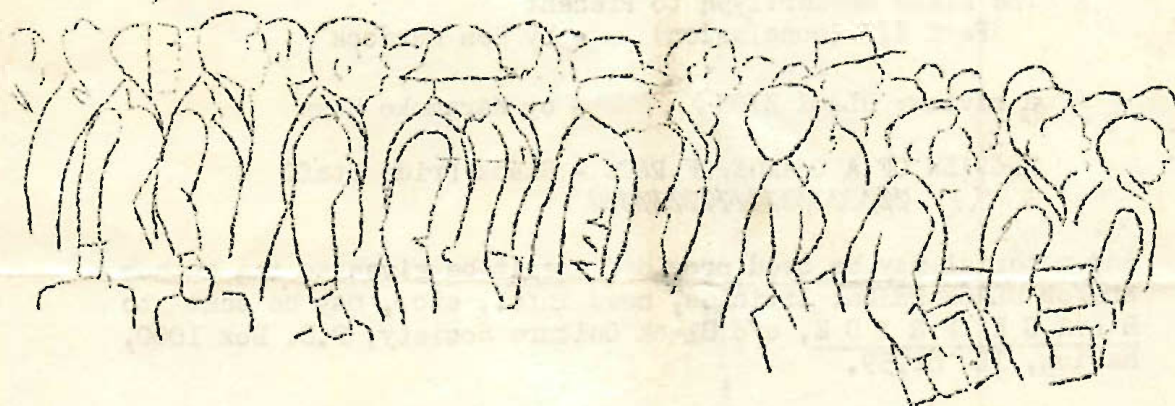




BLACK PRIDE

- NEWS LETTER -

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LIBERATION

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c o n t e n t s

1. TYING IT ALL TOGETHER - Black Pride Staff
2. The Black Worker: 1954 to Present
Part III (conclusion) - by Ben Murdock
9. a review: BLACK ZION - by Karamoko Baye
11. PREVIEW OF A CHANGE OF PACE - Black Pride Staff
00000000000000000000000000000000

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BLACK PRIDE shall always move to "leave no problem untackled, no mistake unexposed. Truth must always be told. It is proof of strength and even the harshest truth has a positive aspect which can be used /to/ promote self-induced morality, that is, self-reliance, self-education, self-discipline and self-criticism" /Kwame Nkrumah/ - all toward National Liberation & Revolutionary Socialism.

Year of Ideological Growth

TYING IT ALL TOGETHER

With this edition of BLACK PRIDE, The Black Worker series concludes. Its importance today should be well understood as a critical analysis of Black Workers historically in relation to the total society, verified by the intensification of the contradiction between labor and capital as well as the racist, opportunist trend dominant within the American Trade-Union Movement. As of late we have seen many misleaders uphold the position of Big Business. The Teamsters Union, holding its National Convention June 11th, spoke only to the needs of union officials (salary increases) and greater cooperation with Big Business in relation to wage settlements. They are representative of the vast majority of unions in America.

The ever increasing centralization/concentration of capital is reflected in worsening conditions of the working masses in general, & Black/3rd World Peoples in particular, while superprofits are being reaped. The new program of international capitalism (America remains the heart of it all) calls for greater control on wages and benefits. The struggle by workers can be objectively appraised as defensive, as they are not breaking new ground, but rather, protecting gains won in the past in the face of capital's consistent attack. The "State" existing to perpetuate and reinforce capital's interest, has continued to reverse economic gains. Lately the Supreme Court has decided on labor issues which exemplify this reality (limiting pickets, upholding racist hiring practices, & denying the right of state & municipal workers to receive minimum wages, saying that Congress didn't have the power nor the right to make such a law.) Another example of the "State" dealing in its own interest can be seen in the forced

arbitration in relation to labor disputes. The illusion is projected that the "State" is a neutral force standing above society and the forces within it. The record of the National Labor Relations Board (the National Board to Suppress Labor) exposes this myth of neutrality, just as the "State" utilization of physical force and scabbing does.

What does this have to do with Black Workers, the socio-political cultural reality of Black Peoples?

