

ISSN 2311-1658

**CReLAND**

**Centre de Recherche en Littératures de l'Afrique Noire et de la Diaspora**

# MultiFontaines

**Revue internationale de littérature et sciences humaines**

**Revue annuelle - N°2, Janvier 2015**

**Lomé-Togo**



**ADMINISTRATION DE LA REVUE MULTIFONTAINES**

**Directeur de publication** : Pr Komla Messan NUBUKPO  
**Coordinateurs de rédaction** : Akoete AMOUZOU, M.C.  
: Kodjo AFAGLA, M.C.  
**Secrétariat** : Dr Ebony Kpalambo AGBOH

**COMITE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE LECTURE**

**Président:** Lébéné BOLOUVI, Professeur titulaire (Togo)

*Membres:*

Pr Kossi A. AFELI (Togo), Pr Yaovi AKAKPO (Togo), Pr René Daniel AKENDENGUE (Gabon), Pr Sonayon TANHOSOU-AKIBODE (Togo), Pr Konan AMANI (Côte d'Ivoire), Pr Kofi ANYIDOHO (Ghana), Pr Kazaro TASSOU (Togo), Pr Mamadou KANDJI (Sénégal), Pr Taofiki KOUMAKPAÏ (Bénin), Pr Kofi MENSAH (Ghana), Pr Adjai Paulin OLOUKPONA-YINNON (Togo), Pr Ataféi PEWISSI (Togo), Pr Issa TAKASSI (Togo), Pr Simon Agbéko AMEGBLEAME (Togo), Pr Marie-Laurence NGORAN-POAME (Côte d'Ivoire), Pr Ambroise C. MEDEGAN (Bénin), Pr Médard BADA (Bénin), Pr Abou NAPON (Burkina Faso).

Aklesso ADJI, Maître de Conférences (Togo), Komla E. ESSIZEWA, Maître de Conférences (Togo), Kokou Folly Lolowou HETCHELI, Maître de Conférences (Togo), Jean ZIDA, Maître de Conférences (Burkina Faso)

**Relecture/Révision**

Pr Simon Agbéko AMEGBLEAME  
Pr Adjai Paulin OLOUKPONA-YINNON  
Pr Komla Messan NUBUKPO

Contact : Revue *MultiFontaines*, Centre de Recherche en Littératures de l'Afrique Noire et de la Diaspora (CReLAND)

01BP 4317 Lomé – Togo

Tél. : 00228 90 25 70 00

E-mail : [multifontaines@creland.net](mailto:multifontaines@creland.net)

Site web : [www.creland.net](http://www.creland.net)

© Janvier 2015

ISSN 2311-1658

Tous droits réservés

## LIGNE EDITORIALE

**MultiFontaines** est une revue scientifique. Les textes que nous acceptons en français, anglais, ou allemand sont sélectionnés par le comité scientifique et de lecture en raison de leur originalité, des intérêts qu'ils présentent aux plans africain et international et de leur rigueur scientifique. Les articles que notre revue publie doivent respecter les normes éditoriales suivantes :

### La taille des articles

Volume : 18 à 20 pages ; interligne : 1,5 ; pas d'écriture : 12, Times New Roman.

### Ordre logique du texte

- Un **TITRE** en caractère d'imprimerie et en gras. Le titre ne doit pas être trop long ;
- Un **Résumé** en français qui ne doit pas dépasser 6 lignes ;
- Les **Mots clés** ;
- Un résumé en anglais (**Abstract**) qui ne doit pas dépasser 6 lignes ;
- **Key words** ;
- **Introduction** ;
- Développement ;

Les articulations du développement du texte doivent être titrées et/ou sous titrées ainsi :

1. Pour le **Titre** de la première section

1.1. Pour le **Titre** de la première sous-section

2. Pour le **Titre** de la deuxième section

2.1. Pour le **Titre** de la première sous-section de la deuxième section

2.2. etc.

- **Conclusion**

Elle doit être brève et insister sur l'originalité des résultats de la recherche.

- **Bibliographie**

Les sources consultées et/ou citées doivent figurer dans une rubrique, en fin de texte, intitulée :

### **Bibliographie.**

Elle est classée par ordre alphabétique (en référence aux noms de famille des auteurs) et se présente comme suit :

Pour un livre : Nom, Prénom (ou initiaux), *Titre du livre (en italique)*, Lieu d'édition, Edition, Année d'édition.

Pour un article : Nom, Prénoms (ou initiaux), "Titre de l'article" (entre griffes) suivi de in, *Titre de la revue (en italique)*, Volume, Numéro, Lieu d'édition, Année d'édition, Indication des pages occupées par l'article dans la revue.

