work slowdowns or break the tools of the oppressor bosses.

All of these are examples of the people's will to struggle. The problem is that these are unplanned, unscientific, and generally short term, spur-of-the-moment, spontaneous acts which cannot end oppression and bring power to the oppressed. But among the oppressed people, there is a segment of the people which is more advanced than the general oppressed population. This segment is more farsighted, and can see that throwing rocks, spontaneous slowdowns, or individual acts of sabotage will not result in fundamental changes in the power relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed.

This advanced segment realizes the need for a scientific examination for the problems facing the oppressed people, and a program to end the oppression. This advanced segment recognizes the need for constant leadership in the struggle against oppression, leadership that comes directly from the oppressed masses and is responsible only to the oppressed masses.

---

<sup>185</sup>Omalı Yeshitela, Stolen Black Labor: The Political Economy of Domestic Colonialism, with assistance by Rick Ayers and David Barber (Oakland: Burning Spear Publications, 1983), p. 101.

<sup>186</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

This advanced segment then comes together to form a political party. This political party will make a scientific investigation of the problems of the oppressed, and based upon that investigation, will create a political program designed to end oppression by changing the power relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor by leading the oppressed in a seizure of state power. Obviously this is far better than simply throwing rocks, and although the oppressed always demonstrate the will to struggle, we can safely say, "A Revolutionary Political Party Is The Highest Expression Of The Will Of A People To Struggle."<sup>187</sup>

Theory About How Change Can Be Facilitated:

1. Our first and most important objective should be to win Black people to the position of political independence. If the masses of Black people are not won over to the position of independence, there will be no independence for Black people.
2. A second and related strategic objective for winning liberation is to establish the leadership of the pro-Independence movement. This objective is important for many reasons, but one primary reason is the need to permeate our oppressed colonized communities throughout the U.S. with the spirit of independence through self-liberation.
3. Another strategical objective for winning independence which should guide our work is to win support for the Independence position within current U.S. borders. The main targets for this effort to win support for the independence position should be the general anti-imperialist forces within current U.S. borders other than oppressed, subject, and colonized nationals, and progressive U.S. North Americans.
4. Another element of the Party's general strategy for liberation is the creation of dual, or competing, or contending governmental powers. That is to say, to the degree possible, the Party and the general pro-Independence movement must assume the real and actual responsibilities of government for our people.
5. Another objective of the Party's general strategy is to expose the oppressive feature of the U.S. government, thereby constantly undermining it within and without the current U.S. borders.
6. The Party's general strategy also calls for winning international support for our Independence position, thereby contributing to the international diplomatic encirclement of the U.S.

---

<sup>187</sup>Joseph Waller, Toward Clarity On The Party, (Gainesville, FL: Burning Spear Publications, 1975) p. 1-2.

7. The seventh element in our general strategy calls for the building of an African People's Liberation Army.<sup>188</sup>

Principles on Which To Operate:

The African People's Socialist Party is distinguishable from other parties and organizations by its strict observance of revolutionary principles and its insistence on a disciplined party membership. Our Party is not a Party of dogma but a party of scientific analysis of the material forces affecting African people. All principles, programs, activities, and campaigns of the African people's Socialist Party are guided by our theory. To deviate from the Party's principles would be to deviate from the cause of African people.

Parties and organizations not guided by the theory of African Internationalism cannot demand strict adherence to revolutionary principles, and when they attempt to do so, create dogmatic monsters instead. Parties and organizations not guided by African Internationalism tend to vacillate with the ever-changing political current. They do not understand the interconnectedness of the worldwide struggle African people are involved in and they limit their efforts to struggle having its political and geographical boundaries determined by philosophy alien to the needs and aspirations of African people.<sup>189</sup>

Method of Operation:

The chief strategic aim of the African People's Socialist Party during this period is to win the majority of the poor, impoverished laboring masses for the revolutionary anti-colonialist struggle and the Party. In order to achieve this aim the African People's Socialist Party establishes closely knit organizations everywhere--where the poor impoverished laborers live [neighborhoods prisons], where they work [factories, shops, etc.], where they are organized for defense of their economic interests [unemployment organization unions], or their democratic rights [mass organizations], or organized for satisfying their cultural needs and desires [churches, sports and cultural organizations]. These Party organizations which lead the masses in the struggle for their economic and political demands are the following: (1) Block and shop units [prisons are also organized according to the block and shop units concept]. Both of these forms of organization are full-fledged Party bodies. (2) Party Collectives. In some communities Party members are organized into collectives with non-Party members. These are not full-fledged Party organization, but function under the leadership and discipline of the Party. (3) Fractions. The Party leads the masses organized in unions and other mass organizations through the fractions which are instruments in the hands of the Party to carry out the policy of the Party among the masses. (4) Campus organizations.