We are Black People in American society. In particular it must be noted that the class position and the reality of racism are the principal determinants of what our social, cultural, political reality will encompass - its form and content. It determines how we eat (& how often), what our family relations are, where we live, the clothes we wear, the games we play (misnamed "making it"). The social alienation which is called by many names is directly related to the economic basis of our society, a society in which not only man's/woman's labor has become a commodity (the power to create values), but where what is produced is alien to the producer, where the family is turned into an economic unit and we are condemned to slowly sell our lives away in pieces in order to exist - never to enjoy the fruits of humankind's labor which all people have helped create - exclusive of the few who own, control, and manage the means by which production is carried out. The opportunity exists for us to utilize the mistakes and advancements of the past as a basis for changing our perverted existence to that of humane development. We cannot use the tactics and strategy of past insanity today. What is needed is a critical examination of the tools used, the conditions then and now, in a word, all the ramifications of our

(cont on P11)

Following World War II and the Korean War, contrary to popular opinion, the actual economic gains by Black Americans were virtually non-existent. It was, in part, due to this lack of real economic gain coupled with an increase in the overall educational level of black people which provided impetus for an increase in their demands for economic and social equality in the North and South.

In 1954, when the Supreme Court of the United States announced that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal had no place, the announcement was made not so much because the nation had finally waken up to the basic inequality which existed in the field of education. It came because many of the socio-economic conditions which formed the traditional basis for segregation had gradually given way to massive urbanization of agriculture, the nationwide establishment of agribusiness, and the expansion of large scale northern industry into the South and other undeveloped areas beyond our borders. It was these factors domestically, and the use of African and other Third World People internationally that provided the ground from which the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 70's was to grow and mature.

When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, few blacks were duped into believing that the newly merged AFL-CIO would move aggressively to end racial discrimination in its ranks. Even A. Philip Randolph, a longtime apologist for organized labor, sought to prevail upon the new labor federation to eliminate racial discrimination - but no action was forthcoming. But even

with its obvious shortcomings, in the area of ending racism in its own ranks, for a brief period it did manage to gain the respect of some segments in the black community when its Executive Council called upon President Eisenhower to comply with the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation and to deny school-construction funds to any state that defied the court's order. Beyond this strong showing by organized labor little was done to aid blacks either within its ranks or in their larger struggle for equal rights. A few unions such as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, United Packinghouse Workers District 65, Local 1199 in New York City, and the UAW contributed to the civil rights movement -- but these were exceptions.¹

The apparent reason for the AFL-CIO not taking a more active role in the early stages of the Civil Rights Movement was the traditional Ku Klux Klan spirit of organized labor.* Foner, however, sees it slightly different, he says, "the activities of the White Citizen's Councils and other segregationist groups in the South following the 1954 Supreme Court decision alarmed the leaders of many AFL-CIO affiliates as it did the Executive Council and made them extremely hesitant to be identified with the more militant struggles of Negro people."² What he failed to add was that many high level labor leaders shared the racist views of the rank-and-file union members. He did mention, however, that the do-nothing attitude of the AFL-CIO Executive Council contributed to the wide-scale recruitment by both the Klan and the White Citizens Councils among white

*See: Black Worker I&II, BLACK PRIDE

union members. This goes completely contrary to the popular notion being projected by numerous apologists for organized labor that the AFL-CIO has always held an active non-discrimination policy. Such a policy only existed on paper and served as a public relations ploy for the newly merged federation. The result being the further alienation of the black worker from organized labor. Concerning this Foner points out, "in general, it was the opinion of most observers that less than two years after the merger, blacks in the South were giving less support to unions than formerly, and that the unwillingness of the national AFL-CIO leadership and many of the affiliated unions to take a strong stand in favor of equalitarian racial policies was largely responsible for this."³

In the North as well, blacks who once supported organized labor were having second thoughts. The Executive Committee exercised no authority over its international or local union affiliates on the question of racist practices, and the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee's main function was to use persuasion to win support because it lacked the power to enforce anti-discrimination policies. One example of this lack of power was in the case of George M. Harrison, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks. Harrison held a seat on the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, while the union which he headed for decades had refused to admit blacks - and had consistently utilized various methods of evading court orders against its discriminatory practices.⁴ Perhaps, an even more striking example of the AFL-CIO's inability to deal with its affiliates was the case of the Washington, D.C. local of the Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers

Union. This union, in a city where blacks made up a large segment of its population, would not allow black workers to work on the construction of the AFL-CIO's own headquarters. These and similar incidents eventually lead to the resignations of the committee's chairman, as well as George Weaver, a black member.⁵

The racist conditions within the AFL-CIO could not go for long unopposed by the black community. In 1959, Herbert Hill, the NAACP labor secretary issued his famous report on labor conditions which was to serve as the theoretical basis for the Negro-Labor Alliance of the 1960's. In addition, Hill's report formed the basis for a major debate on racial discrimination at the 1959 AFL-CIO Convention.⁶ It also brought out that in 1958 there was twice as much unemployment among blacks as whites (14.4 percent for blacks as opposed to 6.9 for whites). Hill's report also asserted for the first time nationally that blacks were a "permanently depressed economic group." Therefore, it is not surprising that outside the radical and Negro press Hill's report received little attention.

The debate at the 1959 convention between Walter Reuther, Randolph and Meany was important because it served to set the tone for future demands. Walter Reuther for his part had come under increasing pressure from black UAW members to speak out at the convention on racial issues. Randolph too was under pressure from the black community and the younger members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.⁷ But these two forces could not hope to defeat the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO. However, one thing was made clear, black labor leaders and their white allies were in no mood to function as they

did in the early 50's. This specific challenge to organized labor became even more clear in May 1960 when the Negro American Labor Council was formed.

The NALC was formed for the purpose of providing established Negro trade-union leaders with a more powerful voice within the ranks of the AFL-CIO. This function had been served by a number of local labor coalitions, but never nationally. As Foner pointed out, "the established Negro trade-union leadership was increasingly aware that the black membership could no longer be satisfied with the labor movement's unionization of nearly 2 million Negroes when they could see that many unions had made barely a dent in trade-union racism."⁸

For its part the NALC played an important role in the struggle for an end to racial discrimination within the ranks of organized labor from 1960 to 1967; but in order to fully appreciate the significance of the NALC, it is necessary to reflect on the massive social unrest among black people both in the North and South during that period.

The NALC had a dual constituency. It sought to appease organized labor while responding to strong black nationalist sentiments in the black community. Therefore, with a basic reformist position, it could never hope to fully break with the AFL-CIO which remained the dominant influence in the labor movement. As for its function as a representative of the black community, for a time, it mainly served to legitimize Randolph and other black labor leaders in the eyes of the black community while forcing them on occasion to publicly confront organized labor with militant demands.⁹ Still, perhaps, its largest gains were not won in the area of labor or economic gains for black people. It was in the area of its active support of the Civil Rights Movement both fi-

nancially and theoretically.

It was at the 1962 NALC Convention that the 1963 March on Washington was first projected. Following the massive civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, Martin Luther King, Jr. called on Randolph and Cleveland Robinson as heads of the NALC to expand the original aims of their proposed march on Washington to include attempting to pressure Congress to pass a pending civil rights bill. John F. Kennedy, upon hearing of the planned march, sent a special message to the Democratically Controlled Congress urging them to enact the bill stating it was in the best interest of the nation.

The major reason for this speedy action by Kennedy lay in the fact that a temporary alliance between blacks and organized labor had tilted the vote in his favor during his close Presidential race with Richard Nixon. For that reason Kennedy found himself in a position where he could not afford to back out on his electoral commitments or sit back while Congress continued to filibuster. But even with his commitments to civil rights, Kennedy still tried to force the march to be called off, as Roosevelt did during WW II, claiming that such a march would be uncontrollable, and despite non-violent intent there was too great a possibility of violence. To the late-President's dismay, however, after considerable thought, in early June, his request was rejected and Bayard Rustin was hired by the NALC to plan the March for August.

During the weeks prior to the March, Rustin was paid out of District 65 funds of which Cleveland Robinson was secretary-treasurer. Thus, what is considered, by some authorities, as the climax of the civil rights movement was initiated and planned largely by black trade unionists.¹⁰

Foner says, "the demand for jobs and an end to industry and union bias, originally projected as the main theme for the March, at the 1962 NALC Convention, was also present in civil rights demonstrations in the spring and summer of 1963." This factor was not an accident. In New York, Philadelphia, and Newark demonstrations by the Joint Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity which consisted of members from the NALC, NAACP, and CORE were held. They sought more jobs for blacks via direct action.¹¹ That Martin Luther King was influenced by the militant demand for jobs there is no doubt. King had long been supported by Local 1199, District 65, the IUE, UAW, and the United Packinghouse Workers. Therefore, it should have surprised no one to find Dr. King coming out more and more for labor and economic issues.

