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A Clarification and Evaluation of Black Power

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Black Americans have entered a new phase in the Civil Rights Move-
ment. First they struggled for their legal rights. Then they struggled
for equality, which meant integration and implementation of their legal
rights. Now they struggle for power—"black power".

"Black power" is a metaphor which became part of the English
language less than two years ago. Because of its newness, it has not
been clearly defined nor its purposes clarified and evaluated. This
paper is A Clarification and Evaluation of Black Power.

Black power serves as a rallying call for unity and self-help
among black people. But the words are more than a slogan. They stand
for a mood and a program. The mood is one of worthiness—black is good,
black is beautiful—not the inferiority of past generations. The pro-
gram, although not well defined or organized, has three types of goals.
They are cultural, economic, and political. The basic cultural goal
is unity. The basic economic goal is to raise the black standard of
living. Control or rightful share of control is the basic political
goal.

The masses of Black America are engaged in this Struggle for

Power. They have lived through a "revolution of expectations". Now they want some tangible results. They want socio-economic gains, including better jobs, housing, and education.

They now believe the best way to achieve these ends is to work together as a group, not separately as individuals. They feel they were oppressed as a group, so they must leave the oppression as a group. As the group closes ranks, it is accused of racism and escapism. Actually, the separatism, which blacks are now advocating, is a realistic solution to a pluralistic society.

Violent action and/or the threat of violent action are very real forces in America today. The ideology of black power does not call for this violence, but some of the advocates do. They see violence as a means to an end. It is unfortunate that black power has become so closely linked with violence, since this tends to mitigate its constructive value.

The ideology and practice of black power needs to be clarified and evaluated, not by an academic, but by black people. The time for ambiguity is past. Black people need to define their goals. Then they need to organize their individual strengths into group action. A united Black America, with strong leadership and organization, may well be able to raise its standard of living and seize its rightful first class citizenship.

The ideology and practice of black power does offer to black people an opportunity to raise their standard of living. Perhaps

more important, however, black power allows black people to think well of themselves, which is, of course, psychologically healthy.

Time may prove me wrong, but this writer feels history will pass a favorable judgment on the Struggle for Power--Black Power.

A CLARIFICATION AND EVALUATION OF BLACK POWER

by

Beverly Jo Olson

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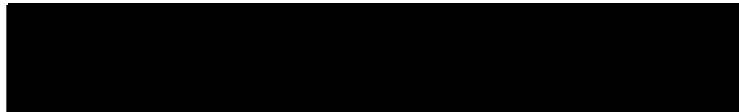THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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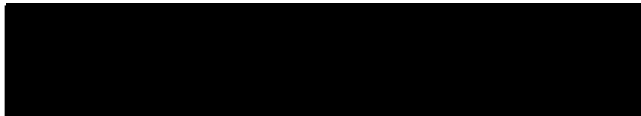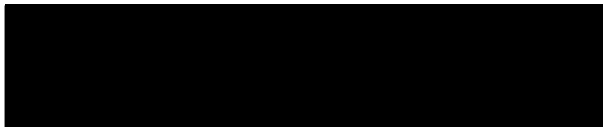

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PART I

THE CLARIFICATION OF BLACK POWER

CHAPTER 1

BLACK AMERICA BEGINS TO HOPE

In the United States today there are approximately twenty million black citizens. This ten percent of the total population is descended from the Africans who were brought to this country as slaves. These people have endured slavery, the Civil War, the dreams of Reconstruction, the deprivation born of poverty, and second class citizenship. They were denied their African culture, but not allowed to be fully assimilated into the "American Way of Life." In essence, we White Americans have relegated these black people into a colonial situation very similar to that of the African aborigines. The major difference is that in Africa the natives had an ethnic identity, a nationality or tribal awareness, which was separate from the European powers. Black Americans have no such ethnic complementarity. Britain and France walked away from their colonial nations in Africa, but White America cannot walk away from Black America, even though she has attempted to do that very thing.

Before World War II the plight of the Black American was considered a southern phenomenon, which was to be tolerated or ignored. The white man had his place, and the black man had his. Both racial groups knew and generally accepted their respective roles. World War II brought with it an ideology of freedom, some integration, the GI Bill, and mobility. Individual black men found that they could play other roles besides the inferior one assigned in the south.

The Struggle for Legal Rights

The years between World War II and 1954 constitute the first phase of the Civil Rights Movement. The only active national civil rights group was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) which sponsored a number of Supreme Court decisions. These decisions reaffirmed for Black Americans most of the rights which the post-Civil War Congress intended to secure when it proposed the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The NAACP was able to win for the people the right to vote in the crucial primary elections in the south, as well as in general elections. Ordinances, passed by southern cities, restricting the areas in which blacks might live were held void. Systematic exclusion of blacks from grand and petit juries in criminal cases was prohibited. Racial segregation on interstate busses and railroads was struck down. White property owners could no longer obtain court enforcement of racially restricted covenants or damages for the breach of same. Lower federal court decisions equalized the salaries of black teachers. In short, the NAACP sponsored a long list of court decisions, which brought the black citizen close to the post-Civil War Congress' goal of equal legal rights.[1]

This was a legal equality, which brought little action from the white establishment and little hope to blacks. Only _individual_ _blacks_ of the middle class, who had sponsored the changes in response to their

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[1]Grant S. McClellan, ed., _Civil_ _Rights_ (New York, 1964), p. 54.

own changing economic conditions,[2] felt optimistic.

The Struggle for Equality

It was not until May 17, 1954, however, that the race as a whole began to realize that there was the possibility of assuming other roles than the one designated by the south. On that date the Supreme Court of the United States declared the doctrine of "separate but equal" as applied to education unconstitutional and ordered the southern schools integrated.

Black Americans had never regarded the old biracial system as right or natural, but until 1954 few saw any possibility that things could change. Then there was a "revolution in expectations."[3]

This "revolution in expectations" was sparked and sustained for the following reasons:

1. The Supreme Court, the very pinnacle of the white establishment, had acted in support of, not in opposition to, the black race.

2. The actual struggle to carry out the court decision gave them a courage and a will they did not know they had.

3. Blacks realized that the north finally grasped the full meaning of racism by watching the southern whites.

4. The federal government acted.

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[2]Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "What Chance for Black Power?" The New Republic, CLVIII (March 30, 1968), 20.

[3]Everett Carll Ladd, Jr., Negro Political Leadership in the South (Ithica, N. Y., 1966), p. 24.

5. There was evidence that President Eisenhower was wrong when
   he said, "I don't believe you can change the hearts of men
   with laws or decisions."[4]

The first phase of the Civil Rights Movement was a Struggle for
Legal Rights (e.g., the right to vote, freedom of speech, and right to
assemble). This phase was for equality.[5] First, equality meant the
implementation of the legal decisions of phase one. Secondly, it meant
integration as both means and end.

Probably the most important organization during the Struggle for
Equality was the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, under the
direction of the charismatic Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The late Dr.
King led and organized sit-ins, freedom rides, mass marches and demon-
strations, and voter registration drives. His greatest contribution,
however, was the moral edge he gave the movement with his strict adher-
ence to non-violence. He captured the hearts of the working class black
people, who became more hopeful as more and more public facilities, such
as lunch counters and busses, were integrated. His non-violent approach
was acceptable to liberal whites; and they supported him financially and
physically.

The early 1960's brought a new group of people and new organiza-
tions into the Struggle for Equality. The people were college students,
whites from the north and blacks from the south. The organizations were
the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress

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[4]McClellan, pp. 11-14.

[5]Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of
The Negro Family," Daedlus, Fall 1965, pp. 745-746.

of Racial Equality (CORE). These young people, SNCC and CORE members, integrated themselves physically, intellectually, and emotionally.[6] They worked for equality by practicing the non-violent, direct action approach of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC. These integrated young people were quite happy with capitalism, Christianity, and the Constitution.[7] The blacks just wanted in and the whites wanted them in. The black college students decided to join the Struggle for Equality, even though their college officials, old line NAACP members, disapproved,[8] because they felt that most of the adult middle class, their parents, were too tied to the white power structure economically to work constructively for black equality.[9]

Middle class college students and SCLC's poor southern blacks took the Struggle for Equality into three-fourths of our states.[10] Their non-violent, direct action approach brought about a degree of racial self-assurance, confidence, and feelings of success.[11] It did not bring about total implementation of the legal victories of phase one. It did not bring about integration, except among the staffs of CORE and SNCC. Instead of equality, there was tokenism.

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[6]Howard Zinn, The New Abolitionists (Boston, 1964), p. 167.

[7]Samuel D. Proctor, The Young Negro in America 1960-1980 (New York, 1966), p. 22.

[8]Ibid., p. 12.

[9]Ibid., p. 15.

[10]James A. Geschwender, "Social Structure and the Negro Revolt: An Examination of Some Hypotheses," Social Forces, XLIII (December, 1964), 248.

[11]Proctor, p. 27.

The Struggle for Equality culminated in Washington, D. C., in
August 1963. The mass non-violent March on Washington, under the
watchful eye of the establishment, was a turning point in the Civil
Rights Movement. The black man had understood the race problem as one
of discrimination and segregation and had tried to eliminate both. Now
he turned his attention to economic, social, and political opportunity.
Legal rights and tokenism were not enough.[12]

The Struggle for Power

The Civil Rights Movement entered its third phase as the second
culminated in Washington. This phase is one of socio-economic
prescription.[13] It might even be said that the objectives parallel
those of the anti-poverty program.[14] The oratory for implementation of
legal rights and integration is replaced with the cry for jobs,
housing, and education.