Les rapports et des documents inédits mais d'intérêt scientifique peuvent être cités.

### **La présentation des notes**

La rédaction n'admet que des notes en bas de page. Les notes en fin de texte ne sont pas tolérées.

Les citations et les termes étrangers sont en italique et entre guillemets « ».

Les titres d'articles sont entre griffes " ". Il faut éviter de les mettre en italique.

Les titres d'ouvrages et de revues sont en italique. Ils ne sont pas soulignés.

La revue **MultiFontaines** s'interdit le soulignement.

Les références bibliographiques en bas de page se présentent de la manière suivante : Prénoms (on peut les abréger par leurs initiaux) et nom de l'auteur, *Titre de l'ouvrage*, (s'il s'agit d'un livre) ou "Titre de l'article", *Nom de la revue*, (vol. et n°), Lieu d'édition, Année, n° de page.

Le système de référence par année à l'intérieur du texte est également toléré.

Elle se présente de la seule manière suivante : Prénoms et Nom de l'auteur (année d'édition : n° de page). NB : Le choix de ce système de référence oblige l'auteur de l'article proposé à faire figurer dans la bibliographie en fin de texte toutes les sources citées à l'intérieur du texte.

Le comité scientifique de lecture est le seul juge de la scientificité des textes publiés. L'administration et la rédaction de la revue sont les seuls habilités à publier les textes retenus par les comités scientifiques et de relecture. Les avis et opinions scientifiques émis dans les articles n'engagent que leurs propres auteurs. Les textes non publiés ne sont pas retournés.

La présentation des figures, cartes, graphiques... doit respecter le format (format : 17,5/26) de la mise en page de la revue **MultiFontaines**.

Tous les articles doivent être envoyés à l'adresse suivante : [multifontaines@creland.net](mailto:multifontaines@creland.net)

NB : Chaque auteur dont l'article est retenu pour publication dans la revue **MultiFontaines** participe aux frais d'édition à raison de 35.000 francs CFA (soit 65 euros ou 85 dollars US) par article et par numéro. Il reçoit, à titre gratuit, un tiré-à-part.

La Rédaction

**PRIX DE VENTE DU NUMERO**

Région / Pays	Quantité	Prix unité <sup>1</sup>	Total
Togo	-----	FCFA 5 000	-----
Afrique CEDEAO		FCFA 7 000	
CEMAC		FCFA 8 000	

**TABLE DES MATIERES**

**LITTÉRATURE**

1. Enfance et idéologie victorienne dans *Silas Marner* (1861) de George Eliot.....11  
**Alioune Badara KANDJI**
2. Le héros tragique et la symbolique des couleurs dans *Saint Monsieur Baly* de Williams Sassine .....21  
**Kossi Souley GBETO**
3. The Poetics of transtextuality in *Hobomok, A Tale of Early Times by an American*: Paratextual and intertextual motifs.....39  
**Babacar DIENG**
4. Black Canadian and African-American history revisited: A Study of Lawrence Hill's *Someone Knows My Name* (2007) and Lawrence Patrick Jackson's *My Father's Name* (2012) .....57  
**Vamara KONE**
5. The Ethics of emancipatory becoming in Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions*.....75  
**Damlègue LARE**
6. Ambiguïté sémantique des verbes mentir et ignorer.....93  
**Arnaud GNAMIAN BI ERIC**
7. Les limites de l'engagement antiesclavagiste de Voltaire dans *Candide*.....99  
**Komi KPATCHA**
8. Rhématisation comme moyen de description dans le jeu hypotypotique chez Damas .....115  
**Yao KOUAME**
9. The loss of innocence in Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*: hypocrisy, deception, and moral corruption.....125  
**Alexandre NUBUKPO**
10. Culture, identity and positions of enunciation in African literature...143  
**Akoété AMOUZOU**
11. *L'épopée du roi singe* : creuset de la sagesse chinoise.....159  
**Pedro Kennedy GNAGNY**

## LINGUISTIQUE ET DIDACTIQUE DES LANGUES

12. The Use of adjectives in Kabiye-Ewe bilingual speech .....177  
**Komlan Essowe ESSIZEWA**
13. La complémentation en p<sup>h</sup>úě.....189  
**Oumar MALO**
14. Commentaire sur la traduction de film “Winning your love” d’Ossy Affason, traduit comme la quête d’amour .....201  
**Felicia ASADU OLUCHUKWU**  
**&**  
**Olivia U. EZEAFULUKWE**
15. Peer collaboration in school-based professional development: EFL teachers’ voices in a secondary school in Benin .....211  
**Juvenale PATINVOH AGBAYAHOUN**

