

Interview with Mr. Carlyle W. Warner by Harry Wells, September 9, 1969

H.W.: What different organizations are you affiliated with, what is your present position in these organizations?

C.W.: What type of organizations, Black organizations, professional organizations, or what have you?

H.W.: Organizations oriented to Black people.

C.W.: I am a member of the NSAACP and that's about it I think.

Of course, I have been recently elected to the Board of Directors of BUF and in fourteen to sixteen months that's so much as I have done for the thing.

H.W.: So in terms of, I'm trying to focus in on my thesis, this new idea of Black consciousness, of this new awareness towards Black Power. Is BUF the only organization that you would label as involved with Black consciousness, helping Black people?

C.W.: No, I think that BUF and the NSAACP are the only two organizations that I am directly involved in but that doesn't limit the extent of my activity. In the course of my profession I think I intend to force the Black consciousness and there is an interest of Black people to be represented. I intend to put forward the point of view and this has been one of the factors that has limited my active involvement in organizations because it would limit my professionally effectiveness because it would affect my product of objectivity. (hearty laugh)

H.W.: Since you have only been elected to BUF, to the Board of Directors about three days, maybe I should ask now, how do you perceive BUF, what do you think of BUF's objectives. Are you optimistic in what BUF can do for the Black man in Nova Scotia?

C.W.: Surely, I am, otherwise I would ~~not~~ accept an invitation to be on the Board of Directors. I think BUF can have tremendous ~~impact~~ ^{impact} ~~insight~~ ^{insight}

because it represents the first opportunity of the Black community in the province to interact across their virgious (?) lives. In Canada like in the United States Black people have interact . The church is the catalyst so that BUF is what I would call the integrating factor and what I think will make BUF more effective than anything else, BUF has the economic field to do the job and BUF is an all Black organization as opposed to the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People which is an integrated organization which has its place in the movement but I think all the organizations have a place in the movement like they do in the United States.

So there's cause for everyone of them in any state of conflict you don't have one logistic group; you've got the Marine Corps, you've got the Navy, you've got the Artillery, you've got the Infantry, you've got the Air Force and that the groups represent to me this array in a sort of military logistic sense.

H.W.: In terms of your own present perspective your present

I guess you could say

your present job and the way you think, what factors have some influence on you today?

C.W.: I would say that they are parallel to some extent in the Black struggle in North America, the independent struggle in the West Indies. There are elements of similarity and elements of difference but when I was about thirteen I was a member of the Youth Council which was a youth action group sort of. I mean, later on I was a foundation member of the party which led my country to independence.

So that I have been very young I was more directly involved in this sort of thing and in fact I remember, if I remember correctly, when I was about seventeen I made speeches at a political platform for a candidate called Macdonald Stanley. I think probably it was '56. I guess it was 1956 so therefore it would have been the fifty election.

H.W.: I know that you and your family resided in the States for some time. How has the American experience affected your present thinking?

C.W.: How has it affected my thinking? What has happened is that the American experience has now begun to come in line with my thinking. I remember when I visited the United States for the first time in 1959. I remember going to the home of a girl who officer, New Jersey and we were talking and having a couple of drinks and I was concerned about her. I was a professional land surveyor then and I had been to stay with my uncle in New York and I went to visit the; I called and made an appointment with the New Jersey Professional Society of Land Surveyors and I went and the Secretary said I couldn't see the President because she had an appointment with Mr. Warner, a surveyor from the West Indies, Trinidad. I said I am afraid I am he. She said no, no, we want Mr. Warner, the surveyor. So I said well I am he, sort of thing.

And I was waiting this spring in the context of the problems of Black people and I remember this girl but I don't remember her name now. What do you get so boiled up about? You're accepted, I'm accepted, let's have a drink. I had the good fortune of meeting the very girl in 1963 and she had just

returned from the March in Washington and she was just beginning to express the feeling of awareness of this sort of thing. I think that in the West Indies we have been in some respects more aware of a blacklist. We to some extent did not accept the status quo and this sort of thing so that what's happening in the United States today represents the consummation of our thinking. The revolution is now coming of age so to speak. I would prefer to see the sort of non-violent solution to this problem but I recognize what the pressures are and what they will be a non-violent solution or maybe a solution which will not result in a preliminary of the races.

H.W.: I just finished reading an article not too long ago which was about the internationalization of Black power. It was written by this fellow who teaches in Africa.

C.W.: Dr. Isen um from the University of Uganda.

HW: This guy Edmonton, was educated in Canada sent me one of his articles and he was pointing out how the American Black movement, be it Black power, ~~Black~~ African movement, have been fairly influenced by West Indians and he traced guys from Stokeley Carmichael to Garvie and to a many ~~million~~ West Indians who have travelled to the United States and resided in the United States. It may be taking the West Indians influence and being confronted by the American experience had become a leader of some movement, a nationalist type leader.

