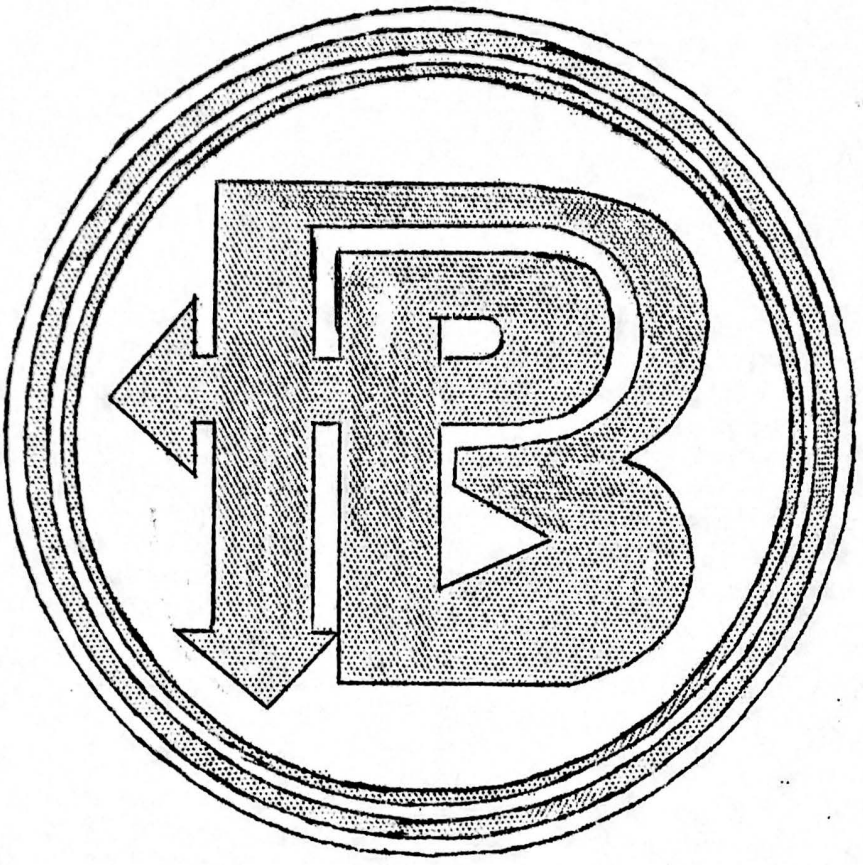


BLACK POWER MANIFESTO and RESOLUTIONS

A BETTER WAY

Ethnic groups in America have developed their own solidarity as a basic approach toward entry into the American mainstream.

Black Power seeks to create for Black Americans leverages for the kind of coalescence which will change the current patterns of Black defeat in employment, education and civic life into new patterns of power and fulfillment. Philadelphia, for example, with 33% of the population Black, has 9% Negroes in its employment force.

Clearly new approaches to the betterment of our worsening common life must be made. The July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power - through serious study and discussion recommends these Resolutions as a first step toward a better way.

This represent the first major national dialouge by Black Americans on the creative possibilities inherent in the concept of Black Power.

There were a great number of resolutions from each of the 17 Workshops - (representing 39 states and Bermuda and 190 organizations). many of which overlapped the resolutions of other workshops. Therefore, it was necessary to delete and/or combine like resolutions in order to reduce repetition and redundancy.

These Resolutions represent the distillation of the first major national dialogue by 1,300 Black Americans on the creative possibilities inherent in the concept of Black Power.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE

Dr. Nathan Wright, Chairman, Newark, N. J.

Omar Ahmed, Bronx, N. Y. Isaiah Robinson, N. Y. C.

Ron Karenga, L. A., Calif. Charles S. Stone, Wash., D. C.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

BLACK POWER MANIFESTO

FROM

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

Black people who live under imperialist governments in America, Asia, Africa and Latin America stand at the crossroads of either an expanding revolution or ruthless extermination. It is incumbent for us to get our own house in order to fully utilize the potentialities of the revolution or to resist our own execution.

Black people have consistently expended a large part of our energy and resources reacting to white definition. It is imperative that we begin to develop the organizational and technical competence to initiate and enact our own programs.

Black people in America and in Black nationalist groups across the world have allowed ourselves to become the tool of policies of white supremacy. It is evident that it is in our own interest to develop and propagate a philosophy of Blackness as a social, psychologial, political, cultural and economic directive.

