

Black Power: A Survey

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Introduction

Black Power is an amorphous term which has been given to a variety of demands advanced originally by American Negroes and to the means by which they propose to secure them. The keynote of these demands is the achievement, by direct action, of full Negro participation in government at all levels, so that coloured American citizens may run their own communities without white interference, economic or otherwise. Many of the ideas which the term 'Black Power' covers have also been adopted by coloured communities of Negro origin elsewhere, notably in the Caribbean.

Both constructive and destructive ideas co-exist in Black Power. Many of its concepts are potentially either useful or harmful, depending on the extremes to which they are pushed, the precise ideological bias given to them and the means used to implement them. But Black Power activities and speeches have in practice caused the term to be generally associated with violence.

Although the Black Power movement began in the USA, it has now spread to other countries, mainly as the result of the activities of agitators intent on unrest. In Britain such extremists have so far made little impact, but Black Power militancy is probably on the increase in the Caribbean. Because it is usually revolutionary and racialist in tone, the movement lends itself to exploitation by other disruptive elements. Black Power militants frequently quote from the works of Che Guevara, Castro, and Mao Tse-tung and a few extremist white organisations, particularly some of those with Trotskyist leanings, have made determined efforts to ally themselves to the movement. Despite the many ideological stumbling-blocks in the way of such alliances, there are common factors - a hatred of moderation, a determination to destroy the 'system' and a weakness for rhetoric. Nevertheless, although the concept of Black Power has an international appeal, however limited, and there are frequent contacts between local Black Power groups in various countries and the American Negro leaders, there is in practice little evidence of any formal international network coordinating the many activities which come under the heading Black Power.

The Communist countries, especially Cuba and China, have made considerable propaganda out of racial disorders inside America and have given moral support to individual Black Power leaders. But the latter, for their part, seem primarily interested in gaining support from any quarter for their local demands and the relationship between them and the Communist governments tend, therefore, to be based on mutual convenience rather than on conviction.

BLACK POWER - UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The campaign for the improvement of the lot of the American Negro has always included diverse groups and individuals at odds with each other over means and ends. By the early 1960s, however, a fairly clear dividing line could be drawn between the vast majority whose non-violent tactics and moderate demands were gaining increased approval, and a number of much smaller groups of a violent, sometimes racist character.

The pattern is no longer so clear-cut. The Civil Rights Movement in America is now in a state of flux; a bewildering array of demands, couched in virulent language, emerge from a plethora of organisations. White liberals and black moderates have been mercilessly denounced. Out of all this is also emerging a heightened sense of community among American Negroes and a body of ideas which, though still vague contains some constructive thought. The danger persists, however, that some left-wing extremists, racials and criminal elements may try to dominate the movement.

The seeds of militancy lay in the failure of moderate techniques to improve tangibly the lot of the working-class Negro. For the last 15 years he has been told that he is an underprivileged and second-class citizen in the richest country on earth. That he has been to some extent the victim of injustice and exploitation for over 300 years has been acknowledged by the passing of a mass of civil rights legislation. But in reality the lower-class American Negro has seen little improvement in his standard of life - the major problems of unemployment, illiteracy, overcrowding, low wages and racial discrimination largely remain to be solved.

In the Southern States, a wall of resistance has faced the reformers, and de-segregation legislation has been sometimes ignored or evaded. As one exasperated young Negro said,

"'Whitey' has given us paper rights which have changed nothing, and it hasn't cost him a nickel of his money or a minute of his time".

THE URBAN NEGRO

Increasingly the Negro problem is becoming synonymous with the urban problem; 65% of black Americans live in cities (and the proportion is increasing) and most of the problems of the cities - overcrowding, unemployment, illiteracy and a rising crime rate - are most prevalent in the Negro ghettos. Since the Second World War, Negroes have increasingly migrated from the Southern States to the cities of the North and West. In the next 10-20 years, they will probably constitute a majority in a dozen or more of the largest cities. In most of the major ones they already comprise over a quarter of the population, and in Washington D.C., and Newark, New Jersey, they are already in the majority. The ghettos in which most black urban Americans live are becoming larger, denser, and more intolerable.

More than half of all black Americans are under 22, and this proportion must grow. This group has the highest unemployment rate in America, commits a relatively high proportion of all crimes, and plays a significant rôle in civil disorders. While the national Negro unemployment figure is 7.3% (3.4% for whites) the average in the 14 largest American cities is 23.4%, and among young Negroes is sometimes 50%. Illegitimacy, divorce and desertion rates are also high, and educational standards have been called 'horrendous' by one national survey (the Kerner Report).

Of the 30 million Americans officially classed as poor, one half are black (while Negroes as a whole make up only about 12% of the population). Furthermore about one-sixth of Negro males have dropped out of organised society so completely that welfare authorities have no trace of their existence.

As more whites move out to the suburbs the 'inner city' is being left to the non-Whites.

"The nation is rapidly moving towards two increasingly separate Americas. Within two decades this division could be so deep that it would be almost impossible to unite ... The Negro society will be permanently relegated to its current status, possibly even if we expend great amounts of money and effort in trying to 'gild' the ghetto". (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders)

While the standard of life for most Negroes in the cities is falling, many middle-class Negroes are disillusioned with the slow growth of opportunities open to them, and are increasingly aware of a responsibility to the less fortunate members of their race. And among Negro students a revolutionary fervour is being moulded from the ideas they are absorbing from white radicals.

IDEOLOGY

Black Power in its more moderate form means the need for the black community to become an identifiable political unit and to negotiate from strength; to demand that black Americans have the chance to compete on an even footing with other Americans. It also wants the creation of a large black entrepreneurial class by the encouragement of small businesses and the creation of community co-operatives. (Traditionally the Negro ghettos have been serviced by white-owned businesses, taking capital out of the black community.) Pressure should be brought to bear for new anti-unemployment and anti-poverty programmes, adequately financed by Federal or national funds, and partly controlled by Negroes. In the political sphere, black representatives should be elected or appointed wherever possible to all available positions of influence - in local and sub-Federal authorities, on school boards, in the judicial system and police forces. The reasoning behind these demands is that the old system of Federal welfare payments

and underfinanced reform projects have created a large subsistence class in the Negro community. It is hoped that community control by Negroes will generate expertise within the community, will put authority in the hands of those who know what the problems are and will create a sense of pride in black ability, a pride which has been undermined by the old enervating welfare systems.

This drive for an increased sense of black community has taken different forms, from assertions that 'Black is Beautiful' to research into the history and culture of black Americans. In extreme form it has involved the tracing of ties to black communities throughout the world, especially in Africa. Most moderate leaders see the tendency to assert blackness as an asset and a sign of increased vitality. The older idea of integration had the tendency to teach that anything white was automatically better. Unfortunately black pride, unity, and autonomy are also nationalist ideas, and as such can be used constructively or destructively.

Through the various ideologies of Black Power two consistent threads run. The first is that integration must be demoted some way down the list of priorities - to some extremists, of course, it ranks as a positive evil. The second, the conviction that violent means get results, is becoming increasingly prevalent among all shades of Negro opinion.

Integration - The more moderate Black Power leaders say that integration should still be the ultimate aim if real equality and a sense of unity is to be achieved. But they also say that real integration cannot go forward while serious racial inequalities exist. Furthermore, to the mass of Negroes in the urban ghettos, living at subsistence level, without savings, job, and prospects, integration is an irrelevant aim to them. In a sense, therefore, the parts of Black Power ideology relating to black responsibility may also prepare the Negro for integration.