C.W.: Well this is a point if you ask some theses at Columbia University which look into the role of the West Indian, the "Blackization" if I may coin a word of Harlem was done by West Indians. It was the West Indian migrants who during World War I who had saved money, were the first people to move into Harlem and buy properties in Harlem. This was the same thing as Bedford Stuyvesant and I attended a conference of the American Society for Africans in 1959 and I remember Sterling Brown who was Head of the English Department at Harvard University and some other people were discussing this and I think this is quite well documented. I think that the West Indians came from a society where you could own property and there was a desire to own one's own home, etc. etc. and in every society you find that immigrants are inclined to be more thrifty, particularly deprived immigrants. I would say that a working classing West Indian immigrant is inclined to be more thrifty than a professional as a immigrant and so too I know there is in Nova Scotia, about the Eastern Europeans. I have heard the comments made; they come here and save and own property very fast and this sort of thing. In like manner the working class of West Indian came over, saved their money, and bought houses and did this. So you are quite right.

H.W.: Has your family influenced your present perspective?

C.W.: MY nuclear family or my extended family situation right now. Well, my kids have influenced my being in Canada as

opposed to working in the United States. You make more money in the United States but I did not think it was the correct climate to bring them up in at this point in time. I sensed a tremendous feeling of audium (?) and hate. I grew up in a society in which I don't think I was aware of colour until I was about fifteen or fourteen or so. In the United States society my children at the age of four were beginning to be exposed ~~of~~ to this sort of thing not that they are excluded from it here mind you but it is more subtle and it's not as accurate and this sort of thing so I can't look back into; I think I would say that my father was a very proud Black man. I remember when I was about twelve, during the War, the Americans still had the base at home and we were travelling to the Santa Rosa races and I was sitting down with my brother in the corner seats with windows and I remember my father. I don't remember what he got up for but these two American sailors came up and made us get up and give them our seats and he came in and these guys had their guns with them so he said you get the hell out of there or I'll kick you out. He was always willing to kick a white man. This was his way of expressing contempt for them. This is about the only thing but..

H.W.: I hear Jamaicans like to fight.

C.W.: I believe the other, it was ~~xxxxxx~~ contempt but I can't look back to anything. I think it is a question, it is

H.W.: What books concerning Black people have ~~you~~ read within the last two years?

Claude

C.W.: What's ~~Clayton~~ Brown's thing? where he dealt with up in Harlem and this sort of thing. I read everything. I read some short stories, some Baldwin, actually within the last two years my fiction reading has receded because of my reading professionally, I've got three things at the moment from the N.S.C.P. library on my bed head for the last two months. In fact, if you weren't coming tonight, I'd be in the office, this is the sort of life at the moment.

C.W.:

H.W.: What about "Soul On Ice?" My wife has just ordered it from the bookshop. I read some excerpts from it I think, I read the New York Times book review, in read it regularly, in fact I was just reading about the problems ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ at the moment but I have not read Soul On Ice.

H.W.: Have you gone through the books like Black Rage, White Skin,

C.W.: I've read Leroy Jones book before the last two years, his short stories, I've read the autobiography of Malcolm X, I've read that doctor ~~for~~ Ph.D. dissertation, the Black ~~Mix~~ Moslems, In fact I own about thirty volumes about two shelves of books on by people like Black authors

H.W.: What popular magazines or articles oriented to Black people do you subscribe to?

C.W.: We get Ebony, we get Life, Look and these sorts of things my wife does the sort of locating of a good article and in fact she is after me right now to read something in that Black quite a few articles in it when I am able to get around to it.

H.W.: Taking all the books you've read in the last five years and the articles that you read, what do you think about these books and articles and how do you try to apply them to the Nova Scotia situation, or how will you try to apply them to the Nova Scotia situation?

C.W.: By the way, I've read what my dear friend, what's his name again, that photographer, Gordon Parks? One, of the first things that I would try to do by drawing attention to the Black Nova Scotians that there is such a thing as Black literature which even some Black professional Nova Scotians are not aware of. In fact, sitting right here were two professional girls who were completely unaware of Gordon Parks, and we loaned them some Gordon Parks books, Black Nova Scotians should be made aware that there is Black history available, in fact, there are books like African Glory by Dr. Ralph Hunter from Guyana, Shana who indentifies the fact that there was a Black emperor ruled 350 BC or something like that. These are the sorts of things which is a question of recognizing one does not have to apologize for one's past. I think this is the way it applies, one, from the point of view that there is Black literature in the mainstream of literature, this sort of thing, that there is a history and a heritage of this sort of thing. As for the sort of image transfer situation I don't think that one has yet, people have to bother? Black literature concerns the purpose of the image transfer from the point of view of identifying with great Black fictional heroes, this sort of thing, because fiction is a mirror of a society and what you will get will be ?

In the Promised Land and the Baldwin books, and these sort of things.

which won't depict this. I think what Black literature does at the moment is to provide an X-ray, you see yourself but I don't think it serves the purpose. I don't see how it could be applied directly in the Nova Scotian situation unless you are thinking of Baldwin's Fire Next Time or his letter to his nephew, this sort of thing, which are very apropos in these situations. I believe what's needed in Nova Scotia is a pride in one's blackness. I'm not apologizing about it, for it.

H.W.: What other sources do you use to get news oriented to Black people?

C.W.: That ~~is~~ Black newspaper that comes to Toronto, is it dalled Drum, I think it is called the Thunder of Drums. I think Ebony,

H.W.: What about the media?

C.W.: The point about it is one listens to the media but I think you accept what you read with a certain element of reserve sort of thing. I could say that I get news about what's new in the Black community in the New York Times. We subscribe to the New York Times dailybut this again won't necessarily reflect the Black point of view, while I think that the New York Times is an objective newspaper I don't think that this, that the points of view are necessarily are the Black points of view.

