efforts.

While Washington tolerated Black suppression, Du Bois demanded full fledged civil rights on the basis of a protest ideology. In the Niagara Movement which he organized in 1905, Du Bois counteracted Washington's moves and argued for male suffrage, full civil rights, economic opportunity and the education of Black youths. He established the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in 1910. He also developed an interest in pan-Africanism, and was influenced by Marxism. But he maintained that race was stronger than class. Du Bois vacillated between Marxism and a middle class ideology and the latter eventually got the better of the former in him (Allen, 1970:98-9). This was the strategy that he adopted in fighting for the basic civil rights, and he came to be regarded as the father of the civil rights movement.

Besides NAACP, the other civil rights organizations were the National Urban League (NUL) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The NUL was established in 1910 for the purpose of easing the transition of the Southern rural Negro into an urban way of life in the North. The CORE was established in 1943 to work out a programme of direct action against racial segregation. All these organizations were democratic, inter-racial in composition and protest-oriented in their ideology.

Another moderate ideological position was adopted by Martin Luther King, a Baptist preacher. King practised non-violent direct action, on the model established by Gandhiji, and led many successful marches. He moved the Negro struggle from the courtroom to the streets and from law libraries to the pews of the church. In 1957 he organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) which led numerous economic boycotts, desegregation and voter registration campaigns. This was the first civil rights movement to start in the South. King was working in a situation of violent racial riots in the 1960s but advocated a non-violent approach. He was assassinated in 1968.

While the civil rights ideology of Du Bois and King were based on moderate protest, there was another set of ideologies which advocated Black nationalism in different degrees, based on different theological interpretation of Christianity.

Marcus Garvey was the key figure in the mass movement. He emphasized withdrawal and self-organization on the basis of a new interpretation of Christianity, a principle that was adopted by the

leaders of the SNDP movement. Born in 1887 in Jamaica, he came to be called the Black Moses giving the American Blacks a sense of racial pride based on their African heritage. He established the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914 in the USA, which had a membership of over two million by 1920. Garvey aimed to liberate the Blacks by developing a distinct racial type of civiliza-tion—that is, the African one—by rejecting American culture and society and by advocating the migration of the Blacks to Africa (Bracey Jr. et al; 1970:158-60).

The movement launched by Garvey also concentrated on Chris-tian regeneration, and the educational and economic development of the Blacks. Garvey created a new religion—the African Orthodox Church—which was a fusion of elements of the Greek Orthodox and Episcopalian faith. One of the fundamental tenets of the new faith was the characterization of Christ as a blackman. Bishop McGuire announced that henceforth the Negro's devil would be white, and the Negro will have his own illustrated Bible with pictures of Negro saints and angels. Marcus Garvey was depicted as one of the saints stressing one God, one Aim, and one Destiny (Allen, 1970:100).

Following Marcus Garvey, a more systematic reinterpretation of Christianity provided a powerful militant ideology for the Blacks in the first and second decades of the twentieth century. The Negroes had earlier developed a Christ-like image of themselves to rationalize their self-respect and which was based on their slave morality—patience, humility and good nature. However, as more Negroes gained relative independence, the Christ-like image was turned into a mechanism challenging the Whites' interpretation of Christianity. The Negroes compared their Christ-like image with the inhuman Whiteman who was unlike Christ. The Christ-like image of the Negro suggested a mission to undertake reforms in this world. Thus, the ego-defence image was turned into a weapon of militancy, and a few important clergymen were pushed into this worldly fight for civil rights. Around 1915, both R.R. Wright Jr., editor of the *Christian Recorder*, and Reverdy C. Ranson, editor of the *AME Church Review*, transformed the slave religion into a religion of militancy. Their religion penetrated the class-rooms of the Negro universities and colleges, and became the sociological dogma taught to thousands of students. It set the Negro up as the moral arbiter of American civilization (Fullinwider, 1969:28, 41, 72).

Marcus Garvey's formulation of Jesus as the God of the oppressed

and the theme of the double-edged Christ-like image of the
Negro, were systematically developed later by Black Christian
theologists in the context of Black power which emerged in the 1960s
(Cone, 1970). The argument of Black theology runs as follows:
Christian theology as developed by the Whites is the theology of the
White oppressors giving religious sanction to genocide and enslave-
ment of the Blacks. It is compatible with White racism. On the
contrary, Black theology has emerged as a theology of liberation,
identifying itself with the oppressed Blacks of America. It sees
God of the Biblical tradition as being not neutral in human affairs,
but as being on the side of the oppressed. He is not colour blind
in the Black-White struggle, but takes the side of the Blacks, the
oppressed. Therefore, the movement for Black liberation is the work
of God Himself. All acts which impede the struggle of Black self-
determination are anti-Christian, the work of Satan.