This concentration on immediate problems has been exploited by extremists, according to whom, the Negro has had bad white institutions thrust upon him. The Negro must now choose for himself the institutions of his society and run that society by himself and for himself. Some indeed follow this idea of "apartheid" by advocating that twin societies should evolve in America.

Violence - As the appeal of Black Power is its impatience with moderation and its advocacy of direct action, it is hard for moderate leaders increasingly to adopt its language while trying to rein in those elements who claim the right to use non-constitutional means. Having denounced the old integration policy and attacked the 'system', the moderate must yet defend the constitution.

More and more Negroes of various classes and age groups, while not openly supporting violence, have become increasingly sympathetic towards its use. The report of the Watts riots of 1965 by the Los Angeles Riot Study Group upset the belief that such riots are usually the work of outside agitators, and that the majority of Negroes think that violent means do more harm than good. The study found that 15% of local adult Negroes were active during the rioting and another 35% or 40% were 'active spectators'. In the area, 38% of the population (mostly Negroes) thought that the riot would help the Negro cause, and only about 20% felt that it would hurt the cause. On the other hand 78% of the white population in Los Angeles thought that it would harm the Negro cause.

This is a symptom of the increased sense of unity among Negroes in America. Many people who believed in moderate tactics are saying that the present trend towards violence has been on the increase for 10 years. These people have sympathy with the young ghetto Negro who refuses to pursue the traditional non-violent means for another 10 years with no guarantee of results. Although the young hopeful who said 'there are no moderates now' was a long way from the truth and there are still two distinguishable 'camps' in the Negro movement (with the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Martin Luther King's successor heading one, and the Black Panthers in the forefront of the other), there is not nearly the degree of animosity towards the militants as existed three or four years ago.

During the last two years, some of the more moderate Black Power demands have found increasing Government support. President Nixon's Administration has promised that steps will be taken to stimulate what is called 'Black Capitalism' and a few projects have been set up to stimulate small businesses. On the political side, black voter registration drives have resulted in Negroes being elected in increasing numbers to a variety of posts. Black Studies programmes have been accepted in principle by many educational authorities, but their implementation has been hampered by excessive student demands.

Most observers feel that these changes will have to be immediately and vigorously supported by the new administration if young Negroes are to be persuaded to work within the 'system'. Most young Negroes are Americans first and foremost, and although many are attracted by the firebrands of black revolution, most of them want the chance to pursue the American dream. The main reasons for pessimism are the bad 'image' of the Government among Negroes, and the increasing radicalisation of Negro students, a section of the black population who, it was hoped, would point the way to Negro self-improvement through traditional channels.

EXTREMIST GROUPS AND LEADERS

Since the 1965 riots Black Power extremists have stolen both the limelight, and many of the members, of the non-violent organisations. At Black Power conferences the moderates have been

derided, whites excluded, and extremist resolutions passed. The Third National Black Conference held at Newark in September, 1968, was dominated by separatists and left-wing militants, all white reporters were banned, and only a few black newsmen were admitted.

The general trend in such conferences is for vitriolic denunciations of white society to abound and for two lines of argument to emerge: one is that black Americans must set up their own separate State inside America; the other is that they should bring their communities under complete black control and then arm and organise themselves for a revolution in which these 'black bases' would link up with white revolutionary groups.

The majority of extremist leaders are young, eloquent and charismatic, but it is almost impossible to reduce to terms more precise than those above what any one of them is saying. Many shift their ground constantly and periodically contradict themselves. Often they seem to be attempting to sort out their ideas as they speak. It is also difficult to evaluate the extent of their influence. Many of them are widely admired by young Negroes, but whether a large proportion of these followers have any conviction in such outpourings of invective, liberally sprinkled with quotations from Guevara, Mao, Castro, Marcuse and Fanon, may be doubted.

Extreme Black Power ideology must, however, be related to local problems as well as to wider issues, and therein lies its potency.

It is possible to divide the Black Power groups roughly into the Separatists and the Revolutionaries.

The Separatists

Many Americans, black and white, now accept the need for some form of separatism as a stage towards full integration. However, separatism for them is an end in itself and they espouse, in varying degrees, the ideas of black racial superiority and the rejection of white society and its values.

(a) The Black Muslims or Nation of Islam (NOI)

Founded in 1930, this is a nation-wide, pseudo-Islamic body. It preaches a religion which is an amalgam of black superiority, puritanism, racial and economic separatism, black community spirit and allegiance to Elijah Mohammed, 'messenger of Allah', and present leader of the NOI. Elijah has an all-encompassing hatred of whites and there is a strong anti-Jewish strain in the movement. It is, however, law-abiding, and its attacks on whites are verbal. In 1968 its numbers were estimated at about 100,000, but it has recently suffered from desertions to younger, more militant bodies.

It is in a real sense a social reform movement, although it rejects the Civil Rights Movement and most welfare schemes. It does a lot of its recruiting at prisons and detention centres, and

has a reputation for reforming drug addicts, hardened criminals, and other dregs of the ghetto. It teaches a life of thrift, morality, abstinence, respect for family, and the virtue of a full day's work for a fair day's pay, even if the boss is white. The apparent paradox of preaching racial hatred (the white man as the devil) while remaining law-abiding, even while encompassing some of the most hard-bitten elements of the Negro community, is explained by the religious fervour and the reverent acceptance of Elijah's teaching which characterises most of the Nation's members. Few people doubt, however, that were the Black Muslims harassed or provoked they might well react vigorously.

The most famous Black Muslim was Malcolm X, who ultimately abandoned this religion to campaign for an accommodation with white radical groups. His oratory and invective earned him an important place in Black Power history. He was assassinated in 1965 by the tough and fanatical Fruit of Islam, the well-drilled and well-armed internal disciplinary organ of the Muslims, because of his increasing popularity, but since his death Elijah has found it expedient to give verbal support to other Black Power groups - even though some of them countenance alliances with 'progressive' whites - in an attempt to stave off competition.

The Black Muslims are important as the first Black Nationalist group in the USA and their teachings contain most of the Black Power ideas. Despite waning membership, they are a deeply-rooted and well-financed group. The NOI was the first to preach black culturalism and the unity of the non-white world before anyone else, and to reverse the accepted rôles of 'black' and 'white' values. It also preaches black capitalism and advocates 'buy black' habits within its own community.

Elijah has continually sought acceptance for the Black Muslims as a legitimate sect of Islam, but orthodox Islamic groups inside the USA vigorously oppose this, as the NOI's racialism is directly opposed to the Islamic idea of the Brotherhood of Man. The response to the Black Muslims by Arab leaders abroad has been more ambiguous, and on the few occasions when NOI leaders have travelled they have been well received in Arab States. In the late 1950s there were allegations that material support was being given to the NOI by the UAR, but this was denied by Black Muslim leaders.

Despite its name, the Nation of Islam cannot be classed as an international movement, although some chapters have been opened in the Caribbean. But its teachings and some of its practices have been adopted by other individuals and groups. For example, some Negroes have borrowed the Black Muslim habit of dropping the surname and using X, or Y to represent the true African name of their ancestors, whose identities they do not know.

Communists tried unsuccessfully to infiltrate the Muslims in 1932 and in the late 1950s. Articles written by Communists are sometimes published in the Nation's periodical, Muhammed Speaks,

but the relationship is extremely tenuous and both parties have, at different times, denounced the teachings of the other.

(b) Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The fluctuations in the ideologies and fortunes of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and its former head, Floyd McKissick, underline the state of flux in the Black Power Movement. Both group and leader were moderates in the early 1960s, swung to a militant and revolutionary line in the mid-1960s, and have now mellowed somewhat in their views without completely reverting to their original stance.