H.W.: Do you use your friends and relatives for news

C.W.: Well, yes, ^I~~is~~ talk to people, when John Cartwright was down here giving the course in Afro-American history, I had quite a few chats with him and got some information about people coming and going

in fact, speaking about that, about organizations, Black organization I belong to, I am also a member of the Black Caucus of the American Society of Black Officials and for instance, I get inquiries here about recommending Black planners for jobs in various places in the United States are put into the New York conference for the American

Planning Officials and this sort of thing, like a conference down in Cincinnati, I meet with the ~~best~~ brothers there and I get information on what's going on. They come from all over sort of thing, so one can recharge one's batteries in situations like that.

H.W.: Do you usually take up a lot of time with friends talking about Black consciousness and how many people would be involved, if you do.

C.W.: In Nova Scotia, the group is very small. I would think I would discuss this with a range of about six or seven people, or sometimes larger groups. We had a Black professional luncheon which was supposed to come off as a monthly thing here and I think Jesse Dillard got busy with the Canada Games and couldn't organize any more of them.

H.W.: When you see or hear of a riot in the United States how do you react?

C.W.: How do I react? Not with any element of shock, does it happen here sort of thing? Anyone who is aware of the American situation would recognize that it is a fusebox and it can blow here, there everywhere, this sort of thing. You accept the fact that in the present situation, I'm not surprised that there have not been more this summer. In fact, I was talking with somebody recently who said

that there have been as many riots this summer as there have been in the past but it is a question of scale and the fact that indifference to the Curler Commission the media have not reported them, have not given them the prominence. I don't remember who this was but this was within the last two weeks, he told me this. I would say that one's reaction to riots, it has happened here there is no question of shock. A riot as Martin Luther King has said is the language of the unheard. I tend to recognize that somehow social change historically has come out of some violent confrontation. I think of the French Revolution, I think of the Russian Revolution, I think of all these situations. In fact, I was just reading in the New York Times where Marines can no longer have Afro haircuts, the commander disapproves, these things. Looking at the problems, Louisiana the confrontation between the Black and White marines and this sort of thing, the commander of the Marines would not have given this 14-point edict which yielded some changes. He is now saying to the officers in the field, there is some evidence that you have not been objective in your promotional~~ax~~ procedures and I suggest that you instruct to pull up your ~~boots~~ bootstraps the bloody Marine Corps must have known this sort of thing. For instance I had an inquiry with a gentleman from Harvard University they were very interested in me, they hired a yellow white professor This as a result of composite. I would think/^{it is unfortunate}but historically you wonder to what extent that we as a species man evolved, you still have the confrontation and make social change.

H.W.: What effect did the assassination of Martin Luther King have on your thinking about the struggle of the Black man in America, in the Americas?

C.W.: What impact? I would think that the assassination of Martin Luther King, I interpreted the death, the assassination of Martin Luther King, in fact I am still inclined to see the context of a conspiracy and I became satisfied that there was active White conspiracy to silence effective Black leadership. I thought that that act would lead to further polarization, in fact, I am surprised that things have cooled to the extent that they have. In fact, I don't think they have cooled. I believe that what has happened is that it's a question of people having seen what happened in Chicago, it is submission to fear rather than submission to one's condition.

H.W.: How did you view the assassination in terms of racial agent,? Were you pessimistic, disillusioned?

C.W.: One still feels depressed about it, one still feels that if people could conspire to assassinate a guy who was the most reasonable, he had a very negotiable attitude, one couldn't say that he was extreme, he was forceful, but he packed a tough punch with a 12-ounce ~~gax~~ glove sort of thing. He wasn't the sort of Stokeley Carmichael who would knock his victim down and seek to trample him. What he sought was progress and he had, I would think, a statesman-like attitude to the problems and it did appear that here was the end of this sort of approach and the society had to respond in terms of what happened in France and this sort of thing this is what appeared to me, they want the election of Nixon and the tremendous vote Wallace polled and particularly in the north. I think that is clear that there is much more existence than meets the surface.

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H.W.: Are you very interested in the ideas and struggles of the Black leaders in the United States?

C.W.: By all means, sure. I tend to follow them in the New York Times all the time. That is one of the reasons I buy the New York Times to keep in touch with following this sort of race situation. It's not well reported in the local media, both the radio, T.V. and press. One is more aware of it by buying the New York Times and we get the New York Times every day here so this is an effort of trying to keep in touch with what is going on.

H.W.: How much does it cost, I've been wanting to get it too?

C.W.: Well, you can get some buck issues here. You can get ten cents, the same price of the daily paper here, at the Capital Book Store, near the Royal Bank there, and you only pay twenty-five cents extra on the Sunday paper. Seventy-five cents for the Sunday New York Times. We have had it for the last six months here because I have not been able to keep up with it, so you can borrow some of it, you can have some of them.

H.W.: I would like to ask you some questions, tactics now. What do you think of the following tactics as a means of solving problems? Letter writing, phone calls to officials.

C.W.: Officials are very sensitive to such campaigns. In fact one example here was the school in Preston, when phone calls ^{did it,} and in a democracy politicians are very sensitive to this tactic so long as they can be convinced that these phone calls, or what have you, come from an effective element of the electorate.