In June 1966, James Meridith was shot from ambush as he marched
in Mississippi against "black fear." The march was finished by Dr. King
and hundreds of others. Before it was over, the Civil Rights Movement
had a rallying call--"black power."[15]

"Black power"--two words which are misunderstood, misused, feared,

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[12]James Farmer, _Freedom--When?_ (New York, 1965), p. 169.

[13]David M. Gordon, "Communities of Despair and the Civil Rights
Movement," _The Harvard Review_, IV (Summer-Fall, 1966), 60.

[14]John H. Wheeler, "Civil Rights Groups--Their Impact Upon the War
on Poverty," _Law and Contemporary Problems_, XXXI (Winter, 1966), 154.

[15]Andrew Kopkind, "March Against Black Fear," _New Statesman_,
LXXII (July 1, 1966), p. 5.

and glorified. The purpose of this paper is to clarify and evaluate
"black power."

CHAPTER 2

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BLACK AMERICA

An understanding of "black power" would be impossible without some understanding of black people. It is with that intention that the Psychology of Black America will be discussed.

The Role of "Negro"

The black man must, if racist norms are to be obeyed, act out the role of the "inferior"; he must play the social role of "Negro." If a black person refuses to play the game, he is judged by white supremacists as "not knowing his place" and harsh sanctions may follow.[1]

Psychological research convincingly demonstrates the power of role-playing to change attitudes, values, and even conceptions of self.[2] In the search for self-identity the black man does what all men do. He observes the reactions of other people to himself. When he attempts to gain an image of himself on the basis of his typical contacts with White America and the general culture, he often is shocked. The resulting confusion of self-identity and the lowering of self-esteem, which accompany this role-playing, are two of the most serious "marks of oppression" upon the black personality.[3]

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[1] Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (Princeton, N. J., 1964), p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 6.

This confusion of identity is vividly expressed in the number of times black people have changed what they call themselves. Some of their choices have been persons of color, colored people, Negroes, colored Americans, Black-Anglo-Saxons, Afro-Americans, Afra-Americans, Negro Americans, blackmen, Black Americans, and black people.[4] (The terms Black Americans and black people are used throughout this paper, because these are the most recent choices.)

The Black Family

The black family is a matrifocal family, even if the father is present. This type of family life has been nurtured by slavery, migration, economics, child raising,[5] aid to dependent children, and a job market more open to women than men.[6] Women are most secure when they manage family affairs. If the husbands or men are outside the family structure, the women often live in three generation matriarchial homes where grandmothers care for their daughters' legitimate and illegitimate children.[7] If the husbands or men are living with their families, they have little credit with their women to tide them over periods of unemployment. Men, who do not bring home money, are not worthy of any wifely commitments.[8]

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[4]C. Eric Lincoln, "Color and Group Identity in the United States," Daedlus, Spring 1967, pp. 533-34.

[5]Pettigrew, pp. 14-15.

[6]Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower Class Family," Daedlus, Winter 1966, p. 179.

[7]Ibid., p. 199.

[8]Ibid., p. 192.

Children are exposed to a set of experiences and a rhetoric which conceptualizes them--that brings home an understanding of their essence as weak and debased people who seek only partial gratification of their needs, and who must seek even this level, often, by less than straight-forward means.[9]

The black home is often a broken home. Only three out of four have both parents present. This compares with nine out of ten white homes. Females, without mates, head 21 per cent of all black families, while males, alone, head 5 per cent. One-third of all black children under the age of thirteen live in a home with only one parent, compared to one-tenth of all white pre-teens.[10] Weak egos, among black adults, are traced to this family disorganization.[11]

Blacks see the world as a hostile and a threatening place--they expect violent mistreatment and have a feeling of utter helplessness.[12] To those living in the hearts of the ghetto black comes to mean not just "stay back," but also membership in a community of persons who think poorly of each other, who attack and manipulate each other, and who give each other small comfort in a desperate world.[13] Stokely Carmichael, "black power" advocate, puts it this way--Black America is the white man's colony, held in thrall by its fear of the master class and by its

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[9]Ibid., p. 206.

[10]Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change," Daedlus, Winter 1966, p. 8.

[11]Pettigrew, p. 23.

[12]Ibid., p. 11.

[13]Rainwater, p. 205.

paralyzing doubts about itself.[14]

The black man, the male, has been victimized the most. If he does what American society demands of him--marries and has a family--he exposes himself to the very real danger of failure.[15] The men who attempt this life generally accept the American emphasis on status and success also, and when they measure themselves against this criteria, they come up lacking.[16] Many men find it better to be just "the boy-friend." They live in flop houses, institutions, or girl-friends' homes.[17] Besides the impacts of the role-playing, the matrifocal family, and their socio-economic standing, there are two other phenomena which have been suggested as adding to the total male self-concept in a negative way. One is the Christian Church and the other is the "taboo of the white woman." David T. Bazelon believes the southern Christian Church is "dominated by women" and "infused with their purposes and needs" and that this helps to confuse the male role.[18] If Bazelon is correct, this is very significant, since the church has always been the backbone of the black community in the south. The other phenomenon, the "taboo of the white woman," is discussed by Calvin C. Hernton in his book, Sex and Racism. This is what he has to say: "The taboo of the white woman eats into the psyche, erodes away

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[14]"Which Way for the Negro?" Newsweek, LXIX, May 15, 1967, 27.

[15]Rainwater, p. 199.

[16]Pettigrew, p. 9.

[17]Rainwater, p. 199.

[18]David T. Bazelon, Power in America: The Politics of the New Class (New York, 1967), p. 271.

significant portions of boyhood sexual development, alters the total concept of masculinity, and creates in the Negro male a hidden ambivalence towards all women, black as well as white."[19] In short, the black male has been denied his masculinity.

Summary

The effects of playing the role of the inferior are profound and lasting. "Evaluating himself by the way others react to him, the Negro may grow into the servile role; in time, the person and the role become indistinguishable. The personality consequences of this situation can be devastating--confusion of self-identity, lower self-esteem, perception of the world as a hostile place, and serious sex-role conflicts."[20]

The Struggle for Legal Rights, The Struggle for Equality, and the independence of former African colonies, where black men now govern themselves, point to worth in the black race, the race which has known nothing but inferiority. As we noted earlier, as black men became involved in the Civil Rights Movement through non-violent, direct action, they developed new feelings of racial self-assurance, confidence, and success. As black men look at their own success, limited as it is, and to the success of the Africans, the old wounds of confused identity and damaged self-esteem are beginning to heal.[21]

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[19]Calvin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America (Garden City, 1965), p. 58.

[20]Pettigrew, p. 25.

[21]Ibid., p. 9.

CHAPTER 3

THE IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF BLACK POWER

The philosophy of black power is to bring about equality--
not just equality of opportunity . . . Old tactics have not
worked.[1]

Dr. Nathan Hare

Black power does not mean the overthrow of white power.
It is not a matter of replacing white power with black
power . . . We do not strive to take over. We just want to
be right up there on an equal plane--either separately
or integrated or by any means . . .[2]

Dr. Nathan Hare

We must organize not only among ourselves but with other
groups in order that we can, together, gain power sufficient
to change this nation's sense of what is _now_ important
and what must be done _now_.[3]

National Committee of Negro Churchmen

Our concern for black power addresses itself directly to
this problem, the necessity to reclaim our history and
our identity from the cultural terrorism and depredation
of self-justifying white guilt.[4]

Stokely Carmichael

Black Power: The bringing together of black people to
elect representatives to work for our needs.[5]

Stokely Carmichael

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[1]"'Black Power'--Its Goals and Methods," U. S. News and World
Report, LXII (May 22, 1967), 65.

[2]Ibid., p. 66.

[3]"Black Power: Statement by National Committee of Negro Churchmen,"
The New York Times, July 31, 1966, p. E5.

[4]Stokely Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," Massachusetts Review,
VII (Autumn, 1966), 639.

[5]Stokely Carmichael, "Black Power," Phonotape Number 600, Portland
State College Library, Portland, Oregon.

Control is what we are working for. If we lack a majority,
then we seek our rightful share of control.[6]
Stokely Carmichael

Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength
into compelling power so that government cannot elude our
demands . . . SCLC must now undertake a massive job of
organization to gain economic and political power for
Negroes.[7]
Martin Luther King, Jr.

Black power is nonviolent economic and political power
exercised by and on the behalf of the Negro.[8]
Dr. Nathan Wright

We are not reformers . . . We are revolutionaries. We
want to change the American regime.[9]
Stokely Carmichael

We've been making men out of Negroes--men who aren't
afraid of honkies whether they are wearing sheets or
badges . . . Now, black power is legitimate, and we
can begin to challenge white institutions.[10]
Stokely Carmichael

"Black power" is America's most mis-used metaphor.[11] What does it
mean? What is "black power"? The quotations above provide some indica-
tion of the multiplicity of the means and the ends and the definitions
of black power. There is no one spokesman to whom we can turn for an
explanation. There is no one organization to whom we can turn for the
definition. And more importantly, there is no "one race" united in a

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[6]_Ibid._

[7]"Which Way for the Negro?" p. 33.

[8]Martin Arnold, "Newark Meeting of Black Power Attended by 400,"
The New York _Times_, July 21, 1967, p. 34.