## PHILOSOPHIE ET SCIENCES SOCIALES

16. Vers un nouveau regard sur la gestion de l’espace public urbain en Afrique ? L’exemple de la Côte d’Ivoire.....229  
**Grégoire TRAORE**
17. Médecine prédictive : prodromes d’un renouvellement de l’art divinatoire ? .....245  
**Victorien Kouadio EKPO**
18. Josiah Henson and the issue of slavery.....263  
**Valentin K. Dah DOVONON**
19. Hegel et l’histoire mondiale.....289  
**Georges ZONGO**
20. Les femmes ministres du Bénin entre 1989 et 1996.....301  
**Pierre G. METINHOUE**
21. Et si Robert Mugabe avait lu “A Farewell Address” de George Washington : Regards croisés sur la limitation des mandats présidentiels aux Etats-Unis et en Afrique.....319  
**Oumar NDONGO**
22. The economic franchise for African Americans: Reverend Leon Howard Sullivan’s contribution .....331  
**Ferdinand KPOHOUE**

23. Politiques coloniales, forces armées et système de conflits dans l'espace de la Sénégambie : enjeux, défis et stratégies de gestion des crises.....345  
**Aliou SOW**
24. Interface pauvreté et assistance sociale ecclésiastique aux communautés rurales : un ancrage de "Don Bosco" dans la partie septentrionale au Togo.....365  
**Yawo Agbenyo AFENYIVÉH**

## THE ECONOMIC FRANCHISE FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS: REVEREND LEON HOWARD SULLIVAN'S CONTRIBUTION

Ferdinand KPOHOUE

Université d'Abomey-Calavi, Bénin

### Abstract

African Americans were not accepted to work together with Whites even after the ratification of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment on January 31, 1865. Reverend Leon H. Sullivan (1922 – 2001) identified some strategies to oblige the Whites to accept Blacks to work together with them. He innovated the selective patronage to boycott companies that rejected Blacks. As a result, Blacks were accepted but they lacked skills and experience to be as efficient as Whites. Sullivan created the OIC, a training center, in order to empower Blacks as well as other minority groups to become competitive. The outcome was amazing, OIC centers spread everywhere in America. Millions of Blacks were trained and were hired. So black people identified as hellions, drunkards, or bums in society could become misters after a stay in OIC training centers.

The objective of this research paper is to assess the impacts of the OIC on the Blacks in America in terms of their social regard and moral satisfaction. Sullivan's experience is a step forward in the process of integration and betterment of the conditions of African Americans in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** African- Americans, OIC, selective patronage, economic franchise, black-owned businesses.

### Introduction

The transatlantic slave trade poured a horde of Blacks in America to be used as slaves. As such they were denied all rights from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 to the Constitution which took effect on March 4, 1789 after being ratified by New Hampshire, the required ninth state. But after the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, Blacks became free. This freedom did not take into account their Civil Rights, a long time struggle was necessary to get them. In this process, each black activist used his talents and knowledge to challenge the white hegemony. Reverend Jesse Jackson, Sr., has identified four movements in his foreword text to *Moving Mountains. The Principles and Purpose of Leon Sullivan* by Leon H. Sullivan. The first movement is named "the human franchise"; the second movement is called "public franchise"; the third movement is referred to as "political franchise; and the fourth movement is "the economic franchise" which is, according to Jesse Jackson, "the right to

our share of the growth, wealth, and prosperity in this country.<sup>378</sup> In order to achieve this goal, Reverend Sullivan initiated the selective patronage which boycotted companies that refused to hire blacks. He was successful but a new problem came out: Blacks needed additional or primary capacity reinforcement to meet the demand of their jobs. As a consequence, Sullivan founded in 1964 the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC), which provided educational and vocational training for unskilled African American workers. By 1980, the OIC had grown into a national force, and, by 1993 the OIC's programs had been instituted in several sub-Saharan African countries (Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal). African Americans, through OIC, were skillful enough to work anywhere in America.

### 1. 10-36 Plan

Through his position at the Zion Baptist Church, Sullivan developed a unique community investment scheme known as the 10-36 Plan. The goal was to foster the growth of black economic power by pooling the wealth of Philadelphia's black population and undertaking a number of economic development projects. As Sullivan explains it,

This goal implies our wide use of monetary, natural and physical resources. It means organization, discovery of the worth of capital, and knowing how to put a dollar to profitable use, attracting additional dollars and gaining additional purchasing power. As blood circulates in a body, keeping it warm, breathing and alive, so money must flow and flow, and circulate through and through the concentrated community, passing around in order to breathe life into it and provide new aspirations and opportunities for the young African-American population that is coming along. The aim is to keep some of the money at home instead of seeing it all flow out, week after week, into the suburbs, making the wealthy wealthier from the earnings of black folks.<sup>379</sup>

In its heyday, the 10-36 Plan financed several of black-owned businesses and operated residential, commercial, and industrial projects. The Plan thus served as an illustrative example of a practical application of Black Capitalism, which attained significant popularity during the Black Power era.