In 1966 CORE boasted 80,000 members, but the true number was probably half that. It stood second only to Stokely Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in urging defensive violence, solidarity with the Viet Cong, and local militancy. In late 1968, after a protracted struggle, moderates took over, and CORE is now in the forefront of those organisations trying to treat with the Nixon Administration for more 'Black Capitalism'. McKissick remains a militant separatist but has abandoned the more extreme of the racialist part of his rhetoric. He now belongs to the increasing body of opinion which supports the idea of autonomous 'black regions' in the Southern States of the USA as an answer to the ghetto problem. McKissick's favourite project is the establishment of a 'Soul City' in North Carolina.

(c) The Republic of New Africa (RNA)

A more ambitious, more widely supported scheme calls for the creation of an independent black nation in the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. RNA is the most important of a number of separatist groups, having drawn support from a number of other Negro groups.

RNA was founded by the Malcolm X Society, which gathered 200 Black Nationalists from all parts of the USA for an inaugural convention in March, 1968. As its nominal officers it elected Robert Franklin Williams (of the Revolutionary Action Movement), Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, and Rap Brown (ex-SNCC and now a member of the Black Panthers). The active heads of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) are the brothers Milton and Richard Henry, both intelligent, professional men, one a lawyer, the other a writer. They are said to have met Robert Williams in Tanzania in late 1967 to thrash out organisational problems (Black Dwarf, April 18, 1969). At a 'legislative conference' in May, 1968, in Chicago, a body of demands was agreed upon. The Republic was to be financed by a grant demanded from the national government which, it was alleged, was owed to black America because of the exploitation of their ancestors. A militant arm, the Black Legion, was also set up 'to defend the lives of the New African citizens and the property of New Africa'.

The first annual convention of the RNA was held in a church in Detroit on March 29, 1969. Police patrolling the area noticed a group of the Black Legion and firing broke out. The church became a battleground, one policeman was killed and everyone at the meeting was arrested. Allegations of excessive police action made by the moderate leader, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who is not a member of RNA, have helped to publicise the separatist body.

(d) Other Separatist Groups

Other groups also wish to form a separate black State, while a smaller number want a large-scale migration back to Africa. The best known of them are those of the Back to Africa Movement and the Peace Movement of Ethiopia.

Among pseudo-religious groups, most of which are exclusive and all with few members, is an offshoot of the Jamaican-based Ras Tafarians, a marijuana-smoking cult taking its name from the present Emperor of Ethiopia, who was born Ras Tafari Makonnen.

The Revolutionaries

There are also groups which are dedicated to revolution as part of a wider Communist, Trotskyist, or Maoist ideology, as well as some which give lip-service to these international ideologies but whose aims are more local.

Since 1966 a multitude of local groups have sprung up in every major American city. They differ from the moderates in the degree to which they take the basic Black Power ideas, and claim that they have the right to use all means to get what they want. Their leaders are usually partly-educated young men, fond of flourishing weapons and denouncing any suggestion of moderation. They have increasingly created a climate in which every school and every street-corner has become a battleground between authority and their aims. Their demands usually include the withdrawal of white police from the ghetto, the control of ghetto schools by Negroes and the exclusive use of black teachers, direct money grants to the black communities to use as they direct, and immediate proportional representation of blacks in all seats of authority.

Some of these local groups are little more than gangs of violent and embittered young Negroes. In 1967 such groups looted black and white premises alike in the name of revenge for 300 years of "exploitation". The remainder of the local Black Power groups, although convinced that violence alone will bring results, and nearly always armed to some degree, also do useful welfare work and have, on occasion, worked with moderates in, for example, the organisation of rent strikes or vote-registration drives.

Such groups are potentially exploitable by social revolutionaries of all shades, and the speeches of their representatives now reflect the language of Che, Mao and Castro. More and more they relate their problems to the Negro community as

a whole, and to compare their state to that of all the 'down-trodden of the earth', in which they include the Vietnamese, the Africans in white-dominated African countries, and so forth. This suggests that they are getting closer to the hard-core revolutionaries of the extreme Left, who advocate the violent overthrow of the entire 'system'.

But the Negro community in the USA has traditionally been conservative while its leaders have been radicals, and that remains the case even among the young. Most young Negroes appear basically more interested in their own problems than in alien ideologies which do not seem to have much relevance to their everyday troubles.

Many observers feel that this self-assertion will not long survive improvements in living conditions and the possibility of betterment through education or job opportunities. Thus the important question is whether reforms will come in time to save the most active and intelligent part of Negro youth from becoming permanently alienated.

The Black Panthers

The most spectacular development in the Black Power movement in the last few years has been the evolution of the Black Panther Party, which has created ties between a number of localised groups and has developed an ideology which welds the extreme concepts of Black Power to a revolutionary critique of American society. However, even in this, one of the most militant of Black Power organisations, the conflict between immediate interests and vague ideals is apparent.

The party was formed in October, 1966, in Oakland, California, by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. The original aim was to try to curtail police 'racism and brutality' by shadowing police patrols in an attempt to protect individuals and advise them of their rights. A hard-core leadership developed with a great talent for self-publication and evocative oratory. The favourite tactic has been to 'create a presence' in centres of authority by marching in armed, presenting demands, and then leaving.

By a combination of events, which included aggressive local police action and the imprisonment of Newton, the Panthers became national heroes. The party has become a small but nation-wide political movement, having 2,000 full members in 70 branches across the USA, with many more supporters and admirers.

The Black Panthers have adopted Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice and Stokely Carmichael's Black Power (the Politics of Liberation in America) as their bibles. Locally the Panthers urge confrontation with white authority, and nationally they have set up a 'government of Afro-America', including Carmichael, Rap Brown, Cleaver, Newton and Seale. In their newspaper, Black Panther, they preach solidarity with China, the Viet Cong and the African liberation movements.

To them, American society is racialist and the black communities within it are exploited colonies, which must organise themselves and then, in concert with other progressive groups, overthrow the administration and build a new society. The means will include urban guerrilla warfare and terrorism. They have adopted Mao's saying that 'power grows out of the barrel of a gun', and see themselves as part of the coloured arm of world-wide revolution. Their main inspiration is the Vietnam war and their guidelines the writings of Che, Mao and Castro.

The Party is undoubtedly the most active black extremist organisation, and is increasingly gaining influence on integrated college campuses. There, its branches have been in the forefront of disruptions over the content and teaching of black studies courses, the proportion of non-whites on the campus and related issues. There is some evidence to suggest that the Panthers are now trying to organise black militant college groups into a co-ordinated network. Their relationships on campuses with the SDS, which is partly controlled by the pro-Peking Progressive Labour Party, are also becoming closer.

Black Panther leaders have visited Canada, the Caribbean and Europe, where Black Panther groups now exist. In Canada there has been trouble on campuses which have a proportion of Caribbean students, and this has been linked directly or indirectly, to the Panther leadership. The Barbadian Black Power magazine 'Black Star' eagerly follows the works of the Panther leadership and publishes articles and messages of solidarity from them.

In August, 1968, George Mason Murray, a spokesman for the Panthers, travelled to Cuba where he was allowed to broadcast violently anti-American propaganda over Havana Radio. The Panthers have other links with the Cubans and their representatives often visit the Cuba delegation to the United Nations in New York.

Bobby Seale, the chairman of the Panthers, and his lieutenant, Masi Hewitt, visited Scandinavia in March, 1969, at the invitation and expense of the Socialist Workers' Party of Denmark. In Scandinavia they were greeted by two tiny organisations, calling themselves the Black Panthers and the Solidarity Committee for Black Liberation, which seemed to revolve around three black militants, Connie Matthews, Skip Malone and Sherman Adams. On return to the USA, Seale rounded on his former hosts and denounced them as 'minor kooks and fools'. The Danish branch of the Black Power Movement, the Students National Non-Violent Committee, represented in Sweden by Sherman Adams, was called 'a composition of opportunist fools and lunatics'. (Black Panther, March 31, 1969.)