The attention shown by Dr. King to labor-related issues did not go unnoticed by the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO. In July 1963, eight years after its merger, the AFL-CIO finally conceded in its publication that black workers were being prevented by union-dominated apprenticeship training programs from becoming skilled craftsmen. Herbert Hill then immediately responded with a renewed call to force a change in the situation. Then to add pressure to organized labor Lyndon B. Johnson, then Vice-President, met with the leaders of forty building trades unions in New York to urge them to act immediately to end discrimination. Following this extraordinary session, which lasted thirty-five hours, Johnson reported, "Nobody can move these people. They simply do not mean to do it."¹²

When the unions refused to bow to public as well as government pressure, in case after case, it became

clear that the government would give in to the unions. Therefore, when the March on Washington did finally take place most of the key economic issues were played down or not mentioned at all. As for the Meany-lead AFL-CIO Executive Committee, they condemned the March outright. Only Walter Reuther and the Industrial Organization Division defied the federation's leadership by coming out publicly in support of the March. As for rank-and-file union members, of the 200,000 or more participants, blacks and whites, from all over the United States, an estimated total of forty thousand were union members. It was the largest mobilization of trade unionists in American labor history.

At the Fourth Annual Convention of the NALC in 1964, one of the featured themes was "Fight for Freedom from Poverty Through Fair and Full Employment." Immediately following the convention, in several cities pickets from the NAACP, CORE and the NALC went up to keep pressure on employers. There were also sit-ins, lie-ins, bank-ins, shop-ins, and numerous boycotts. The struggle did not stop with employers nor was it limited to the South. Among unions, the building trades were singled out - and the demand for "Full Integration of the Building Trades Unions" went up as a national slogan.

The movement for jobs, however, was temporarily cut short. Voter-registration soon captured national attention. Events in Selma, Alabama and Martin Luther King, Jr. fresh from winning the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in civil rights held the focus of the nation; but the cry for jobs would be heard again in a different form, in the streets of Watts, Detroit, and other cities, as intolerable economic and social

conditions, police brutality and lack of political voice resulted in massive riots on a scale never before witnessed in America.

In Selma, Dr. King was supported by the ILWU, the UAW and a host of other unions. Cleveland Robinson spoke on behalf of the NALC. He spoke to huge turnouts in Montgomery. But, perhaps the most significant event to take place was the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, the wife of a Detroit teamster. It was Mrs. Liuzzo's death more than any single event up to that time which pushed the AFL-CIO into officially representing itself at a large civil rights march. The death of others did not even move them.

Following the Selma-Montgomery demonstrations, there was talk of a second march on Washington, but the violent events in Selma had already forced President Johnson to propose new civil rights legislation thereby overting a second march. As a result of President Johnson's quick action the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were passed. With these two major victories the civil rights movement had gained much maturity and with that maturity a certain amount of legitimacy.

Legitimacy of the Civil Rights Movement lead to a break with the more radical elements within its ranks. It was also, about this time that the liberal establishment began to speak more loudly of a Negro Labor Alliance and the concept of Black Power came into being.

The Negro-Labor Alliance was a mere idea. The idea of such an alliance had been discussed since the early days of the AFL-CIO merger. From a practical standpoint, it was a tacit agreement between labor and established Negro leaders with no real idea of the degree of commit-

ment of either party unless it was the Negro as junior partner. As a matter of fact, what happened in most cases was that George Meany utilized the concept as a means of holding black leaders in line. Hence, while labor and black leaders did join forces in the latter days of the Selma-Montgomery March, and were drawn closer together as a result of the joint pressures which lead to the Voting Rights and Civil Rights Bills, their temporary alliance rested on a very shaky foundation.

Recognizing the political opportunism of many liberal white labor leaders, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and other militant black leaders began to predict that the temporary alliance following the passage of the civil rights bills was unreliable and that black people should develop their own sources of power and in that way determine their own destiny. This progressive concept was later to be perverted by a Nixon-backed drive for Black Capitalism, and has since come to mean electing blacks to political office. But, when it was first put forth it had more revolutionary objectives and embodied the progressive concept of full self-determination for black people.