---

<sup>188</sup>The African People's Socialist Party Organizing Manual (Gainesville, FL: African People's Socialist Party, 1980), p. 87.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., p. 21



These organizations are designed to organize and win college and university students for the revolution and the Party. They are full-fledged Party organizations.<sup>190</sup>

Technique:

Party members use a sample basic formula for organizing;

1. Agitate,
2. Educate; and,
3. Organize

Agitation is arousing the interests or the will of the people to take on a certain issue. Agitation is the force that makes people want to urgently move to deal with particular contradictions which are harming our people. Agitation is the force that makes people experience the contradiction in the sharpest way, it is the force that push people to want to DO something. A good organizer is a good agitator and a good agitator understands that the people's awareness of contradictions which afflict us is essential to any effective movement.

Education is an extremely important element in our formula for organizing, for it is education which helps the people to understand the deeper, systemic causes for the contradictions that we agitate around, and which makes the Party's struggle to achieve our chief strategic aim of the period, the winning of the broad masses to the revolution and the Party possible.<sup>191</sup>

---

<sup>190</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

ORGANIZATION	Basic Philosophy and Value System	Goal Toward Which Philosophy and Values Lead
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Hebraic-Christian non-violent tradition of Social change coupled with the Gandhian concept of Satyagraha --- truth force	Integration - The beloved community in America where brotherhood is a reality
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Full political, economic and social equality of White folk and Negroes, though the courts	Integration - Absolute political and social equality.
African People Socialist Party	** African Internationalism Scientific Socialism	* Political Independence through National Liberation
Black Christian Nationalist	** Revolutionary Pan-Africanism	* Self - determination through National Liberation
* FRAMEWORK FOR LIBERATION *		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Strategy for the complete liberation of the productive forces of the colonized</li> <li>** Strategy for the reaffirmation and further development of the national culture of the colonized</li> <li>*** Strategy for the construction and development of independent social institutions for the colonized</li> </ul>		

ORGANIZATION	Theory of the Human Condition	Theory Regarding How People Develop and Change
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	The oppressed condition of Black people reflect man's effort to remove evil from the earth	The Negro must come to see that there is much he himself can do about his plight.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	With respect to the condition of Black's in this country the statistics are horrendous	We must fight for our rights by educating America to the necessity of change
African People Socialist Party	The major problems In the Black community are cause by colonialism	People change and develop by attempting to address their own problems
Black Christian Nationalist	Black people are conditioned by oppression, brutality, exploitation, and Black inferiority	Individuals learn that only groups are capable of developing the power necessary for survial

\* FRAMEWORK FOR LIBERATION \*

- \* Strategy for the complete liberation of the productive forces of the colonized
- \*\* Strategy for the reaffirmation and further development of the national culture of the colonized
- \*\*\* Strategy for the construction and development of independent social institutions for the colonized

ORGANIZATION	Theory About How Change Can Be Facilitated	Principles On Which To Operate
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Non- violent resistance to all forms of racial injustice	At the center of non-violence stands the principle of love
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Petition for our fair share	The gap between Black and White buying power is glaring evidence of inequality
African People Socialist Party	** Education for liberation Winning National and International Support for the Independence position	* * * * * Scientific analysis of the material forces affecting African People
Black Christian Nationalist	*** Build structures that reflect the realities of the Black Liberation Struggle	** God spoke to Abraham and sent him out to found a nation, such is a basic part of the religious experience of an oppressed people
* FRAMEWORK FOR LIBERATION *		
<p>* Strategy for the complete liberation of the productive forces of the colonized</p> <p>** Strategy for the reaffirmation and further development of the national culture of the colonized</p> <p>*** Strategy for the construction and development of independent social institutions for the colonized</p>		