Inspired by a well-known parable from the Bible, Sullivan decided to use the church as a vehicle for organizing the black community to consolidate its resources and build a community-owned economic base. He explains:

---

<sup>378</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Moving Mountain: The Principles and Purposes of Leon Sullivan*. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1998. p.ix.

<sup>379</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Build Brother Build*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969. pp.161-162.

One day I was reading the Bible's account of how Jesus took the five loaves and two fishes and changed these into enough food to feed a multitude with twelve baskets loaves left over. I decided the same idea of cooperation and involvement could bring about ownership benefits in a community of such supply that economic basket loads would be left over.<sup>380</sup>

On 15 June 1962, after his Sunday sermon based on the loaves and fishes, he introduced his congregation to his vision of self-help through community investment:

I asked my members to invest ten dollars a month for thirty-six months to build housing and shopping centers and to create businesses. Six hundred members of my church volunteered to be a part of the 10-36 Program. The number eventually grew to more than four thousand, not only from my church but from other churches in the city. At the end of the first year, we had accumulated enough ten-dollar bills to build the first million-dollar apartment complex by blacks in the city of Philadelphia.<sup>381</sup>

Rev. Sullivan had expected about 50 families to sign up for the 10-36 Plan, but the response was overwhelming. Over 200 joined the plan that Sunday morning. His idea of bringing people together to invest in a community-owned enterprise had caught fire.

The concept of the 10-36 Plan was to create two separate legal entities. For the first 16 months of the subscription period, investors would contribute to the Zion Non-Profit Charitable Trust (ZNPCT), a Community Development Corporation (CDC) that would support education, scholarships for youth, health services and other programs aimed at social uplift. For the remaining 20 months of the subscription period, investors would make payments to a for-profit corporation, Progress Investment Associates (PIA), which would undertake income-generating projects. At the end of 36 months, subscribers would receive one share of common voting stock and would be entitled to participate in yearly shareholders meetings. The idea of the voting system was to encourage community involvement in the plan.

According to Sullivan's philosophy, it was important for people to begin by contributing to the nonprofit side of the effort in order to develop a psychology of giving before receiving. It was also important for people to learn basic economic concepts and to see the 10-36 Plan as a long-term investment. Their most immediate monetary benefit would be a tax deduction for their contributions to the nonprofit. To participate in the 10-36 Plan, investors had to have faith in the idea of investing in a secure future for the next generation.

---

<sup>380</sup>Sullivan, H. Leon. *Moving Mountain: The Principles and Purposes of Leon Sullivan*. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1998. p.22

<sup>381</sup> Ibid

Reverend Dr Sullivan's vision was to use the tools of the free enterprise system to foster something that is vital to community progress - a sense of ownership and a stake in the common good.

Funds accumulated rapidly under the 10-36 Plan, and were soon used to invest in numerous housing and economic development initiatives. In 1964, Progress Investment Associates made its first investment in an 8-unit apartment building in an all-white community. The rationale for buying this property was that it would help address a long-standing problem facing blacks - racial discrimination in housing. The leaders of the Progress Movement believed that money often has the power to speak louder than words in the struggle to improve race relations. Finally, the 10-36 Plan initiative has borne unthinkable fruit, as witnessed by Reverend Sullivan in the following words:

To learn what has been built by blacks in Philadelphia who began with virtually nothing but a commitment to work together is cause for amazement. The accomplishments include shopping centers, housing developments, the opportunities Towers for the housing of the aged and the handicapped, neighborhood rehabilitation, many training centers, and, most of all, a community of people proud of their ownership.<sup>382</sup>

Reverend Sullivan's actions towards the black community were the expression of his determination to create an environment likely to desegregate Blacks with the blacks' contributions. His success is the fruit of his commitment which leaves no room to suspicion. He continued his actions in the direction of the black community for more success.