Events at the 1964 Democratic National Convention were clear warning that the call for Black Power was just around the corner. At the convention traditional black labor leaders and their white allies tried to persuade the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party under the leadership of Fannie Lou Hamer to accept the seating of of the regular Democratic Party delegates. Another example was to come a year later when the MFDP organized the Freedom Labor Union. The FLU was

the first sharecropper's union since the 1930s; and despite the national coverage by the New York Times and other large northern papers, when it first struck for \$1.25 an hour and an eight hour day in Leland, Mississippi, organized labor failed to respond. As a result the black strikers were evicted, starved, and forced to abandon their just demands.

In the North the Mythical Negro-Labor Alliance was still to face a major test. Following the urban unrest in Watts, and other cities, Dr. King set out to prove to northern ghetto blacks that the Negro-Labor Alliance had practical value. For this test, he chose the city of Chicago. Chicago had long had the reputation as the most segregated city in the North. It had the greatest percentage of substandard housing of any city, except for Saint Louis. It had inferior, segregated education, health care, and cultural facilities, a high rate of black unemployment and one of the highest concentrations of blacks in low-paying jobs. It also was governed by the Daley Machine.

For Dr. King's purposes, however, Chicago had its advantages. Chicago had a strong segment of the labor movement that had long identified with the civil rights movement, and these labor leaders and the NALC were anxious to join forces with King. They, too, wanted to prove the viability of the Negro-Labor Alliance. So, when the Chicago Freedom Movement was formed it represented a coalition of community organizations, labor, Southern civil rights and urban political activists. Even this combination, however, could not succeed against the more powerful Daley Machine.

In the wake of the CFM, Mayor Daley's Chicago was never the same. Dr. King did not give up easy. A year after CFM failed he returned to start Operation Breadbasket which

under the leadership of Reverend Jesse Jackson was to expand and become Operation PUSH.

Following CFM, the NALC was also suffering severe setbacks under the reactionary and opportunistic leadership of A. Philip Randolph, who was angling to have an institute established in his behalf with funding from the AFL-CIO and other established sources. As a result of Randolph's backdoor deals, he was replaced by Cleveland Robinson as head of the NALC. For his part, Robinson voiced the position of the NALC as being committed to uplifting the economic position of black people. He saw the NALC as part of the house of labor, but he saw his first task as eliminating racism within the AFL-CIO and its affiliates. Among Robinson's plans was to take the initiative by convening conferences in large urban areas for the purpose of being able to draw up plans for organizing black workers into unions which would respond to their needs. For this goal he had the endorsement of Dr. King and other noted civil rights leaders. But by the time he began calling his conferences, blacks had lost respect for organized labor, and had little taste for organizing efforts in their behalf.¹³

To King, as well as many other Americans who watched city after city go up in flames, there had to be a solution for the poverty which existed in America. King saw that solution as an immediate halting of the war in Vietnam, and a redirection of national priorities for the purpose of abolishing all poverty. With that goal in mind, Dr. King began to organize the Poor People's Campaign to demonstrate to the nation that poverty did exist for blacks, as well as whites.

Before King could complete his plan, however, he received an urgent appeal from black union and community leaders in Memphis. They wanted

him to assist them in a strike of 1,200 black sanitation workers. While in the process of lending his assistance, Dr. King was killed. But the cause which he fostered was victorious. In the days after his death in Atlanta, Charleston, and other cities major labor victories were won whenever the SCLC and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees joined forces to organize both black and white workers.

Sometime before Martin Luther King's death, in California a new type union was coming into being, the United Farm Workers under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. In recent years the UFW has expanded its base into Texas, Florida, Georgia, and many other farm areas. Now, what started as a labor organization of mostly Mexican-American farm workers includes many blacks, as well as other nationalities. At last count the UFW had a membership of over 40,000.

In the 70's organized labor has found itself with many problems, but for the black worker many of the problems which are faced are a direct carry over from the post-civil war period or before. In the auto and steel industry in particular, blacks are seeking to deal with these traditional problems.