[9]"Carmichael's Activities," _Facts_ _on_ _File_, XXVII (September 14-20,
1967), 397.

[10]"Which Way for the Negro?" p. 30.

[11]Andrew Kopkind, "Civil Rights Split?" _New_ _Statesman_, LXXII (July
15, 1966), 75.

"Blueprint for Action" to whom we can turn. "Black power" has different meanings for different black people, but essentially it is a solution, a black man's solution, to end second class citizenship. Black power is a rallying call, but it is not just a slogan. It is a "Blueprint for Action."

According to Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, there are three types of movements in which "nationalist" groups can engage. They are cultural, economic, and political.[12] The degree of "nationalism" in black power will be considered and evaluated in the next chapter. At this point, it is sufficient to say that black power does indeed address itself to cultural, economic, and political goals.

In July 1967, Dr. Nathan Wright, Jr., Executive Director of the Department of Urban Work, The Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey, called a Black Power Conference.[13] A final count showed 900 delegates representing thirty-six states, forty-two cities, and 197 organizations.[14] Some delegates represented the militants from US of Watts, Harlem's MauMau, and the Organization for Afro-American Unity, which was founded by former Black Muslim, Malcolm X. Other delegates represented CORE and SNCC, the best known national black power advocating organizations. It is very important to note that representatives of SCLC, the NAACP, and the Urban League were in attendance and participated in adopting black power resolutions. The leaders of these

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[12]Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American (New York, 1965), p. 38.

[13]Arnold, p. 34.

[14]Thomas Johnson, "Negroes Disrupt Newark Parley," The New York Times, July 23, 1967, p. 18.

organizations, however (the late Dr. King, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young), were notably absent.[15] The resolutions of this conference, which should be representative of the present mood of Black America, and stated goals of CORE and SNCC, or their spokesmen, will be utilized in discussing the cultural, economic, and political goals of black power.

These cultural, economic, and political goals are outlined below. Some of the objectives have self-evident means for realization and implementation, others do not. Examples of uses for black power, which have been suggested and/or practiced, are included in the discussion.

The Cultural Goals of Black Power

Basically the cultural goal is for unity--all black people involved with each other in thought, word, and deed. In order to realize this unity, black power advocates recognize the need for common heritage and symbolism. The words "black power" themselves were adopted as a symbol of unity and self-help.

Listed below are some of the specific goals for cultural unity. Some are explicitly tied to the means for implementing them. Others are not.

1. The establishment of cultural ties with black people of the whole world.[16]

2. Black people determining for themselves the courses of action they will take toward gaining "real power."[17]

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[15]Arnold, p. 11.

[16]"Goals Outlined for CORE Meeting," The New York Times, June 20, 1967, p. 25.

[17]Ibid.

3. The development of black leadership and positive self-images.[18]

4. Counteraction of the sense of inferiority and insufficiency.[19]

5. Combining pride in one's own race with gaining of a strong position for bargaining--or reprisal.[20]

6. The pooling of resources to improve the conditions of black people.[21]

7. The establishment of black universities to make professional black revolutionaries out of revolutionary black professionals.[22]

8. The establishment of black national holidays to honor black heroes such as Malcolm X.[23]

9. The beginning of a national dialog on the desirability of partitioning the United States into two nations.[24]

10. A boycott of publications accepting advertising for hair straighteners and bleaching creams.[25]

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[18]Ibid.

[19]"Racism in Reverse," Economist, CCXX (July 16, 1966), p. 261.

[20]"Black Power Play," Economist, CCXX (July 2, 1966), p. 39.

[21]"Black Power at the Polls," Ebony, XXIII (January, 1968), 25.

[22]"Black Power Conference," Facts on File, XXVII (August 3-9, 1967), 314.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Thomas A. Johnson, "Boycott of Sports by Negroes Asked," The New York Times, July 24, 1967, p. 1.

11.   A boycott of the Olympic games and professional boxing.[26]

12.   A boycott of black churches not committed to black revolution.[27]

There is evidence that the goals stated above are not just words. Black Americans are emotionally identifying with Africans today,[28] and the events of their ancestral home are important and meaningful to them.[29] The "natural black," who shuns hair straightener and bleaching creams, is in evidence. Sometimes he even costumes himself in African garb. Many black athletes are boycotting the Olympics. There is a call for and a teaching of black history and black languages. Black Student Unions are being organized in predominantly white universities to establish links between the ghetto and the university.[30] Frequently we hear and read the slogans, Black is Good and Black is Beautiful.

The need and the desire is for "black awareness." The goal is unity. Dr. Wright puts it this way, "Unity does not mean concensus. It means a new relationship in working together."[31]

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[26]"Black Power Conference," p. 314.

[27]Johnson, "Boycott of Sports by Negroes Asked," p. 1.

[28]Samuel Lubell, White and Black (New York, 1964), p. 42.

[29]Harold R. Isaacs, The New World of Negro Americans (New York, 1964), p. 261.

[30]Ernest Dunbar, "The Black Revolt Hits the White Campus," Look, XXXI (October 31, 1967), p. 29.

[31]Arnold, p. 34.

The Economic Goals of Black Power

The economic goals of black power are concerned with raising the standard of living for blacks. Even though the majority of the poverty-stricken in the United States are not black people, the majority of black people are poverty-stricken.[32] They represent one-tenth of the total population, but one-fourth of the nation's poor.[33] More than one-half of the families live on less than $5,000 per year and one-fourth on less than $3,000.[34]

Income, however, is not the entire story of their poverty. Blacks are generally propertyless. The cost of consumer durables on credit is more for them. Their money doesn't buy as much housing as white money does. Black poor family size averages one-half child more than the poor white family.[35] Most live in an urban setting where government projects such as urban renewal often hurt rather than help them.[36]

Employment is the basic need and unemployment the basic problem. The Black American has been displaced by the farm into a job market for which he is not ready or qualified.[37] The mechanization of the farm he

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[32]Michael Harrington, "Introduction," in *Poverty In America*, eds. Louis A. Ferman and others (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. xix.

[33]Farmer, p. 170.

[34]Piven, p. 20.

[35]Alan Batchelder, "Poverty: The Special Case of the Negro," in *Poverty In America*, eds. Louis A. Ferman and others (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. 113.

[36]Ibid., p. 114.

[37]Edwards, p. 3.

left is matched in the city by the automation and decentralization of industry.[38] He is unable to find steady work; he is the last to be hired and the first to be fired.[39] More than anything else black people want jobs. Black power addresses itself to this need because it recognizes that in America the primary source of individual and group identity is employment. ". . . what you do is what you are: to do nothing is to be nothing."[40]

In order to raise the black standard of living, black power suggests the following goals:

1. Obtain federal poverty money to be used by and for blacks.[41]

2. The establishment of black financial institutions to provide housing and business loans to neighborhood black credit unions.[42]

3. Guaranteed annual income for all citizens.[43]

4. Selective-buying programs, including a nationwide "buy black" effort.[44]

5. The establishment of black housing and building cooperatives.[45]

6. Full employment.

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[38]Piven, p. 20.

[39]Batchelder, p. 117.

[40]Moynihan, p. 746.

[41]Carmichael, "Black Power," Phonotape.

[42]"Black Power Conference," p. 314.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

7. Job training.

The Black Power Conference adopted a resolution threatening to disrupt the national economy, if there is no action for a guaranteed annual income. The Conference also stated that selective-buying and economic boycotts will force action for better employment opportunities.[46]

Again we note that some of the goals, as stated, have the vehicle for implementation built in, while others are vague as to how they will be achieved. There is some evidence of activity, however, in support of or in implementation of these goals.

CORE, under the direction of Floyd McKissick, has been very active in pursuing these economic goals in Baltimore, Maryland. Some of its projects have been successful, such as a leased filling station to train drop outs and a Maryland Freedom Union which won bargaining rights for three retail stores' employees; and some have not been successful, such as a Welfare Mothers' Union and a Freedom School which offered consumer buying advice.[47]

SCLC, under the leadership of the late Dr. King and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, was actively involved in the garbage collectors union's fight for recognition in Memphis, Tennessee. SCLC is also planning a march on Washington to bring national attention to the needs of America's poor.

The Political Goals of Black Power

In politics, Black Power meant independent action--Negro

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[46]Ibid.

[47]"Which Way for the Negro?" p. 30.

control of the political power of the black ghettos and
its conscious use to better slum dwellers' conditions.
It could take the form of organizing a black political
party or controlling the political machinery within the
ghetto without the guidance or support of white politi-
cians. Where predominantly Negro areas lacked Negroes in
elective office, whether in the rural Black Belt of the
South or in the urban centers, Black Power advocates
sought the election of Negroes by voter registration
campaigns, by getting out the vote, and by working for
redrawing electoral districts. The basic belief was
that only a well-organized and cohesive bloc of Negro
voters could provide for the needs of the black masses.
Even some Negro politicians allied to the major
political parties adopted the term 'Black Power' to
describe their interest in the Negro vote.[48]

National Advisory Commission

The President's so-called Riot Commission Report has stated the
black power political position quite accurately, except it puts it in
the past tense. Black control, bloc voting, and black parties are
current issues, not historical ones.

Stokely Carmichael, past chairman of SNCC and probably the best
known and most quoted black power proponent, believes the "key to self-
determination is political power."[49] His definition, that was noted
earlier, states that black people should unité to elect representatives
to work for black people's needs. In the past black people have looked
towards the major parties for representation of their needs.