There are signs that some Black Panther members are becoming annoyed by the travels of their leaders and the torrent of invective they pour out abroad. Despite Seale's assurances that his main work in Sweden had been to visit the Chinese Embassy and the Information Bureau of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and

that the trip had not been paid for by the Panthers, a split began to appear in the party. Since then the leadership has concentrated on the 'brutal excesses' of the white police, and the glories of Panther members "victimised by white society".

The numbers of Panthers arrested, on the run, or killed in battles with the police reached a peak early this year. With Cleaver in hiding, Rap Brown on bail, and 21 other Panthers awaiting trials for various charges of attempted terrorism, the Panthers are now playing down the overt side of their militancy and are devoting more energy to local issues and welfare services.

The danger of the Black Panthers becoming an international movement seems limited. Its main potential outside America would seem to lie in Caribbean universities, but any development along these lines will probably be in imitation of the American movement, and not as an organised branch of it.

Stokely Carmichael and SNCC

The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), which under Stokely Carmichael's influence became an extremist militant body opposed to Martin Luther King's tactics in the Civil Rights Movement has, since 1966, been the victim of financial problems and fragmentation. Many of its white members were alienated by black nationalist attitudes within it and many Negroes left it to join the Panthers. Earlier this year the residue decided to merge with the Black Panther Party.

Carmichael was the first to produce a consistent body of demands under the title of 'Black Power', a phrase which he coined. He was also the first Black American leader to journey abroad in search of support between 1965 and 1967. He elicited messages of support from Moscow, Cuba, North Vietnam and various groups in Africa and Europe, among them the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, but his penchant for criticising his hosts if they were not revolutionary enough for him and his criticisms of America lost him a great deal of support. In Africa he annoyed both leaders of independent States and heads of liberation movements by publicly announcing that the former were 'clowns' and the latter 'had never seen the inside of a jail'. (The Tanzanian Nationalist, November 6, 1967.) The only country where he was greeted with warmth was Cuba.

At home Carmichael lost much of his status because of his self-appointed rôle of world herald of the Black Liberation Movement, and he was replaced as head of SNCC by H. Rap Brown. The Black Panther leadership, although quoting him often in their speeches, regard him as an embarrassment, although he remains their nominal 'Prime Minister'. He has said he is not a Communist, but he uses Marxist phraseology and has contacts with Communists and Trotskyists. He has stated his intention of settling down in the Republic of Guinea with his wife, the African singer Miriam Mikeba.

The Revolutionary Action (or Armed) Movement (RAM)

Though started in the late 1950s this Movement first became known in 1964 when three members were arrested for plotting to blow up the Statue of Liberty. It is a clandestine and tightly-knit group, probably the most militant and feared of all Negro organisations; it is thought to have been involved in an attempt to kill Roy Wilkins of the moderate National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP), and in a battle with police earlier this year in which seven men were killed.

RAM is supposed to have large caches of weapons and ammunition ready for the day of revolution, and its members, whose numbers are not known (having been variously estimated at 50 to 1,000), are well-drilled in the handling of arms and the theory of urban guerrilla warfare. The long-term aim of the Movement is to overthrow the 'white establishment' by racial civil war, to establish a 'Government of Black America', and to unite with the 'Bandung World'. Its official publication is Black America. Much of its quasi-Marxist rhetoric centres around the issue of Negroes fighting in Vietnam, and periodically it calls upon black Americans in the armed forces to desert and further the revolution in America.

RAM's leader-in-exile and self-styled premier of the Afro-American government-in-exile is Robert Franklin Williams, who fled to Cuba in 1959 while wanted for a kidnapping offence. In Cuba he held classes for black Americans, in which he taught the use of bombs and firearms. He also published a periodical called The Crusader in which he urged Negroes in the Southern States to establish their own republic by armed force, a line he was allowed to expound on Havana Radio. In 1965 he fell out with his hosts and went to Peking. From there he exchanges 'messages of solidarity' with the Viet Cong and Chairman Mao on the few occasions when the Chairman expresses solidarity with the struggle of the black American people.

In New York the American leader of RAM, Max Stanford, is also a Black Panther. The Movement incorporates the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Medger Evers Rifle Club, the Deacons for Defence, the Detroit UHURU, and the New York Black Liberation Front.

Other Groups

Perhaps 100 black revolutionary groups exist, and a number of black magazines advocate violence and revolution. The groups include the Black United Movement, the Enraged Mothers of Harlem, Blacks Against Native Dying (BAND), Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam, the Committee on Black Revolutionary Activity (COBRA) and the Afro-American Student Movement.

EXPLOITATION OF BLACK POWER

Cuba

The Cubans openly maintain contacts with student and black radical movements in the USA, particularly with the Black Panthers,

whose leaders have established Castro as one of their heroes. Cuba is alleged to have supplied financial aid to SNCC, and an article in the New York Herald Tribune of April 7, 1969, reported that two Cuban diplomats had "been denied re-entry visas to the USA on charges of conducting intelligence activities and allegedly giving financial and directional aid to militant Negro groups such as the Black Panther Party". Previously Cuba's support for the Black Power movement had been moral rather than material.

The method most used in the past of expressing Cuban solidarity with the Black Power movement was to invite leaders like Carmichael, who attended a meeting of the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS), in Havana in 1967, and some of his colleagues to Cuba, where they were fêted. And at all times Havana Radio and the Cuban Press give them good coverage, and occasionally publish articles by them. A special edition of the Cuban journal Pensamiento Crítico, devoted entirely to articles by Black Power leaders, was published in October, 1968.

There have also been special 'weeks' and 'days of solidarity with the Afro-American people's struggle' in Havana; these have often been accompanied by special exhibitions, such as the Seminar on Negro Ethnology and Folklore held in Havana on October 21-27, 1968.

USSR and the Communist Party of the USA

The USSR and the pro-Soviet Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) find themselves in a difficult position over Black Power. Though their propaganda exploits racial violence as another example of the 'contradictions inherent in the capitalist system' and expresses solidarity with the Negro, neither can give unqualified support to the extremists, some of whose aims and violent tactics embarrass them.

When SNCC was at its strongest, in 1964-1966, the CPUSA had contacts with it and even arranged visits to the USSR for members. Since the increased prominence of the Vietnamese, the Cubans and the Chinese as heroes of the Black Power movement, however, the CPUSA has lost any support it had among black radicals and since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, in particular, the USSR has been constantly denounced. In Black Panther, March 23, 1969, the Chinese were supported in their border dispute with the USSR.

In an attempt to win Negro support the CPUSA nominated Mrs. Charlene Mitchell, a Negress, as its candidate in the 1968 Presidential elections. Mrs. Mitchell said that the Communist Party had chosen her in view of the fact that 'struggle for black liberation must be brought as an issue to the people'. There is

no evidence to show that this move attracted any new support from black Americans (and it may well have alienated some of the white working-class support that the CPUSA relies on).

China

Though China gives moral support, the flow of admiration and announcements of solidarity between the more radical Negro leadership and Peking is rather one-sided. There is no evidence that Peking gives any material support to any group. Mao usually includes the Negro struggle in a wider critique of the international system.