H.W.: Would you advise Black people to use this tactic?

C.W.: I don't think it would be a fundamental determinant of social change.

H.W.: What about community organizing?

C.W.: Again, I think it is a question of where. Organization in areas where community organizations can effect political decisions, can affect political destinies, but there is no point in community organization in let's say, North Dakota, or let's take for instance, in an area where you cannot really control the electorate. You organize the community to negotiate as a group but not from a point of view of influencing each individual politician because you don't, their political destiny don't depend upon you. You go into community organization to negotiate, and it is from this point of view that you affect the political structure. I think it is a question of what your ends are. One can organize communities to change before representation. One can organize communities to attain certain ends to get schools, to get jobs, to get programs, from the ~~existing~~ power structure. I am not actually changing the power structure. I think in certain communities, community organization can yield a Black Power structure. The same community organizations will have to yield programs from the existing power structure.

H.W.: How do you feel about boycotts?

C.W.: They are very important. To me it is a very effective tool which is not being fully exploited.

H.W.: You mean more places should be boycotted in order to

C.W.: Indeed, I would think again this is more effective in areas where you represent a significant portion of effective demand, it is an economic problem. I have seen this being successful with a

particular brand, I think it was Pepsi Cola, in summer 1965? 1966, 1966, the Blacks decided they weren't drinking Pepsi Cola, I think it was, they were going to drink Zest. Is it Zest over here. What they did, they had this group that went around to all the pop companies and said we want to express employment and Zest was the first one that gave in. Pepsi said no, so they said, we are going to drink Zest this summer and by mid[summer Pepsi got ?

H.W.: What about civil disobedience?

C.W.: Yes, it's a darn good tactic.

H.W.: What do you think about violence as a tactic?

C.W.: I feel that violence is a last resort. I would like to think that man has evolved to a point where we do not have to create social change by the same methods, as the French did, the Russians, in the context of the Russian Revolution, that led to Magna Charta, 14? then the Bill of Rights, you stop fighting with spears and lances and bulls and arrows and swords and all this sort of thing, and in the final analysis you are using the same tactics. I would like to think that this would be, that man would evolve to such a point where such things are unnecessary and it may be that one hasn't. The Marine situation indicated that it, that it is a tactic in the final analysis can still be very effective. Again it got to be organized . I think that you use particular levels of violence, increments of violence, I think it has got to be part of a control program because again you've got to set your target. Do you want to control a society? or do you want to destroy a society? or is your goal social change? and you use so much of violence as it

will if you've got to use it, effect social change or to indicate that here is a weapon. I think it is a last resort.

H.W.: Let me change the subject again. Do you think that Blacks should be leaders in organizations fighting for their rights?

C.W.: I think again there should be a multiplicity of organizations. There is a place for the individual ~~in the~~ organization, there is a place for the Black organization and there is a place for the altruistic White organization, pure White organization. I think that just as you have got ~~xxxxxx~~ Waves and you've got women's army doing different things, and this sort of thing, I think you've got different composition groups. I think everyone has a place in the movement.

H.W.: This may be sort of a backwards? question. Do you prefer yourself to be called Black, Negro or coloured.

C.W.: Obviously Black. I've always considered "coloured" a euphemism which I've never accepted. My acceptance of the word "Black", I never rejected the word "Black" my overt preference to the word Black as opposed to Negro is part of the Black revolution for Black awareness.

H.Wm: Do you consider yourself to be an African, living in Canada, or do you consider yourself an African living in the Western Hemisphere?

C.W.: No, I consider myself to be a Black citizen of the world sort of thing. I am inclined at times to think myself as a West Indian. I am a believer in World Government that's the whole damn thing. I think that one of these days there should be World Government, I consider myself a Black citizen of the world. In fact, I have had

contact with Africa than probably most North American Blacks. I have never repudiated Africans but I have never sort of considered myself an African, we'll say, just as a French Canadian considers himself a Canadian who is French rather than French man we'll say.

H.W.: Do you perceive all Black people as having similar problems?

C.W.: There are shades of differences in the Black problems but there are a plethora of similarities, the Black man being a victim of the mercantile system and the problem in the United States is an economic one, the problem here is an economic one the problem in the West Indies is a large one, the problem in Africa is a large one. It is a product of the mercantile system; Black people involved in the primary sector of economic activities. This is the problem and you've got one ?tion in the sector and you ? this as a post-industrial society, to live in the mid-twentieth century you've got to be tuned into post-industrial society. There is no question of planting ? tomatoes, it is not business, it is not the age of the small tenant farmer, or the sharecropper. This is the whole thing.

H.W.: Do you see the militant self-help program as necessary if the Black man is to succeed in his struggle?

C.W.: Again, in some communities yes, and in other communities, no. See, again I do not believe even in the United States that the same factor will apply to all Black communities. For instance, I could

see in areas of predominantly Black, a militant self-help project
but I couldn't see anywhere where Blacks are not significant group.

H.W.: What if they are still discriminated against?