From the Civil War to World War I, they were usually Republicans.
The decade after World War I was marked by a major development. The
black soldiers returned from the war fighting for democracy and freedom
at home, but Republican Presidents Harding and Coolidge did not

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[48]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders
(New York, 1968), p. 233.

[49]Carmichael, "Black Power," phenotape.

respond; and blacks began leaving the party of their liberator, Abraham Lincoln, to become Democrats.[30]

Even though he was accused of "playing both sides (north and south) against the middle," Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal completed the Democratic Party's capture of the black voter. Roosevelt was particularly popular with blacks because he had personal friends who were black and because he brought black specialists to Washington as aids and advisors to major government departments.[51]

President Harry Truman was not as popular with blacks as Roosevelt, but his executive order of 1948 ending segregation in the armed forces was considered a major victory and kept blacks faithful to the Democratic Party.[52]

Black America did not choose President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican. They expected little of him at first, but because of the "revolution in expectations," his popularity rose from 21 per cent black support in 1952 to 40 per cent support in 1956. In 1958, he won additional support when the first Civil Rights Bill in sixty years was passed.[53]

Thus in 1960, both political parties, recognizing that Black America was in "revolt" attempted to woo the black vote.[54]

President John F. Kennedy endeared himself to blacks because he

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[30]Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York, 1962), p. 225.

[51]Ibid., pp. 226-227.

[52]Ibid., p. 227.

[53]Ibid., p. 228.

[54]Lomax, p. 228.

provided people with the tools to do things for themselves,[55] and

because he suggested and supported voter registration drives.[56] His

death was a shock to all Americans, but Black Americans seemed to feel

the loss more keenly. They were unsure of what to expect of the

southerner who succeeded to the presidency.

When that same southerner, President Lyndon B. Johnson, ran for

re-election in 1964, he was overwhelmingly supported by black people.

He received 90 per cent of their vote.[57] President Johnson has pushed

through Congress more civil rights legislation than any President in

history, but, because of the increasing racial unrest in America,

there is no guarantee that blacks will continue to vote the same

Democratic ticket.

Local, state, and national elections, especially since 1966,

indicate that neither party can be sure of the black vote. Black people

are going to support candidates and programs that support them.

Specifically the political goals of black power are:

1. Control or rightful share of control.[58]

2. Black politicians representing black communities, not white

   downtown machinery.[59]

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[55]Ibid., p. 239.

[56]Ibid., p. 232.

[57]Charles F. Fager, "Powell and the House: A Black Power
Victory?" The Christian Century, LXXXIV (February 8, 1967), 175.

[58]Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

[59]Ibid.

3. Open political action which is partisan and direct.[60]

4. Creation of a third political force or party to wield a balance of power.[61]

5. Control of local school boards which serve black communities.[62]

Black politicians of the past have been vote deliverers, mostly responsible to the white machinery and the white power structure. Black power insists upon black politicians being responsible to the black communities they represent.[63] It matters not which party's banner they carry; it matters only that they are receptive to black needs.

In some areas a third party has been organized, such as the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party and the Black Panther Party, which is active in several states.[64] There are many other examples of black political power at work. Two are noted below.

In California the Black Student Union of San Francisco State College helped galvanize an apathetic black area into electing black militant Ron Dellums, thirty-one year old SFSC alumnus, to the Berkeley City Council.[65]

In Ohio Blacks mounted what may become a "textbook example" of black power. Black people saw a chance, moved in on it, supported and

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[60]Farmer, p. 181.

[61]Johnson, "Boycott," p. 1.

[62]Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

[63]Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," p. 649.

[64]Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

[65]Dunbar, p. 30.

controlled it all the way, and were smart enough to get whatever help
was necessary to work every detail of the campaign for mayor of Cleveland
to their own advantage. The city was "on fire" with black-bloc
campaigning, black solidarity, and racial pride. The efforts of the
localities, CORE, and Dr. King resulted in the election of Carl B.
Stokes.[66]

James Farmer, former National Director of CORE, calls political
action a method of self-help.[67] Voting registration statistics indicate
that other black people agree. In 1940 only 250,000 blacks were
registered to vote in the south. By 1966, 2,620,359 were registered.[68]

Black Power and Violence

The most quoted black power advocates in America have become
increasingly militant. This, of course, has linked black power with
violence. The two terms, black power and violence, have become
synonomous to most of White America and even to some segments of
Black America.

Stokely Carmichael has been quoted as saying:

"If we don't get changes, we are going to tear this country
apart."[69]

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[66]"Black Power at the Polls," pp. 28-29.

[67]Farmer, p. 192.

[68]Reese Cleghorn and Pat Watters, "The Impact of Negro Votes on
Southern Politics," The Reporter, XXXVI (January 26, 1967), 24-25.

[69]"Nashville Riot," Facts on File, XXVII (April 27-May 3, 1967).

August 18, 1965 is the blacks "day of independence." (Watts)[70]

"To hell with the laws of the United States."[71]

"Riots are 'rebellions' which need not be apologized for."[72]

"If a honky tries to shoot you, kill him before God gets the news."[73]

Adam Clayton Powell, former Congressman from New York, tells blacks to carry chips on their shoulders and if whites knock them off, "knock the hell out of them." He told blacks in Watts recently that "History is going to record that the second Civil War and the beginning of the Black Revolution was born here."[74]

H. "Rap" Brown, present chairman of SNCC, counsels blacks to arm themselves because whites are their enemies and all they (whites) understand is guns.[75] His other comments include:

President Johnson is a "wild, mad dog, an outlaw from Texas."[76]

"There should be more shooting and looting."[77]

"If Washington, D. C., don't come around, Washington, D. C.,

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[70]"Carmichael's Activities," p. 397.

[71]"Which Way for the Negro?" p. 28.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]"Powell in California," Facts on File, XXVIII (January 11-17, 1968), 12.

[75]Ben A. Franklin, "SNCC Head Advises Negroes in Washington to Get Guns," The New York Times, July 28, 1967, p. 14.

[76]"Brown Arrested, Repeats Threats," Facts on File, XXVII (August 3-9, 1967), 316.

[77]Ibid.

should be burned down."[78]

"I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie."[79]

LeRoi Jones, black playwright, has written Dutchman, The Toilet, and The Slave with the theme: To be black in America is to be revolutionary. Hatred, venom, brutality, profanity, and downright insanity are turned back towards the whites, from whence Jones believes they came.[80]

SNCC endorses the idea of guerrilla warfare and regards violent civil disorders as rebellions. CORE is less militant and advocates violence only in self-defense.[81]

The extent to which violence is approved by black people and used in pursuit of the goals of black power will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Summary

This has been an attempt to clarify what black power is, what it is doing, and what it hopes to accomplish. The words themselves serve as a rallying call for blacks to unite and for blacks to help themselves. But black power is not just a slogan; it is a mood, a movement, a solution. There is no one organization or person to whom we can turn

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[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Calvin C. Hernton, White Papers for White Americans (New York, 1966), p. 144.

[81]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 234.

for explanation and clarification of the ideology or practice. But research indicates that black power addresses itself to three types of goals: cultural, economic, and political. The basic cultural goal is unity. The economic goals are concerned with raising the black standard of living. The basic political goal is control or rightful share of control.

PART II

THE EVALUATION OF BLACK POWER

CHAPTER 4

THE EVALUATION OF BLACK POWER

Lord Acton's principle that "power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely" is a gross oversimplification of the facts. Power does corrupt, but it also can ennoble.[1] The founders of American democracy would have disagreed with this statement and agreed with Lord Acton. They followed the political theories of James Harrington, Charles L. Montesquieu, and John Locke by writing and adopting a constitution based on the division and separation of powers. Americans did and do suspect power and expect that it necessarily leads to corruption. We fail to realize that "rectitude and power depend upon context, upon various factor-combinations in personality and society."[2]

Even with the institutional safeguards against power and the common distrust of it, America has developed a political system which is essentially a power system based on ideals. Change in our society is defined as progress towards those ideals. Kenneth B. Clark, psychologist and sociologist, states, "The new American Dilemma is one of power. The dilemma is a confrontation between those forces which impel a society to change and those which seek to maintain the past."[3]

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[1] Arnold A. Rogow and Harold D. Lasswell, Power, Corruption, and Rectitude (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1963), p. 131.

[2] Ibid., p. 65.

[3] Kenneth B. Clark, "Introduction: The Dilemma of Power," in The Negro American, eds. Kenneth B. Clark and Talcott Parsons (Boston, 1966), p. xi.

John Oliver Killens, black author, has written, "The Negro loves America enough to criticize her fundamentally."[4] Black Americans do criticize some aspects of the "American Way of Life" and do want changes. They have tried to "impel a society to change" during the first two phases of the Civil Rights Movement. They first tried the legal approach of the NAACP and then the direct action, non-violent approach of CORE, SNCC, and the SCLC.

Blacks understand that in this change "pain and progress are inseparable."[5] The Struggles for Legal Rights and Equality were marked with both success and failure. Part of the success can be measured in a by-product--power. As they worked together, they gained power. And as they gained this power, they gained a measure of freedom, which is the basic American ideal for which they struggled.