Maoist Groups

A small Peking-orientated Communist Party of the USA, Marxist-Leninist (CPUSA, M-L) has existed since mid-1965 and tries to stir up the black ghettos. In October, 1966, it announced that it was distributing arms for defence to Negroes in large cities, in the hope that a US Red Guard movement would ultimately emerge (New York Herald Tribune, October 7, 1966). The CPUSA, M-L has come into conflict with some of the Black Nationalist groups, which it has attacked through its magazine Vanguard and has taken credit for various ghetto riots. In August, 1965, it came into direct conflict with various black groups in Los Angeles over some literature it had distributed, and in consequence the CPUSA, M-L headquarters were burned down.

The CPUSA, M-L was formed from a group expelled from the CPUSA in 1961 because of its 'left-wing deviationism'. Others who were expelled at the same time formed the Progressive Labour Party (PLP), also Maoist, and one of the most aggressive of all American Communist splinter groups. On the campuses it exercises considerable influence inside the SDS. To exploit racial discontent it has established a Black Liberation Commission under William Epton, whose connexion with the Harlem riots in 1965 resulted in his arrest and conviction on charges of conspiracy to riot and advocacy of criminal anarchy.

The PLP has expressed solidarity with Robert Franklin Williams in Peking. It attempts to gain support from black and white workers alike. It organises classes on guerrilla warfare and local 'Defence Councils', designed to create a network of organised guerrilla warfare against the police. Through its organ 'Challenge' it enumerates 'police atrocities' and urges non-whites to organise themselves into military units. The size of the PLP's present membership is not known, but it has several chapters spread across the USA.

The Trotskyist 'Socialist Workers' Party of the USA' claims, like the PLP, to be multi-racial. Paul Boutelle stood as the party's vice-presidential candidate in the Presidential election of 1968.

Universities

Increasingly the university campus is becoming the focal point of young black militancy and the main source of contact between it and the "New Left". Some of the more militant Negro organisations have expressed their intention to create inter-university contact between militant organisations and to concert their activities.

Confrontations between dissident non-white students and university authorities have reached a highly critical point.

"Day after day the campus spectacle repeats itself; professors and deans evicted or held hostage, windows shattered, students struggling with police, offices rifled, even rifles carried by grim militants". (Time, May 2, 1969)

The extremists' demands are for a higher intake of non-white students, more black cultural studies courses, and even separate faculties and facilities for whites and non-whites. Tactics of intimidation and 'non-negotiable demands' have been developed. On many campuses coloured militants have been supported by the militant Marxist student organisation, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Alliances between black and white radicals have tended to be uneasy. Even the Black Panthers, who have many ideological similarities to the "New Left", have quarrelled with white radicals because of the Panthers' insistence on the initial importance of black solidarity. This bone of contention is beginning to fade in importance as the "New Left" and the more militant black organisations find that they have much in common, in particular their hatred of moderation, their determination to destroy the 'system' and their affinity with violence.

BLACK POWER - THE CARIBBEAN

At first glance, the political doctrines of Black Power seem irrelevant to the Caribbean, where political power is largely in the hands of the coloured inhabitants and where a sense of pride and of the history, culture and identity of the black man have been openly supported by Caribbean heads of Government for some time. Lately, however, the other side of the Black Power coin, involving racial superiority and nationalism, left-wing extremism and a tendency to violence has been evident. Already there have been two violent outbreaks, both last year, one in Bermuda and the other in Jamaica.

In most Caribbean countries, militant Black Power ideas have been shaped to local conditions. In Guyana, it has threatened to become an assertion of Negro superiority in a racially-mixed society; while in Bermuda it represents non-constitutional methods of improving the Negroes' position in relation to the white minority, which has a major share in the country's political and economic power. In Trinidad Black Power is bound up with militant trade unionism (as it is to a less extent elsewhere in the area); and in Jamaica it has been used by Marxist-Leninist intellectuals to gain support and to champion the Negroes against the coloured political establishment.

In this context, "black" and "white" apply less to pigmentation than to ideology. Castro has been called "the blackest man in the Caribbean", while black-run businesses relying to any extent on foreign capital are "white businesses", and those that run them are "black puppets of white imperialism". Black moderates are also "puppets" while Mao, Che, and Ho Chi Minh are Black Power heroes.

There has always been widespread sympathy for the US Civil Rights Movement, and the apparently successful use of violence has influenced various local elements to adopt similar methods. Visits by American Black Power leaders, some of whom (e.g. Stokely Carmichael) have personal links with the area, have helped to stimulate this process. In return, Caribbean Black Power personalities have attended conferences in the US and Canada.

Embryonic Black Power groups, such as small chapters of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) and the Rastafarians, have existed in the region for some time and some of the "Negritude" pioneers, such as the Jamaican Marcus Garvey, were West Indians. But it is only since the mid-1960s that this heritage has been taken up by extremists. There is little doubt that the example of the United States Black Power movement was largely responsible.

There is much scope for agitators in several Caribbean countries. The inequalities of social and economic standards are often thrown into sharp relief by the opulence of the tourist trade. Most Caribbean governments have launched programmes to iron out these inequalities, and they point out that foreign capital generated by tourism and foreign-owned industries is vital to their economic well-being.

As yet, the Black Power movements in the islands have little support (nor have the various brands of Communism). So far,

militant leaders have shown no great ability to work together. This situation may change, however; the energetic Bermuda Black Power advocate, Roosevelt Brown, is organising what he calls a 'Regional Black Power Conference' in Bermuda on July 10-13, 1969, which is intended to bring together, for the first time, the various Caribbean organisations, and some of their American counterparts.

Communist interest in the Caribbean Black Power movement is high. Dr. Jagan, the Guyanese Marxist opposition leader, has attempted to ally himself with Black Power groups on ideological grounds, but his initial success in this direction may now be waning. He is sending two representatives of his People's Progressive Party to the Bermuda Conference.

But Castro, a hero of the New Left and of almost all the Black Power groups, has so far concentrated his moral support on some of the US movement's leaders. The Cuban Press has not given any publicity to the Bermuda conference, or to Roosevelt Brown's visit earlier this year to promote interest in it.

Bermuda

Black Power supporters recently took over partial control of the Bermuda opposition Progressive Labour Party (PLP). Roosevelt Brown, leader of the PLP youth wing and a member of the House of Assembly, is the leading Black Power advocate in the Caribbean. Early this year the party was divided on the issue of support for Brown in his stand on Black Power. It has now publicly aligned itself with him, but has not openly given its blessing to the forthcoming Conference, although the PLP youth wing is playing a leading rôle in its organisation.

The party is in touch with the US Black Power movement, some of whose leaders spoke in the PLP's election campaign early in 1968. When during the campaign some black youths were refused admission to a charities' fair, rioting erupted. In the disturbances of the next two days, culminating in the declaration of a state of emergency, shouts of "Black Power" and "Get Whitey" were heard.

While Black Power advocates claim that such riots are, in Martin Luther King's words, "the voice of the unheard" (in that they are symptoms of basic social ills), there were indications that these riots were well-organised, and that the PLP was implicated. The stigma of involvement damaged the Party's chances in the elections; it gained only 10 of the 30 available seats, the rest going to the Government United Bermuda Party (UBP).

The PLP leaders regard the UBP as the political arm of white "imperialism" in Bermuda, in that it represents the interest of the white-owned businesses which dominate Bermuda industry. Those Negroes connected with the UBP (which has seven Negro MPs and a Negro Chairman) are denounced as "puppets" or "Uncle Toms". On the other hand the Government Party accuses the PLP of being too

closely involved with the USSR and Cuba, unrealistic in its platform, and potentially harmful to Bermudan industry, particularly tourism.

