BUILD THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT!!!

Essays on Developing the Anti-Imperialist Student Movement Among Black Students

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INTRODUCTION: WHY STUDENTS?? WHY THIS BOOK??

a. Statement of need and a call for a renewed student movement

b. Peoples College has made a consistent though modest contribution to this over the past 10 years

c. each essay in this book has a history and together they make up our line (give a short comment on each essay)
2.

BLACK LIBERATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE:
THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

COMPAÑEROS, COMRADES, AND FELLOW STUDENTS:

We are here to present an analysis of the Black student movement, an important part of the Black liberation struggle, and the vanguard force of the revolutionary movement in the United States. Its purpose is to destroy U.S.A. capitalism, the key to world imperialism, and to construct a socialist society. We are here in solidarity with the heroic and valiant struggle of the Cuban people and the Vietnamese people, both in revolutionary struggle against U.S.A. imperialism. And, we want to give our full and firm support to preserving revolutionary forces and the construction of the first socialist society in the Americas. We are here as compañeros. We are here to learn from you and to teach you. And we thank you with revolutionary love.

Our report will consider the historical development of Black liberation, students and the revolutionary class struggle. We welcome the opportunity to discuss all these matters in great detail and would appreciate all your questions regarding our struggle.
It is important to begin this discussion with an analysis of the class structure of the Black community, because it is this class reality that shapes and forms the style and content of the student movement. Black people in the U.S.A. are oppressed and exploited in two fundamental ways; (1) as a colonized nation on which U.S.A. imperialism has turned inward to exploit Black people in near fascist proportions, (particularly in the Southern U.S.A.), and (2) as a critical part of the industrial and service proletariat forced to produce super profits for the fat vultures of capitalism. We are an oppressed nation, and we are the working class facing both racial and class exploitation.

As a movement we are still formulating a decisive class analysis, so what we say here must be regarded as a tentative formulation. We recognize at present three important class formations:

1. comprador petty bourgeoisie
2. national petty bourgeoisie
3. rural and urban workers

The middle class is divided into two different sections.

The business interests form the national petty bourgeoisie, and have been the traditional basis for a nationalist ideology in the Black community. Their children have traditionally gone to Black colleges in
the South set up by the ruling class in order to
build a capitalist class inside of the Black community.
The second section is the comprador petty bourgeoisie
serving as direct extensions of the Big Bourgeoisie.
Their children go to the elite white colleges to learn
the habits and values of ruling class whites in order
to more effectively manage Black community affairs.
One group runs the businesses in the Black community--
funeral parlors, small shops, insurance companies, and
newspapers. While the others are concentrated in the
professions (law, medicine, and politics,) and as
representatives of major corporations.

The majority of the Black community is working
class. This includes industrial workers, service
workers, agricultural workers, unemployed workers
(especially the youth), and the near permanent army
of unemployed workers on government welfare. Working
class students are enrolled in community colleges,
state colleges, and universities. Their education
has the dual purpose of postponing their entrance
into the permanent full time working force, and
finishing the task of basic education the secondary
schools is supposed to have accomplished.

The vast majority of Black students are working class,
and approximately 50% are in the Southern U.S.A.
However, the ruling class maintains elite Black schools
and Blacks in elite white colleges as the primary
source of leaders to maintain neo-colonial forms of
direct and indirect rule. These class formations must
be kept at the base of any analysis of the Black community,
and of any understanding of our socialist revolution in
the U.S.A.

In the modern era, there have been two major stages
of struggle:

1. The struggle for Bourgeois Democracy
2. The struggle for National Liberation

1. The struggle for democracy has its symbolic origin
in the struggle against racial segregation in
public schools systems in the South and Middle
West. The famous Supreme Court case of 1954,
(Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas)
declared segregated schools unconstitutional, charged
the consciousness of the Black masses, and was the
catalyst that got the Movement underway.5 There were
violent confrontations as the masses moved to challenge
the institutional racism of school systems. However,
it was mainly an action involving lawyers as technicians
in the court and middle class motives to be in the white
schools -- though the masses were also involved6.
Also, shortly after the Court decision, there was the mass action of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The masses of people — working people — were put into action. The use of mass action was taken up by college students — the beginning of our modern mass student movement, Black and white — — and the sit-ins began February 1, 1960 in Greensborro, North Carolina. Thousands were moving. In 1961 SNCC was founded; by 1962 SNCC had developed two fronts. 1) the struggle to open public accomodations 2) the struggle to register Black voters. And in 1963 there was a National March on Washington. In a NAACP convention in the 1940's WEB DuBois had coined the phrase "Free by 1963", and it had materialized in the largest mass demonstration in the modern era — — 250,000 strong on national TV. It had begun at the grass roots but was coopted by the ruling class through their Black middle class lackey leadership. Kennedy, the wolf in sheep's clothing had struck again. In 1964, SNCC led the Movement back to the south, to Mississippi. The iceburg of racist capitalism was challenged by students led by SNCC. A united front of all civil rights organizations was formed and a multi-issued summer of struggle was waged. The end of the summer was focused on the 1964 Democratic National Convention challenging the racist restrictive policies and the Mississippi Freedom delagation was offered
a bad sellout and refused. This was followed in 1956 by the March from Selma to Montgomery, Ala. led by Martin Luther King in order to force the passing of a national law on voter registration this actually happened. Now in most of these struggles, especially since the sit-ins there has always been murder and assassination. This includes 1963 Medgar Evers 1964 3 COFO workers: (Chaney Goodman Swerner) 1965 -- --Malcolm X.

So with this vicious mad-dog reaction to our struggle for democratic rights, the beginning of Revolutionary Nationalism was formed. The struggle for democracy had been based on a class formation after WWII, a new middle class of clerical workers, the parents of the present comprador class formation. However, with mass action around public accommodations and voter registration the masses of workers were aroused.

The Northern urban centers had provided an escape for Southern share croppers during the WWII, industrial boom, but had since become camps for the unemployed and underemployed. They exploded--insurrections spontaneously challenged the liberal Democratic institutions that previously had been the basis of our people's aspirations. The People said, "Since they won't come around---we'll burn it down" and "Burn, Baby, Burn." This involved the
very important confrontation at Watts in 1965 and Newark and Detroit in 1967. There were hundreds of cities burning and the government had to spend millions of dollars on national guards and police forces. A new level of repression was being planned, and Counter insurgency warfar was brought home. Guerrila warfare was nervously debated by liberal intellectuals.

The second period of nationalism was inspired by Malcolm X and born in the heat of insurrection during 1966. There was a march in the State of Mississippi in which SNCC first used the slogan: Black Power. During this same time the Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland and the U.S. organization in Los Angeles.

In 1967, the First Black Power Conference to unify forces railing behind that slogan was held. In 1968 the 2nd Black Power Conference was held in Philadelphia. Cooption by Cultural Nationalists was financed by corporate capitalism. The Panther Party organized chapters and survival programs. Their big impact was in projecting the militancy which Malcolm called for, they brought forth the gun. All previous struggle was non-violent. Also there was a cultural movement to combat racist cultural pacification. e.g. OBAC — writer workshop, visual arts workshop. Also origin of Black studies. Negro Digest published special Black university issues. Repression
continued: 1967 ---Huey Newton arrested 1968---
Orangeburg Massacre--King assassinated--Bobby Hutton
killed Poor People's Campaign emerged as an
attempt to revive multi-nationalism of the Democratic
struggles with a class focus. This was a community
oriented movement of many groups that emerged around
issues like welfare, housing, unemployment, etc.

We see the development of a clear class basis
for a split in the Black student movement. The
Panthers were led by Cleaver, Huey, and Bobby---
out of prison and community colleges--appealing to
working class and unemployed youth, including the
lumpen proletariat. U.S. and its brand of cultural
nationalist are led by graduate students of elite
white and elite Black schools appealing to middle
class students. A serious split emerged in the
movement. By 1969, the Movement, developing this
stage of revolutionary nationalism-cultural and
political, perhaps includes seeds of the next one.

From '69 - '72, seven major trends have emerged,
initiated by conferences and/or major events. We
will discuss each one and then suggest the essence
of our movement as a whole.

1. NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF BLACK STUDENTS

After SNCC had ceased giving national leadership
to Black students a vacuum was created. So in 1969, two national organizational emerged around the established student government leadership on the campuses. Out of the white campus, a large Black caucus walked out of the NSA convention in El Paso, Texas to create NABS (National Association of Black Students).20 white paternalism and mismanagement of funds for Black students were the key issues. This action was jointly coordinated with a Chicano caucus. Out of the South, an organization relating to Black campus Student body Presidents was founded----SOBU. NABS pulled out of NSA and has had two national conferences. First in July, 1970 in Detroit, assisted by the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, to develop the student-worker concept; and, 2nd in Chicago, in Aug, 1971 around the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism---Scientific Socialism. Now NABS has dismantled its national leadership and is an association of Marxist-Leninist collectives around the country. This change reflects the movement away from the middle class into the working class.

SOBU began in North Carolina with students from elite lack and white schools---through everyone moved 21 to work in the South. They have moved from a general anti-imperialist Pan Africanism influenced by Kwame Nkrumah to Marxism-Leninism. They have developed a national newspaper of high quality and continual
Nkrumah to Marxism-Leninism. They have developed a national newspaper of high quality and continual political development. It has strong links to the Black community of North Carolina and has spread its organization to the Midwest and the East Coast.

Both organizations were initially under the influence of different SNCC factions, and hence were separate. Now that is no longer the case and the two organizations are likely to come together to form a national Union of Black Students guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

II. BLACK STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY

This trend comes out of the cultural movement. Major influences are conferences: one at Yale in 1968, in which George McBundy of the Ford Foundation spoke along with many of us there to make a case for democratization of the University curriculum. The students at Cornell had responded to their university's racism with guns in self defense. Whites had burned the Black cultural center and threatened sisters. His shocked the ruling class because this was the result of working class students having been admitted. The ruling class had attempted to reestablish their control after King was killed by coopting Black youth into their schools. This strategy backfired when there developed militant demands and actions disrupting their
class based "quiet."

One major development was the creation of independent programs outside of the university, but often close enough to draw on its resources. After students at Duke University, an elite school for ruling class whites in the South, were halted in their attempts to develop Black studies, they joined with students from Black schools in the area and formed Malcolm X Liberation University. They began with a Pan Africanist ideology, became an anti-imperialist, and now are applying Scientific Socialism in their practice. Out of the University of Chicago developed the CommuniCity University (community university) in Chicago. And out of Fisk University, Tennessee State University, and Meharry Medical College came Peoples College.

There was also the nationalist anti-imperialist consciousness. An annual conference of the Africa Studies Association in Montreal was disrupted because the Black Caucus objected to whites dominating the research for the U.S.A. State Department scholars serving as modern missionaries dissecting societies and cultures for more effective imperialist penetration. Out of this struggle the AHSA (African Heritage Studies Association) was formed in the spring of 1969. The
first conference brought 3,000 Black students to Howard University and in it a struggle of class lines emerged—most of those in attendance were cultural nationalists but several major speakers put forth a Marxist analysis: CLR James, Gerald McWorter, Walter Rodney, and Stanislas Atotevi.

Also in 1969 a national magazine was developed—The Black Scholar. The editorial board reflected the entire spectrum of those active in the movement. It is the most influential magazine, although it lacks a clear ideological line. Many other magazines have developed in specific areas, The Black Politician, The Review of Black Political Economics, Black Law Journal, etc.

The formal organizations for Black Studies courses are Institutes, Departments, or in Cultural Centers. The most famous of these is the Institute of the Black World, began in 1969 out of the Atlanta University System (5 Black Schools). It split in 6 months over the question of class orientation. The middle class group opted for foundation support from Ford and Rockefeller, while those of us who were left opted for self reliance. We created Timbuktu Bookstores (now also in Nashville and California, Atlanta Center for Revolutionary Art, and Rhythm (a cultural magazine in the South). There are now courses in virtually every school with any Black students, and at least 300 to 400 programs of study.
magazine in the South). There are now courses in virtually every school with any Black students, and at least 300 to 400 programs of study.  

III GRASP OF MARXISM - LENINISM

The current upsurge in Marxism Leninism is grounded in more active political involvement of the working class youth. This was sparked by four key developments:

(1) Black Panther Party: They moved from the Red Book, to Marxist-Leninist Classics, then changed to Inter Communalism and now Liberal Reform. To quote Huey Newton, "I am not a Marxist, I'm a Panther. We don't have to copy Marx; Engles, Hegel and certainly not the Soviet Union, because I don't like them."

These words were spoken June 1972 before the National Association of Black Manufacturers in Los Angeles.

(2) Angela Davis -- Through her struggle many youth and students joined the Young Workers Liberation League and got exposed to the "Marxist-Leninism" of the CPUSA.

(3) National Liberation Struggles --by following anti-Imperialist Struggles of Vietnam, Guinea-Bissau, and all of Southern Africa Marxism-Leninism was discovered as the common analysis. This was also reflected in the analysis of Fanon, Nkrumah, Cabral, CLR James, Padmore, and James Boggs.
(4) The rise of Marxist groups of Black workers. The more important are the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit (now with the Communist League) and the Black Workers Congress. But there are groups in every major city, every center of industrial concentration.

These four influences are having a definite impact on the current development of the Black student Struggle. There is a rise in organized support of workers on and off campus, and this has turned more students away from drugs and created a serious attitude toward study. And the rise in Marxism is causing many Black to re-think the split between Black and white revolutionaries. While there is a growing consensus that a major task is the creation of a revolutionary fighting Communist party, there is some controversy over whether these pre-party organizations should be national or multi-national in form.

IV PAN AFRICANISM

Stokely once said International Black Power is Pan Africanism. However, when students looked closely at Africa they found a difference between H. Salaissie and K. Nkrumah, Houphet-Boiny and Sekou Toure, Tshombe and Lumumbah. But we developed our own OAU, our
gathering of all comers. It was called the Congress of African People, and held 1970 in Atlanta, Georgia (in fact a continuation of the Black Power conferences). It was attended by every variety of the Black ideological spectrum (excluding the NAACP and the Panthers having their Revolutionary Peoples Constitution Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 7000 strong). The Congress began with a cultural perspective and initiated the slogan "Its Nation Time." But the problem was the clock was manufactured by corporate capitalism, and it was set to the standard of Nixon's wrist watch. Struggle was developed to the most recent level of anti-imperialist consciousness African Liberation Day, May 27th (chosen after the Oau proclaimed day of May 25, but changed to be on the weekend so workers could join Saudaki, it brought over 20,000 Blacks out against U.S.A. imperialism in Africa and Vietnam. This idea for the protest developed during a trip into liberated areas of Mozambique with FRELIMO leadership. African Liberation Day is a major step forward, 20,000 Black People marching by the ambas's of South Africa, Portugal and others in protest against imperialism. Speakers at the rally included a range of ideologies, but progressive views were dominant.

Another significant action is how students are joining workers in clear anti-imperialist action. Two major actions as examples: the Polaroid Revolutionarys
joining workers in clear anti-imperialist action.
Two major actions as examples: the Polaroid Revolutionary
Workers Movement is fighting U.S.A. imperialism in
Southern Africa, focusing in on the dreaded pass book
made possible with equipment from Polaroid. They got
a $k0,000 grant as an attempted bribe from the ruling
class. They gave $5,000 for armed struggle in Southern
Africa and $4,000 for community armed defense in Cairo
Illinois, USA. There is also the case of students
from Southern University, a Black state school in
Louisiana, a working class Black college. They joined
with progressive Black longshoreman in refusing to
unload Rhodesian chrome illegally purchased by USA
in defiance of the United Nations boycott. This was
a major anti-imperialist confrontation in a small
Louisiana port. The students were assisted by a pro-
fessor active in the African Heritage Studies Association.

V BLACK ECONOMIC ACTION

This area is the primary concern of the national
petty bourgeoisie. The ideology of Black economic
development took on two major trends. The demand of
Blacks on white institutions for economic resources was
won. At a Black economic development conference the
major example was a demand to the churches for money.
This mobilized a second wave of reparations (the first
was after Kings assassination). 33
Many millions were released though most went to the Black being kept inside the churches in the first place.

The second is the Black capitalist model following the Nixon backed ideology of Black Capitalism. A good example of this is Soul City a community development project in North Carolina. It is directed by Floyd McKissac, formerly in the civil rights movement, and financed by a 14 million dollar grant from the federal government. He is a leading Nixon supporter. The first example is typical of the comprador petty bourgeoisie, the second typical of the national petty bourgeoisie.

VI BLACK ELECTORAL POLITICAL REFORMS

Led by groups ranging from the Young Workers Liberation League (youth affiliate of the Communist Party) to the Congress of African People, Black students were urged to make use of the 18 yr. old vote for electoral reforms. This has four main parts:

A. Black Congressional Caucus: struggling for hegemony over Black political expression. Holding a series of conferences on campuses. This has the image of opening up the congress to the interests and needs of Black people when in reality it is using the conferences to promote the interests of the ruling class,
e.g. sickle cell anemia campaigns.

B. Black Political Convention: There was a conference in Gary, Indiana that included over 7,000 people. The Congress of African People turned political, and used its influence with Black students-youths to get all legitimate leadership into the conference. It passed all kinds of resolutions, including three major events:
1. the continuation committee was controlled by cultural nationalists, 2. vote against anti-zionist imperialism, 3. anti-busing motion was passed. The purpose of the conference was to negotiate with the democrats. Immediately afterwards the Black caucuses sold out, and repudiated proposals 2 and 3 above.

C. Democratic Party Reforms: There has recently been a large participation of Black students in making reform moves within the Democratic party. However, there is considerably more interest in local action that there is in national politics.

D. Independent Candidates: around the country many independents are running for electoral office either completely alone or on a ticket for a small party. Examples of this are the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Some Blacks are turning to this alternative out of idostaste for both of the traditional parties.
VII  DEFENSE AND SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

Many students were influenced by the militancy of the Black Panther Party. This resulted in similar organizations being formed (Black Liberators, Sons of Malcolm, JOMO, etc.). And in response to the clear intention at repression, conferences were called. National, regional, and local conferences to discuss support, bail, etc. But what repression...

a) 1969 was the year of repression for the Black Panther Party which was attacked in Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, New Orleans, and Chicago. The Chicago raid was especially in famous in its cold blooded murder of two Panther leaders: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Even the U.S. Grand Jury released evidence that the police fired at least 99 shots with only one shot returned.

b) RNA ---after several armed confrontations, this group initially headed by Robert Williams (coalition of comprador and nationalist middle class elements) went to develop the Black Belt of the South based on self-reliance. Their office in Jackson was attacked---their response was to off two pigs, with no Blacks killed. But most of their leadership is fighting murder and conspiracy trials.

c) Rap Brown---In 1969 Ralph Featherstone and
'Che' Payne were murdered. Rap went underground. He was shot and captured in 1971 near the Red Carpet Lounge. Ed Brown, his brother sets up H. Rap Brown Anti-Drug Movement to combat drug pacification. The Anti-Drug movement has been growing on campuses. d) August 7, 1970 Jonathan Jackson 17-year old, moved with arms to liberate the Soledad Brothers, freed William McClain, James Christmas, and Ruchell Magee. A judge was hostage. All died in the action except Ruchell Magee.

e) Angela Davis—fled, tried, freed

f) Ruchell Magee—has declared himself a prisoner of war

g) August 21, 1971 —George Jackson

h) September 9-13 1971—Attica

And the repression is everywhere now. Local police are more armed than most armies around the world. The System is prepared for serious combat.

An additional movement among students for survival is the anti-draft movement and the anti-war sentiment. Many young students forget the draft—like Walter Collins, a NABS organizer in New Orleans, and a member of the Black Draft Counselors Association. In 1970 he was sentenced to prison for resisting the draft and remains there. He has just received an additional sentence for organizing in the prisons.

And GI's many of who would be students, have begun to resist. There have been refusals to go on riot duty
remains there. He has just received an additional sentence for organizing in the prisons.

And GI's many of who would be students, have begun to resist. There have been refusals to go on riot duty in the USA, even armed conflict against racial discrimination around bases in Germany and every imaginable form of protest in Vietnam—including defecting to the NLF and fighting against USA aggression.

So we have indicated seven major trends:

1) National Organizations of Black Students
2) Black Studies in the University
3) Marxism - Leninism
4) Pan Africanism
5) Black Economic Action
6) Black Electoral Political Reform
7) Defense and Survival Programs

These are major mass political actions and do not describe all involvements of Black Youth Students.

But they are the line of development for Black Youth.

One last word about the White-Black conflict.

Since Black Power there has been a separation, the only major exceptions being white support of the Panthers, and SCLC activities (Operation: Breadbasket and Poor People's Campaign). This is a major problem, within the Movement as a whole it is the Problem. The middle class action is increasingly supporting various brands of antionalism that will serve to keep the separation, but working class students move to Marxist-Leninist
class action is increasingly supporting various brands of antionalism that will serve to keep the separation, but working class students move to Marxist-Leninist thought and an anti-imperialist support for African national liberation groups are the basis of overcoming the split. But the arrogance of assumed racial superiority will not work to insure white control. Black masses are the van guard.

That is a historical fact.

In conclusion, there are current contradictions facing different element of the Black student movement:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
<th>CONTRADICTION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1A) comprador petty bourgeois</td>
<td>(1B) elite white</td>
<td>(1C) USA imperialism in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2A) national petty bourgeois</td>
<td>(2B) elite black</td>
<td>(2C) proportional control of USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3B) working class</td>
<td>(3B) community and State</td>
<td>(3C) economic and physical survival</td>
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There are united front coalitions, but mostly not with an organized force to put forward working class goals. But at the present, the petty bourgeoisie is progressive for the most part. The danger is that the rise of "Blacks for Nixon" committees indicates how the petty bourgeois leadership might swing to the right. But there is a movement of Black student militants
seeking working class leadership, systematically studying Marxism-Leninism, beginning to build unity with whites and other Third World groups. We are small now, but growing strong.

We'll never turn back.

PALANTE!

VENCEREMOS!
3.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BUILDING THE
ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT
IN NASHVILLE TENNESSEE

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

These are the documents prepared especially for
this SAVE BLACK SCHOOLS CONFERENCE (April 6-8, Greensboro
North Carolina) by Peoples College. We consider these
draft documents, and we need your criticisms to revise
them. When we have compiled similar documents from
all Black Schools, and Black Student Unions at white
schools, then we will publish a book on Black Higher
Education in Tennessee. We hope to distribute this
book in September of 1973. We encourage all other
states to do a similar analysis.