The objective conditions for reversing the plight of the Black peoples reside within the Black communities of the world. It is of importance that efforts be undertaken to develop a communications system among the larger Black communities in America and the Black nations of the world.

The masses of Black people in America, after 400 years of oppression and deprivation under the white supremacist government of the United States, and the great number of Black people across the world, still remain disfranchised, colonized and enslaved.

The democratic process has failed to bring justice to Black people within the framework of the imperialist government of the United States, and within the imperialist framework of white nations throughout the world.

Control of African communities in America and other Black communities and nations throughout the world still remains in the hands of white supremacist oppressors.

The colonialist and neo-colonialist control of Black communities in America and many Black nations across the world by white supremacists necessarily is detrimental and destructive to the attainment of Black Power.

It is therefore resolved, that The National Conference on Black Power sponsor the creation of an International Black Congress, to be organized out of the soulful roots of our peoples and to reflect the new sense of power and revolution now blossoming in Black communities in America and Black nations throughout the world.

The implementation of this Manifesto shall come through the convening of Regional Black Power Conferences in America and in Black nations of the world.

It is recommended that these International and Regional Black Power Conferences be held before the end of this year, in the spirit of unity exhibited during this National Conference on Black Power. The Regional Conferences shall be convened by the coordinated efforts of delegates to this National Conference on Black Power in each region, working in conjunction with the Committee on Continuation of the National Conference on Black Power.

These Regional Conferences shall begin to structure methods of attaining operational unity in their regions in preparation for the convening of a Second Annual International Conference on Black Power in a year's time, to be held in a Black setting.

The International Black Congress shall act in concert with the Committee on Continuation, which shall convene the Second Annual National Conference on Black Power to establish a method of electing delegates to The National Black Congress.

The International Black Congress shall be inaugurated within the next year and a half, at which time it shall replace the Committee on Continuation in the convening of future International Black Power Conferences and in the implementation of programs for the realization of Black Power.

: : : : : :

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

JULY 20 - 23, 1967

R E S O L U T I O N S

WHEREAS, the Black people stand at the crossroads of either an expanding revolution or ruthless extermination, it is incumbent upon us to set our house in order; and,

WHEREAS, Black people have consistently expended too much energy and resources reacting to white definitions, it is imperative that organizational and technical competence develop to initiate and enact new insights, new definitions and new programs; and,

WHEREAS, the objective conditions for reversing the plight of all Black people demand that united efforts be undertaken to develop a communications system throughout the nation in order to forge a national apparatus for social, economic and political empowerment; and,

WHEREAS, The National Conference on Black Power is dedicated to the propagation of self-determination, self-sufficiency, self-respect and self-defense;

BE IT RESOLVED that systematic planned effort be made to organize and mobilize Black People for;

more...

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. That the secretariat of The National Conference on Black Power call upon our best minds to formulate and work out the mechanics for a national underwriting group, agency, corporation or authority for Black Economic Development to encourage and facilitate businesses, industries, Business Training and "Buy Black" programs in local communities;

2. That local community groups form economic development apparatuses to initiate cooperatives in various areas of consumer goods, housing, goods and services, residential and commercial real estate and other economic endeavors;

3. That the sale of "Black Bonds" be instituted to establish a national financial capability to provide a source of venture capital;

4. That the concept of "BLACK SUNDAY" be promulgated to raise funds for economic ventures. Churches and other institutions would set aside that Sunday in each month for collections to be sent to the National Economic Development Authority. Each person would contribute $1.00 per month to the Development Fund.

more...

5. IN THE INTERIM:

a) That selective buying committees be formed to facilitate the upgrading of Black workers on all levels and in all industries.

b) That local communities engage in extensive consumer education programs with consumer fraud and grievance committees to prevent the exploitation of the Black community.

c) That local credit unions be encouraged as an alternative to installment exploitation while building local Lending Institutions. Emphasis should be placed on savings.

d) That pressure be exerted against the Federal Government for the marked ineffectiveness and discrimination of present programs, i.e. Small Business Investment Corporation, Small Business Administration - Article 22103.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

1. That a Mobile Political Task Force be established to determine priority areas for immediate short-range political goals and then assign Black workers from around the country to work in these specific Target Areas. The most immediate

more...

areas are Mississippi, Gary, Indiana and Newark, New Jersey. This Task Force would be devoted to the election of Black candidates for public office.

a) the make-up of this National Task Force should fulfill the following criteria:

Experience in political organization; balanced geographical representation; the ability to raise funds.

b) That Task Force would bring strong pressure on elected Black Officials and aspiring Black candidates to fulfill their responsibilities to the Black communities and to guarantee tenure as long as they are responsive to the community.

c) This Task Force would develop working relationships with other ongoing structures growing out of the Conference.