C.W.: Well, okay, but the point about it is, again to use one
of King's statements "How do you tell the bootless man to life himself
up by the bootstraps" when you speak of a militant self-help scheme
and you must have some one who is capable of helping himself to
be a catalyst in the whole process, and in some ~~disutati-ens~~ ^{situations} you
just don't have it; in others, yes, so I would think in situations
where there can be leadership, where there is the opportunity to
help oneself. If you get into some parts of South Carolina where
nobody has any education, everybody has a little bit of education
about third or fourth grade, who is to help who. Who is going to
teach who? The only self-help one can do, you help me with my
crop and I'll help you with A sort of a Robinson Crusoe
I don't see this as producing much; I don't see this as creating
really social change but one brotherhood sort of thing in some
situations yes, and in other situations, no.

H.W.: To rid society of prejudice and discrimination who has to
be changed, the Black man or the White man?

C.W.: I do not think that we will rid society of prejudice and
discrimination. I think what we can do is to minimize the discrimination
and prejudice because there is prejudice in Blacks against Blacks
and there is prejudice in White against White. I was shocked coming
from the West Indies. I felt my people are one people. When I began
to live in the United States I suddenly recognized that the northern
European, nordic type was a special blend of white and into southern

European who is Spaniard, Italian, etc. and you have these sort of nuances of whiteness and I think that one can minimize prejudice one can attempt to create an order in which we can move this but I think that is a millenium, what you need to do is to seek to remove the militant discrimination that Blacks are forced to I believe it, set goals yes, let's set goals to eliminate discrimination but I don't think it is goals one could set a special time limit against because I think that discrimination is something is a very human thing which, hell, you can have a lot of trouble and we've got to get rid of it

H.W.: If you talk in terms of eliminating discrimination who would you level your campaign at to try to get rid of discriminatory attitudes

C.W.: I think, what you do is you choose the most offensive and the most odious offender in the situation, that is, the discrimination of Whites against Blacks. What I am saying is that this sort of aggressive degrading discrimination of White against Black something that one has go to seek to solve and eliminate and this sort of thing. I believe that even when you create a society in which you accept people as people that there are going to be situations in which people are going to have prejudice against other people and this is something that one has going to have to have to evolve something to solve. Hell, I may see you and for some reason you don't send me, this sort of thing, I just can't get along with you, I just don't like you whether you are pink, yellow or green, I think this is called discrimination, how do you solve the problem, but where some person says, "I don't like any Black person" or "I don't like any

Oriental person. I think this is where one could seek the limit I think that prejudice is something that one is going to have these sort of nuances of dislike.

H.W.: Which of these two tactics do you think are most appropriate? Maybe I should say most appropriate in solving problems for Blacks fostering individual excellence, ~~ster~~strengthening community power,

C.W.: I think one needs both of these things, one needs jcommunity power. I think it would be purposeless to stress individual excellence without community power and I think if one has community power without a jproduct to sell I think again we want to be totally effective. For instance, I remember telling Jules Oliver in April when I was in the market for a secretary and I was prepared to employ a Black secretary at City Hall, coming out and we should get some girls to apply and Jules called me and said, "Look I cannot find a Black steno who is qualified for the job." I was talking about this today with Dr. Oliver. There are people. He gave me the name of a girl who is in some Federal job, she is on the Board in Yarmouth, and he suggested I call her, but she has a good job in Yarmouth. He said, you need someone who can edit, who can do this, who can do this, there are two people I can think about; one girl is with the Federal government, I forget her name [Sandra Parris] Let's face it, this is one of those things that the Board will have to adjust itself to. There is not enough of a product to sell so we go organizing in BUF.

H.W.: Who is going to pay for these secretaries in school?

C.W.: This is the first thing. One, you've got to recognize that they can't find a secretarial job, this is the first thing; no one

pay them programs so they can go to secretarial school right now for they are not prepared to go because they feel they can't find jobs. One has got to indicate that, it's a hell of a thing, which comes first, the chicken or the egg and this is one of the things ^{that} ~~the~~ the Board must try to solve.

H.W.: Let's say again, in a leadership position, which one, if you were developing a strategy to uplift the Black man in Nova Scotia and maybe the West Indies which one would you emphasize, this community power bit, fostering individual excellence.

C.W.: I would say community power but I would say there would have to be a secondary goal of fostering individual excellence because you can force all the power you want. Let's take, a fellow I was speaking with today, he said a call from the Dockyard. Somebody wanted I think a month ago five Black plumbers and he said he called all the people in the leadership positions and told them to get him some plumbers, there was none, no product to sell. This is the problem. This is your power base but there is no point in building a launch when you have no rocket to launch.

H.W.: What do you think is the most important qualification of a Black leader today?

C.W.: Confidence of his people. This is the most important qualification.

H.W.: You are one of the very few people, I have interviewed five people and you are one of the few people that said the "confidence of his people". Most people said "being educated."

C.W.: No, you can have all the education, you don't have the confidence of your people. It's like being captain of a football team, you've got to have the confidence of your men. If you don't have that you can't be a leader and this is the fundamental qualification of any leader. This is it with King, King had the confidence of the people.

H.W.: What effect did the visit of the American Black Power advocates have on the Nova Scotia situation? You were here?

C.W.: Yes, I was. It was a catalyst. This is a very simmloquent ? society. There's not been the degree of confrontation. In spite of the discrimination in jobs and this sort of thing, I was talking with Dr. Oliver today, where I worked in Kansas City, all the ? in the City Hall were Black. We don't have a Black one at City Hall in Nova Scotia. There is this competition, so many White people competing for jobs but there is a tremendous amount of social intercourse between the Black and White in spite of the discrimination situation and hence this ~~xxxxxxx~~[?] a tremendous degree of complacency and I think this was a catalyst, a very significant catalyst. You would have nothing like BUF if the Panthers hadn't come here.