Enclosed in this package are the following documents:

A. Political Education of Black Youth: Aspects of
   Ideological Development for Black Students

B. State of Tennessee a Profile

C. Map of Higher Education in Tennessee

D. Public Colleges in Tennessee: A Statistical Profile

E. History of Tennessee State University

F. History of Student Struggle at Tennessee State University

G. The Tennessee State Court Case: An Analysis

H. Contemporary Report of TSU Struggle

I. Fisk University History

J. Meharry Medical College History
April 3, 1973

TO: All Tennessee delegates to the National Save Black Schools Conference

RE: How to attend the conference

POINT ONE: Transportation, food, housing arrangements

1. The charter bus to the conference shall arrive at Fisk campus at about 11:30 p.m. approximately. We shall leave at exactly 11:55 p.m. from Africa Hall (Fisk) Afro-American Studies Center basement of Jubilee Hall. All Fisk, TSU, Lane, and Lemoyne-Owen delegates are to meet in Africa Hall where a short housing arrangement, and general meeting will be held beginning at 11 p.m. Africa Hall will be open all day April 5. Any arriving delegates should go there or call for questions 329-9111, ext. 342.

2. All delegates should bring a blanket and, if they desire, a pillow. Please get as much sleep as possible before the trip begins since sleeping in the bus is never the best method to insure alert participation in a learning endeavor.

POINT TWO:

It appears at this time that we will be forced to utilize our housing reservations of nine rooms without more additions. This means that four people will share most rooms. We must all struggle to be co-operative, pleasant, and avoid anyone "copping an attitude" behind a careless word.
POINT THREE:
All delegates should carry at all times a notebook, take notes on all proceedings; ask questions on anything unclear based on your notes and never leave the proceeding without letting someone know where you are.

POINT FOUR:
We shall caucus at least twice a day; morning and at night. Be prepared to attend these caucuses. A conference is a 24 hr. learning experience.

POINT FIVE:
We want to appear as (although large) an orderly and disciplined group at the conference. Read your conference material carefully and be prepared to answer any questions about it.
FOUR GUIDELINES FOR A GOOD CONFERENCE

1. **LISTEN**

   Listening is important for many reasons:
   (a) It serves as a gesture of respect to Black people; it demonstrates that we love them and therefore seek to understand them. (b) It avoids anyone appearing to be a know-it-all, and shows that we believe everyone can contribute toward forming a correct analysis of the problems facing Black people. (c) Given our history of oppression Black people have grown callous, skeptical, and unbelieving. Because of this, most of us don't trust other human beings very much. However, in order to trust someone, that person must impress you with his sincerity and concern. This is demonstrated by listening.

2. **TAKE NOTES**

   Whenever you attend a conference or political gathering you will observe those people who care about knowing exactly what is being said, are the fighters for Black people. This is, of course, a natural thing since these people must be disciplined and well informed and *No One Has Perfect Recall*. Not to take notes is like saying "Black Brother,, it doesn't really matter if I recall or forget what you are saying because I couldn't care less."
3. READ

In most political situations some form of reading material is available. For example, at this conference, in addition to the documents the Nashville Group has prepared, YOBU has material which should be read. A book display is being brought from Timbuktu Bookstore in Nashville, and material can be purchased at the Uhuru Bookstore in Greensboro.

When on the bus, or finding a few minutes which are not occupied by a meeting or workshop, everyone needs to spend some time reading. Be familiar with YOBU, and other schools' history and analysis, as much as you are with your own school. READ

4. SPEAK

This is the last and most generally abused point. Speaking can be a fantastic tool for organizing, informing, and stimulating Black people to struggle; if everything you say is well thought out and stated briefly and clearly after you have

(a) Listened to everyone's point
(b) Taken notes to refer back to
(c) Read all available data on the point.

WITH THESE FOUR (4) POINTS, WE WILL HAVE A GREAT CONFERENCE AND LIVE UP TO OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SERVE THE NEEDS OF BLACK LIBERATION.
A. THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF BLACK YOUTH:

ASPECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK STUDENTS
# Educational Patterns and the Life of Malik Shabazz

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Stage of Life</th>
<th>Major Educational Experiences*</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1. Legitimate USA Institutions</td>
<td>Malcolm Little (age 0-16)</td>
<td>Pleasant Grove School (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lansing West Junior High School (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Detention Home (2)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mason Junior High School (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &quot;Street Life&quot;</td>
<td>Detroit Red (age 16-21)</td>
<td>Apprenticeships Shorty (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Community</td>
<td></td>
<td>Freddie (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bimbi (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Muhammed (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Black Community Institutions</td>
<td>Malcolm X</td>
<td>Minister (teacher) (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El Hajj Milik</td>
<td>Muhammed Speaks (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El Shabazz</td>
<td>Pilgrimage to Mecca (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(age 22-40)</td>
<td>OAU (19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Number are Chapter references to the Autobiography of Malcolm X

(New York: Grove Press, 1965)
The first 16 years: Malcolm Little had the institutional experience of most young Black people. He went to public schools, was expelled and sent to detention home. However, was allowed to stay in the detention home, and finish Junior High School without being sent on to reform school.

The ages 16-21: Malcolm learned how to be successful in the streets as a hustler. Also, he learned how to escape from the high rate of failure in the streets by serving as an apprentice to men who by their successful experience had credentials to teach. He was called Detroit Red during this period. This was primarily on an apprenticeship basis learned through practice. After being incarcerated, Malcolm began to learn by reading in the prison library, with particular inspiration from a fellow prisoner named Bimbi, as well as his family and Mr. Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm X: After his conversion to Islam and his appointment as a Minister he began to teach. During this period he continued to learn from Mr. Muhammad, and began to study his enemy. Malcolm X was firmly rooted in the Nation of Islam and helped start many Mosques as well as the National newspaper Muhammad Speaks.

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz: This was the final period of his life. He moved away from the exclusivist religious orientation of the Nation of Islam to a more inclusive political ideology of Black Nationalism.
The life of Malik Shabazz moved from the legitimate institutions of USA society, to the creation of a political organization for all Black people—The Organization of Afro-American Unity. We can view this as the dialectical movement from an alien institutional base to a negation of all so called legitimate institutions, finally moving to a higher level of synthesis by participation in the creating of a new institutional base with a new Black legitimacy.

It is important to understand that Malcolm Little and Detroit Red are different sides of the same coin. Both are functions of this society in a direct manner, one positively—one negatively. Malcolm Little is every brother and sister who believes that they can achieve what they want by following "the normal pattern" laid out in a public school or college. Detroit Red is the opposite of this since he is basing his thing on beating this same system. Often the criminal is tied to the law in much the same way as the judge, only they are on opposite sides.

3. **WHAT MUST BE DONE BY BLACK STUDENTS**

One basic observation is that most Black youth experience educational activities inside public school systems, although cultural and political forces is the community are basic educational forces. A second observation is that both mass experiences and the new institutions only come about in response to the failure of legitimate institutions. In fact they result from the contradictions
inherent in oppressive educational institutions.

This last point is very crucial. For the past ten years (since the 1957 integration riots in Little Rock, Arkansas) contradictions have been raised by mass confrontation. This has for the most part advanced our struggle forward. However, each form of confrontation could only be used for a limited period of time, because the authorities would adjust their control mechanisms and be ready to cut it short, or the people would get used to it and it would lose its effectiveness (picketting can become like picnicking). We have passed the stage of seizing and/or burning campus buildings without understanding the basis for such action, as well as lacking a scientific basis for anticipating and dealing with consequences of such action. As the contradictions are heightened, the cost of repression gets very high. So our strategy must also move to a higher level.

So we are concerned with working out a methodology of Education for Black Youth... We are concerned with developing a methodology that will work under the most rigid and oppressive form of fascist militarism so that whatever happens we can continue with the struggle prepared to endure, growing in strength to rise victorious.
The methodology must include two sets of concepts:

1. **THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE:**
   This means summarizing what has been learned from past activities into clear ideas (theory) with concrete action that is being guided by these ideas (practice). We need **theory** because ideas that represent existing knowledge (truth) must be used to guide our action; and we need **practice** because only through practical application of an idea to a new situation can you gain any new knowledge.

2. **THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMUNITY AND SELF**
   We must understand the importance of every person being recognized as an individual with all of the uniqueness of his or her personality and life. But we must also stress that correct political motivations are as selfless as possible, and based on the needs of the Black community, as we fight for every flower to bloom, we must understand that none can until they all can.

To protect us from the dangers of intellectual irrelevance, and mindless action, from loss of self as well as self-centeredness. The methodology must be dynamic and capable of constant use over and over as the situation of the world changes, and we move from place to place. It must be change oriented, and help us to deal
with objective reality in terms of conflict and changes. By focusing on the above two contradictions, it is possible to understand ideological development in a very clear way. And when one actually experiences it, it is clear that the development is not completely evolutionary but revolutionary as well. It demonstrates that sustained consistent activity in one stage leads to the next one and so on until another level is reached (quantitative change leads to qualitative change).

The four stages of development indicate that concrete involvement necessary for all key participants in any program for change. Everyone who is on the central committee, staff, or board of a program ought to systematically share the collectives experience of all four stages. With such an ideologically framework to guide the development of a group, it is more possible to insure even ideological developments.

The four stages do not occur in a simple sequential order but often develop simultaneously.
STAGES OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOCUS OF STRUGGLE

BLACK COMMUNITY

Theory
(analyses)

(1) STAGE ONE
analyze concrete conditions of all educational alternatives within geographical units of political work (institution, city, country, state, region)

Practice
(action)

(4) STAGE FOUR
Organize new educational programs in Black community to continue process of heightening the contradictions to promote basic strategies of change.

SELF

(2) STAGE TWO
A. Locate self in analysis of existing problems
B. Project self in analysis of proposed solution

(3) STAGE THREE
institute basic changes in individual commitment and develop action based on new analysis of concrete conditions

Stage One: As we have suggested above, it is necessary to have a total analysis of all educational alternatives being used by Black people. This enables one to have an overview of all that is happening. The only way to accomplish this is to read newspapers, magazines and journals that contain relevant information.

1. Ruling Class Publications:
   a. Fortune
   b. Foreign Affairs
   c. New York Times
   d. Wall Street Journal

2. Progressive Publications:
   a. Guardian
   b. The Call
   c. The Worker
2. Progressive Publications: (cont.)

d. The Revolutionary Worker

e. Monthly Review

3. Black Liberation

a. Jet

b. Burning Spear

c. Black Scholar

d. First World

It is also necessary to become acquainted with government publications and statistics. The oppressors' information must be used as a tool for our liberation just as much as it is used against us. Send a postcard asking to be placed on the mailing list for "Selected U.S.A. government Publications".

Superintendent of Documents
Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402

U. S. A.
And equally as important as this reading material is the vital experiential information that one gets by traveling to different places to examine a program first hand. And when we can't travel we have to use the telephone (call on weekends or at night for the cheapest rate) and the mails (get a P.O. Box for continuity). Most programs have some material that they will send to interested brothers and sisters.

This analysis must take into consideration both educational problems that face Black people, and the solutions that Black people are using to deal with these problems.

All analysis must be primarily concerned with the struggle of class interests. The important issue is to clearly understand how Black liberation struggle is a part of the socialist Revolution in the U.S.A. The Black man has been and is a mass exploited working man, whose condition is part of the objective basis for revolution in the U.S.A. So we must have a clear conception of the contradictions of class and race.

It is necessary (as it is inevitable) that the masses of Black rural and urban workers will develop class consciousness and become a conscious part of working class struggle. Two problems exist:
Facism can become the dominant political force in the U.S.A. The government is becoming a police state, allowing genocidal murder of all revolutionary leadership (among countless others, Medgar Evers, Malik Shabazz, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, Ralph Featherstone, and George Jackson). Moreover, it is also clear that in educational instituitions the reactionary forces have mobilized and are prepared to keep under surveillance and purge, all progressive teachers and students. This emergency requires Black people to make a new analysis in order to survive repression, to organize a successful movement for revolutionary change.

And to accomplish this, we must deal with two major questions:

1. What educational alternatives are there for Black people in the USA today?

2. With these alternatives, what must be done by Black students in order to further the revolution rather than retard it?

We are concerned with working out a methodology of education for Black youth. We are concerned with developing a methodology that will work under the most rigid and oppressive forms of fascist militarism. Because whatever the level of repression, the movement must continue to struggle, to endure, to grow in
strength, to rise victorious. Our education must be political education based on the concrete experience based on the concrete experience of our peoples struggle for liberation.

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

The primary function of education in any society is either to uphold and reinforce the status quo, or to generate change in the existing social order. All education that aims to foster revolutionary social change is open to suppression by the ruling class in order that they can maintain their rule unchallenged. So the overwhelming character of most Black education is one of support for the status quo, because most of the education is directly or indirectly controlled by the ruling class establishment.

Until recently, Black educational program have fit one of two social forms, formal legitimate institutions or mass communication-associations. All are controlled by the same forces in the society, although how well they control education depends on who is involved, what skill/ideas are being communicated, and the structure and process of the educational program. Our oppression is maintained by having a specific educational program for each task the ruling class needs done, for mobilization and pacification, for production and consumption, for peace and war, for work and welfare. Most educational programs have an institutional aspect and a mass aspect
in order to reach the maximum number of people/students.

Legitimate institutions are licensed by the government to train-educate specific people in specific subject-skills. There are four major types of institutions within which Black youth are educated; training for a job, basic training in the military, the public schools, and religious instruction. The government is also involved with these institutions because (a) it grants contracts for these training programs, negotiates tax credits for business concerns provides police guards to protect the property used by the programs, (b) it runs the military, (c) it runs the public schools, (d) and controls the possible non-profit tax exempt status of churches and all private school.
### PATTERNS OF U.S.A. EDUCATION FOR BLACK YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Form</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. School</td>
<td>b. Public School System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Prison</td>
<td>c. Attica State Prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Military</td>
<td>d. United States Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Plant</td>
<td>e. Ford Motor Company</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Associations                 | b. Electronic| b. Television-Radio                         |
|                              | c. Community | c. YWCA, Boys Centers Club, etc.          |
|                              | d. Youth    | d. Black P. Stone Associations.             |
|                              | e. Print Media | Jet                                     |

| 3. New Black Community       | a. New Schools |                                             |
| Institutions                 | 1. Ideological | Peoples College                             |
|                              | 2. Technical School | Malcolm X Liberation University            |
|                              | b. Mass Media |                                             |
|                              | 1. Publishing | 1. Peoples College                          |
|                              | 2. Distribution | Timbuktu Bookstore                        |


The Church: The most grassroots institution in the Black community is the church, the most basic social form consisting of the minister and his congregation. The influence of the church with Black youth demonstrates the strength of a Black institution, including the administrative skills of traditional Black leadership (the minister). The traditional church has been the social basis for the recent civil rights movements, and for recent programs to develop Black business. It has yet to prove its potential to breed revolutionary youth like the priests of Bolivia and the Islam of Zanzibar. The church is more important in the rural areas, with poor (working class-welfare) Black peoples, and older people. It has promoted the ideas of non-violence and other worldly concern for justice.

The School: The most universal educational experience for Black youth is the school, and normally a school run by the federal, state or local government. The 1969 school enrollment of Black People:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>% in School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>98.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 1970 Black Enrollment in Higher Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF COLLEGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Black Institutions</td>
<td>Private Senior</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Two-year</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Senior</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>102,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Two-year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF COLLEGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional White Institutions</td>
<td>Private Senior</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Private Two-year</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Senior</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Two-year</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>151,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>310,000</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| GRAND TOTAL | 2,600 | 470,000 | 100.0% |

*Includes all Black public schools like Malcom X College in Chicago.*
It is evident that school is the basic educational for Teenagers as contrasted by an earlier influence of the church, and later influence of the military, prison, and plant.

Those few who go continue to college were distributed in the following pattern in 1970:

This table breaks the myth of the dominant function of the traditional Black institution. Most Black college students are found in either the urban community two year junior college, or the traditionally white or Black public college (79.8%).

The main purpose of any school supported by the government is the continued support of the society as it is currently structured. If education functions to keep things the way they are, then it is "legitimate" to the government. But if the education results in movements for change to radically alter the structure of the society, then the government will use the military to stop it. So most schools are indoctrination centers, even though the rhetoric is often of academic freedom and intellectual development.

The Prison: In the midst of a police state it is normal for an oppressed people to anticipate being arrested and brutalized in jail and the court. This gets dramatic when the experience of young urban Blacks in analysed for the degree and frequency of contact with
police. The "pigs" are literally everywhere. But there is a difference between spending nuisance time in jail, and "doing time", although both should be avoided. The average daily number of actual inmates inside of the so-called correctional institutions was 425,673. Here is the 1960 data for Black inmates:

1960 BLACK PRISON POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 15</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>11,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>24,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>67,469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>133,249</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This has of course gone up during the turbulent 60's particularly in the percentage of inmates who fall in the younger age categories.)

The prison breeds a warriors curse inside a man, a course when coupled with political ideology can be the force behind revolutionary armed struggle. Recent struggles inside of the prisons throughout the country e.g. in San Quentin, Soledad, and Attica state prisons) have demonstrated the impact of a younger inmate population with the consciousness of their generation in extreme confrontation with the system on a 24 hour basis.

The Military: Between the ages of 18 and 26 young Black men have been drafted into the military. They are forced to learn about and wage war against whoever the ruling class views as an enemy. The military codes of
conduct and its authoritarian decision making structure are the basis for the most total pattern of discipline any Black youth is required to follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officer</th>
<th>Enlisted</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>5,392 (3.4%)</td>
<td>143,926 (13.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>511 (0.7%)</td>
<td>30,425 (5.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine Corp</td>
<td>296 (1.3%)</td>
<td>23,294 (11.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air Force</td>
<td>2,202 (1.7%)</td>
<td>73,227 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8,401 (2)</td>
<td>270,872 (11.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Plant: The knowledge and skills required to hold most jobs available for Black Youth today are provided through "the Plant", on the job training. The major reason for this is the degree of control demanded by the corporation over who they train and for what, especially making sure that the surplus labor of the unemployed is not educated to the point of being self-conscious about their marketable labor. Working class education is tied directly to the company, and more often than not is focused on specific jobs. This requires periodic retraining programs, another mechanism of control whereby a portion of the work force is made obsolete by not allowing them to acquire the new skills necessary for the new jobs.
An intended result of this type of education is the discipline required to do productive work. So working class youth are given the basic discipline of revolutionary work in the process of being exploited by the industrial capitalists. The development of working class consciousness and discipline for Black youth is one of the most basic class to support for revolutionary change.

A summary about these institutions should be based on the fact that as the contradiction heightens within any type it will become more like a prison. This is currently happening in the urban high schools, in military posts in the U.S., Germany, and Vietnam, and in major industrial complexes like auto and steel. This is the process of institutional development that matures with the advent of fascism. The violent rule of military forces is the only way the ruling class will be able to function to keep capitalism, to read super profits.

It is also important to focus on the institutional forces at work on the different age groups. The importance of this becomes clear when it is realized that people in their early twenties are a generation who have experienced the contradictions at the very point of maximum contact with the institutions. From the church and civil rights, to school and Black studies, to work and Black capitalism, to prison and Attica, to military and Vietnam.
The total coverage of the public schools (and private colleges mainly supported with federal funds) means that we must understand **Black Community mass education** as supplementary for most young Black people. However, it is of primary importance for those people who stop going to school, either because they finish or they quit. This is about 70% of blacks 18-20. The main educational tools are records, radio-stations, cultural programs, bookstores and publishers. The existence of more than a radio station (and the 2 or 3 National Black television programs) is mainly in cities, particularly in the north with large Black populations.

These community educational activities are directed by white ownership and control. The Black oriented shows are paid for by white business sponsorship and oriented toward either cultural nationalism or assimilationism as long as it does not reflect a challenge to the power structures from a revolutionary mass following. (just check out the coexistence of Black Journal, Mod Squad, Soul Train and most of the Black popular music programs on the radio). Less than 15 Black oriented radio station in the USA are owned and managed by Black people, and no television time is controlled by Black people.

With the development of Motown and Stax Recording companies, Black people have the capacity to produce records
on a large scale, although their access to the market of Black consumers is still controlled by white agencies. So, it is with the community based cultural and political programs the situation is more akin to neo-colonialism in that there is no direct control (like having a white news director of a radio station), but only economic control (like a white owner). Most community based programs have up till this point been existing on funds from white agencies (government, foundations, churches and businesses). Cultural community programs have easy access to most institutions (schools, prisons, churches) although political community programs are fairly limited to churches and local community facilities. Singing and dancing is alright, but political analysis is often not allowed.

The development of new Black educational institutions is recent, and results from contradictions within the established institutions. After the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King, there was a rapid increase in the number of black students admitted to colleges. However, this was shortlived and began to be cutback during the recessessions of the late 1960's and early 1970's. The failure of colleges and public schools was forced by the rising consciousness of the growing masses of Black students, who quickly discovered the limitations of "liberals." At the height of the struggles, vanguard elements pulled out of there educational (and often
Black Studies) programs to form independent programs. The struggles at Duke University led to Malcolm X Liberation University, at University of Chicago and Chicago public schools led to Malik Shabazz Communiversity, at Fisk University, Tennessee State University and Meharry Medical College led to Peoples College. (One must also include here the 40 or so nationalist-oriented programs for the pre-school and primary grades.)

The significance of these schools is based on several important aspects of their development:

(a) They have been born out of significant educational struggles and must be considered the next (second) generation of these struggles;

(b) Hence, the programs seem to have the historical role of providing continuity from one phase of struggle to the next. While there are relatively few people currently involved in these programs, the participants are some of the most highly motivated people in the struggle. So an advance corps of cadre are likely to develop within these programs.

(c) They have served as cauldrons of ideological ferment, and will likely be the basis of new ideological formations working among the masses of people.

(d) They are experimental programs without substantial resources or "legitimacy," and are the proof of self-reliance, the proof of Black people educating each other.
The new mass media had developed in anticipation of the current contraction of the publishing world away from the "Black titles." During the rise of Black studies every publishing house moved to get several Black authors, but now the trend has reversed. Books will once again go out of print. So, several publishing efforts have been developed. This has been a cultural development, in general but there are at least 4 political publishers. The key problem is distribution.

On the question of distribution, it is important to point out the rapid decline of Black Bookstores. Two roads of development are now possible other than closing up: (1) diversify and sell more than books (e.g. incense, jewelery, cards for all occasions) and (2) base the store on political commitment of sponsors who subsidize the store. Actually, both are necessary because this is a period of walking on two legs of development.

It is important to understand the whole range of activities that serve to educate Black Youth. And here, we use education to include all behavior based wholly or in part on providing knowledge and skills that will enable a person to survive (each a living observe codes of conduct, etc.). So, we have discussed three major types of educational experiences, (a) formal "legitimate" institutions, (b) mass communications and (c) programs of a new type.
The key to changing education from being oppressive (and based on needs to exploit labor at higher skill levels) to liberating is based on struggle. On the eve of the October Revolution in 1917, Lenin clearly understood this:

"The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary struggle. Only the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will."

2. THE EDUCATION OF MALCOLM

One of the ways this struggle for liberating education can be seen is in the life of Malcom. A previous generation of Black Youth was given *Up From Slavery*, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington, as a model. And we are currently being assaulted by romantic criminal or police "heroes." Therefore, it is imperative that we struggle to keep Malcolms life in the forefront of analysis, and use his autobiography as a model for Black Youth. Malcom embraced Booker T. and the gangster, but kept developing to a higher stage, a stage of revolutionary struggle.
(a) how to overcome racist attitudes
and feelings among white workers.
(b) how to transform the Black middle
class (as much as possible) into an ally
of the Black masses.