2. That we work toward and encourage the formation of Black coalitions in the Target areas by functioning as a pressure group to increase Black political awareness.

3. That a Black Political Lobby be established in Washington, D.C.

4. That schools for Black political organization, strategy

more...

and tactics be established in Black communities.

5. That a Political Handbook be developed with "nitty-gritty" ideas, slogans and action plans, for the New Black Politics.

6. IN THE INTERIM:

a) That this Conference condemn the Cellar Bill, H.R. 2508, which would continue the gerrymandering of Black communities until 1972 and which has the net effect of preventing the election of any more Black Congressmen.

b) That this Conference demand the seat and chairmanship of Adam Clayton Powell be restored before there can be any meaningful political dialogue with the Black People, and that the principals in the Congressional action, Rep. Frank Thompson of Trenton, New Jersey, Rep. Sam Gibbons of Tampa, Florida and Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego, California,who lead the fight against the greatest of all Black Politicians,be condemned and officially censured. Furthermore, that Black voters of Trenton, Tampa and San Diego are called upon to unite in political opposition to each of these men and defeat them in 1968 as enemies of Black Political progress.

more...

c) That this Conference goes on record as censuring the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which is completely dominated, controlled and manipulated by white money and the racist AFL-CIO, for failing to support Congressman Adam Clayton Powell following the loss of his seat.

d) That this Conference observe the Constitutional Conventions and be prepared to counter racist promoted resolutions with our own resolutions in order to protect the 1st, 5th, 15th and 14th amendments to the United States Constitution.

e) That this Conference call for the election of 12 Black Congressmen, in 1968, to triple the present representation from 6 to 18 and that these new Congressmen be elected from the following cities and congressional districts: Atlanta, Baltimore, Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, Cleveland, Gary, Newark, Richmond, St. Louis; a second Black Congressman from Chicago's West Side (6th C.D.), two from Mississippi's 2nd C.D. and 3rd C.D. and one from South Carolina's 1st or 2nd C.D.

f) That this Conference begin plans now to hold a National Black Grass Roots Political Convention following the conventions of the two major parties.

more...

h) That the Conference strongly condemns the United States Congress for passage of the so-called "Riot Bill". This bill is unconstitutional; it infringes upon the rights of free speech and assembly and is proposed to stifle Black Power and Black Liberation.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. That a Black Resource Directory be developed, containing all the names, addresses and phone numbers of community people who have skills that can be used to solve our problems. This directory should be a profit-making vehicle, involving commercial advertisement.

2. That a Black Hospitality Committee be organized to welcome newcomers to Black neighborhoods and orientate them to the organizations and services of the community, as well as the role they should play in the new community.

a) This committee would develop positive Black relationships between professional and other residents of the community, thus creating a Volunteer Professional Service Corp. (A speakers bureau is suggested to achieve this purpose). It would establish direct and permanent contacts

more...

with governments of Africa and the Third World, for social, political and economic development relationships.

3. Promulgate, establish and support efforts for economic and political development, by, of and for Black people.

4. That Black Protective Associations be developed for Black communities with Defense and Protection Units similar to the Deacons and the Los Angeles Community Alert Patrol. Provide physical education and para-military training, including the use of arms.

And that Black Police Captains should be appointed to Black communities and neighborhoods.

5. That Executive Boards of Welfare Administrations be composed of a substantial number of eligible welfare recipients to help formulate policies and regulations affecting welfare agency performance.

6. That programs be developed for the rehabilitation of individuals released from penal institutions.

7. That all poverty programs be coordinated and controlled by the Black community for the interest, priorities and empowerment of the total community.

more...

8. That National Black Holidays be established to honor Black Heroes. Example: May 19th - in honor of our beloved brother Malcolm X or similarly appropriate heroes.