Black theology thus restructures the Christian belief system to
serve as an instrument of Black liberation. It is the theological
expression of a people who lack social and political power. It is the
idiom of Black consciousness. Theology is used to uncover the racial
biases of White Christianity. For instance, St. Paul asked the slaves
to obey their masters. Because of the curse of Ham, Blacks had
been condemned to be inferior to Whites. Similarly, Calvin and
Wesley did not say anything against slave trading. On the other
hand, the Black theologians—like Richard Allen, Danial Payne and
Highland Garnet—revealed the incompatibility of White Christianity
as the religion of liberation of the Blacks (Cone, 1970:73). Black
theology reinforced the secular ideology of the Black power move-
ment which we shall discuss later.

While Black theology provided a radical theme within the frame-
work of Christianity, the adoption of Islam by a section of the Blacks
was a revolt against the integrative influence of Christianity, the
religion of the Whites. The principle of rejection of the religion and
culture of the oppressor as a form of identity was also adopted by
the Mahar and Dravida Kazhagam movements among the Backward
Classes in India.

The Black Muslim movement was started by Timothy Drew who
became Noble Drew Ali. He established the first Moorish Science
Temple in New Jersey in 1913. The new Prophet, Drew Ali, gave
the Black Americans an Asiatic origin. He translated the Holy
Quran into English, and founded temples in different cities. The

movement, however, gained momentum under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad (Robert Poole) who was born in Georgia in 1897. Under his leadership, the membership increased significantly. Elijah Muhammad eschewed all that was White. He asked his people to give up slave surnames. For instance, he changed the name Sam Washington to Sam X. The Muslims rejected Christianity as the Whiteman's religion, and Allah was seen as the supreme Blackman (Lincoln, 1961:76-7).

Malcolm X joined the Black Muslim Nation in 1953 and worked as a Minister in a temple. He rose to fame very quickly and became the nation's first National Minister in 1963 because of his personal charisma. He was a man of action and an undaunted speaker. He went to many Muslim countries in Africa and the Middle East and visited Mecca. He gave the Black Muslims an Afro-American identity and sang the glories of Black civilization. He was the spokesman of the American Blacks in international forums and strengthened the ideology of Black nationalism in America.

The Afro-Asian ideology reinforced Black nationalism in more ways than one. First, there was the search for identity based on specific genealogical connections with the home country. Secondly, there was an element of pride in claiming that the Blacks were the founders of such ancient civilizations as the Sumerian, the Egyptian, the Dravidian and Carthage (Malcolm X, 1970). This promoted not only a sense of belonging but also a feeling of self-respect. Thirdly, the ideology of African descent led to the adoption of many symbols and styles in dress and hairdo which enabled them to maintain an African identity. Fourthly, the Afro-Asian ideology did not remain only at the level of symbols but had concrete manifestations of international cooperation. At this level, however, the Black world was seen in terms of Islamic identities.

While Black theology and the Black Muslim movements stemmed from religious ideas, the Black power and Black Panther movements established new identities on the basis of Marxist ideology, which has a parallel in the Dalit Panther movement. Although Malcolm X was the ideological father of the Black power movement, it was Carmichael who spearheaded it. He was the Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) founded in 1960. In '966, James Merdith's individual act of heroism (walking througn and surviving bullet injuries) precipitated a major new development of

emphasis in the long struggle for racial equality in America. It was
in this 'March Against Fear' that the slogan 'Black Power' emerged.
The ideology of Black power was contrary to the civil rights phase
of the Black liberation movement which had more or less ground
to a halt. Although the Civil Rights Law of 1964 and the 1965
Voting Rights Act were passed. there were considerable difficulties
in enforcing them effectively. The SNCC addressed itself to this
task. It also showed that civil rights did not mean anything to the
poor. Only the educated and qualified could get jobs and secure
effective voting rights through this approach. The de facto racial
injustices of sprawling urban America—the systematic separation of
life with the Negroes occupying decaying areas in the centre of cities
and the Whites living in comfortable middle class suburbs—were
considered to be the real problems (Feaver, 1970:143). The under-
privileged Negroes in the urban ghettos of the North gained least
from the civil rights movement. Carmichael, born in Trinidad,
graduated from Howard University in 1964, was successful in inject-
ing an element of self-determinism into the Black movement and in
taking it away from the civil rights approach which the integrationists
had adopted. Black power meant different things. But mostly it
meant fighting for political representation and the creation of power
bases for the Blacks.

The basic premise of Black power is 'before a group can enter the
open society, it must first close ranks' (Allen, 1970:50). Blacks are
not like other ethnic groups in American society. Carmichael
characterized the Black communities as exploited colonies of the
United States, and, following Fanon, identified the Black struggle
with anti-colonial movements in the Third World with the conse-
quent revolutionary implications. Black power was conceived as the
politics of liberation in the Third World. Carmichael and Hamilton
(1967) argued that the White-inspired private and public 'uplift
services' imposed a dehumanizing paternalism on the Blacks, and
that this perpetuated the pattern of colonial relations. Hence, the
Blacks should give priority to the political goals of Black determi-
nation, Black self-identity and Black racial solidarity.

The Black power movement was later endorsed by the Congress
of Racial Equality (CORE) which, until then, had followed a policy
of integration relying on non-violent action. In 1966, CORE defined
Black power as effective control and self-determination by men of
colour in their own areas, while power was total control of the