H.W.: Do you think our people are more aggressive and identify with Blacks now?

C.W.: It has started making people more aggressive, more aware of their Blackness and this sort of thing and of course a certain degree of pblarization in the Black community and there are those who still prefer to be coloured, etc. etc. and they are quite apathetic about it. I think it had a very sanitary? effect.

Interview - Carlyle Warner

H.W.: Do you see all White people as having similar problems?

C.W.: No, it is only the Black, non-White person who is the subject of organized slavery; it is only the Black non-White person who has been a chattel. Chinese people were indentured, Indians were indentured, indeed, there has been slavery also in Greek and Roman civilizations, barbarian slaves and in some instances Anglo-Saxons and what have you, but I think that there is a difference between the prejudice of the Caucasian to the Orientals, it is a fear of intellect. He gave him the numbers that he uses, mathematics, philosophy. As you move from Mesopotamia the cradle of a culture develops, a developed situation, I think that when you speak of the Yellow Peril, they are afraid of Oriental people, I believe. Generally, the typical prejudiced White feels that Blacks are incompetent. I think this is the problem.

H.W.: In terms of, let's say, taking a universal look at the world do you see Blacks in the Western Hemisphere as having similar problems with the Asians, the Indians, the Chinese, the yellow race.

C.W.: No, they don't because of one, you speak of community organization. The Chinese have always had this. The Chinese like the Jews have their own judicial system. A Chinese doesn't sue another Chinese in court. They've got their own ways and the elders of the clan judgement and you do this sort of thing. I believe that these sort of voluntary organizations structures were sort of eradicated from the Black ? and what has happened is we ~~xxxx~~ are sold a Bill of Goods and made to feel our cultural values are so inferior, you bought Western values and apologize for your own

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and what has happened with the other ethnic groups like the Chinese and so on. They have held on to their cultural values and this was their strength.

H.W.: Do you see poor Whites as having similar problems to Blacks?

C.W.: No, because the poor White can get out of the poverty cycle in a generation. All you have to do is to sort of get an appellation and you are on your way, but when you migrate from the Mississippi delta and get into New York City or Chicago, hell, in three or four generations you can't make it. You still can't buy a house in the suburbs but the poor White can do it.

H.W.: You were not here when the Africville Relocation went on. Being a person involved in development and long-range planning I would like to have your interpretation of your observations of what happened in Africville and how did this affect Nova Scotia, Blacks in other areas of Nova Scotia?

C.W.: I do not believe that the Africville relocation was as altruistic as it was made out to be. I believe that there was an abscess on the urban landscape of Halifax which had got by press nationally in MacLean's and internationally in Time and Life, and it was an embarrassment and it created and because of the general concern about this, this abscess on the urban landscape, people of conscience, the altruistic people, were able to get a program going but I believe that the altruistic people have remained, the altruism will remain in a deposit and never drawn. If the climate was not there, all right, this created a situation I think there was an attempt of a good program, the follow-up was poor, I think it represented a relocation without I would call human renewal, retraining people and the social program necessary

to make such a brook something of a success.

H.W.: In terms of development do you think all Black communities in Nova Scotia are threatened by developments, long-range planning?

C.,W.: The question is what do you mean by threatened?

H.W.: I perceive Africville they took the land away from the people because they needed it.

C.W.: I think I am in a position to state without letting any contents, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~? out that the City did not take the land because they needed it. The City took the land, Africville was removed because it was a bloody embarrassment. Up to today we have not been able to use that land and I would be directly correct to attempt to redevelop that land for the Industrial Mile only if, only if containerization goes to Bedford Basin instead of to Navy Island will part of that land be of any economic value. It has a potential as a south end park at the moment, Negro Point, and what sort of park with that huge sewer in Bedford Basin. You need a sanitary land fill, it needs a hell of a lot of work. I've been looking at it and really it's not as valuable as people think.

H.W.: When I say they needed it, I didn't exactly mean, here were a bunch of people who had poor legal services, and legal advice and it seems to me able more or less discount taking land away from people.

C.W.: No, no, no. Those people had no title to the lands and they got payment. The City had no right to law, the city had no right in many instances say for certain people who had descriptive title, that is to say, they'd squatted on the land for a hell of

long time but a substantial number of people had no title to the land and the City gave them settlement far and above a fair market value and the equity situation. I think that is a misrepresentation I think Africville, I think the Africville people, everyone fairly dealt with was a Cornwallis Baptist Church and all that sort of thing, I don't think with regard to the actual settlements for them because you know, if I have a piece of land and I have no title, you've got no market value. If you got a motor car and it's got no title you can't sell it.