Roosevelt Brown has been much influenced by Black Power leaders in the USA, and maintains contacts with them and with other agitators in Canada and the Caribbean. In August 1968 he attended a Black Power conference in Philadelphia at which extremists gave instructions in urbanguerrilla tactics, the manufacture of explosives, incendiary bombs and booby traps.

He has said that delegates "in the hundreds" from the USA, Canada, Britain and the Caribbean will be attending the Conference (Royal Gazette, 5 April, 1969). The aim of the Conference, to which

"any person who represents or can influence a sizeable number of people in local communities"

will be invited, is to

"establish a variety of techniques, workable methods and alternate strategies to help Black People achieve political, economic, educational and cultural Black Power in their respective communities".

Brown lays great emphasis on the history and culture of black peoples, and a lot of Conference time has been set aside to discuss this.

He returned from a tour of the Caribbean in April of this year and said that he had made "19 stops" and had received a "very good response". Challenged about the relevance of Black Power to the Caribbean and the forms it would take, Brown was ambiguous, making alternately conciliatory and militant statements. He said that Black Power in the region would be against any form of black control and in the guidelines he has issued to potential conference delegates he urges them to dispense with "Your passionate 'Let's get guns and undo our castration' speech". He has been quoted as saying that the conference will

"just look into the question of the identity of black people, and he doesn't see how this can disrupt, but only educate, both black and white" (Royal Gazette, 5 April, 1969).

But almost in the same breath Brown refers to Mau Mau terrorism and the American ghetto riots as "necessary lessons for whites". He has spoken of

"White colonial oppression, as well as neo-colonialism is a daily nightmare. In the face of our countries growing trend towards black genocide, black people have got to get together". (Daily Telegraph, 9 April, 1969).

He has said that blacks in Bermuda are, economically speaking, more oppressed than in the USA. He also claims that there is social oppression, "for instance black Bermudians do not have freedom of choice in living where they want to". (Bermuda Star, 5 April, 1969).

Brown's weakness for violent and even racialist language, which is also to be found in those most likely to respond to his invitations, certainly makes the forthcoming Conference, for all his assurances, a possible threat to the race relations and social order of Bermuda and perhaps other parts of the Caribbean.

Barbados

Barbadian race relations are good, but there does exist a degree of resentment of the economic power of the wealthy minority, many of whom are white. Barbados has a small Black Power organisation, the People's Progressive Movement (PPM), founded in 1966 and which has made no appreciable impact yet - its joint leaders Calvin Alleyne (Chairman) and Glenroy Straughn (President) have both failed to be elected to the island's Assembly. The PPM is Marxist and runs a bookshop in which all the main Marxist and Black Power authors are represented. It also issues a newspaper, Black Star (editor, Leroy Harewood), which expresses an assortment of Black Power, Maoist and Castroite views.

Black Star is keenly interested in events on the American Black Power scene; in particular it extols the virtues of such leaders as Bobby Seale of the Black Panthers and the exiled Robert F. Williams of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), and has also published articles and letters from such leaders (e.g. Black Star, 6 April, 1968). Much of its space is devoted to labour problems in the Caribbean; even trivial disputes are reported in racial and Marxist terms. Black Star also reports examples of "racial exploitation" elsewhere in the world, (for instance, the D'Oliveira affair in Britain), and expresses solidarity with revolutionaries in Africa and with the Viet Cong. It tries to cultivate "black pride and identity" among its readers by means of a cultural section called "Who are We?".

Black Star advocates "unity under socialism" for the Caribbean area and attacks leading industrialists, trade unionists, and such political leaders as Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad, and Mr. Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana, as well as the members of its own government.

The PPM also has links with members of the Communist Party of Great Britain and the London-based Caribbean Socialist Union. The PPM was invited to sponsor the Montreal Hemispherical Conference to End the War in Vietnam (held in November, 1968) and Straughn acted as Chairman of the Conference, which was dominated by American Black Panthers.

In the Caribbean the PPM bases its links with other groups and parties on ideological rather than ethnic grounds, and maintains close contact with the Guyanese opposition People's Progressive Party, led by the Marxist Dr. Cheddi Jagan.

Jamaica

Jamaican Black Power, a militant movement, seems to be gaining strength. The Rastafarian Sect has a disaffected and ruffian fringe which shows signs of response to Black Power militancy. Events in the USA and visits of black American leaders have given it an impetus. Certain intellectuals are making attempts to exploit Black Power to gain support for their own ideas.

The first sign came in October 1968 when Dr. Walter Rodney, a Guyanese lecturer at the University of the West Indies (UWI), was barred from returning to Jamaica from the Black Writers' Conference held in Montreal. The Jamaican Government said Rodney had been involved in a plot to promote a Castroite revolution in their country, and that they had seized a pamphlet outlining plans for violence and destruction.

While a student at the University in 1961, Rodney had attended conferences in the USSR and Cuba. After becoming a lecturer at the University he had begun to organise a Black Power group of students, lecturers, and other malcontents.

The ban on Rodney prompted a student demonstration, which soon led to general rioting in which three people were killed. A well-organised group of agitators played a part in these disturbances. Mr. Shearer, the Prime Minister, said that the agitators "included non-Jamaicans as well as Jamaicans, inside and outside the University, some identifying themselves as Rastafarians and others known to be criminals and political hoodlums. All this has been engaged under the guise of a Black Power movement which to us and all well-thinking Jamaicans does not mean rebellion, but rather the dignity of the black man". (Daily Gleaner, 18 October, 1968).

Rodney's comments on the ban were published in the Barbadian Black Star. He said he had been trying to "blast into nothingness" the idea that Jamaica was approaching a harmonious multi-racial society. He regarded himself as a black intellectual in what was still a colonial society which "offered educated black men positions of privilege and relatively secure economic conditions in exchange for their souls". To Rodney black intellectuals who took part in this process were "as much a part of the white capitalist system as plantation owners".

Other evidence that leftist intellectuals intend to use Black Power to swell their following is in the rise of the Abeng group and newspaper, which preaches an amalgam of Communism, black racial superiority and political subversion.

The Abeng already claims a circulation of 20,000 only 15 weeks.

after its first edition. The late Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican who led the early "Back to Africa" movement in the 1920s, is the hero of the paper, which keeps up consistent attacks on foreign-owned industries and the tourist trade ("built on black submissiveness") which are, it says, part of the "white neo-colonialism which grips the island". Abeng claims that the increasing wealth generated within Jamaica is funnelled into the hands of a few, and that they are mostly whites or black "puppets".

Trinidad

Trinidad, which has a large East Indian minority, is ruled by a predominantly Negro party under Dr. Eric Williams. Black Power here was stimulated in 1967 when various elements combined to denounce a government ban on Stokely Carmichael (a native of Trinidad) visiting the country. George Weekes, a member of the extremist Workers' and Farmers' Party (which failed to win a seat at the last elections) and Marxist leader of the Oil Workers' Union, said of the ban

"It shows that the powers that be have become so hysterical that they have seen fit to ban someone from returning to his own birthplace. But this will not stop the inevitable - the destruction of a system that has created unemployment, hunger, want and discrimination". (Trinidad Guardian, 15 August, 1967).

The Black Panther Organisation (BPO) was founded in 1968. One of its leaders, Aldwyn Primus, has said that it is not committed to violence, because the conditions and character of Trinidad made it unnecessary. He hinted, however, that defensive violence might be necessary to stop what he had worked for from "going down the drain". He saw the BPO's primary rôle as that of urging youth to take a greater interest in economics and politics.

A small number of extremists does exist, and has called in a leaflet for the expulsion of all whites and their "black running dogs" and for the destruction of all their property. At present, Black Power consists of little more than a few militant trade union leaders and a few alienated young men. There seems to be little organisation among, or support for, these activists.