The spectre of Black Power is ever present. Since the late 60's, it has taken the form of black caucuses, wildcat strikes in defiance of union procedures, independent black unions, and even revolutionary black unions. Perhaps the most famous of the revolutionary

black unions was the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). Another manifestation of racial unrest within the ranks of organized labor in recent years has been the more moderate Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. The CBTU, however, has had little effect on the overall labor movement. Perhaps more significant has been the drive to organize in the South.

Not since the 1930s have massive efforts been made to organize in the textile industries of the South. At present there is an impending merger between the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union (ACWU).¹⁴ Therefore, we will have to watch labor developments in the South closely, but given historic conditions, it is doubtful that even the most radical textile union can hope to overcome the reactionary influence of the Meany-controlled AFL-CIO without going outside the labor movement itself.

The black workers greatest hope therefore does not lie in traditional union organization nor does the new Communist Movement appear to offer a viable means of organization at present. Hence, for all intent and purpose the Black Worker must continue to seek alternatives to established organizations and give their struggle a strong progressive labor, anti-capitalist, and anti-imperialist character. Organization along revolutionary lines demands that a well disciplined revolutionary party be present. Therefore, party building is the main order of the day.

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a review BLACK ZION, The Return of Afro-Americans & West Indians to Africa, by David Jenkins, Wildwood House, Ltd.

In his introduction, David Jenkins sets forth his intention: "Over the centuries--& in particular over the last two--a very special notion has come into being: Black Zionism, the ideal held by millions of blacks in America & the Caribbean of returning to the land from which their forefathers were wrenched. In this book I have attempted to show what happened to those who, since 1787, have attained that ideal & have actually gone back."

David Jenkins not only fulfills his intention, he has done so admirably. His writing is lucid & comfortable, his history well-knit, his imagery vivid. BLACK ZION is a "must read" for any Black in America who seriously seeks resolution of the conflicts of "dual consciousness", the Stranger in a Strange Land Syndrome. In some ways the book is flawed; but its flaws are such as to prove beneficial. They stimulate questions, answers to which, if diligently sought, clarify many contemporary Black contradictions & provide the Black Liberation Movement in this country with a place to stand for the quantum leap to Internationalism. It is a poignant presentation of psychic separation, replete with disillusion, defeat, & disaster, proof positive that "You can't go home again."

Black Zionism - an unfortunate, yet accurate image, reflection of reality; for what have Sierra Leone & Liberia proven themselves if not imperialist outposts paralleling Israel.

Structurally, the book divides into two segments: History, & Personal Statements by Black Expatriates. At the outset, two conflicting concepts are exposed: Afrika as a geographical entity (concrete reality) & Afrika as it exist as subjective reality in the exiled "Negro's mind." (In 1975, D. Jenkins

gets two demerits, despite his concession to Booker T. Washington: the upper-case N). This last, "This imagined Africa" according to BLACK ZION "became a salve for the massive disappointment that followed the promises of freedom" which never came. "Interestingly" says the author, "(& here we see one of the many parallels to Jewish Zionism) concepts such as Pan-Africanism were products of this Diaspora." Mr. Jenkins evidently finds that unusual; Amilcar Cabral did not: "It is not by chance, then, that theories or movements such as Pan-Africanism & Negritude...were conceived outside Black Africa...the Black American's claim to an African identity is another, perhaps desperate, expression of this need to 'return to the source.'" (OBJECTIVE: JUSTICE, Vol 6 No. 1, 1974-U.N. Publications).

Further on in BLACK ZION we read, regarding Back-to-Afrika Movements: "It is an incidental irony that the successful...movements, which led to the setting up of Sierra Leone & Liberia, were conducted under the aegis of commercial or political colonialism, or of the dubious philanthropy of white people." This last is not so "incidental" when viewed from positions of ideological clarity. The hegemony of Western ideology transported to those colonies was no accident, but rather, the result of white guidance. Had the colonists struggled for liberation rather than receive it as a tainted gift, struggle would have created a value-system conducive to genuine freedom - a fact well recognized by the dubious philanthropists. "They must be careful not to adopt any regulations that are at all inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Common Law of England," so determined Granville Sharpe of the magnanimous Clapham Sect, Britian's voluble Abolitionists, who in