The measure of the lack of freedom is the lack of power. Prior to World War II the best word to describe Black America was "powerless."[6] They were also not free in the traditional American concept of the word. They were not allowed to "do what they wanted to as long as it didn't interfere with another's rights." The slave is recognizable by his inability to act and to cause others to act. The free man is one who has power to act and causes others to act. Freedom then consists, not in the negation, but in the use of power.[7]

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[4]William B. Hixson, "The Negro Revolution and the Intellectuals," The American Scholar, XXXIII (Autumn, 1964), 593.

[5]Lomax, p. 190.

[6]Ladd, p. 18.

[7]Oscar and Mary Handlin, The Dimensions of Liberty (Cambridge, 1961), p. 18.

Power--the very word often brings emotional reactions of fear and distrust. Black power--the very words do bring these emotional responses to White Americans. They do not realize that black power, basically, is power expressed in any of the variety of ways which are common in America: in politics, in the economy, and in simple and effective means of dislocation.[8]

In clarifying the concept of black power, the recent struggles of the Civil Rights Movement were described, the psychology of Black Americans was noted, and the ideology and practice of black power was discussed in as objective a manner as possible. It remains now to evaluate this phenomenon "black power" by answering these questions:

1. Why black power and why now?

2. The group or individualism?

3. Integration or separatism?

4. Violence or non-violence?

5. Are the economic and political goals of black power realistic?

6. What are the organizational needs?

Why Black Power and Why Now?

In 1964 James A. Geschwender published a paper entitled "Social Structure and the Negro Revolt: An Examination of Some Hypotheses." Two of the hypotheses, which he examined, he rejected. Three were consistent with the data and he presented them as possible explanations for what he called the "Negro Revolt." The three plausible hypotheses

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[8]Kopkind, "Civil Rights Split?" p. 75.

are discussed below.

The Rising Expectations Hypothesis: As a group experiences an improvement in its conditions of life, it will also experience a rise in the level of its desires. The latter will rise more rapidly than the former, leading to dissatisfaction and rebellion.[9] Blacks are improving their position educationally, occupationally, and economically.[10] They have seen the elimination of legal segregation, disenfranchisement, and official brutality.[11] All this resulted in an increase in expectations.

But this "revolution in expectations" has not been accompanied by an equal measure of improvement in the conditions of life. Generally, blacks have been asked to accept tokenism.

The Relative Deprivation Hypothesis: As a group experiences an improvement in its conditions of life and simultaneously observes a second group experiencing a more rapid rate of improvement, it will become dissatisfied with its rate of improvement and rebel.[12] Income data are indicators of the validity of this hypothesis. White income is increasing more rapidly than black income.[13]

The Status Inconsistency Hypothesis: A group which possesses a number of status attributes which are differently ranked on the various

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[9]Geschwender, p. 249.

[10]Ibid., p. 253.

[11]Kopkind, "Civil Rights Split?" p. 75.

[12]Geschwender, p. 249.

[13]Ibid., p. 254.

status hierarchies will be dissatisfied and rebel. One example of this disparity in status rankings is between educational and occupational achievement.[14] Blacks are improving their educational qualifications for professional and technical jobs more rapidly than they are receiving these jobs.[15]

Dr. Geschwender's three hypotheses appear to be valid ones. He did not choose among them or place them in any hierarchical order. The three situations, described in these hypotheses, are all important considerations in evaluating the racial situation in the United States. All three help to explain why Black America has moved into a third phase in the Civil Rights Movement, the Struggle for Power. The first two phases produced the situations described by these hypotheses. Phase three, the Struggle for Power, is the result.

But why struggle for power? It was noted earlier that part of the success of the direct action phase of the movement was the by-product, power. Power achieves results. Powerless Black America had to ask for its rightful inheritance, because it had no power to take it. It had higher expectations than the dominant white power structure was or is willing to meet and support.[16] Black America is becoming increasingly aware of the value of power in achieving the socio-economic aims of the Civil Rights Movement. Blacks, generally, have concluded that White America has done all it is going to do. They say it is time Black

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[14]Ibid., p. 249.

[15]Ibid., p. 254.

[16]Norman Jackman and Jack Dodson, "Negro Youth and Direct Action," Phylon, XXVIII (Spring, 1967), 15.

America does what needs to be done to take its rightful inheritance. The Struggle for Power, black power, is the result.

There are two other aspects which should be considered when attempting to answer the dual question, "Why Black Power and Why Now?" The first is the War in Viet Nam and the second is what could be called male emancipation.

The War in Viet Nam: Both black and white Americans are confused about the war in Viet Nam. Many feel it is an unjust, immoral American undertaking, which is draining this country economically and physically. Others feel that America has a legal and a moral obligation to be militarily involved in this war, no matter what the cost. Blacks protest against the war in about the same proportion as whites, but they are opposed for racial as well as legal and moral reasons. These racial reasons are (1) it is unjust to be asked to fight abroad as long as they are receiving less than a full measure of social and economic justice at home, (2) as the Viet Nam War is escalated, the government's support of the Civil Rights Movement decreases, (3) blacks get less than their share of the national income, but do more than their share of the frontline combat in Viet Nam,[17] and (4) black Viet Nam veterans, first class soldiers, return to America as second class citizens. The Viet Nam War, whether moral or immoral, whether legal or illegal, is a frustrating phenomenon for many Black Americans. Why fight for freedom in Viet Nam when there is a lack of freedom at home? Why spend tax dollars in Viet Nam when they are needed at home? Why

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[17]Gene Roberts, "The Race Story: Two Negro Leaders," The New York Times, April 16, 1967, Sec. IV, p. 3.

send blacks to fight for self-determination, when they do not themselves
have this right? The Black Power Conference delegates felt the matter
was so serious they adopted a resolution asking black men to answer the
draft with the words, "Hell no, I won't go!"[18] America's military
involvement in Viet Nam and the Struggle for Power are contemporaries.
Black power advocates believe, as many Americans do, that this country
cannot have both "guns and butter." They see White America as willing
to sacrifice for the Vietnamese, but unwilling to do the same for
fellow Americans. This only reinforces their faith in black power,
which does not depend upon White America.

Male Emancipation: In Chapter 2 it was noted that the black male
has been victimized by his culture. He has been constantly frustrated
in his attempts to fulfill the acceptable roles in society. He has
frequently failed as father, husband, and provider. He has been unable
to demonstrate his masculinity in the usual ways, so he has attempted
to prove his masculinity in other ways. He has done this by leaving
the Christian Church, moving to the north with or without his women,
soldiering, riding the rails, or playing jazz.[19] Casual sexuality and
violence have also been the proofs of manhood for blacks who could
not furnish the customary evidence.[20] Now black men are proving their
masculinity by emancipating themselves from the whites. They are not
asking White America for permission. This emancipation is not a gift,

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[18]"Black Power Conference," p. 314.

[19]Bazelon, pp. 272-273.

[20]"Thinking Black," Newsweek, LXX (November 20, 1967), 39.

it is a declaration of independence. They are seizing an identity.[21]
It is masculine to be responsible for self, to make decisions, and to
make plans and implement programs. It is masculine to be powerful. The
ideology of black power allows black men to do and to be these things.
It allows black men to be men. Dr. King put it this way: "The Negro
is no longer begging anybody. He's no longer in that position of
saying 'Now I'll agree with you on this, if you'll give me something
over here.' He's going to be his own man, he's in the stage of self-
assertive manhood . . . "[22]

Blacks see the same America that Gunnar Myrdal did years ago when
he wrote that "Americans embrace the Christian-democratic tenants of
the American Creed as well as undemocratic valuations defining rela-
tions between Negroes and whites."[23] Since that time, blacks have had
improvements in their conditions of life, which have increased their
expectations more rapidly than those same expectations have been
realized. They have observed whites experiencing a more rapid rate of
improvement in their conditions of life. They have increased their
educational status, only to be denied the jobs for which they trained.
White America remains the nation that says one thing and practices
something else. Black America has changed. Black Americans are tired
of answering the question, "What do you want?" They are tired of
tokenism. They are tired of waiting for a solution from the establish-
ment. Black power is their solution.

[21]Bazelon, p. 274.

[22]"Dr. King Says Negro Will Be 'Own Man,'" The New York Times,
June 19, 1967, p. 36.

[23]Frank R. Westie, "The American Dilemma: An Empirical Test,"
American Sociological Review, XXX (August 1965), p. 538.

The Group or Individualism?

Black people have generally accepted the traditional American ideology of individual natural rights. They have believed in individualism, even though they were not allowed to be individuals. They have believed in working hard as individuals to be successful, only to have the by-products of that success denied. They have looked to the Jackie Robinsons and the Marian Andersons to reinforce their beliefs in Lockean America. But few have "made it" as individuals.

One of the most widely proclaimed virtues of the American political system has been its supposed responsiveness to individuals who form groups to exercise pressure for self-advantageous policy formation.[24] Groups, unlike individuals, have the power to precipitate a crisis in institutions, even through non-violent action.[25]

According to Carmichael, blacks, as a group, need to precipitate a crisis in the institution of racism. He said that while individual acts of racism are widely deplored, White America says there is no such thing as institutionalized racism in America.[26] White America may no longer say that. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders states, "What White Americans have never understood . . . is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."[27]

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[24]Sethard Fisher, "Essay Review--Negro Life and Social Process," Social Problems, XIII (Winter, 1966), 350.

[25]Hixson, p. 587.

[26]Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

[27]Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. vii.

White racism is a fact, not a fantasy. Individual blacks have rarely been able to deal with it; but where individuals have failed, black power advocates feel the group will succeed.