## **2. Progress Plaza**

After establishing the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) in the mid-1960s, Zion's next major undertaking was the fulfillment of Reverend Dr Sullivan's dream of building the nation's first black-owned and developed shopping center in the United States of America, to be named Progress Plaza. In addition to addressing his concern about the lack of black ownership of major businesses in America, the project dealt with the problem of unemployment in North Philadelphia by generating a substantial number of jobs. After convincing the city's Redevelopment Authority to donate land for the project, Reverend Dr Sullivan set out to raise the capital needed to build the shopping center. So he went to the chairman of a bank with William Downes, Zion's treasurer and asked a construction loan. The chairman asked him to think about it and come back later in two, three or four years to see what they could do. In fact, the bank needed a deposit of the customer's equities before granting the loan. Reverend Dr Sullivan was already prepared for that challenge. William Downes opened

---

<sup>382</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. Ibid. P. 23

his sack and \$400,000 worth of equities came out. The manager was so surprised and he hurried to grant the loan.

Progress Plaza, which is located on Broad Street, one of Philadelphia's main thoroughfares, was dedicated in 1968 before a crowd of 10,000 well-wishers. Progress Plaza contained sixteen stores, half of them black owned; the plaza included branches of Bell Telephone Company, Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and an A & P Supermarket. Many of the store managers and black business owners would eventually receive their training through the "Entrepreneurial Development Training Center" that was sponsored by Zion Non-Profit Charitable Trust (ZNPCT), which was established in 1966.

In some sense, the shopping center was the culmination of the Progress Movement's multiple goals. Because it was a major construction project, it created a large number of construction jobs for participants in the OIC program. Through an agreement negotiated with Progress Plaza's chain store tenants, the shopping center also made numerous management job opportunities available to African Americans.

To fulfill another one of the Progress Movement's primary goals, to encourage the development of black-owned businesses, he created an Entrepreneurial Training Center at Progress Plaza. With major funding from the Ford Foundation, the center was able to offer managerial and entrepreneurial skills training to hundreds of area residents. Today, over half of the 16 stores in Progress Plaza are black-owned businesses.

Another major goal of the Progress Movement was to address the social needs of North Philadelphia's community residents. To this end, it was built a comprehensive Human Services Center that centralizes essential services so that they are easily accessible to area residents. Zion's role was to develop the property and lease it at below-market rent to nonprofit and governmental entities which programs fulfill Zion's charitable mission. Located adjacent to Progress Plaza, the Center currently houses a Social Security Administration office, an unemployment compensation office, a police training academy, and a health service center run by Temple University.

In the late 1970s the Zion Non-Profit Charitable Trust (ZNPCT) entered into a partnership with local developers to construct Progress Plaza II in West Philadelphia, also known as Progress Haddington Plaza, which opened in 1980. The shopping center became home to over a dozen retail businesses, including a supermarket, restaurants, bank branches, and clothing stores. As was the case with Progress Plaza, the second shopping center achieved Zion Trust's major economic objectives of creating jobs, developing businesses, and expanding economic development in black neighborhoods.

Sullivan's vision was to increase business ownership and management skills, providing black entrepreneurs with the opportunity and experience of working with budgets of hundreds of thousands or millions of dollars in both the public sphere and private enterprise. The businesses supported by Zion

Investment Associates (ZIA) and the Zion Trust also included Progress Aerospace Enterprise, incorporated in May 1968, which had contracts from General Electric, Boeing, Philco-Ford, and Westinghouse Company. By February 1970 Progress Aerospace Enterprise had 107 employees.

The Garment Progress Manufacturing Company was started in August 1968 and was financed by Zion Investment Associates (ZIA) and the Zion Trust. The company produced its own clothing lines by February 1970, it employed fifty workers.

Zion Investment Associates (ZIA) also sponsored the four “Our Markets,” large and much-needed grocery stores that opened in black neighborhoods beginning in the spring of 1971. In the case of the Mill Creek Housing Complex, the officers of the Zion Trust worked with tenants to secure loans to purchase and rehabilitate their homes.

Reverend Dr Sullivan’s achievements to lighten the burden of the black community in America resulted from three sources:

- his early experience with segregation,
- his coming from a poor family, and
- the poverty of the black community.

Religion was an instrument he made use of in order to succeed where many other senior civil rights activists had failed. He could mobilize easily people in the religious frame to initiate his mass program. He owed everything to the Zion Baptist Church he made use of in order to give hope to the downtrodden blacks trapped and maintained within the claws of the white segregated system. He proved successful in business where Marcus Garvey failed. He was a skillful manager, he associated investors in order to dissipate doubt and suspicion. His humility took him to get nearer to famous civil rights activists who agitated Harlem, the hotbed of black radical politics and Civil Rights protest.

## **2. The selective patronage**

Sullivan was appointed pastor of the Zion Baptist Church upon his arrival in Philadelphia in 1950. Founded in 1882 as the first black Baptist church in North Philadelphia, Zion Baptist had developed a reputation for being active in the surrounding community. With one of the largest black populations in the north, Philadelphia had a long history of Civil Rights agitation prior to Sullivan’s arrival. In Philadelphia the church was led by a lot of notable people. They were looking for someone to help the church, and out of many, they selected Sullivan as a young man, married, and trained.