ORGANIZATION	Method of Operation	Technique
Southern Christian Leadership Conference	Non-violent civil disobedience	Non-violent mass direct action
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	Operation fare share seek to leverage Black America's buying power to effect our aims	National branch project to select target companies and negotiate compliance
African People Socialist Party	*** ** Build close knit organizations among the masses for defense of their rights an support of their cultural needs	*** Agitate, Educate, and Organize
Black Christian Nationalist	*** Group action through the national BCN Nation - Building Program	*** Well-trained cadres will go out from our central commune to organize and train Black people everywhere

\* FRAMEWORK FOR LIBERATION \*

- \* Strategy for the complete liberation of the productive forces of the colonized
- \*\* Strategy for the reaffirmation and further development of the national culture of the colonized
- \*\*\* Strategy for the construction and development of independent social institutions for the colonized

According to the data presented the hypotheses holds true. The integrationist-type groups clearly recognize that African Americans are an oppressed and exploited people. Though they are committed to liberating Black people, they have not structured into their program appropriate strategies for liberation. Their Basic Philosophy is based on little or no scientific study of social relations between oppressed people and their oppressors. Their strategies are more directed toward short-term, reformist change because they hope the oppressor will concede and sustain their demands.

The Black nationalist-type groups on the other hand while also recognizing that African-Americans are oppressed and exploited, reflect a deeper understanding of what is necessary to liberate Black people. Their Philosophies are based on a more indepth historical and scientific, social analysis of how individuals and societies interrelate. Their programs for liberation are geared more to restructuring basic relationships in accordance with social laws. Their strategies are more directed toward long-term revolutionary change through self-determination.

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Given the stated conditions in the African-American community, the sociological factors which gave rise to these conditions, and an historical comparative analysis of how Blacks have attempted to address these conditions, the role of the Black Social Worker should be clear.

THE PROPOSITION IS LIBERATION by any means necessary. Not liberation by any means except violence or non-violence; not liberation in this place and no other place, nor liberation in any place except this place; not liberation by any means except integration, nor liberation by any means except separation.<sup>192</sup>

The proposition is liberation by any means necessary! This blatant reality has somehow been obscured in the minds of many Blacks and especially Black Social Service "professionals". It may be due to fear, ignorance, or simply the conscious betrayal of the Black community's efforts to address its genocidal plight. Many of these professionals have opted to become the social pallbearers of their ill-fated brethren, rather than render their services to the Black liberation struggle.

Although the struggle for Black liberation suffered a violent defeat during the last era, the struggle continues. To the faint of heart let

---

<sup>192</sup>Lerone Bennett Jr., The Challenge of Blackness, (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 293.

them be forewarned that the only option is that of genocide and to the ignorant, if they seek they will find that the ideological foundations have already been built, and to those who have consciously betrayed the people, may they receive their just rewards. At this point what is needed for the most part, is further programmatic and organizational development guided by Black Social Scientist committed to the historical aspirations of African American people.

The quest is clearly one of Black liberation, not Aid to Families With Dependent Children, not Food Stamps, not shelters for the homeless, not aids counseling, not problem-solving techniques for the prolonged effects of colonial oppression, but a solution to colonial oppression itself. If we are to be liberated from our current condition, as the modern day Black integrationist leadership will clearly assert, even among them few will argue that we are truly free, that struggle for freedom, justice and equality is over. If we need to be liberated from our genocidal plight, as the modern day Black nationalist will assert, then we must clearly understand what liberation is. We must have a socially scientific ideological frame-work for liberation, by which we can gauge our tactics and strategy toward that goal. By which we can eliminate fraudulent and futile efforts. For the very future of our women, and the future of our men is at stake. Once we have defined what liberation is for a colonized people; not individuals, but a people, then Black Social Workers, if they are truly to serve Black people, must