One reason the advocates feel the group will succeed where the individual has failed is the past experience with civil disobedience. Black people have been forced to resort to civil disobedience to make a point in America. Past efforts have shown that when the individual engages in acts of civil disobedience, he gains only moral satisfaction. But when a group engages in civil disobedience, there are specific empirical results or there is bitterness.[28] Black power advocates are willing to risk the possibility of additional bitterness. In fact, now they say they are through caring what the white community thinks about them.[29]

So we must ask, "What is the nature of the power which is sought through the group?" A statement by the National Committee of Negro Churchmen answers the question this way:

> Power today is essentially organizational power. It is not a thing lying about in the streets to be fought over. It is a thing which, in some measure, already belongs to Negroes and which must be developed by Negroes in relationship with the great resources of this nation.
>
> We must not apologize for the existence of this form of group power for we have been oppressed as a group, not as individuals. We will not find our way out of the oppression until both we and America accept the need for Negro Americans as well as for Jews, Italians, Poles, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, among others, to have and to wield group power. . .

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[28] Hixson, p. 587.

[29] Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

We must organize . . . in order that we can . . . gain power
sufficient to change this nation's sense of what is now
important and what must be done now.[30]

The route to political and social integration in America for other
groups has been through the power generated by their own institutions.[31]
Black power advocates want to follow the examples of both ethnic and
special interest groups to "change this nation's sense of what is now
important and what must be done now." Whether or not they want integra-
tion will be discussed in the next section.

Ethnic groups have been held together from within by choice. The
centripetal forces of national culture, including language, heroes, and
folklore, have formed the foundation for unity.[32] Black America is a
group that has not had contripetal forces acting to establish and main-
tain unity. The degree of unity in Black America has been the result
of white racism. The group has been forced together from without, not
held together from within. Black power advocates intend to capitalize
on this situation.[33] They hope, through the cultural goals noted in
Chapter 3, to establish the centripetal forces of a common culture,
which will unify from within. Blacks are forced to be together
physically; black power wants blacks to be together spiritually.

Interest groups in America are interested in bringing about
domestic changes which improve their own positions. Labor unions,

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[30]"Black Power: Statement by National Committee of Negro
Churchmen," p. 25.

[31]Carmichael, "Toward Black Liberation," p. 642.

[32]Edwards, pp. 2-3.

[33]Lincoln, p. 538.

political parties, religious organizations, and any number of other interest groups have organized for the benefit of the people involved. Blacks, although looked upon as an ethnic group, really have the potential of an interest group. Many ethnic groups are organized only to keep the "old ways" alive.[34] Interest groups are organized to establish new ways based on common need or desire. Blacks have many common needs and desires. They are struggling for them in this third phase of the Civil Rights Movement. Black power is a platform, a foundation, for an active interest group.

Black America could be very much like the Jews who were united ethnically and by common interest. If they move into a status of equality as other groups, such as the Jews have done, they must be willing to accept all the risks of the confrontation of power, including the risks of failure and retrogression.[35] Black power proponents are not talking of failure and retrogression, but realize that the risks exist. They know that pain and progress are inseparable, but they are talking only of "getting the job done."

Black power is fostering a new sense of community, of unity, especially among the young,[36] who have been raised during the "revolution in expectations." This community is willing to place the group first and worry about individualism later.

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[34]Harmon Zeigler, Interest Groups in American Society (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964), p. 214.

[35]Clark, p. xviii.

[36]Piven, p. 21.

Integration or Separatism?

According to Thomas F. Pettigrew, Black Americans, individually or as a group, have three choices. They may move towards, against, or away from their oppressor, White America. Traditionally Black Americans have moved towards their oppressor by seeking acceptance into a racially integrated society and imitating white ways.[37] They have accepted and emulated White America and looked towards eventual integration as "the means and the end."

The second choice, moving against, and the third choice, moving away, are associated with Black Nationalism. Blacks who move against whites passionately hate them (e.g., the Black Muslims)[38] and blacks who move away from whites desire to escape (Marcus Garvey's Back to Africa followers).[39] Black Nationalists are men who desire to leave White America and inhabit an envisioned black utopia where black men control themselves. They reject the white present for a black future.

The question is: Which is the choice of black power? The answer is: All three. Black power has within itself elements of all three choices. The choices and the black power position are discussed below.

Black power is a form of black nationalism. Karl W. Deutsch, political geographer, has defined nationalism in three steps. 1. Ethnic complementarity, what anthropologists call culture, makes a people. There will be an integrated pattern or configuration of commun-

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[37]Pettigrew, p. 27.

[38]Ibid., pp. 34-36.

[39]Ibid., p. 47.

icating, remembering, and acting. 2. A _nationality_ is a _people_ pressing to acquire a measure of effective control over the behavior of its members. 3. _Nationalities_ turn into _nations_ (not states) when they acquire power to back up their aspirations.[40] Using these three steps as criteria one notes that black power is attempting to establish an ethnic complementarity among black people and that black people, once united, would work together for sufficient power to back up their aspirations. Thus, black power is a form of nationalism.

Black power is concerned with gaining power to use here in America. This separates them from other nationalist groups that have been concerned with separation through agression or escape. They looked towards utopia through the eyes of idealists. The President's Commission on Civil Disorders states that black power advocates are doing the same thing. The Commission believes that black power followers have retreated into an unreal world so that they can avoid the confrontation of integration.[41] Is black power merely a defense mechanism, which allows black people to retreat from reality? No, black power is a realistic answer to a pluralistic society. Black people want power to use in doing what they can to help themselves right here in America. If this means the abandonment of the old ideal of integration and the acceptance of separatism, so be it.

The black power position on integration can best be stated by

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[40]Karl W. Deutsch, "The National Community: Its Formation and Relation to the State," in _Politics and Geographic Relationships_, ed. W. A. Douglas Jackson (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964), pp. 115-118.

[41]_Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders_, p. 235.

quoting an advocate, Dr. Nathan Hare.

> "Integration started as a means to an end. Then became an end in itself until Black Power push began."[42]

> "So we have realized that integration and equalization are not synonymous. Moreover, equality is not synonymous with sameness."[43]

> (Reporter: Does this mean you are abandoning integration?) "Yes, as an end in itself . . . I can imagine a utopian world in which everybody would be integrated. But this does not seem to be possible under the present thinking and structure."[44]

Token integration is no longer acceptable as an alternative to equality. This token integration is seen by black power advocates as a drainer of black talent which is needed to make black power work.[45] Thus, they are encouraging integrated blacks to return to the ghetto and do their share in the Struggle for Power.

Some proponents of black power see separatism as the first step towards complete integration. They believe that integration will follow separatism, because whites and blacks will meet each other as equals.

The rhetoric of black power does include some references to separate countries, to black states and white states, and to the value of complete separation. A fair evaluation excludes this as even a remote possibility. Black power people, who generally are realists, know this also. This oratory for political separation comes from the extreme element in the black power following, which will be discussed in

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[42]"Black Power--Its Goals and Methods," p. 65.

[43]Ibid., p. 64.

[44]Ibid., p. 65.

[45]Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

detail when the question "Violence or non-violence?" is answered.

Black power is American. It is unfortunate that black power has become associated in the press only with the idea of black nationalism and separatism to the exclusion of being associated with Americanism. Black power is not rejecting White America or America. Black power advocates are American. They have no place else to go, nor do they want to leave. They are realistically looking at an unpleasant, un-American phenomenon and attempting to do something about it. Most of what they want, most of what they do, and most of what they propose can be described as American. They are trying, in their own way, to make American ideals realities. And in this way, they are moving towards White America, not away from it.

Violence or Non-violence?

It is an American tradition to take a "cause" into the streets. Women won the right to vote and unions won serious recognition demonstrating publicly. Black people have done the same thing since the Supreme Court Decision of 1954. They have used the non-violent mass demonstration as a technique of self-expression and political action, but often they have been able to promote only the "revolution in expectations" and not concrete results.

The black man, who once was willing to endure the rigors of non-violent action, is, for the most part, fed up. He is fed up with the police dogs, the bombing of his churches, and fat housewives screaming "nigger go home." He's tired of white college boys spitting on him as he watches white policemen drag teen-age girls off to jail. The commitment

to Christian forgiveness, Christian humility, and "turn the other cheek" is thinning out. Non-violence, plus self-defense, is the new commitment of most black power advocates and most black people.[46]

Young black people of the early 60's believed in non-violence. SNCC staffers have been described as having a "healthy disrespect for respectability." They were not ashamed of being agitators and trouble makers; they saw it as the essence of democracy, but they practiced non-violence.[47] The Civil Rights Movement today is not confined to the south, nor participated in only by black southern Christians, black college students, and white liberals. The movement today is centered in the ghetto. Young people of the late 60's have not seen sufficient results from non-violent mass demonstrations. Because they are ghetto young people, they have had experience with violence, and they see it as a possible solution.[48] Generally they are the ones who are leading the violent aspect of the Civil Rights Movement, but they are being supported somewhat by Civil Rights Organizations, which pattern their programs to appease the growing militancy.[49]

Primarily the violence in the cities must be viewed as the response of the black poor to their social and economic conditions.[50] To many, especially whites, however, violence is considered to be planned and subversive. The words "black power" are unmistakenly linked with

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[46]Bazelon, p. 283.

[47]Howard Zinn, SNCC The New Abolitionists (Boston, 1964), p. 8.