Convinced that the youth was the future of the community of African Americans and of America, he devoted his first ten years effort to working with young people. He organized programs all over the city to help young people. His

programs were against juvenile delinquents, and they helped to stem the growing crime waves and the gangs that began to organize in Philadelphia. He organized the Citizens Committee against Juvenile Delinquency and its causes (CCAJD) in 1953 in order to focus the common effort of the citizen, the police, and the court on the causes of juvenile delinquency. The C.C.A.J.D. divided North Philadelphia into block organizations and held meetings. For his efforts, Sullivan earned national recognition when he won the Young Man of the Year award from the National Junior Chamber of Congress in 1955. Sullivan abdicated his position as C.C.A.J.D. president in 1957 and shifted his attention to youth employment opportunities.

Sullivan discovered one of the problems young people faced: they did not have work. Black unemployment rose through the 1950s as private industries refused to hire them. Blacks could not even get jobs as waiters in good hotels. There were very few secretaries, there were no bank tellers, there were no jobs of any importance for young black people. Despite the passage of a new home rule charter in 1951 which banned racial discrimination in city jobs, services, and contracts, conditions for the vast majority of Philadelphia's Blacks remained largely unchanged. So he decided to confront discrimination again. Here Sullivan did not refer to the preamble of the American Constitution, he referred to some adult strategies to be more efficient. In the summer of 1960, Sullivan brought together the black clergy from around the city into a loose confederation called the "400 Ministers." Their plan was to wield their collective strength as leaders among Philadelphia's black population to force local businesses that practiced discriminatory hiring or were sluggish in hiring Blacks to change their ways. So the movement he created was called "selective patronage". He organized the 400 preachers, black preachers of all denominations to confront discrimination in Philadelphia. He explains the method operated:

The first step in our selective patronage movement was to form small visitation committees, which paid calls on targeted companies to tell them about the black community's needs. Members of these ad hoc committees were chosen on a rotating basis to provide as broad as leadership participation as possible. The committees acted on behalf of the group of four hundred ministers. Their initial task was to ask top company executives to open to blacks a certain number of jobs in specific categories of employment from which blacks had been previously excluded. The categories included clerical, secretarial, drafting, sales, and management.

If within a designed period, usually a month, the company had not met the ministers' demand, we would hold a meeting, usually scheduled for midnight at one of the churches. Members of the press were barred in order to allow the ministers the freest possible expression. We listened to the

recommendation of the ad hoc committee reporting to the four hundred, then took a vote on whether to advocate selective patronage. If our decision was to so advocate, word of the recalcitrant company went out from four hundred pulpits across Philadelphia on the following Sunday. By Monday morning, three hundred thousand black people around the city had heard the message, even if they had not watched television, listened to the radio, or read a newspaper.<sup>383</sup>

For four years they had selective buying campaigns against companies that discriminated against Blacks. Supermarkets, banks insurance companies, factories and all the companies began to open up to Blacks; it was the first campaign of its size ever attempted in America.

After the selective buying campaign, thousands of jobs opened for black people in Philadelphia, as they did with the program all over the nation. This was the first place where on a city wide basis this kind of strategy was tried. Jobs began to open by thousands. Thousands of companies called Sullivan with orders: job orders for bank teller, for management workers, and for teletype.

The first target was Tasty Baking Company, maker of the ubiquitous Philadelphia snack, Tastykakes. Sullivan was appointed the spokesman of the campaign. At the time, Tasty Baking was already employing a number of Blacks in lower-level positions. Their higher-level positions of dignity and responsibility remained white. Sullivan and the 400 Ministers' demands for the company thus included hiring two black women to the clerical staff, assignment of permanent routes to black substitute driver salesmen, and a commitment to hire more black driver-salesmen. The driver-salesman position was particularly valuable as it offered commissions on the sales that drivers were able to make to local vendors. Tasty Baking, proved hostile to their demands. After initial negotiations broke down in June of 1960, the 400 Ministers declared a boycott of all of the company's products. Tastykake refused to submit to the Ministers' demands without a fight. The 400 Ministers' efforts to unite Philadelphia Blacks were successful. Black-owned grocery stores around the city refused to sell Tastykake products and many displayed storefront signs announcing their participation in the boycott. By August of that summer, after only two months under Selective Patronage, Tastybaking was forced to relent, meeting all of the Ministers' demands. The 400 Ministers' first attempt at Selective Patronage was a success.