choose among the integrationist and nationalist Black leadership (or provide organizational leadership themselves) based on their defined tactics and strategy, and offer their professional skills. If they do not, then by default they abdicate any meaningful service to the Black community.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- The African People's Socialist Party, Organizing Manual. Gainesville, FL: African People's Socialist Party, 1980, p. 87.
- Bennett, Lerone, Jr. Before The Mayflower. New York: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc. 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Challenge of Blackness. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1972.
- Brill, Naomi I. Working With People: The Helping Process. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1973.
- Cain, Alfred E. The Winding Road To Freedom. New York: Educational Heritage, Inc., 1965.
- Cleage, Albert B. Jr. Black Christian Nationalism. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks.
- Comforth, Maurice. Historical Marterialism. New York: International Publishers, 1954.
- Cox, Arthur J. A Black Perspective On The American Social Service System. Hebron, Conn.: Practioner's Press, 1984.
- Cruse, Harold. The Crisis of The Negro Intellectual. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1967.
- Draper, Theodore. The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism. New York: The Viking Press, 1969.
- Editors of Ebony. Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Introduction by Lerone Bennett, Jr., vol 3, Civil Rights Movement to Black Revolution. Nashville: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.
- Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of The Earth. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968.
- Foner, Philip S., ed., The Black Panthers Speaks. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970.
- Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery To Freedom: A History of Negro American. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980.
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. New York: The Seabury Press, 1970.

Garvey, Marcus. Marcus Garvey and the Vision, ed by John Henrik Clarke. New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1974.

\_\_\_\_\_. Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey. Ed. by Amy Jacques-Garvey. New York: Antheneum, 1923.

Hall, Raymond L. Ed., Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason. New York: Pergamon Press, Inc. 1977.

Harding, Vincent, The Other American Revolution. Vol. 4. Los Angeles: University of California and Institute of the Black World: Atlanta, GA 1980.

Hooks, Benjamin L. "From America's Wealth... We Demand Our Fair Share!" The Crisis, 89, (March 1982), p. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Profile of Black America-A Grim Picture", The Crisis 90 (December 1983), p. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reaffirming the Strength of the NAACP". The National Leader, 18 July 1983, p. 20.

\_\_\_\_\_. There Is A River: The Black Struggle For Freedom In America. New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1983.

Harris, Leonard. Philosophy Born of Struggle. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 1983.

Karenga, Maulana. Introduction To Black Studies. Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. Karenga, Maulana. Kawaida Theory: An Introductory Outline. Inglewood, California: Kawaida Publications, 1980.

Lyght, Ernest S. The Religious and Philosophical Foundations In the Thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. New York: Vantage Press, 1972.

Maglangbayan, Shawna. Garvey, Lumumba, Malcolm: Black Nationalist Separatists. Chicago: Third World Press, 1972.

Malcolm X. By Any Means Necessary. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970.

Marger, Martin N. Social Movement Organization and Response to Environmental Change: The NAACP. 1960-1973.

Memmi, Albert. The Colonizer and The Colonized. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

Muhammad. The Fall Of America. Chicago, Illinois: Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 1973.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Our Freedom,  
The Crisis 87. November 1980.

Negro Heritage Library. A Martin Luther King Treasury. New York:  
Educational Heritage, Inc., 1964.

The Winding Road To Freedom: A Documentary Survey of Negro  
Experience In America. Ed Alfred E. Cain. New York: Educational  
Heritage, Inc., 1965.

People's College. Introduction To Afro-American Studies. 4th ed., vol.  
2. Chicago, Illinois: Peoples College Press, 1978.

Pinkney, Alphonso. Red, Black and Green: Black Nationalism in the  
United States. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Rodgers, Curtis E. Operation Fair Share Points the Way. The Crisis 89.  
March 1982.

Smith, Kenneth L., and Zepp, Ira G. Jr., Search for the Beloved  
Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr., Valley Forge,  
PA, Judson Press, 1974.

St. James Warren D. The National Association for The Advancement of  
Colored People: A Case study in Pressure Groups. New York:  
Exposition Press, Inc., 1958.

Uya, Okon E. Black Brotherhood, Afro-Americans and Africa. Lexington,  
Mass.: D.C. Health & Company, 1971.

Vallier, Ivan. Comparative Methods In Sociology. Berkeley, Los Angeles:  
Univ. of Calif. Press, 1971.

Waller, Joseph. Colonialism: The Major Problem Confronting Africans In  
The U.S. St. Petersburg, FL: Burning Spear Publications, 1978.

Toward Clarity On The Party. Gainesville, FL: Burning Spear  
Publications, 1975.

Woodson, Carter G., and Wesley, Charles H. The Negro In Our History.  
12th ed. U.S.A.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1972.

Yeshitela, Omali. Stolen Black Labor: The Political Economy of Domestic  
Colonialism. Oakland: Burning Spear Publications, 1983.

Yette, Samuel F. The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival In America.  
Silver Springs, MD., Cottage Books, 1971.