9. That a Flag and/or other emblems be designed to symbolize Black Solidarity and African Heritage.

10. That every Black Church, Religion, Institution, Minister, Leader and Laymen not involved in the process for Black Power, be boycotted, ostracized, criticized, publicized and rejected by the Black community.

11. That all churches open every door and every facility for projects and programs designed for the development of the Black community.

12. That there be developed a Religious Philosophy for Black people (that would include all religions, cults and sects) to create a New Positive Value System for the Black community; and,

a) The formation of ATARO (African Trans-African Religious Order and Secret Orders) which stresses the unification system of Black Value continuity.

13. That a Black University system be established, programmed to the needs of the Black communities, and that the customary

more...

admission requirements associated with traditional institutions be dispensed with; the criteria should be commitment and seriousness of purpose, a willingness to want to learn in relation to one's experiences.

a) Such a university would offer Liberal Arts and Science.

b) College of African-American Studies.

c) College of Community Life.

d) That all residents, skills and services of a particular community, both professional and layman, be involved as students and/or teachers, collectively constructing the program and curriculum to overcome the damage and alienation wrought by existing institutions and programs.

e) That new professional categories be created to give legitimate professional status to special and unique skills and talents found in and needed by the community.

f) The formation of new Black professional organizations, with a re-definition of professionality peculiar to and essential to the Black community in which there is an organizational vacuum.

more...

14. That a National Board of Education be established to determine the structure and content of education in the Black communities, having jurisdiction over the following areas:

1) Teacher preparation and certification

2) Curriculum and program

3) School Administration

a) That the National Board of Education would be made up of representatives of local Black communities organized by regions, with board members elected as regional representatives.

15. That a National African-American Teachers Organization be formed to work for cultural and academic growth, development, change and empowerment.

16. That all schools in Black communities be controlled by Black Boards of Education.

a) Work to establish a community college in every community, controlled and oriented to the local political, economic and social needs of Black people.

17. That African Languages be taught in all Black schools to enable greater communication and rapport with the people of our ancestral heritage.

a) Publish a crafts manual that describes basic skills which might be used by Black youth.

more...

18. That experimental communities be developed and constructed out of what are now called "Ghettoes". That the Philosophy of these communities be based on self-determination, self-respect and self-defense, having control of all educational, social, political and other services of the community.

BLACK WOMEN AND THE HOME

1. That intensified efforts and programs be evolved to stabilize the Black family Unit by emphasizing emotional security, protection, love and respect for each family member.

2. That Black homes be encouraged to become centers of learning and growth, by helping adults assume responsibility for learning more about our heritage so as to promote new attitudes and feelings of pride.

3. That as sisters, mothers, teachers and nation builders, Black women be committed to learning, understanding and perpetuating our Black Heritage.

1) Through dialogue and discussion, research and reading, to promote the true image and role of Black womanhood through our culture, which is proud, black, natural and aware.

more...

2) That Black women commit themselves to:

a) self-preservation and continuity through educating and exposing our people to the genocidal practices by racist societies.

b) no longer allow the white system to rule our families, but take upon ourselves the full responsibility for the emotional and physical well-being of our families.

4. That war be declared against narcotics in the Black Communities, by seeking out and exposing pushers and obtaining medical assistance for their helpless victims.

BLACK YOUTH

1. That a Total Education Program be created for black youth consisting of:

a) an Action Institute and Summer Camps to promote self-liberation, self-respect and self-government;

b) Liberation Schools and Independent Student Guilds;

c) the creation of Student Action Groups.

2. That there be established a Black Youth Exchange Program with youth from Africa, in at least the following three countries: Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia;

more...

3. That a National Convention of Black Youth be called during the week of December 25th, preceded by Regional Conferences during the period of November 23 - 25th.

4. That there be established a group or groups to resist the negative system of the draft and implement a positive system of development for the Black Community.

5. Establish a permanent National Organization of Black Youth, both student and non-student, to;

a) establish a network for communication and dissemination of information between student groups across the nation, both at the secondary and college levels.

b) Convene a National Black Youth Congress

c) Establish a Black Ideological Institute to help define Black Values and perform socially relevant research and evaluation programs.

d) Form defense and protection units in the black communities.

e) Establish educational and vocational training programs.

f) Set up political action units to involve students in election campaigns and year-round political activites.

more...