With the Tastykake victory, the 400 Ministers urged the community to be ready for additional boycotts as they continued to work towards their goal of opening Philadelphia's private job market to Blacks. Fearing similar campaigns directed at their own companies, several local businesses, when approached by the Ministers, immediately heeded their demands, thus avoiding the full wrath of Selective Patronage.

---

<sup>383</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Moving Mountain: The Principles and Purposes of Leon Sullivan*. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1998. p. 13

The Selective Patronage in Philadelphia quickly spread to black populations around, nationwide action became a reality. Among the other notable companies targeted by the twenty-nine total Selective Patronage campaigns between 1959 and 1963 were Pepsi-Cola, Gulf Oil, Breyers Ice Cream, and the Philadelphia Bulletin. Sullivan later estimated that more than 2,000 jobs were opened as a direct result of the campaigns. So impressive were the Ministers' successes that selective patronage took a more central role in the strategy of the national Civil Rights Movement. In 1962, Sullivan was invited by Martin Luther King to Atlanta to brief the city's black clergy on the use of the strategy. That same year, King and Ralph Abernathy employed the strategy in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket which proved successful.

As a matter of fact, in 1962 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) established Operation Breadbasket to put bread, money, and income into the baskets of black and poor people. With the broad mandate of improving the economic conditions of African Americans, Operation Breadbasket organized black consumers to press for jobs and to encourage and expand black-owned businesses. In its first campaign in Atlanta, Georgia, the organization won a commitment from local companies for 5000 jobs over the next five years.

After establishing affiliates in several Southern States, the organization expanded north. In 1966 Jesse Louis Jackson, then a student at Chicago Theological Seminary, helped found the Chicago chapter, which directed protests at several dairy companies and supermarket chains to demand that they hire black workers and support black-owned businesses. Although the protesters were able to secure promises of employment for black workers from several major corporations, they had trouble ensuring compliance.

As Operation Breadbasket which put bread, money, and income into the baskets of black and poor people expanded across the country in 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. appointed Jackson to be its national director. From then on, the group became increasingly identified with Jackson's high profile leadership. Under Jackson, Operation Breadbasket took on a number of projects, among them a free breakfast program and the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. The organization also became a voice in local and national politics, opposing welfare cuts and supporting electoral candidates.

In short, Operation Breadbasket, inspired from Sullivan's selective patronage, was productive too. Even though decline started in 1971, Operation Breadbasket was also a formidable tool that improved the conditions of Blacks in America. Also was Operation Breadbasket the ancestor of Operation People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) created by Jesse Jackson in 1971 when he left the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in order to promote economic security for black workers and businesses and to provide assistance to African American urban youth.

Sullivan's actions in favor of Blacks in America continued in different other forms as a response to his commitment to fight discriminations Blacks were submitted to in the South and anywhere else.

### **5. OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Center)**

The creation of the OIC was an answer to the impossibility to hire Blacks because personnel officers complained that Blacks were not prepared for the job, meaning they were not skillful enough to do the job. This argument was the new alibi used to put aside the black job seekers in order to hire but the Whites. Reverend Sullivan found the best solution:

All right, I said to myself, if we are not prepared, then we will make ourselves prepared! We will help ourselves. That would be a good slogan. To those who say that black men cannot learn as white men do we will prove that intelligence is colorblind. Some people argue that black people do not really want to anything more than relief and the labor of others to live on. We will prove that they are wrong, and all that black people really want is a chance- not relief rolls but payrolls.<sup>384</sup>

Reverend Sullivan got in touch with Thomas McIntosh, the district council-man, and asked him to help him get the abandoned jail to be used as a training center. Major James Tate accepted, he signed ordinance stating that the rent should be one dollar a year for ninety-nine years. The second step was to work to find money and equipments to start. A drive for support was initiated and was successful: many people gave money and companies provided equipment consisting in old machines and other second hand equipment. So on Sunday, January 24<sup>th</sup>, 1964, OIC opened officially with focus on the objective to train for the jobs that actually existed. The first lessons were about 'drafting, sheet metal work, machine shop, chemical laboratory technician training, power machine operating, and restaurant practices', as it is mentioned on page 93. Those who came for training were made to believe that black people were incapable by nature and could not believe in their own potentialities. In front of this dramatic psychological inertia, Reverend Sullivan and the other members of the OIC staff innovated a new program called Feeder Program with the following objective:

Out of this need our Feeder Program was born. It was intended to do exactly what the word implies, which was to take a man into OIC, prepare him psychologically, teach him learning

---

<sup>384</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Build Brother Build*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969. p.89.

skills, and then feed him first into OIC skill centers or other training centers, and afterward into jobs.<sup>385</sup>

In fact, the Feeder Program provided basic knowledge such as reading, writing, and arithmetic to enable the trainees to follow the vocational training to be equipped enough to face the requirements of the existing jobs. In addition, trainees were taught their history in order to develop pride and self-reliance. Then they could get free psychologically so as to involve in training without inferiority complex. This teaching involved other minority groups such as the Irishman, the Italian, the German, the Jew, the Appalachian white, and other minority groups in America.