H.W.: What about the basic political question of squatter's rights?
is prescriptive

C.W.: Well that descriptive title. You've got to be squatting on something under Anglo-Saxon law, 1600 ~~and~~ years and you don't inherit squatter's rights. If your father squatted on something and he dies and you come into the situation, this starts a new prescriptive?
descriptive situation, you can't pass on a prescriptive title, so there was no title. Again, mind you, I make the point there was an abscess on the urban landscape, something that was bringing Halifax bad press. People of conscience went into the situation and a half-hearted attempt, a half-hearted program. There was no attempt at the retraining and the follow-ups weren't done, It wasn't done as well as it could be done. On the question of the monetary compensation I do not think that it was as bad, you see, again, now if you get into the moral and ethical question which is, which planners lawmakers and social scientists are beginning to think about, Joey Smallwood is passing legislation in Newfoundland about this and he's, and one part of it they are looking at it in Ontario now, the home for a home thing. Well if you see if you are going into

urban renewal, I live in this house. What you give me is not the value of my house but the replacement value of the ~~property~~ this is a moral and ethical thing. There is no legal justification for replacement value. There is a moral one. You could see that if you were going to break a house ^{down} on Creighton Street and somebody's house that you are living in was only valued \$15,000 ~~you~~ give them a payment for breach of ~~enjoy~~ quiet enjoyment and for resettlement, etc. and even with all these they get \$20,000 and they can't replace the house society has a moral obligation to meet the difference. This is another legal thing, and if you don't get it, it is an injustice.

~~kw~~ H. W.: One more question about Africville. In terms of race or class struggle, basically a race, do you feel that this type of relocation could have only happened to a group of Black people. Do you think the retraining process, financial ^{deals,} humanitarian aspects, would have been heightened if there had been a White community.

C.W.: If it were an instrument of provincial policy as in Newfoundland where the government in Newfoundland says, we cannot offer people urban services and the social services in our courts, can't build schools and hospitals, hence we are going to bring them into the urban centre and change them from fishing folk into an urban way of life and so ~~I~~ I would expect this but this was the way this was done. It wasn't part of an integrated municipal program of urban renewal, or was it human renewal, it was an urban face lift. This is the way it was. It wouldn't have had this sort of collection. Whether that would have happened to a White settlement, I am not sure. There are some White situations in Halifax that were as bad as

Africville was. I suggest Kline Heights was but the problem is that the national press will ^{not} deem Kline Heights a story. Kline Heights will not create an embarrassment and hence I do not think it will be treated as a sort of something that has to be faced., and this is the difference. I think from that point of view yes you can say that this was done because people are Black and I would say yes because it ~~was~~ an embarrassment because it was a situation in Halifax not giving ^{some} ~~the~~ ^{people} Blacks/a square deal, but not in a sense of conscience because press all other places that remained.

H.W.: You are relatively new to the Nova Scotia situation. What do you say have been the major problems facing Black people, maybe in the Halifax-Dartmouth area.

C.W.: The major problem facing Black people in Halifax or Dartmouth area is part of the total Black problem, The problem of discrimination. Now the discrimination in the Halifax area is at the moment, let's say the job discrimination is at the moment a very subtle thing, because of the small supply of educated Blacks and educated Black can find a job here, when I say educated Black, I mean professional Black, that sort of thing. I am not sure the problem is part of the total, total Black problem, but it is also a problem of depressed economy of the Maritimes and the low educational level of education right here in the Maritimes. It is a dual problem. It is part of the North American Black problem of the Black problem of the world, and it is part of the economic depression in the Maritimes. You can write a sort of an equation

H.W.: Do you disagree with these statements? Most ~~Whites~~ Whites want to ~~xxx~~ keep Blacks down as much as possible, as much as they can.

C.W.: That's a very difficult one. I am inclined to say, if I had to use such a sentence there is a significant group of White in the world, a substantial group of Whites in the world that want to keep Blacks down. I think that would be a fair statement but I believe there are a lot of well-intentioned Whites who are who do not in the present state of the conflict, they do not have the braveness to come out to the open. I believe there are a significant number of altruistic whites who would like to do something but I think there is also a very significant number of people who conform to that but whether it's most it is a very difficult thing, again the problem is I suppose I relate to these things and I'm ~~prejudiced~~ ?

H.W.: Some people have said that there are White store owners who take advantage of Black customers. ^{If} ~~Do~~ you agree with this and how many ^{White} store owners would you say are like this?

C.W.: I agree with this statement. I would say that the majority of Whites don't ?? You talk to the management about this sort of thing and they tell you that in the ghettos situations they've got more shoplifting, they got this, that, they try to justify what you get are inferior goods so therefore the reverse is only true for what you have to spend to buy an item, but you are not getting an item of the same quality, so therefore it supports the American experience.

H.W.: How about this thing? What about Whites, most Whites who take part in civil rights demonstrations are not really interested in the problem of Blacks.

C.W.: Again, this is a hell of a generalization, I think that those are not the statements of a trained mind sort of thing. Those are the statements of an uneducated person. I would say that what you say, what you can safely say here, is that there is a significant group rather than most. They are Whites who have upheld a sense of commitment to the Black Revolution. They are still because of the White man's burden. ? for the kicks, it's the thing to do.

H.W.: One last thing, the type of neighbourhood preferred if all were equally well kept up, mostly Black, would you prefer a mostly Black neighbourhood; mixed; no different, by no difference I mean you'd like to live there; mostly White neighbourhood; or you don't know what type of neighbourhood you would prefer?