Guyana

In Guyana political and communal alignments are in the main identical. The Marxist People's Progressive Party (PPP), supported by the East Indians who make up about one-half of the population, has been active in making contact with other Black Power groups. But the PPP leader, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, as leader of an Indian opposition party in a country governed by a Negro party, places emphasis on socialist rather than racialist links.

Jagan would like to win over the Guyanese African working class, which now supports Mr. Forbes Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC). The PNC is trying to build a "Guyanese identity"

and as the party in government is also concerned to minimize racial animosities and maintain law and order. But a few PNC members and supporters have formed the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA), which concentrates on the evils of white influence on African culture, society and religion. Led by Sidney King (who has taken the African name Eusi Kwayana) ASCRIA members tend to adopt African dress and explore African history and culture. They also have contacts with Black Power movements.

Communism and Black Power

Jagan has announced his intention of holding a conference in the Caribbean this year, as part of his attempt to win Black Power support for his proposed "alliance of progressive forces". A preparatory Conference was held in Barbados in October 1968, and was organised by Jagan and the leaders of the Barbadian PPM. Two unnamed Trinidadians also attended. Jagan's main associate in Trinidad is Roland Hoolasie of the small extremist Workers' and Farmers' Party.

Jagan also has contacts with the Castroite Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) of Puerto Rico (which is independently linked with the US Black Power movement), and with the Surinam Partij Nationalistische Republiek, a small, left-wing party made up mainly of Negroes, which sent a delegate to the Barbados meeting.

It is likely, however, that the Black Power Conference in Bermuda will force Jagan to postpone his own conference. Jagan's pro-Soviet brand of Communism may in any case be increasingly treated with suspicion by Black Power leaders and other "progressives" especially since his involvement in the World Conference of Communist Parties in Moscow in June 1969. There are already signs that Cuba has recently become cooler towards him and his activities.

The Future of Caribbean Black Power

Some observers think that the Caribbean movement will soon reach its peak and thereafter decline. Black Power is, however, an essentially vague concept, and some of its advocates and fellow-travellers in the area have shown that they can and will shape it to apply to any situation or set of conditions which has potential for social unrest and anti-government feeling.

In the long run, it may provide an opportunity for Communists indirectly to gain influence - the rise of the Abeng group in Jamaica may be a step in this direction. In the short term, Black Power may pose a serious threat to law and order.

BLACK POWER - BRITAIN

The British coloured minority numbers about one and a quarter million, of which one-fifth were born in Britain. The number could reach about three million by the end of the century.

The conditions in which many immigrants live are similar in some respects to those affecting American Negroes. Overcrowding and shortage of housing and of schools could provide a breeding ground for extremism. In parts of such London areas as Brixton, Notting Hill and Southall, coloured immigrants account for 60-65% of the inhabitants, and the areas have been described as 'ghetto-like'. In Birmingham the school system is severely strained by increasing numbers of immigrant children.

Immigrants have some difficulty in obtaining the houses and jobs which they want, and although there is some prejudice, the main problem is that many new immigrants belong to low-income, unskilled groups and tend to settle in areas already occupied by similar coloured people. Because many arrive with debts to relations at home, they often have to live cheaply and, therefore, the standards of accommodation in these areas tend to be depressed.

Low standards of education and often of speaking English are present among all groups of immigrants. At school, coloured children are seen by some white parents as a retarding factor to their own children's education. Another difficulty is in communicating with the authorities.

A more serious element is the increasing dearth of jobs for coloured school-leavers, a condition which threatens to become worse, and will probably become particularly acute among the more qualified. Dr. David Pitt, a moderate West Indian leader, has said:

"I can't take this generation of immigrants seriously. It's the school-leavers I am worried about. I have seen the effect Stokely Carmichael had on them and can guess what will happen if they get their academic qualifications and still end up on the buses". (Sunday Telegraph, April 7, 1968.)

One major fear is that publicity given to these problems will stimulate prejudice. The disproportionate emphasis often placed in debate on immigration, and preserving law and order, rather than on solving the basic problems of coloured people already settled in Britain, creates suspicion in immigrant communities and serve to strengthen the militants.

But race relations in Britain are generally harmonious. British coloured communities do not have the same sense of injustice and inferior status as the Negroes of the USA. The British immigrant groups are smaller (2% of the population while, in

America, Negroes alone constitute 12% of the whole) and what grievances they have are naturally more recent in origin. Relationships with authority, are not fraught with mistrust or antagonism. To a large degree, the authorities themselves are responsible for this. British concern for the rights of minorities has been reflected in the Race Relations Acts of 1966 and 1968 - by which overt racial or religious discrimination was made illegal - and by the establishment of the Race Relations Board, which investigates complaints concerning such discrimination.

Government Departments are also charged with the maintenance of racial harmony. For example, the Department of Employment and Productivity often deals with race relations on the shop floor and, in the particularly sensitive area of police relations with coloured communities, the Home Office has always been ready to investigate allegations of prejudice.

The Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain are closely-knit and tend to be inward-looking. They have their own culture, religion and history and this makes them much less susceptible to Black Power ideas. The West Indian community in Britain, taken as a whole, is only slightly more amenable, but the young West Indian is often a likely potential convert.

Foreign Influence

The fame and following of American leaders have particularly impressed ambitious coloured agitators, who vary from those who are little more than self-publicists to those convinced that the Black Power ideology is relevant to British conditions or have added some of its concepts to existing extreme left-wing views. None of them has a large following, and few seem able to work together.

In 1965 Malcolm X visited Britain and deeply impressed a few of the more disillusioned West Indians. His best-known convert is Michael de Freitas (also known as Michael Abdul Malik and Michael X).

Stokely Carmichael arrived in Britain in July, 1967, by which time the tone of the speeches by coloured militants at Hyde Park Corner had become increasingly threatening. Carmichael advised that the idea of black consciousness be translated into political action:

"If racism is institutionalised in a society, the only way to end it is to destroy the society". (S. Carmichael, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation.)

Carmichael was asked to leave the country. Subsequently the newly-formed Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) announced that it was to be the British equivalent of Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), but there are no apparent links between the two bodies (although four SNCC members visited Britain early in 1968, The Times, March 14, 1968.

Paul Boutelle, a member of the American Socialist Workers' Party, which has tried to ally itself to the American Black Power movement, visited Britain in June, 1968. At a meeting in Hyde Park organised by two members of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, Tariq Ali and Pat Jordan, Boutelle urged that black people everywhere should arm themselves. Bobby Seale, of the Black Panther Party, also visited Britain in April, 1969, on his way to Scandinavia.

Several British Black Power leaders, who admire Mao, regularly visit the Chinese Diplomatic Mission in London and the Maoist network in Western Europe is deeply interested in Black Power in Britain. Albert Manchanda, a part of that network, and his associate Teja Singh Sahota, are active in the British Black Power movement, and have both visited China in recent years. Sahota's latest trip - in December, 1968 - was alleged to have been paid for by the Chinese.

Gora Ebrahim, a South African Maoist, visited Britain in 1967-1968, and met such activists as Ajoy Ghose, Roy Sawh, Johnny James, Jagmohan Joshi, and Manchanda.

While American extremists have tended to influence West Indians, the Maoists (and Trotskyists) have largely worked on the Asians. In both cases, the effects have been limited to the militant leaders and to a few followers.

Black Power Leaders

Micheal de Freitas is a Trinidadian. He formed a now defunct Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain in 1965. Shortly afterwards he helped found the Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS).