As a result, people trained at OIC centers discovered a new life:

And its vitalizing effect is incalculable. In OIC I have seen men and women born again – thousands of them. I have seen lives take on completely new dimensions. Identities of OIC trainees have been changed in the neighborhoods where they live. Where a man used to be called a drunk, a hellion, a no-good so-and-so, or a bum, once he has come to OIC and stayed a while, his name changes, back in his community. All of a sudden people begin to call him “Mister.”<sup>386</sup>

By 1970, about 100,000 students were attending different classes at OIC. This number exceeded 300,000 in 1971. ‘Ninety per cent of OIC trainees got good-paying jobs after leaving the centers.’<sup>387</sup> So in 1981, 2,200,000 trainees could get jobs.

### Conclusion

The OIC’s objectives are to train or retrain millions of men and women of African descent and other minority groups with untapped talents and unknown skills, who are unemployed and underemployed; to foster and nurture a sense of self-pride which will give the trainee confidence in himself and enable him to participate with dignity in the total society. Sullivan’s philosophy vis-à-vis the black community is a revolution opposite to Booker T. Washington’s opinion developed at the Atlanta Exposition in Georgia in 1895. Washington appealed to his fellow African Americans by emphasizing the importance of economic self-determination, while reassuring whites with his apparent willingness to accept the racial caste system. He believed that economic advancement was more important to blacks than social or political equality. Sullivan has created OIC to empower African Americans to become able to do whatever job

---

<sup>385</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Build Brother Build*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company, 1969. p. 99.

<sup>386</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Build Brother Build*. P. 107.

<sup>387</sup> Sullivan, H. Leon. *Build Brother Build*. P.123.

available in America. Through this, African Americans can drop their inferiority complex and become full citizens likely to fight for their rights in the society where they are rejected. They should not cast their buckets where they are as suggested by Booker T. Washington, but cast their buckets everywhere in the USA to take whatever belongs to them as citizens.

### **Bibliography**

- ARMENTO, B. J. et.al. (1991). *America Will Be*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- BAILEY, T. A. (1963). *The American Spirit: United States History As Seen by Contemporaries*. Volume I. Boston: D.C. Heath And Company.
- (1963). *The American Spirit: United States History As Seen by Contemporaries*. Volume II. Boston: D.C. Heath And Company.
- BERKIN, C. and WOOD, L. (1987). *Land of Promise: A History of the United States*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company.
- BOGGS, J. (1970). *Racism and the Class Struggle: Further Pages from a Black Worker's Notebook*. New York and London: First Modern Reader Paperback Edition.
- CARMICHAEL, S. and HAMILTON, V. C. (1967). *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. New York: Random House.
- BOULDIN, C, et. al. (1992). *The African American Experience*. New Jersey: A History, Globe Book Company: A Division of Simon and Schuster Englewood Cliffs.
- FOHLEN, C. (1965). *Les Noirs Aux Etats-Unis*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- FRANKLIN, J. H. (1984). *De l'Esclavage à la Liberté: Histoire des Afro-Américains*. Trans. Kieffer Catherine. Paris: Editions Caribéennes.
- GARVEY, M. (1927). *The Tragedy of White Injustice*. New York.
- GAYLE, A. Jr. (1971). *Bondage, Freedom and Beyond; The Prose of Black Americans*. New York: Zenith Books: Doubleday and Company Inc.
- HACKER, A. (1993). *Two Nations Black And White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal*. 1992:New York: Ballantine Books.
- JAMES, C. L. R. (1963). *The Black Jacobins*. New York: Vintage Books.
- KATHLEEN, M. F. and HANSEN, M. P.( 1969). *African Americans in US History : 1877 to the Present*. California: Fearon / Janus, Belmont, 1990. *Liberation in America*. New York: Random House, 1967. New York:

Zenith Books : Doubleday and Company Inc, 1971. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith.

SULLIVAN, H. L. (1969). *Build Brother Build: From Poverty to Economic Power*. Philadelphia: Macrae Smith.

----- (1998). *Moving Mountain: The Principles and Purposes of Leon Sullivan*. Valley Forge: Judson Press.