[48]Proctor, p. 25.

[49]Jackman, p. 15.

[50]Piven, p. 20.

violence and subversiveness, even though only a few advocates see violence as a means to an end. This linkage is due to television coverage and the verbal hostilities of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown. The television coverage of rioting often depicts a "black power leader" and his hostility. Carmichael and Brown denounce America as a foreign power and reply to President Johnson's warnings against violence with counter warnings of violence and damage.[51]

The FBI reported that the growth of the concept of black power in 1967 "created a climate of unrest and (black power) has come to mean to many Negroes the 'power' to riot, burn, loot, and kill." Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and other militants "sowed the seeds of discord and hope to reap in 1968 a year filled with explosive racial unrest."[52] There is no doubt that Carmichael, Brown, and other black power militants do call for violent action which sounds subversive.

Black America, according to a Harris Survey, does not agree with the militants on the value of violence. After the riots in the summer of 1967, 75 per cent of America's blacks felt only a minority of blacks supported the riots. When asked if the riots have hurt the black cause, 60 per cent of Black America answered yes. Only 12 per cent of the blacks interviewed said the riots have helped their cause.[53]

Blacks not only feel the riots have hurt their cause, they know

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[51]"Shades of Black Power," Economist, CCXX (September 3, 1966), 910

[52]"FBI Report," Facts on File, XXVIII (January 11-17, 1968), 13.

[53]"After the Riots: A Survey," Newsweek, LXX (August 21, 1967), 19.

they hurt them physically and materially. The people killed are black.
The ones who lose their homes and their belongings are black. Except
for those economically involved in the ghetto, whites are rarely hurt
by the rioting. They sit, look on, and blame "outside agitation."[54]
They do not understand or believe as black people do that the violence
is spontaneous. Blacks list the causes of rioting as the lack of
progress in gaining equality, the lack of decent housing, the lack of
jobs for young people, and the lack of good educational opportunities.[55]

Whether they are spontaneous or planned, born of frustration or
subversiveness, racial riots in this country are real. And the rioting
is stiffening white resistance. Detroit's Representative to Congress,
John Conyers, says, "This thing is becoming two armed camps . . ."[56]
The citizens of Newark, New Jersey, know what he is talking about.
While Anthony Imperiale and his North Ward Citizens Council are counsel-
ing whites to arm themselves, Willie Wright and his Negro United Afro-
American Association are counseling blacks to do the same thing.[57]

Has the riot season become an acceptable part of American life?
Will we continue to have hot summers? Probably, yes.[58] Frustration
will continue to be the black burden in the immediate future. Leaders,

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[54]Ibid., p. 18.

[55]Ibid., p. 19.

[56]"What Must Be Done," p. 35.

[57]Victor L. Simpson, "White Vigilantes, Negro Militants Escalate
Arms Race in Growing Unrest in New Jersey," The Oregonian, March 17,
1968, p. 21.

[58]"What Must Be Done," p. 34.

black and/or white, must resolve that frustration or we will continue to have violence and it will be on an increasing scale.[59] Until or unless White Americans or America itself, is victimized by the violence, whites are unlikely to do anything to help prevent it. They will only step in with power to enforce "law and order."

Can anything worthwhile come from this violence? James Farmer, former National Director of CORE, feels that black anger will be creative.[60] This anger may be a very valuable centripetal force for unity. This anger may bring about the government action which the President's Commission has suggested. This anger may bring about action from private enterprise.

Violence or the threat of violence has been a very real force in all black communities since Watts. White Americans are shocked. They thought black people were docile and weak. Now they must view black people in a different manner. They must realize that blacks are through being relegated to second class citizenship. They are through listening to White America's promises which are not fulfilled. The entire nation is caught in an intersection of two images where it always thought there was only one. So what started as an identity crisis for blacks is turning into an identity crisis for the nation. White people are perceiving a new Black America, ready to defend itself, but generally not seeking violence. After White Americans read the President's National Advisory Commission's report on civil disorders, they may well perceive of them-

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[59]Gordon, p. 58.

[60]McClellan, p. 37.

selves differently also. If they do, maybe they will quit asking, "What do they want?" and start considering how they can support black people in their fight to make freedom real and substantial.

Are the Economic and Political Goals of Black Power Realistic?

Black people are located within the United States in such a way that they may very well be able to realize the goals of black power, especially the political ones. Ironically, this concentration of blacks, in the core areas of America's large cities, has come about because of segregation and migration caused by economic necessity.

Black Americans have become an urban people within the last three decades. It was not until after the depression of the early 1930's that the south began to industrialize. This industrialization and the accompanying farm mechanization made black farm labor almost obsolete. Blacks moved in great numbers to the cities in a mass exodus to the north and the border states. In 1930, 78.7 per cent of America's black people lived in the eleven confederate states. By 1960 only 52.3 per cent lived in the south.[61] Often instead of the jobs, the nice homes, and the "better way of life" they looked for in the cities, they found unemployment and existence in the ghetto.

Even when blacks found jobs, segregation isolated them from the total community. The 1960 census shows that in most large cities 90 per cent or more of the blacks lived together in a black section of town. Color was the only common characteristic among the citizens of the black

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[61]Ladd, p. 22.

neighborhood.[62]

Blacks, whether able or unable to provide for themselves, became the victims of racial residential segregation. Racial segregation in America is greater than class segregation and black-white segregation is greater than that between any other nationality group and native whites. This high degree of segregation is true for cities in all regions of the country and for all types of cities--large and small, industrial and commercial, metropolitan and suburban. It is true whether there are 100,000's of blacks or only 1,000's.[63]

Thus, segregation and migration have placed blacks in an advantageous position to develop and exercise political power. Blacks are now in the majority in Washington, D. C. (63 per cent), Newark, New Jersey (51 per cent), and Gary, Indiana (55 per cent). Within fifteen years they will constitute a majority in Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Oakland, and Trenton.[64] Unless whites are able to substitute metropolitan bureaucracies for city governments before blacks come to power, black people should soon be able to control many of America's large cities.

Even when not in the majority or in control, black people are exercising their political power. They are becoming a vital consideration in presidential and statewide elections. On the local level, they

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[62]The Negroes In the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation, Department of Labor (Washington, 1966), p. 3.

[63]Karl E. and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago, 1965), pp. 34-35.

[64]"What Must Be Done?" p. 34.

are emerging as a major force in the liberalization of congressional

districts and metropolitan areas.[65] The black vote won Tennessee,

Virginia, Florida, North Carolina, and Arkansas for President Johnson

in 1964.[66] In 1966, southern black votes made the difference in

electing one U. S. Senator, one and probably two governors, and two

U. S. Representatives. They also placed twenty blacks in three

southern legislatures.[67] Northern black votes captured two city

administrations by electing Carl B. Stokes and Richard Hatcher, mayors

of Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, respectively.

The black vote, especially if it is used collectively, is very

significant. Data on black voting in presidential elections since

1952 point to an increase in voter turnout, especially when compared to

the stable turnout of the nation as a whole.[68] Another measure of the

significance is the estimate that the Democratic Party would probably

lose New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, California, and the

southern states that were for Johnson in 1964 without the black vote.[69]

Greater influence in national politics depends upon strong local

organization capable of promoting electoral participation and assuring

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[65]Dewey W. Grentham, Jr., "The South and The Reconstruction of American Politics," Journal of American History, LIII (September, 1966), 237.

[66]Farmer, p. 188.

[67]Cleghorn, p. 24.

[68]Anthony M. Orum, "A Reappraisal of the Social and Political Participation of Negroes," American Journal of Sociology, LXXX (July, 1966), 44.

[69]Fager, p. 175.

discipline.[70] The national political parties are essentially state and local party organizations which come together every four years to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. The party organizations in the fifty states are cohesive only in the barest sense. The economic, social, and political conditions that foster localism and the primary importance of local solutions insure that the balance of political power at the national level is with the state party organizations. Candidates and party units which emphasize national policy at the expense of local interests are apt to lose local party support and especially black support.[71]

From a local political base of power, which controls the black community and sometimes the total community, black people will be able to influence, more than they now do, the selection of government office holders and the adoption of state and national policy. With most Americans, it is not very important what the government decides for them and how, but, for Black Americans, it may be very important.[72]

The importance of government action is evident when one reviews the economic goals of black power. A guaranteed annual income and the obtainance of federal money are the prerogative of the federal government. Four of the other goals, establishment of black financial institutions, establishment of black housing and building cooperatives, full employment, and job training, could also be realized through

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[70]Piven, p. 23.

[71]Rogow, p. 19.

[72]Gordon, p. 68.

government help.

Without government support the economic goals are unobtainable. Blacks are poor people. Their poverty is one of enforced dependency. This dependency arouses the anger of the affluent,[73] who then become increasingly reluctant to use government power to fight poverty. Traditionally the poor of America have been an unorganized, powerless people. Black poor people, as we have seen, do not need to be. The black poor can become politically strong. Experience has shown that poverty gives the poor very little control over their own behavior, but once they are engaged in successful social action, they gain power, even if their incomes remain the same.[74] Blacks are in a position to engage in such social action and gains made will become accelerated by virture of the power realized at each point of success.[75]

The basic political goal of black power, control or rightful share of control, seems to be a realistic one. Black people live together physically and there is evidence that the cultural goal of unity is not as unrealistic as it was even five years ago when blacks stopped talking about integration and started talking about closing ranks to Struggle for Power. They should be able to engage in successful social action and successful political action in such a way as to assure control over their own communities. Power will bring control and control will bring additional power. This power may then be used to work for the realiza-

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[73]Warren C. Haggstrom, "The Power of the Poor," in Poverty in America, eds. Louis A. Ferman and others (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. 326.