De Freitas came to Black Power after a dubious past during which he was implicated in Rachmanite extortion rackets, in drug trafficking and brothel-keeping. His main motive in espousing Black Power is probably self-publicity.

He was gaoled in 1967 for a year for inciting racial hatred in a speech in which he claimed to have killed a white man and urged others, in certain circumstances, to do likewise. His gaol sentence, he claims, has caused more people to listen to him:

"Before we had to work hard for a meeting, now the halls are always filled". (Daily Telegraph, May 23, 1969.)

De Freitas is now attempting to establish a "Black Capitalist" complex of shops and flats and other property interests in North London, through which he hopes to resuscitate the defunct Racial Adjustment Action Society.

Roy Sawh is an Indian from Guyana. Sawh has lived in Britain since 1959, and has spent two years at Moscow University (which he left, it is believed, after trouble arose from his racialist views). His sympathies are now with Peking. Sawh is a talented speaker, but has found it nearly impossible to cooperate with other leaders. He was convicted of racial incitement in August, 1967.

After helping de Freitas to form RAAS in 1965, Sawh left to organise the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) in June, 1966. He lost the leadership to other extremists, led by Obi Egbuna, and formed the Universal Coloured People's and Arab Association. He then took part in the formation of the Black People's Alliance in early 1968, but left in 1969 after a dispute with Jagmohan Joshi.

Jagmohan Joshi is secretary of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain and convenor of the Black People's Alliance's Steering Committee. He is a Maoist and regards the black-white confrontation as part of the anti-imperialist struggle. Although he countenances alliances with radical white groups, he scorns all moderates. He has defined his aims as

"uniting the Black peoples of Great Britain, helping to fight against British Imperialism both here and abroad. Our work is not intended to exclude the white working class, the most advanced sections of which, for example, the new Communist Party of Great Britain, Marxist-Leninist (CPGB-ML) are with us". (Letter to Liberation, No. 4, February, 1969, published by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India.)

Obi Egbuna is a highly-articulate Nigerian playwright (he is an Ibo who supports 'Biafra') and theorist of Black Power. He was given a 12-month suspended sentence in December, 1968, for conspiracy to incite others to murder policemen. His speeches tend to be highly militant, but his prison sentence has forced him to be more restrained. His arrest and subsequent detention for five months while awaiting trial brought him support from other groups and leaders, including some moderates. He places special emphasis on black culture and a spirit of identity with other coloured peoples. He told The Times (March 14, 1968) that he

"has strong links with Africa and America ... He was in contact with Ahmed Mohammed Rahman Babu who has firm Chinese connexions and was an architect of the Zanzibar revolution. He was first led towards Black Power in America".

In 1968 Egbuna lectured on Black Power at the so-called 'Anti-University of London' in Shoreditch, whose courses included

seminars on revolution. After the creation of the Black People's Alliance in 1968 Egbuna announced his intention to fade from the Black Power scene.

Frankie Y (Frankie Dymon) is a former lieutenant of Michael X and was one of the few members of the Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain. Dymon has a penchant for boasting about teaching his people karate, how to handle explosives and the kind of terrorist tactics to adopt in urban areas. He claims that caches of arms to be used for Black Power purposes already exist.

Johnny James is a West Indian, resident in Britain since 1959. A prolific writer and a Trotskyist with pro-Chinese views, he has been in contact with the Belgian dissident Communist Jacques Grippa and with Gora Ebrahim. He is the effective head of the Caribbean Workers' Movement and was assistant secretary of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) at the time of the struggle for control between militants and moderates in November, 1967. James is one of the hard-core of activists usually to be found at the centre of Black Power demonstrations.

Ajoh Ghose was convicted and fined in November, 1967, for inciting racial hatred at Speakers' Corner in London. He is a leader of the UCPA, a frequent visitor to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and a devotee of Mao, Carmichael and Gora Ebrahim.

Albert Manchanda, a militant and avowed Maoist, plays a leading part in Vietnam war demonstrations. He leads the Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front, regularly visits the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and has attached himself to the Black Power movement partly to gain a wider audience for his Maoist views. Manchanda is the leading Maoist in the now fragmented Association of Indian Communists of Great Britain, which has a degree of influence in the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain (IWA).

Andrew Salkey, a Jamaican novelist, agitates for Black Power in both Jamaica and Britain. In August, 1968, he led a protest against the Jamaican Government's ban on the writings of leading American Black Power authors, and in October, 1968, he was fined for obstruction after protesting against the banning of Walter Rodney from Jamaica.

He claims that he is not a Communist, but he is extremely left-wing. He has visited Cuba, and has called it an example to be emulated by other Caribbean countries. (Evening Standard, July 10, 1968.)

To Salkey, British society is fundamentally racist and must be uprooted and rebuilt. He urges the different immigrant communities to unite in opposition to the administration's "deliberate policy of isolating them", and links this to a wider Black Power struggle:

"Powell (Mr. Enoch Powell, M.P.) and the British are fighting to maintain the idea and practice of

The Indian Workers' Association (IWA), a non-militant body with a highly militant leadership, IWA was founded in 1940 and has its headquarters in Birmingham, but it also has a large branch at Southall, in London. Recently it has been split by internal dissensions. The current leadership is extreme left-wing and the general secretary is Jagmohan Joshi, under whose guidance the Association has affiliated to the Black People's Alliance.

The West Indian Standing Conference (WISC) is divided into two opposed branches; a London-based branch dominated by a militant leadership, and a Birmingham branch which tries to be multi-racial and multi-political, whose leaders are moderate and directly opposed to the racialist teachings of the London group. The moderate branch, which has 4,000 members, coordinates the work of six immigrant organisations in the Birmingham area and has always been basically a social welfare body. The London group claimed 7,500 members in 1966, but this was certainly an inflated figure. In 1967 it published a report accusing the London police of 'nigger-hunting'.

The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was founded in 1965 by a group of clergy, politicians and sociologists in order to oppose discrimination and encourage integration, CARD was specifically intended to influence the Government in connexion with the Race Relations Act, then being drafted. Predominantly middle-class and essentially moderate in tone, it was distrusted by the militant leaders. At the end of 1967, militants gained partial control, and its membership and influence waned, but by the end of 1968 the moderates again controlled most of its branches. It remains a multi-racial organisation. It is alleged (Daily Telegraph Magazine, May 23, 1969) that some of its London branches are dominated by the pro-Chinese London Workers' Association.

The Black Eagles are a small group in South London, who concentrate on local problems and black self-help. They have copied the Black Panthers in using "ministerial" titles. Their "Prime Minister" is Darcus Awusu, a Trinidadian and ex-member of the RAAS and UCPA.

The Black People's Alliance (BPA) was formed in April, 1968, after one of Mr. Enoch Powell's speech on immigration. Fifty delegates from 20 immigrant communities met in Leamington Spa to form a body which would pursue a policy of "militant action to combat white racism". The affiliated associations were by no means all militant, although some of the better-known moderate bodies would have little to do with it.

There was little argument about the aims and means of the Alliance and the terms of its manifesto was vague. Soon after it was founded, moderate groups began to drop away; these included the West Indian Standing Committee (Birmingham branch), the National Federation of Pakistani Associations in Britain and the Indian Workers in Southall and Slough.

The BPA thus became more and more the tool of the militants, although it has not fulfilled their expectations as a broadly based militant coalition. Nor has there been harmony among the militants themselves.

The Alliance has organised public meetings and demonstrations in conjunction with various leftist groups. One such demonstration, on the occasion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in January, 1969, ended in rioting outside Rhodesia House and South Africa House, although the BPA and most of its supporters played little part in these concluding events.