C.W.: I would choose a neighbourhood on the basis of the socio-economic group. I don't mind living in a neighbourhood that is all Black if people have my value system. I choose a neighbourhood on a socio-economic basis. I think an ideal neighbourhood is one where you have a cross-cultural experience. This, to me, is an ideal situation. In a melting pot like North America you have and then you can be more equipped to travel in the world because you have met people of other cultures and talked to people. This is an ideal sort of neighbourhood and one in which people, again it is a question of socio-economic neighbourhood with the same values.

H.W.: Those last four statements ~~were~~ were something that was passed out in the United States. What ~~I~~ I was trying to do was to compare how the United States view and in terms of how Canadians view this but I have a basic problem and I think maybe you or your wife could help me. I am trying to look at Black consciousness and I know that all Black people are alike in skin colour and their experience is similar in terms of they do suffer from racism or exploitation or something, but there are differences among Black people wherever you go, and I'm learning this, especially in my situation in Ontario where mostly Blacks there are West Indians, so I'm related to West Indian so in terms of looking at different consciousness and the way the Black man in Nova Scotia is thinking, what distinctions should I draw to divide Blacks in the United States and the Blacks in Canada.

C.W.: I think that one, the West Indian Black has never accepted has always rebelled against White racism and this sort of thing. I would say that the point about the thing here is that there has been a latent militancy in the West Indian that has now come of age in the United States, I have been talking to my aunt in Newark about things and she said, you should have been here in 1920, we have had so much ~~violence~~ ? even the West Indian was thinking this way. I can say that the Nova Scotian is not yet aware it seems to me that the sort of independence revolution of the Black started in Africa, came across the Atlantic to the West Indies and then came up to the United States and is now coming up this way here.

H.W.: What structural differences do you think I should take into consideration in comparing Nova Scotian Black and American Blacks?

C.W.: I would think that one, is the economics of the whole thing. The American Blacks is oppressed in a society of abundance; the Nova Scotia Black is oppressed in a society of relative scarcity. The American Black is uneducated in a society where to a large extent education is emphasized; the Nova Scotia Black is uneducated in a society where there is a low level of education. The Nova Scotia Black earns a low income in a society where people earn low incomes., and there is a relative difference between his income and the rest of the Nova Scotia it is not as great; a relative difference ~~difference~~ between the income of the Black and moreover there is a significant Black middle-class in the United States which doesn't exist in Nova Scotia. The potential middle-~~class~~ class in Nova Scotia has immigrated to Upper Canada and there is not a true Black middle-class in Nova Scotia so that you don't have a situation where somebody could work in somebody's kitchen

H.W.: I'm trying to think about differences in terms of isolation. Even in Nova Scotia, you're stuck out here and communication in Nova Scotia is really bad. I tried to get the Halifax paper to look at the news about the Black Panthers when Stokeley Carmichael was here and I found very little

C.W.: Don't you recognize it, there is one paper, the Chronicle-Herald

H.W.: In the United States we have other coverage. You see what Black people are doing in Africa, what they are doing in the West Indies, what is happening in the war in Vietnam.

C.W.: There are few of contact ~~here~~, I agree, this is a fact. Blacks are in isolation here, there is a fair degree of

contact between Blacks here and Blacks in New England, I would say for quite a few of the major there are in a situation of isolation. They don't have a degree of information. Some social scientists are inclined to believe that not only did the in Africa affect the Blacks in the United States but the siting of the United Nations there, and making the press, and speaking under Black heads of State and this sort of thing ambassadors and ~~Blacks~~ coming to Washington, D.C. For instance, the desegregation of Washington, D.C. was ???
??? by having to trade Black

H.W.: Do you only perceive any other structure differences that I should point out in my thesis

H.W.: In terms of structure differences the component of leadership ~~is~~ in Nova Scotia? I think in the United States a lot of these leaders are grass-root leaders, people like Malcolm X, here in Nova Scotia the grass-roots ~~leaders~~ are not so sophisticated all the leaders seem to be sophisticated people, you know.

C.W.: This is a point. The point again is not the is not how long really the grass-roots leaders appeared in the United States. This is a relatively new phenomena Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, etc, Martin Luther King, etc. What's happening ~~xxx~~ here Oliver, Skier, and this sort of thing, value in hope to achieve the end sort of thing

Again it is only when Black consciousness came to help, King and rapport between King, Young, and Wilkins occurred, it was quite a polarization. In fact, I believe that the administration brought them together by bringing all of them to the White House

to put forward a Black point of view. The Black revolution in Nova Scotia is a decade or so behind the American Black revolution. Because of communication, if the Maritimes becomes developed tomorrow I think you will see ?

H.W.: A place like Los Angeles which has one of the highest standards of living in the world. It is pretty hard for you to be contented

C.W.: Obviously this is the problem. The welfare rolls are not predominantly Black. The problem here is that the successful Black migrates to Toronto or Montreal and then there is not much communication. You see, one does not know what is happening. It is a problem of numbers and a problem of greater facility for. The problem with the Black in Nova Scotia is that he has a greater White and this sort of thing and ???

H.W.: In Los Angeles there are mainly Black people living in the City of Los Angeles. Before I went to school with a White person I was in University. An experience I have been unable to share, but I've always thought about it, how it is to live in an all-Black nation like Trinidad, and African nation. Those are the experiences one needs to develop a militancy.

C.W.: I think it is part of a communications problem. I think that growing up in this age of Black consciousness the children will be affected by it. I think they can't help but be aware of it.