1787 advocated the founding of the Province of Freedom - Sierra Leone. Expectedly, Liberia continues to attract the identical exploitation-oriented Blacks who settled that enclave as well. Nevertheless, Mr. Jenkins offers a vivid overview of the history leading to those colonies & the tragic consequences suffered by not learning from that history. Giant figures parade thru subsequent pages: Bishop Turner, the little known but dynamic Chief Sam, Martin Delany, Paul Cuffee, & the unforgettable Marcus Moziah Garvey. Opportunists remind us of the need for vigilance by oppressed people: Henry Demane, Lott Catey, & the entire Creole society of Sierra Leone & the Americo-Liberians, whose practice is so odious to the indigenous peoples as to have them dubbed "abruni" - white man. One must also beware of erroneous concepts, however grand the figure espousing them; e.g., the spurious classification of Edward Wilmot Blyden's black nationalism as "anti-racism-racism" by quoting Sartre out of context. To quote our own giant: "For blacks a concern for the survival of the race is not, patently not, racism" - George Jackson.

Among the omissions of BLACK ZION are (1) the Mexican offer to allow Blacks to colonize their northern areas, an effort sabotaged by the Mexican consul in New Orleans; (2) disregarding the reality that only one aspect of a contradiction may dominate at a time, Mr. Jenkins refuses to assess the motives of pro-colonist whites; & (3) the basis, or at least an opinion as to why a majority of Blacks "has invariably, & rightly, preferred not to take refuge in an illusory Afro-American nationalism, but to use it as a means to assert their rights as Americans." One senses a potent dialectical relationship within the fact which ought to have been explored. Overall, however, the historical image is vital & vibrant.

The Personal Statements on the other hand are pathetic. Almost all

the Sisters possess petty-bourgeois mentalities destined to disillusion by attempts to divest their Western acculturation. Whether Amerikan or West Indian, the irrational search for identity by escaping to Afrika, euphemistically termed "expatriatism", evidences two very real points raised in BLACK ZION: "those who try the hardest for this 'mystical union' fail the most dismally" - for what they seek is non-existent; & "No successful migration of a people was ever instituted by arrant cowardice," excerpted from the forceful THE AMERICAN NEGRO, WHAT HE WAS, WHAT HE IS, & WHAT HE MAY BECOME by William Hannibal Thomas. Best proof that education is not "value-free," the author is evidently surprised that Hollywood's Afrika has contaminated the minds of "educated, articulate people" he met on the continent. Class status produces some very real distortions in Black petty bourgeois minds - & not only relating to Afrika.

Not to be one-sided, however, it must be noted that an equal horror exists in the Afrikan mentality. Been-To'ism. The Afrikan who has "been to" Amerika or Europe for education is almost as alienated from his native culture as are we 400 yr. exiles. A beautiful exposition of the tribal West Afrikan family reveals just how thoroughly Afro-Amerikans have been aborted by history. But it is far more terrible to see what a short time in the West can do to the Afrikan man. Somehow, Mr. Jenkins did not focus on the Afrikan Woman who has been-to...perhaps next time.

In summary, BLACK ZION is an informative & insightful book, well worth the reading. Hopefully, Blacks in Amerika who do so will recognize the irrelevance of Back-to-Afrika as an end, & use it as a means to get their heads together for the sho-nuff, sho-nuff: The Struggle for Socialist Liberation.

--Karamoko Baye--

The cultural values we have, the life we live, can better represent the negation of what needs to be done, or what exists, which is characterized by anti-social behavior & social alienation in general. On the other hand, it can objectively represent a weapon our consciousness manifests critically in word & deed. A people's culture is representative of a people's experience, the reality that is, in time, changing with the experience into the reality that will be. We cannot

- FREE THE LAND -

PREVIEW OF A CHANGE OF PAGE

Those who have been with us any length of time are familiar with our phrase (since outlawed) EVERYTHING IS POLITICAL, coined by our previous editor, the prolific & profound Akinshiju (since released). Believing that concept, we also believe that as a cultural organization, we are equipped to reveal the past, present & prospective future in more than polemics & overtly po-

So, beginning with our SEPT/OCT issue - a CREATIVE WRITING ANTHOLOGY - we shall appear every two months. Hopefully, our new range of content will attract additional subscribers. Unlike in the past, when few external readers cared enough to comment, we'll also hear something from you out there as well. Let us know what you think; only in this way can we serve the People.

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