It is in the interest of the ruling class to maintain
these problems. Only by successfully dealing with these
problems can we have a revolutionary movement.

STEP TWO: This involves using the total analysis
in order to better understand oneself. This can either
refer to an individual or to a small group of people.
The first step is to locate yourself within the total
analysis, and specify the particular characteristics of
your situation. One you have objectively located your-
self the way you are now, then you will be able to clearly state what is in your class interest. By this we mean
every group of people found in the analysis has a class
position relative to the total society and this position
has "normal" behavior associated with it. A capitalist
has the "normal" interest of making money, exploiting
someone to make money. A "normal" hustler will exploit
people even to the point of prostituting women stealing
etc. So you must identify what your objective interests
are under these so called "normal" terms, to exploit or
to be exploited.
Once you have focused in on the way things are, then you can project the way things must be, the way they ought to be. This means that you have clearly defined the objective interests of every group of Black people, and are choosing the objective interests of all your people to end exploitation, rather than the interests of one specific group of people and allow exploitation of others to continue.

The revolutionary guideline is the THE LAST MUST COME FIRST. This means that the revolutionary choice is to choose the objective interests to those people most exploited in our community as the people whose objective interests you choose to lead your life to serve the wretched of the earth. Once you project yourself into the objective interests of the most exploited Black people, then and only then are you prepared to make the Revolutionary Act of Class Defection. It is not possible without an understanding of the social structure and dynamic of change within the Black community. And only by choosing the wretched of the earth is it possible to work creatively for all the people.

The objective interests of the exploited Black worker are the concrete conditions of revolution. It is best to be actually experiencing these conditions to change them, because only by direct experience with the concrete
conditions of exploitation can one best determine the value of any change. However, all knowledge is not solely based on direct experience, so we can indirectly learn from the experience of others and internalize it as our experience.

What precisely is this Revolutionary Act of Class Defection? Simply put it means you no longer live for the particular interests of what are called normal middle class people. No longer do you want to be a doctor for the money and status, be a playboy for the attention and things you get, no longer do you want to be anything the society wants you to be. Rather you use the objective conditions of those Black people most exploited to establish priorities. (Black working class interests). Then you use these priorities to determine what you must do. Yes, you might still be a doctor, but not because it's what your mama wanted (money, status, etc.) Now you will be a doctor because the health needs of your people demand that, if you have the appitude and the inclination, then you must be a doctor. This way of approaching things means that you ahve to turn your back on what is "normal" for a student--you must defect from your class inclinations.

In order to understand the full meaning of this you must study the lives of other revolutionaries in order to see how they make the act of defection. Study how both Che Guevara and Frantz Fanon were trained in medicine and both became revolutionaries. How the choice was made by
Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Fidel Castro (Cuba), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania). You must become acquainted with the intimate details of their lives so you will understand that all of the seemingly small considerations that are large to you had to be faced by all of these men on their way to revolution.

STEP THREE: Once you have a clear set of priorities with which you will move forward it is time to implement changes in your life. The only correct move under a government headed toward facism is to first change those things that you have complete control over and that involves other poeple as little as possible. The purpose for this must be understood. You never move from a position of weakness, you always avoid confrontation (if you can), until you have mobilized and unified all your resources.

And the easiest way to measure ones commitment is to use the objective resources of time and money.

(A) Time: All of us are trapped in the 24 hour day. And each of us uses that much time every day. A way to check yourself is to keep a diary for a few days or weeks. Then ask yourself about how consistantly you have or have not utilized this time to do relevant things in light of your priorities. Whatever you spend your time doing is what you are committed to.
WE MUST SEIZE THE TIME.

(B.) Money: All of us use money (or one of its forms, e.g., credit). No matter how much it is, it is possible to keep a weekly financial record of every penny and evaluate its use in the same way that you looked at time. We've got to minimize cosmetics, clothes, cars, liquor, house furnishings, excess foods, etc. we've got to maximize consumption of political knowledge. Now is the time to tighten up.

WE MUST SAVE OUR MONEY. These two exercises are indispensible in having an objective criteria to use in changing your life.

The use of time and money in ones life represents an objective approach to getting oneself together. A student must also examine the substance of his student life and implement specific changes there. Most schools present the student with certain given alternatives, and allow the student to make choices. The basic academic choices involve a major, specific courses, and topics for term papers. Each choice is twofold: a( what are you going to choose? and b) what are you going to do with your choice? Both choices must reflect your new theoretical analysis of your people and yourself. Both choices must be maximized for struggle. You've got to choose your areas of study in a serious manner, then work hard so you can make a contribution to your people.
A major problem with the kind of work that Black students are engaged in is that it is impossible to get yourself together without dealing directly with reality. This is a combination of social practice and social research. Without social practice one cannot possibly understand the dynamics of life and struggle. Without social research a person will never know more than his own experiences, except what he gets vicariously through the experience of others. And for both practice and research we must go directly to the action itself. We need a basic method for research on the world, not just research on writings that interpret the world. The student must become a scientist using the world as his laboratory.

A final point on how to implement changes in your life concerns environment, both physical and social. You've got to consider both positive and negative influences on you. The first major point is that everything is political, even the air you breathe, the food you eat, the house you live in, and the friends you have. This means that these things are the direct or indirect result of decisions and historical forces reflecting class interests. And the fact is that not much consideration is given to the interests of the wretched of the earth. So as a person now using the interests of our most exploited sisters and brothers as a guide, you must constantly analyze everything in a political manner.
Even the most insignificant thing might turn out to be of some political value if you are able to understand it correctly.

In the physical space you have to live in (eat, sleep, study, etc.) you should consider the political content of all your senses, start picking up: What do you see? What do you hear? What do you taste? What do you smell? What do you touch? You must examine all of these things and change them to the same set of priorities you are now using to reorganize your life. This is very important as support since the rest of your life will be encountering negative forces beyond your immediate control. Now I am not so much concerned about the Motown sound (popular Black music) as I am tape collection of important lectures and discussions for your study purposes. I am talking about basically healthy foods and not the excessive storing of expensive health food store items.

In sum, your physical environment must have an high utility for what your life is going to be about.

Ones social environment is to be dealt with the same manner as his physical scene, although there is much possibility of creating change. If you are to become a political person, then you must prepare to lead a political life.

This means that when we move to get ourselves together we must spend as much time as possible around people who are doing the same thing. We must understand that it
is no longer about what we like, or what has pleased us up to this point. We are now acting as political agents making choices based on their political utility for struggle. So you have a revolutionary responsibility to help your friends move with you, or to cut them loose. Its as simple and as cold as that.

STEP FOUR: Once you have established the political direction for your life, then and only then is it advisable to move to organize a new educational experience. Because only then will you be prepared to deal with even a small study group as a revolutionary undertaking that is vital for the struggle. Because only then will you be able to identify and attract other people who are also political rather than just people who don’t quite know what to do with themselves. And because only then will you be able to perform "acts" that will serve as a mobilizing force and an example.

The basis for any new organizing effort is the corps of people who are primarily responsible. You must attempt to have as much rapport as possible. And for this it is necessary to share Steps one, two, and three so that you will be fully aware of where a person is and not make the mistake of taking something for granted that very well may not be true. No assumption is valuable unless you can back it up with evidence. If you are concerned with the peoples survival and triumph then you must understand the limitations of everymans word and require a factual basis for everything. The truth is
an objective reality to which everybody must submit his life for judgement.

We have now reached the point of the creation of new institutions based on revolutionary educational principles. The first and most obvious thing is to do a careful study of similar educational programs. This must include some attempts that failed as well as those that succeeded because only in that way can you figure out what went wrong. This program of Study should not be limited to the Black community in the United States. We must begin to become knowledgeable about the revolutionary educational programs in all progressive countries, all over Africa, Asia, and Latin America. And if at all possible include educational programs from everywhere else as well. (Ignorance is the most dangerous enemy of a revolutionary, and all ideology that keeps a man ignorant is bad and ought to be discussed as bullshit!).

And now that we have discussed some general guidelines to follow it is important that we make clear what are some specific programatic educational alternatives for most Black communities. Here are a list of four community programs

1. COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA: Every community ought to be informed of what is happening. Although most people get hold of major national news, frequently what is happening in the world as well as in the local community, goes unreported. We...
make our people aware of what is happening. Remember that both *Muhammad Speaks* and the *Black Panther Newspaper* were mimeographed handouts before they became national newspapers. And also think about how effective the white radical America. This is an important educational arm of struggle that must be developed before things start happening to us and there is no established way to get things out. In a police state the press of liberation is one of the first targets of repression. We must have an effective communications system so that we can keep the people wise to what's going on. The Peoples News ought to be given away free to the people, or at absolute cost. All cadres who take this task must have an alternative way to make their living unless through advertisement (consistant with the paper's policy) it is possible to raise funds.

2. INFORMATION CENTER: The most common form of information center is the boostore. We need to have one in every community so that material that is published elsewhere can be distributed to the people from a regular location. In addition to the relevant newspapers, magazines, and journals the information center should have a section on Africans in the West (Afro-Americans). Africa, Revolution, and the Enemy. Again, the store ought to deal in the most inexpensive articles ( editions of books) and attempt to keep the overhead costs to a minimum.
All questions concerning this program should be made to TIMBUKTU, 2530 S. Michigan Ave Chicago, Illinois

3. STUDY GROUPS: The formation of study groups must be based on the commitment of each individual involved. The weakest person defines the strength of the group. Material ought to be read for depth and comprehension, rather than to superficially treat a lot of material. A few books like, *Black Bourgeois*. *Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism, Black Awakening in Capitalist America* and *How Europe Undeveloped Africa* can be well studied for an extended time and result in a very useful understanding of exploitation both externally and internally to the Black community. In study groups full participation of everyone must be required, and should include a lot of writing, short explanations, description of material from memory (if necessary including the definitions of words), and use of material interpreting personal experiences. When a study group finishes with a book, everyone ought to be able to teach what is in the book and relate it to the concrete realities of the groups political life. The revolutionary saying is "If you don't know study, if you know teach."

4. SCHOOL: The creation of a school involves the highest form of participation because it not only
involves several study groups, it is possible (and desireable) to think of a school as at least having the above three programs as part of it. The last approach has a great many problems associated with it that requires another more lengthy analysis. All that we will say here is that Washington, D.C., Chicago, Greensboro and Nashville have Black independent schools that deserve much study if such schools are to grow and develop...All questions concerning this area should be mailed to: Peoples College, P.O. Box 7696 Chicago, Illinois

CONCLUDING NOTE

This paper has attempted to do two things: (1) to describe the current educational alternatives facing Black people today, and (2) to develop a method for Black students(who must be a vital asset for Black Struggle) to move forward in a revolutionary manner. It is hoped that those who read this paper will attempt to use it, will engage in revolutionary social practice.

1970's must be a new decade of struggle for the Black student. The Black student must make the Revolutionary act of Class Defection and move for the interests of his people, the wretched of the earth.
B. STATE OF TENNESSEE: A PROFILE

Tennessee shares its borders on the North with Kentucky and Virginia; on the East with North Carolina; on the South with Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The Mississippi River forms its Western Boundary separating it from Missouri and Arkansas. Its extreme length is 432 miles and its extreme width is 112 miles encompassing 42,244 sq. miles of which 878 sq. miles are water surface.

Tennessee is nicknamed the "Volunteer State" having established some sort of record in furnishing volunteers in the war of 1812 and the Mexican War. It entered the union in 1796 as the 16th state.

The name "Tennessee" is of Native American origin and its generally believed to be derived from the name of an ancient Cherokee capital.

The mean annual temperature of the state varies from 57 degree F in the East in the high elevations of Unaka Mountains to 60 degree F in the West in the Mississippi River Valley.

The state is divided into three(3) geo-political sections; East, Middle, and West Tennessee.

**FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CENTERS**

The components of finance capital (Banks, manufacturers, insurance companies, retail houses) in Tennessee are located in Memphis in the West, Nashville in Middle Tennessee, and Knoxville and Chatanooga in the East.
Within these centers are concentrated 1,366,000 (41.6%) of the states 3,283,000 total inhabitants and 396,000 (62%) of the 632,000 Black people in the state.

Among leading industries are chemicals, fiber glass production, electrical machinery, wearing apparel, fabricated metals, primary metals, and paper and allied products. Large installations include the aluminum plant at Alcoa (town changed its name when plant move in); DuPont plants at Kingsport, Old Hickory, and New Johnsonville; Newsprint Mills at Calhoun; Owens-Corning plant in Jackson; Ferro and Genesco plants in Nashville; etc.

A resurging phenomenon occurring in the industrial sector is the location of "Run-Away Shops" in Tennessee. Giants of plunder such as Firestone (of Liberian and Indochina Infamy), in attempts to escape the rank-and-file trade union militancy in their Northern shops, are relocating plants in states such as Tennessee, where labor is more unorganized than not and where wages (the cost of labor) are low (the per capita income in Tennessee ranks 43rd in the nation!!)

Firestone is not the only multi-national corporation in Tennessee. Maxey and Franklin Jarman's Genesco Corporation maintains its home offices in Nashville. Genesco is the largest manufacturer of clothing apparel in the world, responsible for retailing most of the commercial footwear in Africa. The Ferro-Corporation,
based in Cleveland has one of its three fiber glass production plants in Nashville. Ferro operates in fourteen (14) other countries, including countries in Latin America and in South Africa!!

In the home of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Tennessee manufacturers are the largest consumers of hydro-electric power in the Southeast.

AGRICULTURE

Along with the urbanization and industrialization of the Tennessee populous in general, particularly the Black populous, has been the emergence of Agri-Business. Tennessee agricultural barons averaged more than $600,000,000 in cash receipts in 1970; more than 60% of this resulting from livestock and their products. Leading crops are tobacco, soy beans, hay, cotton, and corn.

MINING

Tennessee ranks about 27th in the nation in the value of its mineral products, the principal minerals being are stone, zinc (the nation's largest producer), cement, coal, phosphate rock (third largest producer in the nation), copper, and sand and gravel the strip coal-mining industry in the Eastern part of the state is one of the chief reasons for small farmers from these areas being driven from their land.

Now let us take a look at what impact these things have on our education.
TENNESSEE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

LEGEND
- PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES
- PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGES
- PUBLIC TECHNICAL INSTITUTES
- PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS
- PRIVATE JUNIOR COLLEGES & PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL

BLACK SCHOOLS IN TENN.
- Shelby Co.
- Madison Co.
- Davidson Co.
- Knox. Co.
- Jefferson Co.
- Lemoyne-Owen
- Lane
- TSU
- American Baptist Theological
- Fisk - Meharry
- Knoxville
- Morristown Community
## Public Colleges in Tennessee

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<th>Location (County)</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<th>% # of Black in Population</th>
<th>% # of Black in Enrollment</th>
<th>% Enrollment</th>
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E. HISTORY OF TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

Tennessee State University located in Nashville, Tennessee was first established under the name Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School for Negroes in the General Education Bill of 1909, which was passed by the State Legislature of Tennessee. At the same time, this Bill also established three State Normal Schools located in each of the three Grand Divisions of the State for the education and training of white male and female teachers. These three separate white institutions were East Tennessee State Normal School (now East Tennessee State Univ.) located in Johnson City, Tennessee; Middle Tennessee State Normal School (now Middle Tennessee State University) located in Murfreesboro, Tenn., and West Tennessee State Normal School (now Memphis State University) located in Memphis Tennessee. Tennessee A&I State Normal School for Negroes began operation in 1912 with an initial regular student enrollment of 369, a faculty of 15 members and a physical plant of three buildings. Its first president was William Jasper Hale who, prior to his selection as president, was principal of St. Elmo High School of Chattanooga and had been involved in efforts to have the Black Normal School located in Chattanooga. Hale served as president until 1943.
Tennessee A & I State Normal School existed for ten years from 1912 to 1922. It was divided into two departments: The Academic and the Normal or Professional. The Academic Department was divided into four sections dealing with: High School Subjects, School Management, History of Education and Methods and Practice of Teaching. This Department was a four year course with each year consisting of 36 weeks. The Normal or Professional Department consisted of five areas of concentration (1) Agriculture (2) Business (3) Home Economics (4) Industrial Trades and (5) Teaching, it had a two year course divided into 36 weeks each. The school motto and the challenge was articulated by Hale during this period. The school motto became "Think, Work, Serve" and the challenge to students was "Enter to Learn, Go Forth to Serve." The General Education Act of 1910 had established the formula by which Tennessee A & I State Normal School and three White Normal Schools were to be funded. Thirteen percent (13%) of the fund was to be appropriated for the four schools with each white school receiving 2/7 of the amount and the Black school receiving 1/7.

In 1922, the school was elevated to a four year degree Teacher's College. During the period of its Teacher's College status TSU changed its name three times. In 1924 it became Tennessee A & I State Normal College. In 1927, it changed to Tennessee A & I State State Teachers
and in 1934 it was again changed to Tennessee A & I State College. During this period the School's first college program involved two terms of Negro History at the junior level. The college consisted of three major departments in Education, Commerce, and English. In 1933, it was admitted into the American Association of Teachers Colleges. The period of the college also saw a general increase in student enrollment and the number of out-of-state students increased steadily. In 1943 W. J. Hale was replaced by Walter Struther Davis as President.

During the presidency of W. S. Davis Tennessee State's experience accelerated growth physically, financially and academically. In 1951 the name of the school was changed to Tennessee A & I State University. The Air Force ROTC detachment 790 was also formed in the same year. On August 8, 1958 Tennessee State was made a full Land-Grant University. Its academic organization was into five schools (Agriculture & Home Economics, Arts and Sciences, Education, Engineering, and the Graduate School), two divisions (Business and Field Service), and one Department (Air Science).

PROFILE

Tennessee State University occupies 50 acres of campus land and 400 acres of farm land. It possesses a physical plant valued at $35,000,000 and includes thirty-five permanent buildings; twelve of which were completed
over the last twelve years. Its academic profile consists of five colleges and schools (Agriculture and Home Economics, Arts and Sciences, Engineering and Technology, Education and the Graduate Schools), the Division of Extension and Continuing Education, and the Department of Aerospace Studies. It offers courses leading to the Bachelor's degree in over thirty areas and the Master's degree in over fifteen areas. It has approximately 300 full-time faculty and administrative officers of which 88 hold doctoral degrees. TSU is a member of and accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, the National Council for accreditation of Teacher Education, and the Teacher's College Association of Extension and Field Services. The University is also a member of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, the American Alumni Council and the National Association of Schools of Music. Total revenues budgeted for TSU for 1972-73 are $10,304,365.

Of the 4,400 students enrolled, approximately 20% are non-residents of the State. Over 50% of the Tennessee students are from Shelby, Hamilton and Davidson Counties; which are three of the four large urban areas of the State. Nearly half of the student body are women. The working class background of the students is indicated by a March 10th 1969 University Testing Bureau Document "A Profile of A& I 1968 Freshman Class." This profile revealed that 23% of the class came from families earning 13,000 or less and
between $5,000 and 7,499. Twenty-four percent of the student body receive financial aid and over half work either on or off campus.

The faculty of Tennessee State in 1972-73 is broken down into 62 Professors, 59 Associate Professors, 92 Assistant Professors and 69 instructors. The average salary for Professors is $15,200 for Associate Professors 12,550, for Assistant Professors $10,937 and for instructors $8,841. The salaries of the TSU faculty compared with similar categories in the other five State Universities governed by the State Board of Regents are lower. This is also true of course when compared with similar categories of faculty members in the University of Tennessee System.

Tennessee State University is governed by the State Board of Regents which was created July 1, 1972 by the Tennessee General Assembly. The Board of Regents assumed the responsibility from the State Board of Education of governing Tennessee's six State Universities and nine State Community Colleges. The University of Tennessee is a state system which includes UT-Nashville and operated separately under a Board of Trustees. The expressed purpose of the creation of the Board of Regents was to enable the Board of Education to concentrate more efficiently on its remaining duties of overseeing the states primary and secondary schools. The Board of Regents is responsible for direct administrative control and operation of
fifteen institutions including Tennessee State. Under the Board of Regents each university and college president is responsible to the Board through the Chancellor who is chief executive officer of the State University and Community College System. The following is a listing of the members of the Board of Regents:

1. Winfield Dunn, Governor of Tennessee
2. Ben Kimbrough, 1st Trust and Savings Bank
3. C.N. Berry
4. Benjamin E. Carmichael, Commissioner of Education
5. Dr. Kenneth Ezell
6. Joan K. Folger, Executive Director, Tennessee Higher Education Commission
7. Dale Glover
9. George M. Klepper, Jr.
10. Charles J. Liner
11. Mrs. Johnella H. Martin
12. Miss Ella V. Ross, Board of Directors, Johnson City Foundry and Machine Works
13. J. Frank Taylor
14. Guilford Thornton, Commissioner of Agriculture and NATCO Chemical and Spray Company
15. J. Howard Warf
16. David White
17. Dr. Carl E. Stimbert, Commissioner of Education
F. HISTORY OF STUDENT STRUGGLE (1960 - 1968)
AT TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

TSU has a long history of militant student struggle around issues pertaining to both the TSU campus and the Black community in Nashville. Between 1960 and 1968, student struggle passed through two distinct stages:
1) The movement for democratic reform (Civil Rights) from 1960 to 1965, and
2) the rise of Black Nationalism and the Black Power Movement between 1966 and 1968.

The Civil Rights movement in Nashville was a mass movement involving all classes in the Black community and led by the Black middle class. TSU students, along with Black students from Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, and Meharry Medical College, were the shock troops of the sit-in movement and spearheaded the attack on racial segregation and discrimination in public facilities. The strategy and tactics of this movement revolved around the use of non-violent direct action as the method of defeating racism. It was recognized that Black people in Nashville, and especially its large Black student population, as consumers, contributed to the economic life of the large white retail stores and restaurants, but that these same businesses practiced policies of racial discrimination in its public eating places as well as in employment. It was also recognized that while Blacks constituted one-third (1/3) of the total
Nashville population, they represented only 12% of the wealth. This struggle brought the Black students and Black community to a direct confrontation with the police power of the local government which sought to protect the interests of white businesses.

Large numbers of TSU students participated in this movement and as a result found themselves and their actions opposed by the TSU administration which expelled nearly 100 students in connection with sit-in arrests.

Despite these repressive measures the Civil Rights movement in Nashville achieved its purpose of ending racial segregation in public facilities.

The second stage of student struggle at TSU was a response to the concept of Black Power as articulated by SNCC during the Meredith march in Mississippi in the summer of 1966. During this stage, Black Nationalism arose as the dominant trend among students at TSU. This struggle took two forms, one being nationalist demands for change in the campus and academic lives of students and the other being the demand that TSU link with and support the Black community's attempt to rid itself of white control. These student militants sought to organize a TSU FIRENDS OF SNCC on campus.

The campus and academic demands of the students were in part refinements of demands made earlier during the 1965-66 student government led mass student meetings. Ten basic demands were made throughout the school year,
1967-68.

1) Addition of courses devoted to the study of African people in the U.S. and Africa.
2) The elimination of incompetent faculty and inefficient administration.
4) Elimination of the practice of in loco parentis especially with regard to women students.
5) Improved quality of cafeteria food.
6) Higher standards with regard to the quality and safety of university approved off-campus housing.
7) The rights of students to organize themselves into independent campus political organizations.
8) Academic freedom especially the right of students to have controversial speakers on campus.
9) That TSU should have as its purpose the training of Black students for service in the liberation of the Black community from white political, economic and social control.
10) The broadening of student representative government through the creation of a student general assembly.

These demands were progressive demands and students understood in a general way the neo-colonial status of TSU in that white control was exercised through a Black administration. However, the main attack in support of these demands were directed at the university's administration and not at the State Board of Education, the Government of Tennessee or the white industrial-financial elite which controlled the state. The vast majority of the student body supported these demands as was demonstrated through mass marches on campus, picketing and mass meetings. The leadership of the movement was composed of cultural nationalists. It is significant that only a few of the demands raised were ever totally achieved. This failure can be traced in part to the fact that students did not direct
their attacks at the real power, which was the state of Tennessee.

The spring of 1976 saw the demand for the right of controversial figures to speak on campus reach its highest level. It was learned that SNCC chairman, Stokley Carmichael had accepted an invitation to speak at Vanderbilt University's "Impact Series." Student militants at TSU immediately pressured the student government and university administration to invite him to speak at TSU also. At the same time, the State Legislature of Tennessee passed a resolution denouncing Carmichael as an advocate of racial violence and sought to ban him from speaking anywhere in the state. This brought Vanderbilt briefly with the state government over the right of free speech and academic freedom. Although Vanderbilt emerged victorious, the Legislature's resolution contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of crisis within the Metropolitan Nashville Police Department. The TSU administration refused to grant the student request for Carmichael to speak and students resolved that he would speak on campus with or without official sanction.

On Tuesday, April 4, 1967, Carmichael arrived in Nashville and was escorted by students to TSU. Unable to speak inside any campus building because the administration had locked all doors to campus buildings, Carmichael addressed a crowd of 1,000 students on the steps of the Student Union Building.
This response of the student body to Carmichael's appearance and the successful effort of student militants to present the administration with a petition signed by over 2,000 students pressured the administration into allowing Carmichael to speak at TSU. On April 7, Carmichael spoke at TSU and on April 8, spoke at the Vanderbilt University "Impact Series." This was the first real victory for TSU students.

However, the crisis mentality that had developed in the Metro Police Department soon resulted in police overreaction to a small incident between the Black owner of a local restaurant and a Black Fisk student. Police arriving to investigate the disturbance attracted a small crowd of Black people. Almost immediately, 100 battle-ready Metro Police in riot gear appeared on the scene. Black people, already sensitive to police as a result of a long history of police oppression and brutality, refused to be bullied. And when the police moved in to disperse the crowd, they responded with bricks and bottles. Thus began the first battle of Nashville.

The TSU campus was surrounded and at points, the police fired point blank into a crowd of unarmed students. The police broke into apartments near campus in which students live, beat and even arrested some of the occupants. Police rode onto the campus of TSU and fired live rounds into one of the men's dormitories.

While police fought students at TSU, similar battles were fought at Fisk and Meharry. At a certain point in the
police riot, the working people of the Black community actively joined in support of the students and the rebellion spread to some sections of the Black working community of North Nashville. The Black middle class of Nashville, especially businessmen and clergy, denounced the students and working people until some of them found that their "positions" and status meant nothing to the mad, racist police. They then sought to re-establish leadership of the community by attempting to articulate demands in the name of the Black community. Black student militants were not able to direct the rebellion nor were they able to greatly influence the direction that the Black middle class "spokesmen" were taking. The single outstanding demand raised was the demand for an end to police brutalization of Black people.

During the 1966-67 student movement, the real character of the stu-government was bared. Up to this time the student government was seen as the means through which a few individual students could increase their prestige and catapult themselves into law school. The student government consisted of a thirteen member council plus the president and the vice-president. Its advisor was the Dean of Students. The Men's and Women's Senates served as arms of the student council whose functions primarily revolved around questions of discipline. In the student movement, the student government as a whole served as the instrument of the University administration.
under the directorship of the Dean. On every issue, the student government followed the dictates of the administration and opposed the student body.

The fraternities and sororities also opposed the student movement, since the student government was dominated by these groups and the fraternity and sorority leaders were also student government leaders. A few fraternity people, however, openly broke with their organizations to participate in the student movement. A few stopped paying dues and ended their membership. One fraternity even groomed one of its members to become student council president had became known within the student body as the administration candidate. This candidate became the leader of a student informer group called the AD Hoc Committee of Concerned Students. For his work in behalf of the administration, the candidate was presented a full four-year scholarship to Harvard Law School. In the Student Council election of 1968, the candidates fraternity formed an administration student coalition with a sorority and a small group of independent students. This coalition helped to win the election for its candidate and with his victory, the administration began to implement a policy of repression.

The first measure of repression outlawed all meetings of non-administration/student government approved organizations.
A second measure banned the distribution of leaflets and other literature, including petitions, on campus. A third measure, perhaps the most repressive, was the creation of an administration controlled ad-hoc committee of students whose purpose was to spy on students and report any word or action that in any way challenged the administration's authority or existing campus conditions. In effect, this last measure made freedom of expression a crime on campus. Because many of those students on this committee were secret members, fear and distrust was rampant throughout the student body. Thus, while militant student leadership was denied the right to function on campus, the administration created divisions within the student body. These tactics effectively helped to achieve the administration's goal of student movement repression.

However, these measures were only holding actions by the administration. The major administrative act occurred during August of 1967. This act was the blanket expulsion of 70 students in an effort to purge the campus of student militants. Students who were actively involved in the movement were expelled along with those who were not.

The administration also developed a plan to cut the number of out-of-state students admitted to TSU. The rationale for this move was based upon the fact that most student activists were out-of-state students.

By the Winter quarter of the year 1967-68 all but three of the seventy students had been readmitted and the
administration announced that it was placing emphasis on recruiting Tennessee students. Only select out-of-state students would be admitted. The basis for selection was never made clear, but 90% of the 68-69 Freshman class were Tennesseans. Thus, the administration felt it had prevented the reoccurrence of student movements.

The school year, 67-68, was relatively calm. The administration, in addition to repressive measures, also attempted to ease pressure by implementing some campus reforms. A student general assembly was created composed of representation from all official campus organizations. The administration allowed the creation of an Afro-American Heritage Society. Two courses on African history were added to the curriculum and were taught by Stanlake Samkange from Zimbabwe.

The student General Assembly created only the illusion of student opinion being fairly represented. Being composed of representatives from fraternities, sororities, honor societies, department clubs, and other similar organizations, it did not represent the majority of students who were excluded from or who had no interest in joining these organizations. Also these organizations historically had opposed or been indifferent to student demands and tended to act along established line laid down by the administration. The principle leaders of the general assembly also had been active in the pro-administration ad-hoc Committee of Concerned Students. Consequently, the general Assembly was firmly dominated by the administration and its student stooges.
The Afro-American Heritage Society was also weak in that it was composed of students who had little political consciousness and no history of struggle on campus.

The two African history courses were also part of the window dressing and were never expanded into a full program of Black Studies.

Since fear had been instilled into the student body, these repressive and reform measures went unchallenged.

With the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in April, '68, two things were clearly demonstrated at TSU. One was the degree to which the policy of repression had affected the student body and the other was the efficient manner in which the local police and state National Guard was able to isolate TSU. Except for sporadic events on campus, students were generally passive. The Metro police and National Guard surrounded TSU and established established check points at all entrances to the campus. These check points were supported by National Guard tanks and helicopters kept the entire area under surveillance.

Out of these two stages of student struggle, six things can be observed.

1) The role of the Black middle class in relation to community struggle.
2) The role of the Black working class community in student struggle.
3) The role of the university administration as the tool of Tennessee's white political-economic forces.
4) The role of the military/police as the instrument of white political economic control.
5) The opposing role of the student government in student movement.
6) The need for student and community struggles to be guided by scientific analysis and theory.
G. GEIER VS. DUNN: THE TENNESSEE STATE COURT CASE--
CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS

For the past five years Tennessee State University
has been involved in legal action as a method to combat
the University of Tennessee at Nashville's encroachment
upon TSU's educational domain.

The suit began in 1968, when the University of
Tennessee Board of Trustees, who administered three full
university campuses and two extension centers at that time,
announced plans to construct a five million dollar facility
to house its Nashville extension center. The Nashville
Extension center had been established in 1947. This night
school allowed white adults to avoid attending Tennessee
State University thus, blocking one potential source of
TSU funds.

The move by U.T. to expand its night school came
at a period when TSU was beginning a severe economic crisis
The State Board of Education had slapped a 15% ceiling
on all out-of-state students at public supported colleges
in 1967. Therefore TSU had begun an enrollment drop from
its 1966 peak of 5,6000 students since 43% of the Tennessee
State students came from outside Tennessee.

Rita Sanders, a Black TSU faculty member, filed
a class action suit in May 1968, to prevent construction
of the U.T. facility. She was joined in this action by
a Black high school & TSU students as well as a white
faculty member & student from the U.T. Nashville Center.

The Sanders suit argued that U.T. expansion would
cause unnecessary duplication of current TSU programs, thus perpetuating a "dual system of higher education."

The Sanders group sued as "defendants" the members of all the major educational boards and governing institutions in the State of Tennessee. The group, the State included the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington the State Board of Education headed by J.H. Warf, the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees headed by Andrew Holt, the Tebessee Higher Education Commission, headed by Dr. John Foldger, and Tennessee State University whose president at that time was Dr. Walter Davis. Although the United States of America was initially cited as a member of the State, in July 1968, it switched to the Sanders side. The early name of this civil action is called Sanders vs. Ellington and it was filed in Middle Tennessee District Federal Court with Judge Frank Gray presiding. With the switch of the United States to the Sanders group the second stage of demands appears in the Sanders vs. Ellington suit. The United States, while supporting the halt of construction on the Nashville Center, demanded also that a comprehensive desegregation plan for higher education in the State of Tennessee be ordered by the Court. The United States motion represented an upswing for the Sanders group. This motion was countered by Judge Gray in his August, 1968, decision in Sanders vs. Ellington.

Gray stated that the evidence presented by the Sanders group did not prove that the new center would "necessarily" perpetuate a dual system of higher education. The motion to halt U.T. construction was denied; however, in
deference to the United States, Gray ordered the State to present by April, 1969 a comprehensive "plan designed to effect such desegregation of the higher education institutions of Tennessee with particular regard to Tennessee State University as to the dismantling of the dual system now existing." Gray ordered the Tennessee Higher Education Commission to file reports on progress made by the State in discharging its "affirmative duty" to dismantle the only higher educational institution generally accessible to Black working-class youth in Tennessee.

The Gray ruling was applauded by the U.T. Board of Trustees as a perfect compromise. Within two months after filing their April 1970 "progress report" the Board of Trustees decided to make the Nashville extension a full degree granting campus; organized a search for a chancellor; screened candidates, appointed Roy Nicks to the post, and bought him a house - demonstrating that, at least for the U.T. Board of Trustees, complacency had not dulled their whetted blade of expansion.

In May, 1971 the State Legislature passed a bill elevating the University of Tennessee at Nashville to full campus in the U.T. system authorized to offer programs "primarily at night." This was done over the protests of faculty and students from Tennessee State who marched on the capital to demonstrate resistance to the UTN expansion. Avon Williams, lone Black senator in the State Legislature, introduced a bill to designate TSU as "primary institution" in Nashville. The Williams bill was
pwrfunctionially dismissed by the white legislature.

The third stage of demands by the Sanders group were articulated in February, 1972. At this time, the new Governor of Tennessee, Winfield Dunn, and E.C. Stimbert, new head of the State Board of Education were introduced into the suit. The name of the suit was changed to Geier vs. Dunn, since Sanders had married, and the Geier group asked for UTN to be merged into TSU with Tennessee State University as the dominant institution.

On February 3, 1972, Judge Gray issued an opinion that with the exception of TSU, all other state-supported institutions were proceeding at a "constitutionally permissible" rate of speed toward desegregation. Gray ordered the State to submit a plan for desegregation of TSU and present study on the feasibility of merging the institutions.

On March 27, 1973, the State's Plan was submitted to the court. The plan consisted of seven points:

1. TSU will employ only white faculty to fill all vacancies except where no qualified white can be found for the job or the Black is superior to the best white applicant.

2. TSU and other middle Tennessee institutions implement a faculty exchange program for fall 1972.

3. Add 10 non-Black faculty in areas where a strengthened faculty would be most likely to attract white students.

4. Implement a financial aid program of $200,000 for white student-aid from TSU & financial aid budget or at least one-third of the total aid budget.

5. Hire a full-time white recruiter to enroll
white students at Tennessee State.

6. Improve TSU's Physical appearance.

7. Relocate the UTN School of Social Work from UTN to TSU "This will bring approximately 100 white students to Tennessee State's Campus, even though they will not be enrolled at TSU."

The U.T. Board of Trustees issued a statement to the Court in which they supported the March 27 Plan and argued that the merger of TSU and UTN was impossible because it would result in the quality of its programs at UNT being lowered. In the U.T. statement the Trustees criticized the reputation of TSU and observed that the merger might provoke "considerable social and political unrest" due to "existing social conditions and attitudes" of the Black community, faculty students, and alumni of TSU.

President Andrew Torrence, TSU President, objected to points three and four of the States Plan and argued that a merger of UTN into TSU was called for because the existence of UTN thwarted all attempts by TSU to recruit white students.

The TSU faculty senate drafted a critique of the States Plan, the author of the critique is Sterling Adams, a young math professor at Tennessee State. The faculty critique is the only written document by members of the Black community which offers a point-by-point rebuttal of the States Plan. It also represents the basic position which Adams and his group (called Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education) would present to the Court later in
a motion to intervene in the case.

The Sanders group sued as "defendants" the members all the major educational boards and governing institutions in the state of Tennessee. This group, the State included the Governor of Tennessee, Buford Ellington, The State Board of Education headed by J.H. Warf, the University of Tennessee Board of Trustees headed by Andrew Holt; the Tennessee Higher Education was attending white state higher education institutions with Black students in the UT systems only comprising 4.1% of its total student enrollment.

President Torrence ends his argument by asserting that: (1) despite inadequate financing, TSU offers quality programs, (2) in several areas with both National and Regional accreditation; that TSU has proved its ability to train "high risk" students to excel in all fields; and that a merger of UTN into TSU is the only method to insure desegregation of white schools, expanded educational opportunities for Blacks while white schools, are being desegregated, a flexible institution for all types of students, and the continued contribution of TSU to higher education.

THE FACULTY SENATE RESPONSE-TSU CRITIQUE OF THE STATE'S PLAN APRIL 19, 1972

The faculty Senate critique was drafted by Sterling Adams, a young math professor at TSU and subsequent member Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education, the plain-tiff intervenors of the Geire vs. Dunn case.

The faculty senate response begins by blasting the State's Plan as a "document devoid of wisdom and re-sponsibility. In no way does it represent good faith, compliance with the court order. The faculty senate asserts that the State's Plan was formulated "in an attempt to create an illusion of movement toward
the desegregation of higher education while the weight of the evidence shows little progress save the insincere concentration upon desegregating Tennessee State University. "We say again that the plan is devoid of wisdom and is irresponsible — it avoids the major constitutional questions; it lacks equity."

The faculty defended the 1:16 ratio of faculty to students at TSU, as opposed to the average ratio of 1:20 for other white state-supported schools, as being necessary at TSU and point out that State policy of allocating funds on credit-hour production (an idea suggested by Ed Boling of the UT Board of Trustees) worked to make TSU faculty salaries lower than any other institutions.

The Faculty Senate observed that: Point one of the State's plan advocated more white faculty and administration for TSU and alleged TSU had not increased its non-Black faculty. Yet, the faculty points out TABLE II of the State's Plan indicated a 3.8% increase from 1968 to 1972 in non-Black faculty at TSU which is larger than any increase in Black faculty at any white institution. On the other hand, Black faculty in the State of Tennessee only constitutes 5.8% of state-wide faculty. Thus, without including Tennessee State University, only 1.3% of the total Black faculty in the state of Tennessee were hired by the combined white state institutions.

Points two and three by calling for a combined expenditure of $250,000 to increase non-Black faculty at TSU would force TSU to either release these faculty in
in the event that HEW funds were not forthcoming or reduce over-all maintenance on other university services. The faculty exchange program advocated in the State's plan would only create an "artificial white presence" and would be based on the assumption that "(1) Tennessee State University must have a predominantly white faculty to offer quality education to non-Black students and (2) that a "white presence" in any form will increase the white student enrollment.

In point four the State plan proposed that one-third or about $200,000 of TSU student aid be reserved for incoming white students. Yet, as the faculty senate critique points out, only one-third of the present Black students who qualify for aid at TSU can be accommodated and proposing that one-third of this money be reserved for whites "adds insult to the injury and burden that Tennessee State University students must bear."

Finally, point seven of the State's plan proposed that UT's school of Social Work which is operated by UT Knoxville and housed on the UTN campus. Thus, UNT CAN FREE MORE SPACE AND FACILITIES "to encroach further upon the educational rights of Tennessee State University in developing other programs."

The faculty senate ends its critique by arguing for:

1. Better educational opportunities for Blacks in higher education in Tennessee.

2. Parity in higher educational employment opportunities, including all levels from faculty to administrators.
3. Eliminating and then prescribing duplication by UTN of existing programs at TSU in the short run.

4. Merger of UTN into TSU in the long run.

On July 31, 1972, Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education, a class action composed of TSU faculty, students, and Black community members whose children attend, or plan to attend public supporter higher education in the state of Tennessee, filed as intervening plaintiffs in the Geier vs. Dunn civil action.

On August 3, 1972, Goerge Barret, counsel for the Geier plaintiffs moved that TJHE be edned opportunity to intervene, arguing that intervention would "undoubtedly cause undue dalay" and implied that the Geier plaintiffs had presented everything pertinent to the case previously, including all TJHE demands.

Motion to intervene was, however, granted by Judge Frank Gray. Using the THEC master plan, and referring again to the faculty senate critique of the State's plan, March 27, 1972, TJHE documented tactics on the part of all higher education boards in Tennessee to thwart TSU's institutional development.

Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education argued that:

(A) Tennessee State Board of Regents, Tennessee Higher Education Commission, the UT Board of Trustees, and the State Board of Education all inadequately represent or are completely absent of Black representation and interlocking chairmanships by Gov. Dunn, John Foldger, and others on all these boards constitutes conflict of interest.
(B) The beneficial aspects of TSU for Blacks would be destroyed by inequitable pressure to desegregate the school while racist hiring and enrollment policies are practiced by all the state-supported institutions of higher education in the state of Tennessee. Also, the Tennessee Higher Education Commission in its master plan, a document projecting institutional development of public supported higher education in Tennessee, was attempting to expand construction of Shelby State Community College into four campuses, (one campus to be predominantly Black), near Memphis which would injure TSU's ability to enroll that region's students due to duplicated programs. Therefore, TJHE asked for an injunction against building these campuses.

(C) Argument is made for UTN to be merged into TSU, and Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education be permitted to file a plan "which shall dismantle the dual and discriminatory system of public higher education in Tennessee in accordance with factual matters."
CONCLUSION

The court case involving Tennesse State is important in that it represents an attempt to defend the institution; albeit, within the framework of integration. What has not clearly emerged in this case or our community organizing is positive act of affirming black institutions based on a critical evaluation of integration as delivered by the racist U.S. ruling class.

The task facing us as we attempt to insure that Black working-class youth can achieve a quality education is that of forming a broad based mass struggle for democratic rights.

This can only be done by affirming that the central issue is quality education for Black people; by forming local, state, regional, and national coalitions of all progressive forces around this issue composed of Black youth at predominantly white schools; Black youth at private Black schools; Black youth at state-supported and land-grant institutions; the total Black community which is overwhelmingly working-class.
CHRONOLOGY OF TSU COURT CASE

May 1968  Plaintiffs filed action to enjoin construction for the UTN Center on grounds that it would be duplicative of Tennessee State University courses and services.

July 1968  United States moved to intervene as party plaintiff (no longer listed with the group of defendants) and sought not only an injunction to prevent construction of the new facility, but also asked that the Court Order State defendants to present a plan calculated to produce meaningful desegregation of the public universities of Tennessee.

August 1968  District Court Judge Frank Gray, Jr. held that evidence established that UT sought only to provide center for employed persons of all races who sought education at night and would not necessarily perpetuate dual system of higher education. Relief was denied as to expansion of center, but defendants require to submit plan of desegregation by April 1, 1969 "a plan designed to effect such desegregation of the higher education institutions of Tennessee, with particular attention to Tennessee State University, as to indicate the dismantling of the dual system now existing."

March 1971  University of Tennessee at Nashville was elevated to a campus status and authorized to offer degree programs "primarily in the evening." Prior to this time UTN was an Extension Center in the UT System.

July 1971  Plaintiffs filed recommendations to Court to order defendants to:

1. Submit a plan to merge UTN into TSU within 30 days, merger to be completed by January 1972, and that TSU be designated as the Regional University of Higher Education for Nashville;

2. UTN School of Social Work and Nursing program to be transferred to TSU by September, 1971;

3. Primary responsibility for desegregation shall be on Tennessee Board of Trustees of UT, and Tennessee Higher Education Commission. These agencies would also recommend plan for recruiting Black students for predominantly white public institutions and providing special counseling etc., for Blacks to assure success in college.

February 1972  Plaintiffs filed motion to make substitutions among parties in the suit (e.g., Dunn for Ellington, Stimbert for Warf, etc.) Motion was granted by the Court. (Rita Sanders had married, now Rita Sanders-Geier and case was renamed
Geier vs. Dunn).

February 1972 Court in reviewing the facts of the case, found that, with the exception of TSU, defendants were proceeding to dismantle their dual system at a constitutionally permissible rate of speed.

March 1972 Defendants submitted plan for implementing a "white presence" at Tennessee State University at the beginning of the 1972 academic year.

April 1972 Plaintiffs filed response to Defendant's Plan of March 1972, indicating that the Court's mandate to dismantle dual system extends to the entire public higher educational system.
H. CONTEMPORARY REPORT OF TSU STRUGGLE

This is to lend to you some historical facts as to the struggle on the campus of TSU from September 1968 to March 1973.

Tennessee State University sits astride Centennial Boulevard which historically has been a truck route servicing the various plants and warehouses that are located in close proximity to the campus.