ARTISTS, CRAFTSMEN AND COMMUNICATIONS

Be it further resolved that the Black artists, craftsman and communication personnel create a Black consciousness in the minds of Black people. Define, research, develop, project and transmit Black culture to the Black community and become the executor of a Black legacy.

That the Black communicator, be he artists, craftsman, musician, actor, writer, or whatever, initiate now in his own community:

1. Set up a Black Arts Foundation:

   a) Commission the works of Black writers, poets, playwrights, painters, sculptors, craftsmen, composers, etc.;

   b) Coordinate the use of Black artists and musicians in the Black community;

   c) Organize a quarterly Black Arts Festival to be held simultaneously in Black communities across the nation on specified days each year;

   d) Organize a Black theater circuit incorporating every Black community which would ensure the Black artists of an outlet and provide audiences with the opportunity to see talented Black actors;

more...

e) Organize writing, acting, art and music clinics for the instruction of Black youth.

2) Explore the creation of cooperatives in the following fields:

a) Recording studios owned by and using the Black musicians;

b) Radio and/or television stations using Black talent;

c) Film unit, possibly using home TV (Sony-type) equipment;

d) A publishing company to issue a Black arts quarterly;

e) A printing company;

f) Possibility of the necessity of public relations and advertising.

3) Organize a Black Travel Club to provide low-cost group travel, travel and accommodation information, rate reductions.

4) Encourage the use of Black writers now employed by white media to propagandize the Black community in its own interests.

more...

5) Set up a system of "ham" radio communication which would link up with similar outfits in other Black communities to furnish a nation-wide system of information and security.

6) Set up a national speakers bureau, with a link in each Black community to provide important Black speakers to every community.

7) Erect statues of Black heroes in each community, statues created by Black sculptors.

8) Create a national Afro-American Archive into which the writing, art, films and other creations of Black men may be kept, and circulated to Black communities on loan.

9) Demand that Black-oriented programs be scheduled by "white" TV and radio stations serving Black areas.

10) Installation of a telephone answering service with a dictated message in each community to service that community with crucial news and information.

11) Establish a directory of Black craftsmen and servicemen in each community to provide the Black consumer with names and addresses of people from whom he may buy goods and services.

more...

12) We propose that the conference adopt the following:

"We, the National Conference on Black Power, deplore the totally unnecessary brutality to Brother Leroi Jones and other Black people of Newark. We also demand that they be compensated for their injustices by the City of Newark."

13) We strongly urge that any future Black Power Conference be held in the Black community itself so that the psychological and financial thrust generated is directed there.

14) A newsletter should be created to be circulated to all those taking part in this conference and to concerned Black people providing continuing information on the efforts in all Black communities to fulfill these goals.

15) The establishment of a Black Press Commission to deal with inaccuracy, unfairness, distortion and lies in the white and Negro media, as well as to push the employment of Black newsmen.

more...

16) Noting the lack of identification and support for the Black revolution on the part of many Black artists and entertainers, we demand their support - morally, physically and financially for the Black revolution.

a) We should apply pressure to those agents and institutions representing Black artists without the interests of the Black community.

b) We further recommend that the Black community favor those artists represented by Black agents.

c) Black artists must be made aware of how the American power structure exploits their talents against the interests of Black people throughout the world.

18) The workshop of Black artists, craftsmen and communications personnel propose that members of its workshop be incorporated on the National Black Power Conference staff.

GENERAL WELFARE

1. That a Senior Citizen Organization be promoted to assume responsibility for the physical and emotional well-being of the aged, using all available local, state and federal funds

more...

allocated for that purpose.

2. Establish a United Black Appeal Fund for emergency assistance programs.

3. Promote the idea and program of reparations for the African-American people.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. Confer with the appropriate representatives of the Organization for African Unity to cement mutual ties and understanding and to offer needed services, skills and cooperation for mutual economic, social and political progress and alliance.

2. Establish an International Employment Service on an exchange basis between African and African-American brothers.

3. Establish a Student-Teacher Exchange Program.

4. Institute a program of "Travel to Africa".

5. Promote African-American Home Hospitality programs in all communities for African visitors.

6. Promote and establish an Institute of African Studies in each state, and every community, where possible.

more...

7. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:

this conference endorses the revolutionary struggles against South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and all other colonized African territories, as just and proper, and pledge our unrelenting support for their liberation.

8. That we ally ourselves with all nations and peoples of Africa that are fighting and working to restore their national resources to their respective countries; that these resources are the properties of the people and should be used in their behalf and nor for the benefit of foreign investors, who are supporting the reactionary forces against the best interest of thepeople.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY OF BERMUDA

Be it resolved that the Bermuda Progressive Labor Party wishes to express the encouragement of a continual support to the International Conference on Black Power;

That the Black American people in their aspirations for freedom and self-determination will remain a strong ever-growing force and inspiration to the people of Bermuda;

That the extreme pleasure and opportunity for the delegates

more...

from the Bermuda Progressive Labor Party will in the future mark with respect the supreme sacrifice of all those Black people who have died in the struggle for freedom from oppression throughout history.

We therefore take note that henceforth the ties which bind us as Black people everywhere in the world will forever bring about new dimensions to bridge our future development as one of responsibility.

RESOLUTIONS FROM FLOOR BY INDIVIDUALS

1) WHEREAS, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is planning a massive action in Washington, D.C. on October the 21st, 1967;

WHEREAS, the main thrust will be to "Bring Our Boys Back Home". The need for the Black masses to unite under such a banner is paramount in order to demonstrate to the world our recognition of the Double Genocide of the Yellow and Black people, for the benefit of White Power;

WHEREAS, a disproportionate number of Black brothers are fighting in Vietnam for White Power and should be here in the U.S.A. fighting for Black Power and against racism and all its manifestations;

more...

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Conference on Black Power encourage all Black people to attend and participate in the October 21st mass action in united force to demand that;

1) all of our Black brothers be returned home.

2) an end to the racist draft system.

3) support be given the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of North Vietnam in their fight for self-determination, as well as all other liberation movements throughout the world.

2) WHEREAS, the National Conference on Black Power is dedicated to the propagation of pride and a sense of the natural beauty of Blackness; and is convinced of the unreliability of the racist white press, yet recognizing that pride in Blackness tends to be undermined and destroyed by certain of the news media within our Black communities;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Conference on Black Power initiate discussions and negotiations with all the Black News Media, that carry advertisements that glorify whiteness (skin lighteners, hair straighteners, etc.) and trend to disparage and destroy the natural beauty of blackness; that a national boycott be instituted if such negotiations prove fruitless;

more...

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT a complete investigation be made to determine the total impact of the Black Media in perpetuating the negative image in the Black community.

3. That the National Conference on Black Power encourage all Black people to boycott all prize-fights until Muhammed Ali is restored to his original status as Heavy Weight Champion of the World, and that all products and companies that sponsor fights on radio and television suffer a total Black economic boycott as long as they condone the acts perpetrated against the World Boxing King, Muhammed Ali.

a) That all Black athletes boycott the Olympics to demonstrate their support of Muhammed Ali and this resolution.

4. WHEREAS, the masses of Black peopel, after 400 years of oppression and deprivation under the white supremacist governments of the United States of America, still remain disfranchised and colonized; and,

WHEREAS, the democratic process has failed to protect Liberty and Justice for Black people; and,

WHEREAS, the Black communities in the North, South, East and West, in housing, businesses, schools, political structures and

more...

all other elements of the private and public sectors, still remain in the control of non-Black exploiters and oppressors; and,

WHEREAS, rampant racism called "white backlash" overtly and covertly erects obstacles against our enjoyment of the fruits of our inheritance as citizens, paid for with blood, sweat and tears; and,

WHEREAS, there is no desire or commitment by local, state and national governments to defend full citizenship rights for Black people;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT a national dialogue be initiated on the feasibility of establishing a separate homeland in the United States for Black People.

5. That the National Conference on Black Power seek out Black veterans returning from Vietnam and recruit them to form an organization that will become the vanguard of a defense force to train and build protective units in the Black communities.

more...

6. BE IT RESOLVED THAT, while this Conference will formally adjourn its present sessions, in accordance with established rules of conferences; that a Continuations Committee for Black Power is in continuous session and will remain so until all Black people in America have won their freedom; and,

That all Black people adhering to the principles of this Conference stand in session readiness to be assembled for action and program implementation, whenever called.

: : : : : : :
: : : : :
: : :
: