

**THIS WAY FOR BLACK EMPOWERMENT****Why the Black Man Marched on Washington**

(Part 2)

By Dr. Lenora Fulani

In 1972, the Democratic Party began a process of re-creating itself. Due to a series of democratic rule changes in the party, pioneered by a panel led by Senator George McGovern after the MFDP clash in 1964 and Chicago riots in 1968, the momentarily diversified and grassroots Democrats chose the ultra-liberal, anti-war, pro-civil rights McGovern as its presidential candidate. But the party machinery—still controlled by big money and led by the racist and politically reactionary party bosses and their troops in the AFL-CIO, sabotaged McGovern's bid. His defeat to Nixon was humiliating and complete. Earlier that same year, the National Black empowerment, based primarily on electing more Blacks to office. While the creation of a multi-racial independent party thrust was passionately advocated by the convention's host, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, and nominally supported by Rev. Jesse Jackson, the ultimate strategy became the work through the Democratic Party to increase African American representation. Unfortunately, however, at that very moment the racist forces in the party were plotting McGovern's defeat and an exclusionary rewrite of the new and democratic party's rules (which would later undercut Rev. Jesse Jackson's delegate clout at the 1984 Democratic Convention) and a turn to recapture the white, blue-collar voter who had deserted the party in the white supremacist uprising in 1968 and 1972.

The Democratic Party set its sights on 1976. The party created a new figure—a white Southerner with appeal to the Dixiecrats, but with (barely) enough of a progressive veneer to please the liberals—who could take the White House. Jimmy Carter was the man and post-Watergate was the moment. But clearly the Black community was in the process of being moved to the back of the Democratic bus, but this time it wasn't Bull Connor or George Wallace calling the shots. It was our liberal so-called friends looking to salvage the party's reputation with white America. But white middle America knew that liberalism had become corrupt and the Republicans knew that it was politically vulnerable. The Republicans, starting with Ronald Reagan in

1980, built a 12-year dynasty based on exposing the liberal's failure. Not only was Black America still poor, self-destructive and increasingly violent. The liberals were running up a huge tab paying for social programs that didn't work. Jesse Jackson and others preached that if the dollars spent on prisons were spent on schools instead, the country's problems would be solved. But unfortunately, Rev. Jackson misses the very point of white supremacy. White America would rather incarcerate than educate. This is simply a fact of life the liberals—from Jesse Jackson to Bill Clinton—do not want to expose.

Minister Farrakhan, however, is willing to expose it. While many of the speakers, from Rev. Jackson to Al Sharpton to others, castigated the Republicans for their role in destroying the Black community, Minister Farrakhan stood shoulders above all in confronting the liberal establishment and its standard-bearer, Bill Clinton. In criticizing the President's remarks in Austin, Minister Farrakhan said Bill Clinton did not dig deep enough. He did not get to the root of the problem. What is that root? Minister Farrakhan teaches it is white supremacy, the "sickness" that victimizes Black and white alike. Indeed it is. Minister says he is not a psychiatrist, but can still see the sickness. However, I am a psychologist. I can see the sickness, too.

But the sickness is not just in Bill Clinton's mind. It is in the world. It is in America. And it is firmly rooted in the country's key political and ideological institutions, most especially in the ones which most profoundly betrayed us: the liberal establishment and the Democratic Party.

I loved the Million Man March. I loved Minister Farrakhan's speech. I consider him a monumental leader and I count him as a friend. I do not, however, agree that the Black community should channel itself and its energy into the coterie of Black and white-controlled institutions and organizations which so profoundly failed us. I believe that we must create a new set of institutions, independent institutions which are not tied in any way to the liberal establishment. I believe that we must create a new set of coalitional partnerships outside of the liberal domain. Minister Farrakhan called this a "third



DR. LENORA FULANI

force." In political terms, I believe this means an independent party. In coalitional terms, this means a partnership with elements of white America who have come to see that thorough restructuring of the political process is the precondition for economic, social, cultural and moral development.

I know these views are controversial. I know that for some of us, this may be hard to hear. But if the Million Man March is to be anything more than a momentary mobilization of passion and power, then we must take the march on a serious road to rebuilding our country and ourselves. The will of Black people, proud and powerful as it may be, cannot rebuild Harlem or South Central. We haven't enough financial capital. We do have the political capital to rebuild a political system. But only if we invest it and use it wisely—which, in my opinion, means independently.

**TO BE EQUAL****The State Of Black America 1995**

By Hugh B. Price, President, National Urban League

At a time when race relations in America are being questioned in private and public conversations, the National Urban League has released "The State of Black America 1995," marking its twentieth year of publication and analyzing where we are and where we need to be.

Over the years this book has been the single most authoritative, annual document examining the current conditions of African Americans. Individuals, colleges and universities, and all levels of government have found "The State of Black America" to be a valuable resource in planning, research and the development of public policy on these critical issues.

The 1995 commemorative edition presents distinguished African American scholars writing on three important themes: youth development, economic self sufficiency, and

**Point of View****TONY BROWN'S COMMENTS****Blacks Are Not To Blame For Racism**

When I suspended this column two years ago to write a book, the issue of race was bad enough. Today, after The Bell Curve and a plethora of racist themes by intellectual White supremacists who are taking full advantage of the O.J. Simpson not guilty verdict and the Minister Louis Farrakhan-led Million Man March are driving many Whites into the intolerance zone—and worse.

Some Whites are talking openly of arming themselves against a Black menace and others advocate a "White riot" that fires Blacks, ends government programs and makes a pariah out of the Black community.

Dinesh D'Souza, an immigrant from India, has come along in this climate with another Bell Curve book and my book, Black Lies, White Lies, just hit the bookstores. Both of us studied the same Black America for two years and came away with drastically different conclusions. I invited D'Souza to debate me on Tony Brown's Journal, which will be aired nationwide on PBS November 3 through 9.

D'Souza's book, The End of Racism, maintains that slavery was not racist; that segregation was designed to protect Blacks

because of "their arrested development"; that the civil rights movement was not a triumph of justice; that many White people are racists for good reason; and that all civil rights laws should be repealed.

He believes that Black culture is responsible for the perpetual charges of Black inferiority by Whites and, therefore, "rational discrimination" is legitimized by Black cultural failure. Time magazine writer Jack E. White in a column on D'Souza entitled "The Bigot's handbook" wrote that his book amounts to so much "small-minded zealotry" and raw racism that even "right-wingers" are outraged.

Black Lies, White Lies: The Truth According To Tony Brown refutes D'Souza's claim that Black failure rests on its cultural foundation. I found no dysfunctional Black culture and certainly no pathological Black people.

I did find a struggling people who had been betrayed by their White liberal and Black elitist leadership, and misled into avoiding the education and economic organization that is necessary to their empowerment and equality. My book cites a "noneconomic socialism" prevalent among the Black community's leadership as



TONY BROWN racism's co-conspirator against Black progress.

In Black Lies, White Lies, I explain that the real culprit in our diminished race relations is an overall decline of American life and that structural problems such as the failure of public schools and technological displacement of workers has set in motion a "socioeconomic metastasis" in which the most marginal sector of society, the poor Black community, shows symptoms of this encroaching societal dislocation first.

As examples, I explain that the fastest rate of increase among women who are having babies out of wedlock is among White women and that urban gangs have reached an epidemic level in Iowa where the population is 96.6% White. If you want to see where White America in the suburbs is going to be in the year 2010, go to Harlem or the South side of Chicago today. Take a photograph of them, and you'll see where the middle class and the upper classes of America will be in the next 10 to 20 years.

Tony Brown is the commentator of Tony Brown's Journal which airs on Sundays at 11:30 a.m. on local PBS station KLIX-TV 10, and author of Black Lies, White Lies: The Truth According To Tony Brown.



HUGH B. PRICE

racial inclusion.

Under the theme of youth development, we find that children growing up in the inner city are being cheated of many supports that are crucial for their success.

Parents and community leaders must become sophisticated and insistent consumers of education for their children.

In the section on economic self-sufficiency, we maintain that we must continue our successful job training and placement programs. We will pressure private and public employers to cut poor people in on the local job action.

The task of making our multi-

ethnic society genuinely inclusive is hardly done, this is why America must affirm affirmative action.

For information on how to obtain copies of *The State of Black America 1995* phone (212) 274-9600 or write to AG Publishing, 75 Varick St., New York, NY 10013.

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