To the North-west of the campus are located plants and warehouses of Genesco, Ford Motor Company Glass Plant, Cumberland Oil Company and Stauffer Chemical Company's Industrial Chemical Division Factory. To the East of the campus is the warehouse, Bulk and Asphalt Plant of Humble Oil and Refining Company. The heavy flow of truck traffic has been a serious concern of students who must cross Centennial Boulevard to attend classes, study at the Library or go to their dormitories. This concern heightened in the Spring of 1969 and manifested itself in student protest. Added to this was a television report that white truck drivers would begin arming themselves against TSU students.

In response to this twin danger the Afro-American Heritage Society mobilized students in an effort to prevent these vehicles from passing through the campus. Once again as in 1960, 1967, and 1968 the police power of the state moved to protect the interests of the corporations which meant
clearing the truck route. Once again as in 1967 the police, riding six deep in patrol cars and armed with riot gear, rode into the campus. The students, angered over the fact that the police had been called, reverted to name calling. This angered the police and they started to run after the students. Most of the students were co-eds for this was the side of the campus on which many female students lived. The police had managed to separate the brothers from the sisters using tactics similar to those at Selma Bridge. They fired over the heads of the students grabbed sisters by their hair, hit them with billy clubs, drug them on the ground and finally threw them in the paddy wagon. Those brothers caught on the sisters side of campus for a while. Their was reportedly gun fire shared between the police and brothers in the men's dormitory. The brothers and sisters arrested were released the next day without charges, but several brothers were suspended from school.

The re-routing of traffic was a main point stressed by the students since not only had students suffered damage and injury but sisters in particular were subjected to lewd statements coming from the truck drivers as they drove through campus. The administration decided to build an overpass but most students considered this a cop out. The excuse given to students was as soon as an Interstate Highway was built they would reroute the traffic. In the following fall 1970, a sister was run down by a
speed-happy white man who ran a red light (hit and run). Fortunately the sister suffered only minor bruises. But this again brought TSU students out. They again blocked traffic but this time it was in day light and the police tended not to act in as brutal a manner as they had acted the previous spring. Students protested the building of the overpass and to add insult to injury not only did they proceed the construction of the overpass no Black workers were put on the job. Their excuse they could not find any Black construction workers. Students continued their protest, which forced the construction workers to hire one Black worker. The Dean of Students again consistent with his history of opposing student interests made a statement that any student participating in stopping the construction would be put out of school. After the fall quarter of "69" with the exception of sporadic activities of individuals and small groups, the struggle on TSU campus had reached an inactive plateau. However, the 1970-71 school year, brought with it a resurgence of campus militancy. A dialogue began a proposal to merge UT Nashville and tsu's Engineering Depts. Students and faculty members protested this especially since TSU had the majority of the facilities for the program. In March "71" a bill was introduced into the legislature to change the University of Tennessee Nashville from an extension of UT Knoxville to a full-fledged degree granting institution. Concern was generated by the students, and a march was
initiated on the State Capitol; Included in the march were students and community members. Arriving on the Capitol steps the marchers found that the legislature would not be in session until 5:00 that afternoon. But we at least wanted to let them (the ruling class know we had been there and if necessary would be back. That same afternoon the student-body and alumni co-ordinated in a joint effort to call their legislature and ask them to vote against the proposal to give UTN: Degree granting status (though few legislatures answered their phones when they found out who was calling and why). Telegrams were also sent. To no avail it was ratified that night unanimously to give UTN a degree granting status.

The administration, faculty, students and community members were able to generate enough enthusiasm to get a Black Senator to introduce a bill in the Senate to give TSU complete control of the down-town UTN branch. Again students, faculty, administrators and community members stage a march, this time to an open session of the legislature. The bill (allowing TSU to take full control of UTN) was introduced but the Senator with an inspiring speech failed to get a second. Later the Black Senator coerced a member of the Senate to second his Bill, but it was tabled indefinitely (and still tabled as of April 73).
During and before the time above a community organization BCC had initiated marches on the down town area every Saturday incorporated with an Economic Boycott. Included on its list of grievances was TSU as the major State supported school in Nashville, poor housing, over-crowded conditions, poor facilities in elementary and secondary schools and other complaints of Black community.

In the fall 1971 individual students would work among themselves to keep the TSU-UTN situation in the minds of students.

The following February "Yoruba" study group came in to existence (under the leadership of Peoples College). They sought to work on gathering information and educating students as to what really was happening between TSU-UTN. Another organization at this same time came into existence, primarily to fight for the rights of Tennessee State University. This organization was called Tennesseans for Justice in Higher Education. This was primarily a community centered organization but students and faculty members played an active part in the organization.

May 1972 the students initiated a fund raising drive to secure funds for legal defense or any aid that TSU might need.

Spring-quarter 73 Yoruba has been instrumental in pushing the Save Black schools Conference playing an initial part in helping TSU be the central co-ordinating committee for Tennessee.
I. HISTORY OF FISK UNIVERSITY

Fisk University, as the other Black centers of (private), higher education in Nashville, emerged in part as a result of the early re-construction programs of the Freedmen's Bureau. General Clinton B. Fisk from whom the school takes its name, was an agent of the Freemen's Bureau of Tennessee. An additional important aspect of the founding of Fisk was the role played by the American Missionary Association (AMA). This organization was integrally involved, not only in the founding of Fisk but also several other Black colleges including Dillard (LA), Huston-Tillison (TX), LeMoyne-Owen, (TN), Tugaloo (MS, and Talladega (AL).

The history of the Jubilee Singers and the names of some of its more noted alumni are the more generally known aspects of the institution. What is not generally known, however is that during different stages of its development, Fisk experienced some student upheaval that General Fisk and his AMA cronies, John Ogden, Erastus Milo Cravath, and E.P. Smith could not have phathomed as they merrily set into motion their plans for a school for the "New Citizens" of the South.

During the 1923-24 academic year a series of events ranging from a protest led by the daughter of W.E.B. DuBois (Himself probably Fisk's greatest alumnus) against lack of responsiveness, by the then president Fayette Avery McKenzie, to the Molestation of Jubilee choir members by wealthy
letcherous white businessmen, to a community-faculty-
student movement in response to the dismissal of several
students who manifested dissatisfaction with the lack of
"academic freedom." These movements resulted in the re-
signation of McKenzie the following year, though Fisk was
not to have its first Black president until 1947 when Charles
S. Purgeon Johnson, the noted sociologist took the reigns,
becoming the Institution's sixth chief administrator.
Although Johnson was what he was (Black) his politics
apparently conformed with the politics of the State. It is
alleged that several left students and faculty were purged
from the "Fisk Family" during the "Red Scare" instigated
by Joe McCarthy in the early 50's.

Johnson mysteriously died on a plane while returning
from the Ford Foundation in 1956, and Fisk was guided thru
the remainder of, what was then dubbed on American college
and University campuses as "The Silent 50's" by Stephen
J. Wright, a former administrator at Hampton Institute
and Bluefield State college.

The silent 50's quickly gave way to the fighting
60's as the nation's Black Community began to sharply ad-
vance its struggle for democratic rights. Nashville and
the Nashville sit-ins became one of the focal points of
this struggle and Fisk students and some faculty (along
with students from Meharry, American Baptist Theological,
and Tennessee A&I - now Tennessee State) were all up in it.
Diane Nash and John Lewis, two of whom historically are recorded as being part of the leadership of this movement, and who later became early members of SNCC (John Lewis becoming National chairman) were students at Fisk at this time. In 1967 the Fisk Board of Trustees were embroiled in attempts to find a "suitable" president for the Institution. Wright had retired under not fully understood conditions the year before and James R. Lawson a physicist and class of '35 Fisk graduates installed as interim president. How many applicants were solicited for this position is unknown. However, what is known is that some of them had extensive corporate an/or foundation ties and some of them were white. This, of course coincided with resurgent nationalism in our communities, the era of "Black Power". The corporate and foundation ties could be accepted (as a matter of fact welcome) by most students but a white president...out of the question. The students (virtually the whole student body) rallied behind a Lawson for permanent head movement. The Board interestingly enough yielded without all of the pressure the student body was seemingly prepared to bring forth. Lawson was in...But it was an uneasy peace that followed.

Student and community insurrections were the order of the day in the springs of 1967 and 68*. Martin Luther King's murder crystalized student discontent that the Lawson appointment had only forestalled. The evening following
King's death (Friday April 4) one faculty led over 200 students seized the Fisk administration Building, occupied it throught the week-end and forwarded a series of demands to the administration; the first demands ever made in Nashville in the interest of developing a "Black University."

Since 1967, Fisk has ingested two (2) centers, two "fact-finding" commissions, and two implementation commissions: all to the tune of some $450,000 and all in the name(s) of Non-Western-Afro-American-Carribean Studies.

The Center of Afro-American Research had been in operation for a year when the African-Carribean Studies Center was formally introduced to the campus in the fall of 1968. The ACSC was then projected to be the result of the work of the "Committee on Non-Western Studies," in December of 1967 and the concrete actions of its student body parallel, "Students for a Black University."

At the insistence of several students early in the 1968-69 school year, several meetings were held where interested parties discussed the idea of combing the functions of the two existing centers. It was the belief of these same students that "Black Studies" would have a greater campus-wide impact if the functions of the centers were combined. These attempts were finally thwarted by:

1. the director of the AARC claiming his center's autonomy in its relationship with and to the university and

2. the failure of these meetings to result in an effective way to combine the functions and personalities of the directorships of the centers.
Thus, the sought after campus-wide impact did not occur as a result the spring of 1969 the Student Government Association and other student Government Association and other student organizations presented the Educational Policy Committee of the Fisk Board of Trustees a proposal for what they projected would bring about true "interdisciplinary" Black Studies, " a prime criterioun of the Black University Concept.

After evaluating the student proposal the EPC of the Board gave Fisk University President J.R. Lawson the authority, through a mandate, to create the necessary machinery to make Black Studies a reality by the fall at Fisk. Lawson then through the faculty and the SGA selected six (6) faculty members and nine (9) students to over the coming summer, act on the Board's mandate.

With the $18,100 this committee, now referred to as the "69 Black Studies Summer Project", received it developed, through interviews and research, a comprehensive interdisciplinary Black Studies Curriculum.

Although the director of the ACSC refused to work with the summer project, he accepted its proposed curricular changes and a $62,220 grant acquired on the basis of these proposed changes to implement them. Of the 70 or so concrete courses suggested to replace and/or augment the old curriculum less than 30 were on a supplement to the registration bulletin of course offerings for the fall representing a total of only 7% of the total university curriculum.
So students in the fall of 1969 witnessed little for their efforts and few of their hopes for change in the University had materialized yet close to $100,000 had been or was being spent in the name of Black, and tuitions and fees were on the rise.

Few of the "old Guard" students continued to feel that change could be realized at Fisk this the student leadership that vanguard the "Week of Reckoning," was of a new type.

Old student frustrations and doubt were indeed rekindled at the Paris Landing Conference for the Study of Purposes and Goals of the University and were later in the year to be translated into various charges leveled at the integrity and the level of sincerity of those charged with the serious task of educating these young minds.

On Nov. 14 and Nov. 21, 1969 "town meetings" were held and planning functions for the :week of reckoning" were established. On Dec. 8 the "week" began and with each passing day the contradictions between the student body and the school administration became more acute. With an increase in manifested student frustration came an increase in administrative reaction. Students through mass frustration mobilized and occupied Park-Johnson Hall and a subsequent heightening of administrative authority was realized in the removal from or denial of twelve (12) students membership in the Fisk student body.

Through all of this the thirst for change was all but quenched. even before the suspension of those twelve
students was official a meeting of the general faculty
had selected from its ranks a dozen persons to make up
the faculty component of a student-faculty committee on
Concerns for a Black University.

This fact finding committee presented a nenety-five
(95) page report (98 pages with inclusion of minority report)
to the EPC of the Trustee Board the 16th of May 1970
Three days later the faculty adopted this report as a
working document and subsequently created a committee to
implement these findings during the coming summer.

The work of this implementation committee composed
of administrative, faculty, and student personnel was
realized in both graduate and undergraduate curriculum
revisions and additions in the fall term. However, past
mistakes, many of which are sketched out above, were repeated
this inhibiting the level at which these infant programs
could begin to operate.

The centers which could and should have been integral
cordinators of these segmented yet very much interrelated
"movements" on campus were either at this time shackled
by lack of funds with no current access to any (such as
the AARC which was in a legal battle with its old director
thus severing normal funding conduits) or non-existent
(as was the ACSC). Also, in accordance with Ford-Carnegie
guidelines for "schools in trouble" Fisk had to cut back
on faculty positions (terminating upwards to 25% of the
then faculty) and to curtail student unrest (upwards to
$20,000 was spent for homecoming activities for the 1970-71 school year).

Thus went the "struggle" at Fisk, flaring up and flaring out during the golden age of Black student democratic movements for curriculum reform, student rights, community relevancy, etc., until the emergence of off-campus formations such as the Peoples College began to provide the context in which developing student cadre, both "old-guard" and new could begin to link the struggles at Fisk to the struggles at Tennessee State to the struggles at Meharry to the struggles of campus workers, with high school students and of Black people in their work centers. These gave birth to new formations and opened broader fronts of struggle, bringing Black youth into the arena of struggle in the 70s.

The Peoples College developed in the aftermath of the struggles of Nashville students generally; at Fisk particularly. The programs that were spawned by this development coincide with the development of heightened militancy not only among students, but also among (and more important) the Nashville working class.

1970-71 was characterized by the Wild Cat strike and organizing drives that as workers began to fight back against the oppression mounting against them. The campuses, as a natural consequence resulting from their relationships with the Nashville ruling class were too quickly involved.

The Fisk maintenance workers in 1971 began a drive to eliminate depressed wages, lousy working conditions,
and most importantly to gain the right to collectively bargain for and negotiate a contract. This movement was accurately timed to coincide with the busiest part of the academic year. Students were forced to decide, as the line of demarcation grew sharper, which side they were on.

Whether or not the struggle of local 1410 workers would have been successful had it not been for a progressive student front; the Fisk maintenance spearheaded by the Peoples College lending concrete aid to the workers in their struggle is not answerable, or is it the most important question to entertain. What is important is that the context in which mass politicization of the student body was made possible within this context and the responsibility was eet. The question students had as to why they should be more sensitive to the conditions of the workers were answered. As opposed to becoming upset about toilet paper not being in the dormitory shower room during a work stoppage students were provided a context in which their political consciousness could grow and develop. All students who through this process could be moved to support the effort directly were provided a program in which they could do so. Others were effectively neutralized. The struggle succeeded through this phase.

Similar circumstances developed when Fisk clerical workers struggled for and against similar rights and conditions in the fall as did 1410 in the spring. The
experiences gained from adding the maintenance workers were effectively brought to the struggle of the clerical workers, allowing for even broader bases of support than perviously achieved. Again the Peoples College was instrumental. Propaganda and student pickets were distributed and martialed. Again, the end result was a victory for workers and students. The contract that the clerical workers (local 19 A DWA) were able to obtain became the spark that set off similar organizing drives at Meharry Medical College and Vanderbilt University, really creating headaches for the ruling class representatives who maintained interlocking relationships on the Fisk and/or Meharry and/or Vanderbilt boards.

The Peoples College continued (and continues) to be an incubator for progressive youth activity both on and off the campus. The development of several progressive movements in Nashville developed directly from the activities of the Peoples College. A high school student organization and high school newsletter, Youth organizations at both Fisk and Tennessee State and a Black Shop Caucus at a major plant are a few of the results of these activities. Such is and was the struggle at Fisk.
J. HISTORY OF MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE

Beginning in 1876 as a medical department of Central College of Walden University following the demise of CTC eleven years later. It was one of only 400 medical colleges in the country. On October 13, 1915 Meharry Medical College became an independent institution being organized under a separate corporate charter.

From the opening of its doors through the mid-30's Meharry had graduated over 4,000 students from the schools of Medicine, Dentistry, Pharmacy, and Nursing. During the mid-1960's the composition of the student body at Meharry (and to a lesser degree its sister school Howard University Medical) had become increasingly whitenized (30%-40%). However, pressure from Alumni in particular and the National Black Community in general helped to offset this developing tendency, so that by 1972 Meharry could still make the claim that, "It has graduated approximately 50% of the Negro Physicians and Dentists now practicing in this country." Meharry has had six (6) presidents, only the last two being Black: Harold D. West and Lloyd C. Elam.

Meharry has historically been an integral part in relationship to involvement in community Political-Economic struggle. Its administrations have typified this. Building and expanding the endowment and the physical plant
has been the dominant concern of Meharry presidents (as of course with most Black college administrators). Lloyd Elam the present prexy has by far been the "Superstar" in this endeavor. Elam succeeded West in 1967 and from 69 to '72 the budget of the institution alone quadrupled. Today Meharry is in the third phase of a multi-million dollar expansion program....However, during the two year period between the fall of 1970 and the spring of 1972, the Meharry student body was inspired by the leadership of progressive Pre-lumini Council (student government). These two years saw many attempts (and some successes) by the student leadership in conjunction with other progressive allies to heighten the political sensitivity of the student body. Brothers and sisters of left persuasion were beginning to appear frequently, in addition to the normal health professionals as participants in the lecture series. Incidents that affected the Black community in direct political and economic terms as well as those issues regarding our health were discussed in organized forums continuously. This progressive atmosphere provided the context in which mass meetings held on different issues (on the Attica Massacre as an example) could leave an indelible impression on the minds of many Meharry students of lesser levels of political consciousness. This of course is extremely important when we consider the swing role that the petty-bourgeoisie, particularly the Black petty-bourgeoisie as the middle strata assumes in a pre-fascist or pre-revolutionary period, being quite capable
of supporting the revolution or the reaction.

Among the concrete results of this development were

1) a change in the editorial policy of the school newspaper. It moved from the simple preoccupation with campus news and notes to concern over the national and international implications and manifestations of the oppression of more Black people.

2) Meharry being selected as the host institution for the National Conference of Black Social Welfare.

3) Seminars and lectures on "Medicine in the Peoples Republic of China."

4) The Heightening of propaganda work thru the Medical Committee on Human Rights

So then is Meharry.....
5. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FEBRUARY 1ST MOVEMENT:

BLACK STUDENTS

THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM
Comrades!

Our struggle against imperialism and its many manifestations—racism—national oppression, sexism—has been a long and hard one. We have faced our enemise on many fronts, won victories and suffered defeats—but on the whole, our revolutionary struggle has advanced forward. We are a part of the historical motion of humanity ziging and zaging its way to a time when exploitation will be overthrown once and for all, man's relationship to man will be free from oppression, and mankind will finally triumph over nature. It is a victory for us to be here meeting tonight, temporarily liberating some time and space here at Princeton University, a bastion of propaganda for the monopoly capitalists. It is on the heels of your victory in the Week of Solidarity with the student struggle at Southern University—particularly because it reflected the revolutionary consciousness that "Southern is where you are!" And it follows the victory of the inspiring study tour to Cuba by the Progressive Student Delegation, a corps of dedicated brothers and sisters who are largely responsible for our being here right now.

My task is to discuss "The Significance of the February 1st Movement to the Anti-Imperialist Student Movement." I take on this responsibility as a friend of FFM, and as a communist dedicated to proletarian revolution and Black liberation.

The main questions we must answer are:

1. What are the present conditions and historical precedents setting the stage for the February First Movement?
2. What is the role of the anti-imperialist student movement in our revolutionary struggle?

3. What steps must be taken to place the February First Movement on a solid anti-imperialist footing?

In other words, we must sum up the material conditions and theoretical lessons on which to build the FFM (namely, the current situation of students, the historical experience of Black student struggle, and lessons from student struggles in the context of world revolution). Also in building FFM we must pay attention to both strategic goals and tactical plans.

1. Current Situation of Students: There has been a significant change in the student sector of the Black community during the last 60 years. This change reflects basic changes in the structure of the Black community. (In 1916 the Office of Education reported 2,132 students at 31 Black colleges. The significance of this group can be easily seen when one recognizes that the census reported in 1910 30.4% of Black people as illiterate, 90% living in the South and 60% of Black men employed in agriculture. By 1940, the number of students had increased to 58,000 at 118 Black colleges. This increase followed the mass migrations to the cities and the industrial North. In 1940, 34% of Black people had moved to central cities, but still "over 3/4 of all Blacks lived in the South, close to 2/3 lived in rural areas there, and just under half were still engaged in agriculture." By 1964 there were about 200,000 Black college students, and over triple this ten years later—today. By 1969 the U.S. Census reported that 55% of Blacks lived in
central cities, about half lived in the North and only 4% remained employed in agriculture.

In sum, the increase in the number of Black college students reflects fundamental changes in U.S. society and Black peoples situation in it. The demand for Black students must be understood as a sub category of the demand for Black labor, merely more skilled labor. Combining the mechanization of agriculture with the bolld-thirsty industrialization of the war economy monopoly capitalism created the demand for Black students in the interest of the Bourgeoisie.

This demand, however, was not based on Inly one need, but has changed historically with the needs of monopoly capitalism. Private schools were set up in the 1850's and 1860's to serve the task of producing a Black petty bourgeois elite, particularly in the fields of education, religion, social work, law, medicine, and business. In 1900 of all Black college graduates 37% were teachers, 11% were minister, 4% were doctors, and 3% were lawyers, and only 1.4% were engaged in farming. This was the "Talented Tenth" DuBois spoke of. While these schools were the only avenue for higher education at one time, they now account for only 12% of all Black students. Integration(beginning in 1950's with a few isolated cases then and before) has resulted in 8% of all Black students being enrolled at previously all white private schools.
Another group of schools began to be set up in the 1890's as a result of the second Morrill Act of Congress that set up the land-grant college system to decentralize technological innovation and training to aid U.S. agricultural production. This was also the heyday of Booker T. Washington's vocational education philosophy. By 1940, while 22.3% of Black college students were still majoring in Education, now 23% were also majoring in Agriculture, Industrial Arts, and Home Economics. But the situation changed after the war, and by 1955-56 over 2/3 of graduates from the publicly controlled Black colleges were graduating with degrees in Education. Another change is reflected in the late 1960's with education falling to 50% in 1967 and social sciences (social work) rising to 17% and business to 9%. At the present time 22% of Black students go to public Black schools, and 26% go to public previously all white ones.

The newest educational form is the urban community and junior college. While previously for the city dweller there was no nearly universal education beyond high school the junior college was created due to advances in skill requirements for the job market. The para-professional, clerical and technical jobs needed more than high school trained persons, reflecting both the inadequacy of the high school and the special skills needed for the job. While these schools actually began after WWI, it wasn't until the late 1960's that they boomed. Furthermore, the boom for all students resulted in 18% of the total U.D. students being enrolled in them it resulted in 32% of all Black students being enrolled in them.
Now, so far we have examined the aggregate growth of Black students, and the development of 3 types of educational institutions. We have summed up the form of education but only touched on its essence. Its essence is based on the national oppression and class exploitation of the masses of Black people. On the one hand, higher education has served the need of monopoly capital to have Black managers (overseers) for the Black community to administer Black institutions, public agencies, and serve as role models for Black youth to emulate. On the other hand, higher education serves to prepare Black youth for more skilled working class jobs in order to accelerate production and increase their exploitation.