[74]Ibid., p. 329.

[75]Fisher, p. 350.

tion of black power's economic goals. It may well be that the impact of the Civil Rights Movement, the Struggle for Power, is the strongest and most positive support for the effort to eliminate poverty and disadvantage from the "American Way of Life."[76]

What Are the Organizational Needs?

Many blacks have seen the ambiguity of the words "black power" as their major strength in rallying blacks.[77] Everyone knows they have something to do with uniting the race, making people feel proud they are black, practicing self-defense, and obtaining political and economic power which can be used to obtain jobs, housing, and better educational opportunities. Black power is something that sounds exciting to most blacks, something they can support.

When "black power" became linked so closely with violence, complete separation, and subversiveness, many, including Dr. King and Roy Wilkins, denounced the words, but continued to embrace most of the ideals.[78] Because of this linkage, the time for ambiguity is past.

"Black power" needs to be clarified. It needs to be defined. And, then, it needs to be systematically implemented. Former heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay, has never been noted for intellectual statements, but he does seem to know what he is talking about when he says the black man will never be free "as long as he has a leader on

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[76]Wheeler, p. 155.

[77]"The Many Meanings of Black Power," New York Times, July 23, 1967, Sec. IV, p. 1.

[78]"Racism in Reverse," p. 261.

every street corner."[79]

The Struggle for Power is not participated in by just the middle class adult as was the legal first phase led by the NAACP, or by just the middle class college student, the white liberal, and the poor southerner as was the non-violent, direct action phase led by SCLC, CORE, and SNCC. The Struggle for Power is for and by the masses. The masses need direction, leadership, and organization.

If black power is going to be anything more than a "slogan of the 60's," black people must define it, so that they are in agreement about direction. Then they must organize. This organization may be based within one of the existing civil rights groups or within some new group yet to be formed. Figure 1 indicates the militancy and appeal of the organizations now active. This information will help in evaluating which of these groups has the best potential for leading the masses.

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[79]"Clay Urges Parley of Negro Leaders," The New York Times, July 1, 1967, p. 10.

Figure 1

Militancy and Appeal of Protest Organizations by Region[80]

Degree of Militancy	North & West	South	Appeal
most militant	Black Muslims	SNCC	Students, working class, and dispossessed
		SCLC	Working class and students
	CORE	CORE	Students
	NAACP	NAACP	Students and middle class adults
least militant	Urban League	Urban League	Middle class adults

When evaluating the possibility of these existing organizations making the goals of black power national realities, the Urban League and the NAACP probably must be eliminated. Both appeal primarily to middle class adults instead of to the masses of poor blacks. They are the two least militant, so black ghetto youth are unlikely to join them or even listen to them.

SCLC has never appealed to the black masses in the north. Now that it has lost its charismatic leader, it is unlikely that the SCLC and its request for a "Bill of Rights for the Disadvantaged,"[81] which includes many of the economic goals of black power, will be able to initiate

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[80]Jackman, p. 13.

[81]McClellan, p. 19.

widespread support throughout the nation.

Many black people cannot accept the extreme militancy of SNCC and the Black Muslims. Because of this, they have very little chance of bringing Black America under a single banner.

The Congress of Racial Equality, which was founded in 1942 as a direct action civil rights group, seems to be the existing organization behind which black people could unite to achieve the goals of black power. James Farmer says it is a much different organization today than the "romantic little organization" which in 1961 freedom-rode through the south and trained new cadres in the techniques of non-violence.[82] CORE seems to be able to change with the times.

Figure 1 indicates that CORE appeals primarily to students. CORE officials, however, indicate that membership is increasing and the financial status improving as the "little people" become involved with their $1 and $2 donations.[83] CORE is looking for wide support among Black Americans. Its convention last year was an open one for all black people and all black organizations.[84]

The President's Commission describes CORE as more flexible than SNCC, because it approved totally independent political action outside the established political parties, as SNCC does, and also approves working within the Democratic Party, as SNCC does not. CORE is further described as an organization which seeks to form alliances with other

[82]Farmer, pp. xviii-xix.

[83]"CORE Eliminates 'Multi-racial' Term," The New York Times, July 6, 1967, p. 21.

[84]Ibid.

groups and advocates violence only in self-defense. In a further comparison with SNCC, the Commission states, "Both groups favor cooperatives, but CORE has seemed more inclined toward job-training programs and developing a Negro entrepreneurial class, based upon the market within the black ghettos."[85]

CORE, which in 1961 was two-thirds white, is now correctly considered by blacks and whites as a black power organization. CORE's leadership is black; CORE's program is for black people. If any existing group is to provide the organization needed for unity and the realization of the economic and political goals of black power, it will probably be CORE.

The thing CORE lacks most is a dynamic leader. This leader must be unlike past civil rights leaders, who were often devoted to doing a job for the people. A leader is needed who will be able to motivate the people to do a job for themselves.[86] This leader also needs to be able to convince the black middle class to "return" to the ghetto and help their brothers. Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE, says, does, and writes all of the right things, but he has not been able to generate the enthusiastic following that others, such as Dr. King, have.

There is no room in a black power organization for whites. In July, 1967, CORE removed the word "multi-racial" from the description of membership.[87] White liberals find "black power" a "bitter pill" to swallow. They spoke for blacks when they were unable to speak for

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[85]Report of the National Advisory Commission, pp. 233-34.

[86]Lomax, p. 153.

[87]"CORE Eliminates 'Multi-racial' Term," p. 1.

themselves. They have contributed time, money, leadership, and lives to the black cause.[88] Now they are told to let blacks work for themselves. They are told to go into their own communities and teach non-violence and wipe out racism.[89]

It is clear that an alliance with white liberals is out, but possible alliances with other groups are not as clear cut. Black organizations often discuss the pros and cons of forming alliances. If and when CORE, or some other black power group is able to mobilize Black America for action, the group will need not debate the pros and cons of seeking allies. It will be sought out by others and offered genuine concessions, because it has strength to bring to any alliance.[90]

Before leaving the discussion of organization, one additional point should be made. Black America has an untapped resource--its numerous voluntary associations. Blacks are much more likely to belong to political and church groups than their white counterparts and equally likely to belong to civic groups. If we consider only the low economic class, to which most blacks belong, we again find that blacks are more likely to belong to voluntary associations than whites.[91] The result is that in black communities there are existing local voluntary associations, ranging from bridge clubs to political discussion groups, through which a national organization, such as CORE, could work.

[88] Lomax, p. 181.

[89] Carmichael, "Black Power," phonotape.

[90] Piven, p. 19.

[91] Orum, pp. 43-44.

If black power is to become reality, through the accomplishment of its political, cultural, and economic goals, then there must be direction, leadership, and organization. First black power must be fully defined. Then an organization must develop which will be able to motivate the masses for action. Then the masses must act in their own behalf. The Congress of Racial Equality, if it can find or develop the necessary leadership, may be the instrument through which black power becomes a reality.

CHAPTER 5

BLACK POWER AND THE FUTURE

The words "black power" may die. They may even be discarded by
Black America because of the connotations of violence and subversive-
ness. But even if the words are absent, this writer believes, the mood
and the program will continue. The mood and the program of black power
are, in the opinion of this writer, very constructive phenomena for two
major reasons: 1. Black power promotes psychological healthiness, and
2. Group action will bring concrete improvements to Black America's
way of life.

Psychological healthiness. The improvement in self-images and the
racial image is psychologically healthy. For years young people, who
believed themselves inferior, grew up to be inferior. Now we have a
generation which does not feel the totality of inferiority that past
generations did. Today's adults have lived through the "revolution in
expectations." They know what hope is. They have seen some progress,
which points to their own worthiness. Today's youth was born into hope,
not total despair. Black people are beginning to develop favorable
self and racial concepts. Black power ideology gives them the
opportunity to continue to grow in the knowledge that "they are good"
and that "black is good."

Group action will bring a better way of life. Black America has
seen other groups, both ethnic and interest, consolidate their
individual member's strengths into group power. Black America hopes to

do the same, in order that they may use their group power to raise the black standard of living and to confirm the first class citizenship which is inherently theirs. It seems entirely possible, and even probable, that they will be successful.

The ideology of black power is psychologically and materially constructive, not destructive. It would be a mistake, however, not to consider the possibility that the practice of black power will be destructive. The following questions remain to be answered.

1. Does black power serve as a catalyst for additional racism in America?

2. Will racial rioting lead to racial war?

3. Will black power divide Americans into two nations, whose ethnic complementarities are so different that they will cease to communicate with each other?

4. Will black power result not in group unity, but in further division of black people into the "integrated," the "moderates," and the "militants"?

5. To what extent, if any, will the past experiences of black people tend to mitigate their proper use of power?

6. What are the international implications?

   Will all Americans now be viewed as racists--both blacks and whites?

   Will the militant aspects of black power spread throughout the world?

   To what extent, if any, is black power part of an international communist plan?

One can only speculate about the future. "Black power" may be judged by history as destructive, both psychologically and materially. The personal opinion of this writer is, however, that history will pass favorable judgment on the ideology and practice of "black power."

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