In discussing these class destinations of Black students we must directly raise the question of what class students are in. The concept class is based on one's relationship to the means of production. In the capitalist mode of production, the Bourgeoisie owns the means of production and the Proletariat's relation to them is based on the need to sell their labor power for wages in order to survive. Students are members of the intelligensia, a strata that has no direct role in production, but nevertheless serves one class or another. But students, on the whole, are a social group within the intellectual strata that are consumers of education rather than producers of knowledge. So, (1) students have a concrete class origin—for the most part working class: "37.4% of students at Black land-grant colleges come from families making less than $4,000 a year. In general, a student going to a Southern school, be it private or public, now comes from homes where
the medium income is $3,900...(and)...only 17% of all Black college students come from families over $10,000." And, (2) the class destination of students is neither the Black petty bourgeois service professional or managerial set, or the skilled working class clerical set. (3) While in school, Black students are a social group in transition within the intellectual strata consuming education while preparing to play a role in the society. (This, of course, does not take into consideration the students who work while going to school, and work during the summer.)

This class essence of Black higher education is a function of the dynamic antagonistic clash of classes struggling in a battle to the death. And with the crisis of imperialism intensifying in this period of inflation, overproduction unemployment, trade wars, and government corruption crises throughout nearly all capitalist countries, the class life of Black students has been radically changed. The U.S. Labor Dept. admitted that the unemployment rate of Black workers reached 11.7% in November, 1974, and it was reportedly as high as 30-40% in some big cities. So the class origin (parents) of Black students is under attack. This also is an attack on the class destination of Black students (future jobs) since job offers are no longer easily picked up in the traditional professional fields and the working class is facing unemployment. Yeah, its possible to get a B.A. and be unemployed, seasonally employed, underemployed, or only part-time employed. Moreover, the current institutional home
of Black students is under attack as well. Federal funds to higher education are being cut back, endowments are being plundered, faculty/student ratio's are increasing by cutting the faculty and increasing student enrollments, Afro-American Studies programs are being cut, tuition fees are being raised, and tolerance for all forms of political radicalism is rapidly diminishing. The material conditions of Black students are in a definite crisis. The situation is excellent!

The situation is excellent because where there is oppression and exploitation there will be resistance. The future is bright because it is in our hands, the masses of people. the proletariat. We are the future. But the road ahead is not going to be an easy road to travel. It is going to be tortuous, it is going to necessitate flexibility and require endurance==but the February First Movement is going to spark the might and force of our student vanguard, is going to raise high the banner of struggle for our people, and take its place on the battle field against our enemies. We will unite the many to win still greater victories.

One reason I have confidence in you is that you are apart of the historical motion of Black youth, we have had many high tides of Black student struggle in the past so we can have full condidence in our future! So lets review some of these periods of struggle to learn the lessons of the victories and defeats of the past and not be condemned to blindly repeat the
errors, but take from it what is good and boldly march forward.

During the 1920's there were many student strikes that occurred, particularly at Hampton, Fisk, Shaw, and Howard. These strikes reflected struggles with the administrations who were maintaining 19th century standards in a post WWI period. The mass movement of Black people was at a high point in the 1930's with the fight to save the Scottsboro boys, the formation of the National Negro Congress, militant struggles of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, the fight to save Angelo Herndon, the mass movement of the Unemployed Councils, and the drive to unionize Black workers into the CIO. Many of these struggles were led by the Communist Party (USA) when it was still a revolutionary party, which it no longer is today.

In the late thirties Black youth militancy led to the formation of the first SNYC, the Southern Negro Youth Congress is a conference in Richmond, Virginia, on February 13, 1937.

The first conference was a broad based conference that included representatives from nearly every Black college in the country, young steelworkers from Birmingham, sharecroppers, boy and girl scouts, churches and even the YMCA. It was formed in an era of the fascist menace. Its broad united front character is reflected by the fact that Dr. Mordechai Johnson who served over 30 years as the first Black president of Howard University gave an address and said: "The greatest danger to democracy is not communism or socialism but first of all fasicm. A danger not only to Black but to white men."
The conference endorsed a "proclamation of Southern Negro Youth" that spoke to the national democratic character of the movement:

"We, Negro Youth of the South, know that ours is the duty to keep alive the traditions of freedom and democracy. We know that ours must be a ceaseless task, to win the status of citizenship for the Negro people."

They adopted a nine point program:

1. Equalization of education for the Black youth in the South as compared with white youth.
2. Parks and recreational centers for Black youth.
3. Abolition of the poll tax.
5. To securing for the Negro people the right to vote and the right to be elected to public office and to serve on juries.
6. And end to police brutality against Black people and labor.
7. No discrimination because of creed, color, or political affiliation.
8. The right to organize without intimidation by police terror.
9. The right to jobs at union wages and of unemployment benefits for the youth.

Hosea Hudson, veteran Black worker revolutionary from the South for the last 40 years, has written this about the first SNYC:

"Some real achievements for the Negroes in the South were made under the leadership of SNYC. Skilled jobs were won by Black workers in some of the shipyards in Mobile, Alabama, in the Beckman McComb aircraft plant in North Birmingham Alabama, and in the Bell aircraft plant in Marietta Georgia. New public school buildings were constructed for Black children in some sections of the South, and many other concessions were won."

SNYC maintained an office in Birmingham and was characterized by militant bold action, including intervention in
incidents of fascist violent repression of Black people in 1946 in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. It was a vital force in the united front against fascism. It had its 7th convention in Columbia, South Carolina in 1946 and had over 1,000 delegates in attendance. But this was a turning point year for SNYC. There were charges from liberals who were against SNYC that it had mismanaged funds collected to defend Blacks in 1946, particularly in the Colombia, Tennessee race riot. Moreover, SNYC had become increasingly focused on national and international issues that were distant from the masses in the South and they failed to do the necessary propaganda work to maintain mass involvement. The broad based participation of their first conference had dwindled to only the more politically conscious elements. After John L. Lewis resigned from the CIO, Hosea Hudson reports that the militant connections of SNYC and the CIO were disrupted by KKK elements who began to take a leading role in the unions. And finally, the Attorney General put SNYC on the list of subversive organizations in 1948 and SNYC was the victim of an intense red baiting campaign. SNYC was dissolved in December, 1948 after 11 years of heroic struggle.

After the next 12 years of desegregation victories, setbacks by mob violence, and the rise of the Montgomery Bus Boycott movement the student movement rose again. The forecast of the motion to come was reflected by 2 marches, "Youth marches for integrated schools", that brought 8,000 in 1958 and 25,000 in 1959 to Washington, E.C. On February 1st, 1960, as you all know 4 young Black students from North Carolina A&T sat
in a 5 & 10¢ store in Greensboro, N.C., and sparked the sit-in movement that led to the second SNCC, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

SNCC was the most dynamic organization in the Black liberation movement in the 1960's and from its experience there are many lessons to be learned. SNCC move through three stages: (1) 1960-1963, SNCC was based in the South, and focused its attention on fighting the denial of democratic rights to Black people particularly in the rural areas. This was a period of idealism. SNCC wrote in its founding statement:

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non-violence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action...through nonviolence, courage displaces fear. Love transcends hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice, hope ends despair. Faith reconciles doubt. Peace dominates war. Mutual regards cancel enmity. Justice for all overwhelms injustice. The redemptive community supersedes immoral social systems."

Moreover, it was not the system of American society (USA) that was rejected but the rejection of Blacks by the system that SNCC fought against. SNCC folks believed in the American Dream. One militant wrote:

"What was the source of my belief? It was based on my assurance that in this country there was room for everybody, that for every man there was, or soon would be, some place where he could be free to explore and employ the creative potential within him...In short, I believed in guaranteeing everyone freedom, equality and democracy as the means of living full lives, and I thought that the rest of the country believed in these things too."

But unlike the now bureaucratic reformists that dominated the old civil rights organizations (Urban League and NAACP) or the new church-based motion SCLC), SNCC was militant and bold in its desire to resolve injustice with direct action, changing reality by facing whatever danger was there.
The sit-ins hit this country like a bomb shell and spread like a prairie fire. In a year's time over 50,000 students were involved in over 140 places in the new tactic of struggle the sit-in. Actually it spread through the mass media, the articles reading like handbooks of struggle. While Martin Luther King had ideological hegemony over students, it was Ghandian tactics that guided the struggle. The students also had the Black college's commitment to bourgeois political idealism for their ideological foundation. Stephen Wright, former president of Fisk University said at the time, "Students have been exposed all of their lives to the teachings of the great American scriptures of democracy, freedom, and equality, and no literate person should be surprised that they reflect these teachings in their conduct." This ideological basis fit the rising petty bourgeois aspirations of Black students so the initial level of participation was broad and far reaching.

Tactically the sit-ins were a model of dedication, commitment and discipline. People were instructed to absorb whatever violence came but not to retaliate.

"You may choose to face physical assault without protecting yourself, hands at the sides, unclenched; or you may choose to protect yourself, making plain you do not intend to hit back."

The sit-insners faced tear gas, police dogs, burning cigarettes on their flesh, beatings, jailings and suspension or expulsion from college. Throughout it all, their discipline dedication and commitment was a source of moral strength that pierced deep into the Black community and eventually led to winning
the sympathy if not support of the masses of Black people.

The sit-ins led to the freedom rides initiated by CORE, and SNCC moved in when mob violence had temporarily halted them by burning a bus in Anniston, Alabama. Students from Nashville and Atlanta went to Birmingham and rode buses into Jackson, Mississippi.

After the sit-ins and freedom rides, students began to voluntarily leave school to work full time for SNCC. They plunged deep into the South. One group focused on the struggle to desegregate public accommodations, and the other stressed the need to register voters and struggle for change at the ballot box.

2. The second period of SNCC development is really a period of transition (1963-1964). In these two years SNCC used the momentum of the previous 3 years of oft times isolated struggle in the deep rural South to seize a national platform and also pull the nation into the deep South. In 1963 SNCC was a key participant in the March on Washington in which 250,000 people went demonstrate in the Capital, the seat of state power. SNCC was regarded as a brash young militant organization and was forced to delete part of John Lewis' speech. He was supposed to say:

"We march today for jobs and freedom, but we havenothing to be proud of....We must have legislation that will protect the Mississippi sharecropper who is put off his farm because he dares to register to vote. We need a bill that will provide for the homeless and starving people of this nation. We
need a bill that will ensure the equality of a maid who
earns $5.00 a week in the home of a family whose income is $100,000
year. We must have a good FEPC bill.

"Let us not forget that we are involved in a serious social
revolution. By and large, American politics is dominated by
politicians who build their careers on immoral compromises
and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic,
and social exploitation. There are exceptions, of course.
We salute those. But what political leader can stand up and
say. "My party is the party of principles?" The party of
Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javist
is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party...We cannot
depend on any political party, for the Democrats and Republicans
have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence
"The time will come when we will not confine our marching to
Washington We will march through the South, through the heart
of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our 'scorched
earth' policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground--non-violently.
We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put
them back together in the image of democracy."

After much struggle, in February, 1964, SNCC sent out a call
for Black and white students throughout the nation to come to
work in Mississippi for the summer. Nearly 1000 volunteers
worked in Mississippi that summer. During those months 6
people were killed, 80 beaten, 35 churches burned, and 30
other buildings bombed. But the slogan that fits SNCC's posture
was "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Us Around". The nation was
forced to look at the swamp that is Mississippi, a state
with the venom of racism, falling near the bottom of every index of social development with a population 43% Black. SNCC had long since dropped its college appearance and had adopted the denim overalls of the rural Mississippi sharecropper as the uniform for struggle.

During this same period SNCC groups had been developing in Northern cities and had moved beyond simply support work for the Southern struggle. The Chicago group sparked a united front effort to fight defacto segregation of schools. This resulted in two school boycotts, 225,000 students in 1963, 180,000 in 1964. This period sparked a reconsideration of nonviolence. Bob Moses, a leading SNCC immitant in Mississippi, said of Martin Luther King's philosophy:

"We don't agree with it, in a sense. The majority of the students are not sympathetic to the idea that they have to love white people that they are struggling against. But there are a few who have a very religious orientation. And there's a constant dialogue at meetings about non-violence and the meaning of non-violence....For most of the members it is a question of being able to have a method of attack rather than to be always on the defensive."

The great political lesson during this period was learned when SNCC tried to upset the domination of the regular Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. After holding legal precinct, district and state elections with full legal documentation the MFDP went to the Democratic conention in Atlantic City.
In addition to the MFDP delegates, and scores of SNCC militants, SNCC brought the burned remains of the car driven by Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner, the first 3 civil rights workers killed earlier in the summer. Although they had a sound case the political maneuvering of vice-presidential hopeful Hubert Humphrey at Johnson's instructions set up a compromise for the MFDP to accept representative seating with no voice or vote. All established civil rights leaders urged acceptance of this, King, Wilkins, Rustin, etc. But SNCC said that we had to put some principles in politics and rejected it. The grass roots MFDP delegates swung with SNCC, the youthful militants who had walked with them down the dusty roads to register to vote, they had marched with too many sacrifices to compromise their principles. This was a political lesson of the highest ordre. And it was this political lesson that propelled SNCC into its 3rd period. One militant put it this way:

"In retrospect, I think that in our hearts we knew our flawless arguments would fall on deaf ears. We were aware at least subconsciously that no group of white people was going to send some of its own packing in order to make room for us. No matter that the group had said to the world that it regarded all people as equals and no matter that we had a right to representation in that group. It took a few more turns at knocking our heads against stone walls (walls that, according to our society, did not exist) before we became fully conscious that this was the case."

She continued:
"In this experience can be seen one of the origins of the call for black power, which I consider the other side of the coin of black consciousness. One cannot exist without the other. Imagine the MFDP's 1964 experience repeated hundreds of times in hundreds of conventions and back room meetings. Imagine that in every corner of the United States black people are coming face to face with the fact, never before so widely or so publicly acknowledged that it is through the exercise of power that decisions are made, and that those decisions hav"
little or nothing to do with morality. The next logical step is the call for black power."

3. The third period lasted from 1965 to 1967. A trip to Africa by a SNCC leadership delegation, discussions with and about Malcolm X. and growing alienation between Blacks and whites inside SNCC, was capped by the Watts riot of August 1965. By May, 1966, at a SNCC staff meeting in Nashville, Stokely Carmichael was elected chairperson of SNCC. During the June march in Mississippi started by James Meridith, SNCC militants set off another spark that resulted in a prairie fire—BLACK POWER? What this did was ignite motion in every aspect of U.S. society. In light of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting rights Act of 1964 another tactic to attack the system was necessary. And while the initial response of white liberals and bureaucratic Civil Rights leaders was to charge "racism in reverse" SNCC gained great popularity among the masses of people. The latent nationalism of Black people who still have childhood roots in the rural South, have relatives living there, and continue to experience national oppression in the North surged forward. However, SNCC still had not developed a scientific analysis of this society, and did not have a systematic program. Therefore, this new prairie fire was guided away from revolution to reform by a reformist petty bourgeois elite who used the movement to promote its own class interests. SNCC moved to form local political parties like the Lowndes County Freedom Party, and in fact included the revolutionary weapon of armed self-defense. But the petty bourgeoisie pushed a nationalist program with themselves
at the helm.

By 1967 the Black liberation movement was at an all time high. And it is at this time that SNCC began to move away from its independent organization impact on the movement and began to count more on its leading personalities, the media, and its influence on other organizational forms.

During this year, 1967, H. Rap Brown formerly a Southern University student was elected Chairperson of SNCC. He and Stokely Carmichael became household names in the USA. The riots and repression in Newark and Detroit reached an all time high for national coverage of racial violence. In all there were 164 incidents of violence in the U.S. in 1967, 89 deaths, and nearly 600 million dollars in property loss. Also in this period the forces of Ron Karenga (US) and the Panthers developed national prominence. The ideologies of the new nationalist posture congregated in Newark at the 1st National Black Power Conference. But for SNCC, 1967 signalled a new focus:

"In May 1967, SNCC formally declared that it was no longer a Civil Rights organization but a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the U-S. but throughout the world. It declared its support of those liberation groups struggling to free people from racism and exploitation."

SNCC sent delegations to a peace conference in Japan, to Vietnam representing the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal, to the Latin American Solidarity Organization in Havana, then to Vietnam, Algeria, Syria, Egypt, Guinea, Tanzania, and Europe. Moreover, SNCC spoke at a UN conference on Apartheid in Zambia, and again in New York on foreign investments in Southern Africa. This new posture led to a position on the Palestinian problem after the June War in the Middle East. SNCC held that "The basic
issue of the conflict was aggressive, expansionist Zionism backed by U.S. imperialism." SNCC alienated itself once and for all from the liberal philanthropists who had financed the civil rights movement. The leadership then turned to the Black Panther Party as a new organizational form, but their relationship was short-lived. SNCC continued, but the staff was tired, disillusioned and demoralized with the lack of organization, strategy and most of all a systematic coherent line.

Now although this has been a most hasty sketch of SNCC, it is possible to sum up some of its most important shortcomings and strengths. The major weakness was its consistent lack of a unified line and political education. This resulted in great gaps developing between the rank and file militants in local projects and its central leadership. Moreover, it made it difficult for SNCC to consolidate and make shifts of position when necessary. This is the basis for the other problems: (1) SNCC lacked a revolutionary strategy so on each campaign hung ultimate hopes only to lead to great disappointments, disillusionments, and anger; (2) SNCC's organization revolved more around key personalities rather than an organizational structure and process. Therefore many SNCC leaders appeared larger than life. This led to many problems that resulted from the fact that the actual weaknesses of these brothers and sisters became magnified liabilities for the entire organization; (3) SNCC program was characterized by bowing to spontaneity, a process of seizing on the objective motion of the people and calling that revolutionary. Moreover, sometimes
a major campaign would start accidently and be allowed to disrupt ongoing work; (4) and last, all of what's just been said was complicated by SNCC militants not having the discipline of relating to each other in the most principled way. This was true in general, but particularly between men and women.

These shortcomings were glaring not because SNCC was a failure, for it was a great success, but it did not survive and we need to learn the reasons well. Its strengths were based on an honest and quite serious attempt to change this society. The Black students of SNCC were committed to the masses of Black people and had no hesitancy in sinking deep roots among them. If integrating with the masses is a revolutionary trait for students, then surely it is clear that SNCC had a revolutionary style of work. SNCC reflected this in its ability to develop slogans that were adopted by the masses, and generally its use of records, still photography, films, and newspapers in carrying propaganda work deep among the masses. And SNCC was a bold fearless army of militant Black youth. In every State SNCC sought out the most dangerour area to show Black people that it was possible to fight oppression and win. The theme song of the Mississippi projevt was "We'll Never Turn Back."

In 1967 arose the next major case of Black student struggle that is in many respects both an historical precedent for the February First Movement and a current context for struggle:
The rise of the Black Studies Movement. BSU's were formed, Black Studies programs started like at SF State and Negro Digest published the first of 3 special issues on the Black University concept. But after Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968 the ruling class moved to use the university to co-opt the youth of the Black masses who had turned to a revolutionary rhetoric to express their emotions and anger. There was a great increase in recruitment at colleges of all sorts, and rather than create Black Anglo-Saxons it frequently did the opposite. Black students began to form organizations, demand Black-oriented courses, Black faculty, soul food, Black dormitories, open admission for more Black students, improved conditions for Black workers on campus, and a positive service-providing relationship from the college to the Black community. In formerly white schools the students were demanding a portion of the budget and facilities, while in the traditionally Black schools the demand was for a new type Black University.

Many of these students were motivated by revolutionary aspirations, and many were affiliated with or looked for leadership from political organizations like the Black Panther Party or the US organization. However, while these aspirations were good the follow through was soundly defeated. The rise of this mass motion involved many students of all stripes but quickly split into three trends:

1. the academic bureaucrats--these were students who were tricked into being concerned with the administrative details of reorganizing the university. This was clear cooptation
into a system the students had no real understanding of. Plus, there were material incentives—salaries, summer stipends, travel funds, etc. These students were lured into dealing with the formal aspects of the educational change and frequently lost the essence of their struggle in the process.

2. The campus anarchists—these were students who might have tried the bureaucratic route but ended up disillusioned with the capacity of the system to change. So it was "if they won't come around we'll burn it down or we'll seize buildings, we'll use some form of power confrontation politics to get the change we want. Sometimes this brought temporary concession, often not.

3. The campus revolutionaries—These students were connected with a revolutionary thrust in the Black community and the working class. A good example of this is the Black students at Wayne State University in Detroit and their relationship with the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, students fought for campus workers, students fought the role of ROTC, and the corporations.

Because of the high level of repression and economic crisis this period is increasingly eliminating the bureaucratic and anarchic alternatives. There is but one way for progressive Black students to turn and that way will soon be illuminated by the militant action of the February First Movement. Now before I sum up this rather lengthy background to discussing the February First Movement, it is important to direct you to the many lessons to be learned from the student aspect of World revolutionary struggles. You have heard some comments on Cuba.
Since I've recently returned from the Peoples Republic of China I'd like to make a few remarks about the May 4th Movement. University students in China in 1919 were a privileged group, but nevertheless were not without oppression--fear was a tactic used by Tuan Chi-Jui to keep this potential threat under control. The war ended in 1918, and the students had hopes of China escaping from the humiliating control of foreign powers, especially Japan. But when they found that the sellout government was not to be independent of Japan and Japan was to be more in Control of China than ever before the All China Federation of Students called a demonstration that was called National Humiliation Day. But the students didn't wait till May 7th, but marched on May 4th over 3,000 strong from 13 schools. One goal was to prevent China from signing the peace treaty at Versailles, the other was a cultural revolution for freedom, democracy and science. Mass propaganda was used widely. Students were arrested, along with teachers. High school and primary students got involved. Moreover, when the movement spread it involved many sectors of Chinese society. Its revolutionary turn came when the militant workers of Shanghai (known as the home of the Chinese working class) called a general strike on June 6th. The results were great involvement of intellectuals in a cultural revolution (use of popular not classical language so masses could understand, hair and clothing styles changed, opium smoking and foot binding attacked, etc.) and Chinese students in France prevented the Chinese delegation from signing the so-called peace treaty.
Mao has written that:

"The May 4th Movement was directed against a government of national betrayal, a government which conspired with imperialism and sold out the interests of the nation, a government which oppressed the people."

He goes on to sum up the most important lesson we can learn from this May 4th Movement:

"What role have the Chinese youth played since the May 4th Movement? They have played the role of vanguard... It means taking the lead and marching in the forefront of the revolutionary ranks... But this (student) army is not enough; we cannot defeat the enemy by relying on it alone, for when all is said and done it is not the main force. What then is the main force? The workers and peasants... Therefore, the young intellectuals and students throughout the country must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created."

In general, this revolutionary mandate was characteristic of SNYC and SNCC. However, SNYC was isolated from the broad masses by their own sectarianism and rising forces of reaction, and SNCC bowed to the spontaneity of the masses so that they were unable to consolidate forces and give consistent revolutionary leadership. The Black Studies Movement has swung from the right (bureaucratic reform) to the left (anarchosyndicalism). You are the rising revolutionary trend. You are the continuation of the May 4th Movement and these lessons of the past 50 years must be clear to you.

Now let us turn back to the initial 3 questions laid out and take up the second one: (2) What is the role of the anti-imperialist student movement in our revolutionary struggle? Our general formulation is that broad masses of the people must be
united in action against the imperialists in order for our revolutionary struggle to be carried through a victorious end. This is the United Front Against Imperialism. In addition, and most important, there must be a revolutionary party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism—a new communist party—to guide, to lead the struggle. And we must all recognize that before its all over, revolutionary armed struggle will be a necessary component of our revolution. But in this context, our main concern is with the United Front Against Imperialism, because this is the revolutionary strategy in which the broad based anti-imperialist student movement must be understood and led.

At the center of the United Front, giving it its objective center, and providing the basis for its conscious leadership is the workers movement and the national liberation struggles, for we agree with Mao when he says "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

In fact it is precisely the proletarian character of Black people that provides the objective basis for this merger, and it is our task to fight against those things that prevent it, and fight for those things that help bring it about. Since the question of national oppression of Black people is in essence a class contradiction, we must not play down the particular national oppression of Black people but drawn out the class essence of the contradiction between the Black masses and the U.S. ruling class. That is
the strategic task of the anti-imperialist struggle, as it levels death blows against the imperialist system.

And we must never lose sight of the dialectical relationships of strategic goals and tactical considerations. As the Chinese say we must despise our enemy strategically, but take him seriously tactically. That means we must always know that the merger of the workers movement and the Black liberation movement (and all other national liberation movements) will merge, that history is on our side, and we will defeat imperialism soundly and finally. But also, every attack, every campaign, every step along the way is filled with danger. "The future is bright, but the road ahead is torturous" We must never underestimate the wolf in sheep's clothing, the paper tiger is a tiger nevertheless, and always remember that imperialism has no conscience.

Strategically we must unite the many, but tactically we do this taking one step at a time.

Now a vital force within the United Front Against Imperialism is the student movement. Almost without exception, every successful revolutionary struggle has had a revolutionary student sector. This is because you are young, a group in transition, you are open to new ideas, you are full of energy, and you have not yet been tainted into total submission by the seductive propaganda of the ruling class.

There are incorrect ideas about the student movement that you must guard against.

1. Students will lead the struggle. This position is dangerous because it liquidates the necessary leadership
of the workers and liberation forces in order to carry
revolution through to the end led by a revolutionary party.
An example of this reactionary line appeared in an editorial
in the December 27th issue of the Militant newspaper. In
dealing with the student call for a conference to deal with
the crisis in Boston they write:

"Students have taken the lead, as they did in the earlier
civil rights movement, by setting the next step in the
campaign. They are urging supporters of civil rights
to come to Boston again Feb. 14-15 for a conference to plan
further action. This conference can be a powerful
boost toward developing an ongoing mass movement that
can defeat the racist offensive."

The correct communist position is to encourage the students
calling the conference (1) to ensure that a full and decisive
ideological struggle occur so that a clear choice can be made
on a program and course of action; (2) to ensure to fully
represent the interest of the Afro-American people and the
proletariat in all planning, and actions undertaken. The
Trotskyite newspaper doesn't mention the working class once,
and they seem to shy away from ideological struggle. They
have moved in like this before and brought havoc everytime.
FFM should be on guard.

A new communist party is necessary in order to have
correct leadership for the multi-national proletariat and the
national liberation struggles, and the entire United Front
Against Imperialism--including the student movement. Where
does this party come from? It comes from all revolutionary
sectors of society, most importantly the proletariat--
but student revolutionaries are also a vital source of members for the party. So as you develop, as you study the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, you will increasingly lose your identity as a student, and take on a new one as a revolutionary who goes to school. So students don't lead, the proletariat and the national liberation struggles do with their revolutionary party as their general staff.

But remember that you have two responsibilities as you develop: on the one hand to raise your level of theoretical and practical work and transform yourselves into professional revolutionaries, on the other to maintain a good mass style so that the broad united front character of FPM is not sacrificed for the development of a politically advanced few.

2. Students are more knowledgeable than the people. This ill-fated arrogant elitism will lead to no movement at all. Knowledge is grounded in practice, especially revolutionary knowledge which is grounded in the practice of class struggle. This includes anti-imperialist struggle. What students and intellectuals can have is a grasp of theory, and this only by serious systematic study of materials that sum up the lived experience of the masses. And the task is to go to the masses—the masses of students, the masses of workers, the masses of Black people and learn first hand of the particular details of oppression and exploitation—then your limited experience will be made rich by the storehouse of knowledge contained in the masses' experience. And then you will be able to arm the masses with your now firmer grasp of theory in order that they might find a clearer path
of struggle. But we must never believe the imperialist lie—the fact is that the people are wise, and we must learn from them.

These are aspects of revolutionary work on all levels in the student movement and in more advanced organizational forms.

3. **Students are not revolutionary and will not join in the struggle, or can not.** This is a leftist position that negates the history of world revolution. One manifestation of this regards students as petty bourgeois and focuses only on workers. Not mainly or most importantly on the proletariat, but only. This leftism isolates one from amss struggles, many of which will be supported or even initiated by students. A variant of this position occurs when students are turned on to M-L, negate their revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist student movement, and abandon the campus and student work. This is an infantile purist position that burns bridges connecting the student movement to the communist movement, and leads to a rejection of the advanced elements by the mssses of students. What must be done is to link the student movement to the communist movement for a new party. This is the correct revolutionary task of the politically advanced students. Also, this leftist position fails to recognize the difference between the objective condition of students, and the subjective false consciousness of many students. Objectively the masses of students are in contradiction with imperialism, of course there is a significant sector that is not—but its significance is more qualitative than quantitative since it is
a small part of the 10,000,000 or so college students
in the United States. And our grasp of the crisis of imperialism helps us to understand that the objective material conditions that students have with imperialism are heightening. The ruling class moves to camouflage this or dull it with drugs, sexual fantasy and perversion, popular culture, religious cults and all forms of mysticism. But the masses of students aren't going for it or can be won away from it. We must move correctly or we will be isolated from the masses. Our approach must be to practice "unity--struggle--unity" with the masses of students. Unite with them on issues they are concerned about, issues they understand, and build tight bonds of unity. Then there is a basis to raise the political level of the unity be increasing study and principled discussion on the conditions of exploitation and oppression, and on how to build a movement to defeat imperialism. If our movement is to be successful we must not be negative in our thinking, and reject our fellow students for being temporary victims of imperialism.

This brings us to the 3rd and last major question: What steps must be taken to place the February First Movement on a solid anti-imperialist footing? While I hope it is possible to draw out an answer to this by what's already been said, I'd like to suggest 5 principles to guide your initial thrust.

1. An anti-imperialist student movement must be based on scientific consciousness of current patterns of oppression and exploitation and a grasp of the historical role students have played in revolutionary struggle. This means that you must study, not just with books though that is absolutely
essential, but with the newspapers, the mass media in general, and most important of all--make direct investigation among the masses of students, workers, and throughout the Black community. Learn how to listen to people, learn how to learn from the peoples experience. And be objective, be systematic, be thorough.

One more point on study. Our main task is to combine the advanced learners with the average learners by having a clear understanding of what one's objectives are, what problems need solving. This will help us when we develop our approach to study. Remember that the same books can be read by people on different theoretical levels and much be gained by it, and remember that theory is good only as a guide to action. The task is not merely to understand the world but to change it.

2. An anti-imperialist student movement must make creative use of propaganda and cultural activity to raise the general consciousness of the masses. This points to leaflets, forums and small discussions in which we try to state as clearly as possible in a way that the masses will readily grasp what is happening in the world, in the community, on the campus, the problems of imperialist and the solution--struggle. We must let the masses use these instruments to speak for themselves. Also, we must use the African World as our major voice. We must write for it, we must support it financially, we must distribute it widely, and we must organize the consistent systematic study of it. In addition, no student movement can make an all-sided statement without use of cultural activities
like songs, poems, plays, paintings and parties. We must use these forms to educate, we must make anti-imperialist consciousness appealing and enjoyable—the choice cannot be having fun versus the movement. A student must be able to have fun and be in the movement too!

3. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a consistent commitment and discipline to revolutionary change. This has a dual character. Objectively we can measure our commitment and discipline by how we spend our money, and how we allocate our time. We must find time everyday to struggle, and make it as regular as sleeping, eating, going to the bathroom, putting our clothes on. We do those things everyday and we must make the struggle as regular. Subjectively, in everything we do not just on those things that pertain the struggle, we must ask ourselves two questions:

What role does imperialism play in this? How can this help the struggle? These questions will become a new set of glasses for you to look through and interpret the world, and strengthen your commitment to struggle. One last point concerns organization. Our commitment and discipline must not be merely viewed as individual tasks but must be viewed and carried out in the organizational life of the February First Movement. As the crisis of imperialism breaks down organizational life of the February First Movement. As the crisis of imperialism breaks down organizational efficiency around us in the society, the February First Movement must be a model of responsibility and follow
through, organizational accountability to the masses (like being able to account for all funds raised), and simply, always be on the scene.

4. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a positive attitude and ability to integrate well with the masses of students, workers, and people throughout the community. If we place our faith in the masses, and know that while the struggle will be long and hard we will win, then let us go to them with a smile on our face and warmth in our hearts. People like to be liked. And after all, don't we love the people. So loosen up your style, and flow among the masses like a fish in water. As we raise high the banner of the February First Movement the masses will come to love us. And their love will not be based simply on emotions, though it's necessary for that to be there, they will love us because we represent an end to suffering and oppression, we stand for the truth, and we are consistent in our willingness to fight in their interests to smash our common enemy imperialism. All this is possible because we know the laws of history;

"While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and Black people in its own country. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

We will win there is no doubt!

5. An anti-imperialist student movement must be bold in its action to support and spearhead the mass student struggles.
Bold action, guided by all that we have just discussed, is one sure way to overcome fear, break down inertia, and spark the flames of struggle. No injustice can be allowed to go unchallenged, no righteous struggle, no matter how small, can go unsupported. Remember that a single spark can start a prairie fire. Four freshmen students in 1960 led to 50,000 students in the sit-in movement. That is the legacy of the sit-ins. To go to that counter and sit in was bold. When SNCC went into Selma, Natchez, Tallahatchie county—all that was bold.

When the students of San Francisco State struck, the students of Howard University seized the campus and the students of Southern went to the docks at Burnside to fight the importation of Rhodesian Chrome all these were bold. The February First Movement must raise this tradition high.

"Be resolute! Fear no sacrifices!"

In sum, the principles are simple but far reaching. An anti-imperialist student movement must have:

1. scientific consciousness
2. creative use of propaganda and culture
3. consistent commitment and discipline
4. positive attitude
5. be bold in its action.

Yours is a necessary historical task in struggle to liberate Black people and bring an end to imperialism. What I have tried to do is share with you a few thoughts to contribute to your success. I welcome criticism and discussion so that our knowledge may be deepened and our movement set on a correct path.

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION!

BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT!
6. INTELLECTUALS AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT
Brothers and Sisters!

Let me extend my personal welcome and greetings to all of you who have come from far and near to this planning conference for the 1975 Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism project. As Black intellectuals we have come together to consider some substantive issues facing Black people and to explore ways of re-orienting our work to make a more solid and relevant contribution to the liberation struggle.

Our task is to help add some clarity and direction to the relationship of Black intellectuals and the Black liberation movement. So I will briefly speak to four questions:

1. Who are the new Black intellectuals?
2. What are the main theoretical questions?
3. How do Black intellectuals relate to Black people?
4. When and where can Black intellectuals serve the Black liberation movement?

The present identity of this new generation of Black intellectuals is best understood as part of its stages of historical development. The group I have in mind has the 30-35 year-old set as a corps that extends from 20 to 40. The clear clarion call at the birth of this generation was penned by Margaret Walker in her 1942 poem For My People:

"Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear! Let a race of men now rise and take control."

World War II was a period of great oppression and exploitation—and was also a period of social development, resistance to oppression, and struggle against exploitation. The war led to a great loss in life and limb suffered by the masses, but the war industries helped pull the Black masses into the cities and good paying factory jobs. Moreover, the masses of the world suffered this inter-imperialist clash against fascism, but also took the revolutionary road leading to the liberation of Vietnam in 1945, China in 1949, Ghana in 1957, Guinea in 1958, and Cuba in 1959. Indeed, Revolution became the main trend in the world!
While this generation was in public school the assault on educational segregation proceeded with the Sweatt case at the University of Texas Law School and McLaurin case in education at the University of Oklahoma--both decided for integration by the Supreme Court in 1950. The real spark occurred in 1954 when the Supreme Court decided that segregated public education had to end, then a year later coined the expression "end with all deliberate speed." Symbolically, the democratic rights struggle was at an all time high. Following this were the struggles of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Little Rock struggle to integrate Central High School. Many of us watched these events on television and saw our people engaged in struggle.

But this time was not all positive. The end of the Korean War in the first modern defeat of the US army, let to a turn toward a fascist type red scare--the McCarthy inquisition in which many people were intimidated, ostracized, and fired from their jobs because they had some type of progressive leaning--belief, association or participation in an activity. The other side of this political repression was the brutal murder of Emmet Till that became a major case in the Black media. Here a 14 year-old Black Chicagoan was murdered and thrown into the Tallahatchie River. We watched the McCarthy hearings on television and read about Emmet Till in Jet magazine.

This generation sent some of its people to college, and this group picked up the banner of struggle with the sit-ins and freedom rides. The struggle for democratic rights was taken out of the legislative and judicial context and put in the street. We fired up the world with mass protest--we pulled the covers off the denial of rights by the country who pretended to represent democracy and really represented repression. Young intellectuals went to the masses of Black people and served them, sparked their desire for freedom, and led them in struggle. The whole generation followed the campaigns in the media--Albany, Georgia; Greenwood, Mississippi; Lowndes County, Alabama; Cario, Illinois--it spread everywhere and we
were being educated about the realities of the USA for Black people.

Our generation's lesson in the realities of political deception and the real interests behind governmental policy came through events such as:

1. The defeated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba when we saw John Kennedy on television first saying he had nothing to do with what happened, then later came back on T.V. and admitted he approved of the entire operation.

2. The Atlantic City Democratic Convention in which the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had an open and shut case against the racial discrimination of the regulars but were offered a compromise that violated all democratic principles.

3. The role of the US in the Vietnam War. This more than anything shot our generation into a first-hand understanding of the war-like character of imperialism. We opposed using class ranking systems for the draft, the selective service system in general, we defected from the armed services, we researched the Pentagon's use of the university as a brain trust for war, we investigated the interests of the corporations in other peoples countries, we marched in the street to mount a mass movement against the war, and we protest now to get the US to uphold the Paris agreement.

After the riots began and political assassinations became an expected aspect of the political grab bag of American life, nearly all establishment symbols became empty tokens of rhetoric. The masses were teaching us that they were prepared to fight for a better life, that in the end the masses were not afraid. Indeed, the assassination of people who were the symbolic leaders of various segments of society who spoke of change if not really fought for it brought the responsibility for change back to the masses. The great man theory of history becomes mere speculation or degenerates into ritual observances of birthdays when the great men are successively incarcerated and murdered.

So we turned to a defensive posture by rallying to the various shades of
nationalism, the emerging generation of intellectuals took up the call. The 1967 Black Power Conference in Newark was the watershed of nationalism for Black intellectuals. It was a vindication of Malcolm, and a new turn toward Africa. This led to the rise of struggle by Black intellectuals for legitimacy both within the organizations that existed--college campuses, professional associations, etc.--as well as to start our own. We combined the militancy of student protest with the bureaucratic struggle within organizations for some change.

The society was in turmoil and the ruling class moved to popularize the call for "law and order". No concern for the fascist action of police like in the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi (Chaney, Goodman, and Swerner) up to the gestapo-like raid to murder Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago. No concern for the real political criminals in the highest positions in government (like everyone knows Nixon, Halderman, Erlichman and Mitchell to be now). The emphasis was on subverting and or militarily destroying the struggles of the masses for peace and freedom.

Now this generation we've been talking about was followed by or perhaps joined by a younger set who took on roles as the shock troops--the youth were influenced by cultural nationalism on the one hand and revolutionary nationalism on the other. Cabral, Fanon, Malcolm, Che, Mao and Ho Chi Minh became the sources of intellectual inspiration. But this group has yet to make its own definitive moves, although I trust it would be helpful to trace the general political outlines of its development as well as all other generations.

Who are we? What is our identity? The new generation of Black intellectuals has been tempered by the struggles for democracy throughout our lives. While repression and war has been constant--revolution has been the main trend. Our experiences have paralleled Fanon's characterization of the changes experienced by the native intellectual: (1) fight for integration leading to assimilation to the extent that proof would be established that we as Black intellectuals are as competent as any
other intellectual, (2) return to the masses of people or simply to consolidate and organize the Black people who find themselves in the same context (e.g., the Black caucus movement).

Now the new generation is at a crossroads.

(A) Our personal lives place us on the threshold of our adult future—marriage, children, our health, and our financial responsibilities set certain conditions.

(B) Our history has been characterized by great struggle. Fanon's third stage is "called the fighting phase, the native, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with the people, will on the contrary shake the people. Instead of according the peoples' lethargy an honored place in his esteem, he turns himself into an awakener of the people; hence comes a fighting literature, a revolutionary literature, and a national literature." Our action will define us, whether we do this or not.

Now this crossroads can be clarified if we can grasp the role intellectuals play in the society. Intellectuals do not play a direct role in the production and distribution of goods in a society, rather they produce and distribute knowledge. In this way they serve the interest of a particular class and a particular people. Intellectuals are a strata composed of many groups—occupational groups and students. The tendency is for he who pays the piper to call the tune. But that is only one aspect of the case of Black intellectuals. The knowledge we have gained over the last 30 years or so of our lives informs us with the second aspect, that of struggling to produce and distribute knowledge in the interests of the masses of people.

This is one helluva struggle. But we must never let funding become the dominant factor in our intellectual work—otherwise we will become prostitutes and repudiate the tradition of DuBois. So we have to choose the most important aspect to work on—money vs. knowledge, or more historically correct, to serve the institutions and thereby succumb to the corporate interests that provide funding (or
minimally bow to the prison of bureaucracy) or to serve the needs of the masses of people who fight for liberation and freedom from exploitation.

This crisis of identity—based on the concrete historical choices for the new Black intellectual to make—is reflected by the theoretical questions facing us.

A. What is the dominant character of the USA? Some would say the racial or national composition of the population dominated by white racism and white chauvinism is the basic set of forces that produce change in this society. In fact, our history during the fifties and sixties has produced a high tide of the Black liberation struggle aimed at defeating white chauvinist oppression. But it has always been more than this. Baldwin said "who wants to integrate into a burning house," and Malcolm said "You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a blood sucker." We've all said it if we've been in the struggle. Racism must end. And all forms of economic exploitation must end as well. In fact, racism has a purpose and benefits some people. The people who benefit are the ruling class.

This conference is called to focus on imperialism (monopoly capitalism) as the basic structure of this country and the major problem facing Black people. This is a fact that sums up the material realities of this country—its economic structure, and the basis for its social policies and governmental programs. Imperialism confronts people throughout the world, one of its major centers is the USA.

We have called this project the Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism. Concretely this points to reconceptualizing our theoretical framework, and focusing our intellectual tools on the interests that run this country. Our nationalist approach emphasizing the Black in Black studies was revolutionary in its implications for our theoretical work, but it fell short when some of us fell victim to the view that racial conflict was the motive force of history. After all, if our struggle was merely to use the same old approaches with a Black subject matter then we were simply helping the intellectuals of the ruling class do their job better. NO. Our theoretical approach must rediscover the revolutionary and focus on imperialism as the
material basis of all forms of oppression and exploitation including racism and national oppression, in the USA and around the world.

When we focus on imperialism the complex patterns of this society can be analyzed and documented in a systematic coherent manner. One example of this is in how we use a past historical period to help illuminate current patterns of life in the USA. Many of us looked at the 1960's as a second reconstruction. In the 1940's, DuBois had raised a slogan for the NAACP--"Free by 1963" and we saw motion similar to the reconstruction in the poverty program, the new populism of SNCC, and changes in Black peoples' access to political office holding. Indeed much of this was good, but one-sided. Most of us did not look at the most relevant aspects of the reconstruction which concerned how it was ended: the Compromise of 1877, the rise of the white terrorist organizations, and the disenfranchisement of Blacks. We were intoxicated with the hope and aspirations of the reconstruction but did not really understand it in the fullest sense.

Now we must change this historical reference. Imperialism is in crisis in the world and at home. The period we must all study and get our audiences--readers, students, etc.--to understand is the great depression. This is the historical proof that capitalism is a system plagued by crisis after crisis, that the masses of people--especially Black people--are the victims of these crises, and that the ruling class will use many devices to create an illusion to fool the masses. It is also proof of the great strength of the masses to struggle against this imperialist tyranny. Millions of unemployed workers of all nationalities struggled for a decent living, mass campaigns were mounted to save Black people from lynch mobs in the streets and in the courts, and several types of organizations that fought for the rights of Black people. By studying the depression (1929 to WWII) we can get a basic understanding of the fundamental flaws in imperialism, and learn basic lessons about how to struggle against its many points of attack on the well being and living standards of the people. After all, if the ruling class and their lackeys jumped out of win-
downs during the depression it must have been some powerful stuff—we need to know
everything about it.

B. What is the purpose of our theoretical work? We have another contradic-
tion here. Either we will continue to be apologists for the incredible facility
of Black people to survive in spite of imperialism, or we will develop a fighting
literature that illuminates the weak aspects of imperialism and points Black people
to struggle against it. As apologists we often formulate long arguments to prove
our vitality, creativity, cohesion, and will to survive. Again this is a good thing,
but one-sided. Our thrust as a people is not merely to survive but to turn this
society upside down, to eliminate poverty and exploitation, to build institutions
that are designed for people and not against them. Its sort of like being in a cave,
chained together. We can make do and celebrate the fact that we're still alive or
we can study, analyse, plot and scheme—informing everyone of the sun-filled meadows
and happiness outside of the cave, rise up, break the chains, and march out to freedom.

Science, after all, is a tool both to understand the world and to change it.
Our science must be focused on imperialism and how to destroy it. Anything short of
this implicitly condones imperialism and does not challenge the basic structure of
how our people are oppressed and exploited.

Both of these two points on theory are spoken to in our draft Declaration
Against Imperialism: "The exposure and defeat of the 'revolting barbarity and shame-
less hypocrisy' of US imperialism must be adopted today as the main objective of the
historical task of Black intellectuals." This "exposure" is our scientific analysis,
and the "defeat" speaks to the necessary purpose of our work.

C. How do Black intellectuals relate to Black people? As we indicated earlier,
the intellegensia is a strata serving one or another class. Moreover, many intellec-
tuals (especially in education) are located in institutions or connected to publica-
tions that tend to have defined audiences and a life of their own. Most organized
contexts for Black intellectuals do not directly serve the interests of the masses
of Black people although they service them in someone else's interest. What this means concretely is that we as Black intellectuals come into contact with one or another segment of Black people but we do not necessarily serve their real interests. Certainly publications like Ebony, Black newspapers and Black journalists in the white media, etc., are examples of this. Although the situation is not completely that, but in the main it is. The relationship of most courses to the national standardized exams, requirements for graduate training, and vocational preparation do not encompass the objective struggle of our people against imperialism. Rather than pull the covers off imperialism we often end up encouraging our students to climb in bed and get under the same covers. But consider DuBois, with all the arrogance of a New England childhood, Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin higher education, he still had a burning desire to speak the truth to Black people—he is a model—not his elitism, not his intellectual, often abrupt style, but his undying love for his people and his life time commitment to do whatever he could to help in the fight for freedom. He was fired from universities, organizations and publications time and time again. But he was not on trial—they were.

The class and organizational constraints on our relationship with Black people must be understood and dealt with.

A. Our language must be scientifically precise, but have a good mass style.

B. Our knowledge must be put into a context relevant to the interests—objective and subjective—of the people.

C. Our activity must be taken out of the classroom and be among the masses, and the masses must be brought into the classroom.

D. Our allegiance must be to our people before all else, and only then to our campus, publication, or organization.

In sum, rather than stress the unique, the obscure, of the "heavy" we should take the major problems, do systematic and serious scientific investigation, and popularize our results among the masses, turn our research over to political activists, and
teach all who dare take the knowledge to fight against imperialism.

Now let's look more closely at five specific activities to take up some concrete courses of action.

A. Academic programs—Black studies programs. Some people are totally committed to these programs while others are totally against them. Both of these extremes are one-sided and don't take into consideration the dual character of Black studies. The negative aspect is that the tendency is for these programs—like all others in the university—to degenerate into non-essential activities—non-essential to the liberation of Black people. The positive aspect is that for those programs that have survived to this point there is still the possibility to breathe the life of liberation struggle into them. Consider the Declaration Against Imperialism as a position paper to provide (along with other material) the basis for organizing a program. Whether overtly or covertly a program not against imperialism will end up with it. Can we not oppose Gulf Oil in Angola—NO. We must oppose it! And if we fight against US corporations exploiting the African people what about the masses in this country.

A leading academic apologist for the ruling class, Robert K. Merton, writing sort of an obituary for Black studies, "Insiders and Outsiders" challenged the partisan character of its spokespersons. Now what oppressed people in their right minds would not use science for liberation. He makes a fool of himself really, its just that not all of us realize how and in what ways we can move against what he is saying and the interests he represents.

We are proposing that we initiate a campaign to place imperialism on all of our agendas and use this concept as an organizing tool for all programs. What a difference it would make if when we took students to Africa they were going not only to search out their ancestral past and celebrate the cultural survivals of traditional Africa, but to investigate the contemporary manifestations in Africa of the same imperialism they face at home. What a difference it would make if all sociology,
political science, art, drama, and damn near everything else (like the social de-
velopment and use of the hard science like physics, chemistry and biology) was
always put into its historical context and examined as part of our overall design
to get a fix on imperialism and how to defeat it. I suggest that the design of
university programs in countries like China, Tanzania, and Cuba could offer alot on
this score.

Moreover, all of our programs must strive to sink deep roots in our respective
communities. This means we must turn our focus to our immediate surroundings and
pull the covers off the local manifestations of imperialism. Black studies in
Detroit should have an auto concentration, in Greensboro a textile project, in New
Orleans a petroleum, chemicals and shipping focus. After all, whatever are the
dominant forces that shape the lives of Black people must be our concern. Moreover,
once we have developed some knowledge from our research then we should take it to
Black people involved in this area and check its validity, its relevancy, and its
usefulness. The masses of people normally have more knowledge about what their
lives are involved in than students do who study for four or more years about that
same sector of society. What does that tell us? It tells us to open up the doors
and let the wisdom of the masses of people come in. We have often been asked who
teaches the teachers, or who grades the graders--well, for Black intellectuals the
answer is clear. The masses of Black people do. We must believe this and implement
programs designed to facilitate it or we will undoubtedly fall into the swamp of
run-of-the-mill academia and end up grading ourselves never knowing whether it makes
any difference at all.

B. Courses—now one major problem for us is the area of curriculum development.
We have no model courses that reflect the basic theoretical concepts and concrete
information all informed Black people should know about. We have popularized no list
of classics of Black social analysis. We have no basic questions for which we as
a rather cosmopolitan progressive group of Blacks can give substantially the same
This has got to stop. The textbook companies lure some of us to put out rather hum-drum readers and texts—or get their own staff to do it—and pretty much control what it is that people study. For a moment think about the innovation of "general education" in higher education built around courses called Humanities 101, Western Civilization and Fine Arts. These courses were developed at the University of Chicago and Columbia, then popularized throughout the country. We have to take this situation into our own hands and develop at least a two-semester course presenting a basic approach to the scientific study of Black people. What a difference it would make if 20 or 50 or 100 schools were using substantially the same course as an introduction to Afro-American Studies. Indeed, why should the students at Atlanta University, Cornell, Wayne State, and Stanford be emersed in creativity while the masses of students in the junior colleges and state schools generally struggle to make do. Are we saying that money controls it all, or can we unite around this task, this pressing need for a relevant Black education focused on imperialism with the goal of freedom and liberation.

C. Research—Since many of us have done or are doing college work, even graduate school work, we surely recall the mechanical and often irrelevant research topics that can take up one's time to get a BA, MA or PhD. Our research must be on such topics that help to pull the covers off imperialism. In the Declaration Against Imperialism we say:

"We Declare that the main task of Black intellectuals today is to study the character and historical development of US imperialism, especially its impact on Black people, and to promote this study throughout schools, publications, conferences, and organizations.

"We Declare that the main objective of our study must be to expose the essence of imperialism and provide the intellectual tools necessary for combatting every imperialist assault on the people."

Check out all research being done and put it to the test of our Declaration. Check its validity and relevance with the masses of people. Check its scientific character with other scientists committed to the liberation of Black people.
D. Publications--The main problem here is our intellectual productivity. But with the previous comments that aspect has been covered. Specifically on the journals several simple and well known points need to be made:

1. The burning questions facing Black people must appear in our publications and special effort should be made to get this done. Today we face the Boston busing crisis, the changing racial composition of the armed forces, the soaring unemployment rates, the new style academic racists of the Jensen and Shockley type, the crisis of Black colleges, and many other issues.

2. On major questions there are different positions that need to be placed side by side in debate.

3. Older Black people need to be interviewed to recover personal histories not generally known--our recent losses include Oliver Cox, Cyril Briggs, Alexander Z. Loobey, and countless others who have taken with them many lessons we need to learn.

Special credit needs to be given to the *African World* and the *Black Scholar* for their consistent high quality and relevancy. The question becomes, how many of us read these publications regularly, write articles or critique those that we read, and how many of us use them in our classes and urge our students to read them.

Go back and examine Phylon under DuBois' editorship or the Journal of Negro History under Woodson and you'll find all the research and debate of the day. But now these journals are mere shadows of their former selves. Our generation has developed its own journals--the question is whether we have the commitment to do what is necessary to make them survive, and truly serve the people.

E. Organizations and Conferences--The key question here is that whenever Black people come together there are but two major questions--what is the past or present state of our exploitation and oppression? What moves have been, are, or can be made to fundamentally change that and lead to liberation and freedom. Moreover, each gathering should involve sharp debate over different points of view. Too long
have been hampered and held back by our liberal attitudes and the line of all unity and no struggle. The symposium on imperialism at the last African Heritage Studies Association meeting in New York, and the May 1974 African Liberation Support Committee conference in Washington, D.C., are outstanding examples of conferences that have reflected a correct approach and moved many of us to do more serious study, and advance our theoretical work to a much higher level.

The second point here is the need to make great efforts to open our conferences to the masses of people. At this conference we have a few trade unionists, political activists, rank and file workers, and community activists—not nearly enough, but it's a start. How can we have a session of Black labor without the participation of workers? On higher education without students? On community problems without the people who actually experience the problems on a day-to-day basis.

This leads us to our last question:

4. When and where can Black intellectuals serve the Black liberation movement?

Today the Black liberation movement is also in crisis, but the situation is excellent. The crisis reflects the degeneration of the cultural nationalist organizations, the floundering of the traditional organizations, and the growing fear of surveillance by intelligence agencies, and the brutal repression of the Attica murderer (grandson of the Rockefeller who ordered the slaughter of the miners in Ludlow, Colorado). Today the inflation, unemployment and general economic insecurity represent heightened attacks on the living standards of the masses of people.

But where there is repression there will be resistance. The spontaneous struggles of the masses go on everyday, throughout this country in plants, schools, and communities. Small organizations of a new type are emerging, a new movement is taking shape.

A. The first task is to work hand in hand with the movement where we are. Staff unions, students, etc., must be given full support, cooperation, use of facilities, and most of all encouragement and endorsement.
A second point is to take up questions that are raised by the struggle and conduct a scientific investigation that provides the data and analysis required to prove the case. The people are not afraid of the truth, but the barons of imperialism must be.

B. In general, Black intellectuals have the same general responsibility as everyone else—to get involved in the movement now, wherever you are. But as intellectuals we must:

1. be historians of the movement;
2. be alert and fight every ideological assault on the movement;
3. be students to the experience of the masses, and teachers of whatever theory, historical and political knowledge we have gained.

In sum, our Declaration Against Imperialism is clear on this point:

"We Declare that our goal is to establish a new unity between Black intellectuals and the Black liberation movement in which intellectuals function to serve the interests of the people with humility based on compassion, strength based on science and a revolutionary optimism that the people will triumph over all enemies and prosper."

I have tried to spell out in broad sweeping strokes my understanding of some of the basic issues facing Black intellectuals and make concrete suggestions on how to proceed from this point. Hopefully, now and in all the workshops we can continue this discussion.

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY! HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTION THROUGH STRUGGLE!

TOWARDS VICTORY FOR OUR PEOPLE!
7. STUDENTS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM
Comrades!

Fellow Students and Friends of the February First Movement!

This occasion is an important historical event in the historical development of the revolutionary struggle in our country, and the Black liberation struggle in particular. But "this is the best of times and the worst of times." It is the worst because the crisis of Imperialism is heightening, the attacks on the living standards of the masses of people are intensifying, and the ruling class is increasing its efforts to disunite the working class with demonic schemes that make the people fight each other and subvert the development of revolutionary class consciousness that will unite the masses in a common struggle. On the other hand, where there is exploitation and oppression there will be resistance and struggle. This is the best of times because the masses of the world are hip to the exploitative character of imperialism and are struggling in their own interest "to win or safeguard national independence, defend their state sovereignty, protect their national resources and develop their national economy." And here in the United States the people are rising up to fight. Our movement is small, and our forces are young but the spirit of revolution guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism will lead us to triumph over all enemies and prosper. We must grasp the logic of the laws of social development and know that the few will become the many, the weak will become the strong, and in the end we will "unite to win still greater victories." The February First Movement is a significant development in this context, because it is the latest step in a long history of revolutionary struggle by Black students. Moreover, it is in keeping with the heroic way students all over the world have contributed to the revolutionary struggles in their countries. I urge all Black students here tonight to seek FFM out, to study its documents, and to join in the movement.

Now, the subject of my brief remarks is "Students and the Fight for Socialism!" As a former activist in and current supporter of the student movement, and as a communist fighting for socialism, I speak for our collective, not FFM, not ALSC.
I will take up three questions:

1. What is the situation in the USA today?
2. How is the revolution possible in the USA?
3. What is the revolutionary role of students?

**Situation in the USA Today**

Not since the Great Depression has the crisis of imperialism been so sharp and in need of a "new economic theory of recovery". The use of ruling class guru John Maynard Keynes' theory of priming the pump whereby government investment is used to stimulate economic activity when private investment has declined, has proven not to lead to recovery, but temporary relief that leads into even greater crisis. Keynes was an idealist of sorts who argued for government spending on social services and income redistribution. But as Lenin has pointed out the very nature of imperialism leads to the constant threat of war because of the need to struggle for greater access to raw materials and markets. So, since the Great Depression, defense spending has been vital to the U.S. economy. This means war has become as American as apple pie. Generals become presidents, cabinet members and high government officials, board members of large corporations, high administration officials in universities, generally linking up all aspects of life in this society to war.

In an economic sense, the basic crisis of capitalism results from the anarchy of overproduction. The capitalists in their avaricious greedy pursuit of profit increase production as much as possible. Of course, for the working class this means speed up of the assembly line, forced overtime, multiple shifts, and resultant rise in industrial accidents. This leads to a build up of goods in warehouses that exceeds the demand for those goods in the stores, that in turn forces the factories to slow production down. This production slowdown results in unemployment. But all the while the capitalists try to raise prices as much as possible because after all, profit is realized in the market place. When the crisis heightens, unemployment goes up, wages are kept down, credit gets tight, production continues to decrease, and many small businesses are destroyed. All of this reflects a fundamental contradiction
of capitalist society— the contradiction between the social character of production 
and the private capitalist ownership of the means of production. A fundamental con-
tradiction is what defines the life of a particular society, so when there is a 
revolution of the relations of production, when there is social production and social 
ownership as well, capitalism as we know it in the USA will no longer exist.

But our analysis must deal with the particularity of this current period so that 
we can grasp the principal contradiction and move the society forward, As Mao Tse-
tung has written:

"There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex 
thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose 
existence and development determine or influence the existence and develop-
ment of the other contradictions."

In the end we will overcome the fundamental contradictions in this society, but 
to move forward now we must focus on each principal contradiction we face, one by one. In times of crisis the situation can change rapidly, in times of revolutionary 
movement the focus of revolution must change its analysis to correctly sum up changes 
in the objective situation. Not to change is to be a diehard sticking to old views, 
to stubbornly and single-mindedly stick to only the fundamental contradiction is to 
be a left phrase-mongerer.

During the high tide of the Civil Rights period in the USA the principal contra-
diction was national liberation struggles versus imperialism, particularly the Black 
liberation movement versus monopoly capital.

Now, the principal contradiction is the class contradiction, the proletariat 
against the monopoly capitalist class. The strike movement, the struggles of rank 
and file workers against the sell-out trade union bureaucrats, the fight of unor-
ganized workers to unionize (particular in California, Texas, North and South Caro-
linha), and the fight of the unemployed for a job and a right to live all reflect this.

But we should not see this in contradiction to the Black liberation struggle. 
As Mao has written:

"The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge
with the American workers movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class."

In fact, it is precisely the proletarian character of Black people that provides the objective basis for this merger, and it is our task to fight against those things that prevent it, and fight for those things that help bring it about. Since the question of national oppression of Black people is in essence a class contradiction we must not play down the particular national oppression of Black people but draw out the class essence of the contradiction between the Black masses and the US ruling class. What this means is (1) that we must identify the bourgeois forces and their petty bourgeois servants that struggle to achieve hegemony over the Black liberation movement and lead it down the road to pacifism, electoral politics, and struggling for "silver rights"; (2) that our focus must be on the objective interests of the vast majority of Black people who are solidly a section of the proletariat and (3) that we must fight white chauvinism among white workers who are duped by racism (a bourgeois tool) as well as what it creates—bourgeois nationalism. We must fight for proletarian internationalism and against all forms of national privilege.

In general, the crisis in this country is intensifying—as it is throughout the entire imperialist bloc of countries. The situation is excellent for the revolutionary movement to make a giant leap forward in this period. But danger is everywhere, because the wounded paper tiger of US imperialism can be a treacherous beast. The road ahead will be torturous. Police repression, political surveillance and government-backed slander, Boston busing crisis, and overt fascist ideologues like Louise Day Hicks, David Duke of the Ku Klux Klan and scientific racists of the Jensen and Shockley type will be multiplied 10 or more times all over this country. But as Fred Hampton put it: "You can kill a revolutionary but you can't kill the revolution." We are here to hail the founding of the February First Movement. And by so doing we reflect the spirit of every act of slave resistance, every underground railroad run of Harriet Tubman, every revolutionary action by the Southern Negro Youth Congress in the 1930's and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
in the 1960's, and we continue to develop the recent motion of the African Liberation Support Committee.

In times such as these, *How is Revolution Possible in the USA?*

This question is the most serious strategic question that faces the masses of people in the USA and in every country in which exploitation reigns in the world today. And now it is necessary and in fact imperative that we take this question up in every public forum possible because of three important historical facts:

1. The crisis—in the economy a full scale depression is in the making and in the government corruption on all levels exists;

2. The rising tide of resistance by the masses of people—most importantly the working class and the national liberation struggles, but also other classes, strata, and social groups concerned with the liberation of women, the fight against fascist police terror, the struggle for prison reform, adequate public welfare, decent housing, adequate health care, consumer justice, ecology, quality public education, and against the cutbacks in federal funds for higher education.

3. The obvious fact is that there exists no genuine communist party to give revolutionary proletarian leadership to all struggles so that every act of resistance and fight back can be hooked up in a powerful tidal wave of struggle to smash the capitalist state, institute the dictatorship of the proletariat, liberate all oppressed nations, liberate women, and scientifically build socialism by faithful adherence to the science of Marxism-Leninism. We have two types of pseudo-sham parties in the USA today—one is represented by a multitude of big and little (mainly little) Trotskyite sects that spread like crab grass over the vacillating but fertile soil of mostly students and the petty bourgeoisie. They serve the ruling class by spreading confusion and by trying every possible way to subvert the revolutionary unity of the proletariat. More important, there is the CP(USA). This is the major vehicle for the bourgeois line to appear in Marxist-Leninist garb. As a not too creative front for the social
imperialist Soviet Union; the CP(USA) preaches the peaceful transition to socialism for the world's people, ttails the liberal bourgeoisie with its strategy of the anti-monopoly coalition, and preaches the merits of detente between US imperialism and USSR social imperialism. These are the views that Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought against, that Mao and the Chinese Communist Party fought against, and that in building a new genuine communist party, we must fight against.

As Lenin pointed out, the capitalist state cannot be taken over by the peaceful means of the electoral process. Bourgeois rule must be smashed and replaced by proletarian rule, rule of a new type. The petty bourgeoisie abhors violence—and not taking into consideration the daily violence perpetuated against the working class, the petty bourgeoisie holds high its faith in bourgeois democracy. The working class and the oppressed nationalities can't abhor what they face everyday; they must learn how to use violence themselves in a revolutionary way to end it once and for all. This means that we uphold the right to self defense and look forward to revolutionary armed struggle in the future. Compare the experience of Chile with that of the Bolsheviks or the Chinese Communist Party. These are lessons learned in blood by the international communist movement and the working class of the world.

This is what Comrade Enver Hoxa of the Party of Labor of Albania has to say on Chile:

"The Bourgeoisie of this country was not the least restrained by the morale of bourgeois democracy and by its traditions to bring fascism to power, when it saw that its class positions were being endangered. It crushed with iron and fire not only the workers and peasants, but did short work of all those who believed in the 'unshakable foundations' of bourgeois democracy."

Now the anti-monopoly coalition is a fundamentally incorrect strategy for several reasons. Three key ones are:

1. It appears as if the CP(USA) is proposing a coalition against one sector of the bourgeoisie and not the bourgeoisie itself. This reflects a tendency toward either a two-stage revolution (although bourgeois democracy is already
here with all its rotten contradictions, hypocrisy and terror for the people) headed toward socialism, or a liquidation of the strategic goal of socialism altogether.

2. This erroneous line leads to unprincipled alliances with the liberal bourgeoisie. When Gus Hall ran for president, some members of the Central Committee of the CP(USA) voted for McGovern instead. This has been the pattern since FDR and the New Deal—another version of the old raw double deal. The spirit of Earl Browder and Jay Lovestone (proven agents of the bourgeoisie from the old CP) haunt the working class in the revisionist garb of the CP(USA). The same is true with its love of trade union bureaucrats. Rather than take Marxism-Leninism to the working class with a fighting spirit and bold style of integrating with the rank and file, the CP(USA) hugs close to the trade union leadership and relies on its propaganda apparatus, never showing a Leninist face to the masses.

3. It abdicates the responsibility of a genuine party to fight for a correct line to provide leadership for the masses. It tailss behind every reformist motion, raising it to a level of principle—an incorrect principle at that! A Leninist approach is to fight for reforms, but in such a way that communist political exposure educates the masses to their class interests and necessary strategic goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lastly, the detente myth is really a scheme to conceal the contention and collusion of the two main enemies of the world's people—US imperialism and USSR social imperialism. Everywhere the threat of a world war is imminent because of this superpower drive toward hegemony—the question is who is going to control a particular country's natural resources, government policies, and market for the export of manufactured goods, the USA or the USSR. Just check out issues like Cyprus, the Middle East, the UN struggles, off shore limits to national territorial rights, food, natural resources, etc.) Is "detente" with imperialism possible? Isn't war a normal expression of imperialism? Shouldn't the masses prepare for war and not be lulled
to sleep by sermons on the mount of the Soviet revisionist dung heap?

However, the revisionist distortions cannot change the objective forces at work. History develops in struggle, and the world advances amidst turbulence. The imperialists, and the super powers in particular, are beset with troubles and are on the decline. "Countries want independence, nations want liberation, people want revolution. This is the irresistible trend of history."

From this, the central task of class conscious proletarian revolutionaires becomes crystal clear. Our task is to build a new communist party, and to make significant steps toward accomplishing this, we must fight for a correct application of Marxism-Leninism to the objective conditions in this country, and sum up the historical particulars of the current stage of history based on the laws of capitalist social development.

Communists must be clear on the strategic goal of socialism. This is our maximum program. But no one familiar with the last 30 years of intense anti-communist propaganda put out by the ruling class will expect the masses to grasp the aim of socialism overnight. It will take a long struggle of fighting and failing until we fight on to victory. Therefore we have a minimum program that reflects the general strategy for how the revolution in this country will happen. This is the United Front Against Imperialism composed of all anti-imperialist forces with its center being a fighting proletariat and the national liberation struggles. The key thrust of the United Front Against Imperialism is based on the revolutionary strategy to "unite the many to defeat the few", "to concentrate a superior force and destroy our enemies one by one."

The United Front must be led by the party of the proletariat if it is to realize its necessary strategic task of defeating imperialism and leading to socialism. If it is led by any other force it will be side-tracked and go into a tailspin leading to the swamp of reform led by the vacillating moralist leadership of the petty bourgeoisie.
This danger has been developing recently as the third trend, the raising to the level of principle an anti-imperialist ideology. This is a mask for petty bourgeois ideology that in the end results in holding up the bourgeois line (albeit in a liberal guise). This is not to underestimate the positive contribution middle forces can make to our revolution, but to point out the necessary conditions for that contribution to be made. No united front can be truly revolutionary and carry struggle to the end unless it is led by a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. When this happens we will have the necessary weapon to link reform to revolution in a consistent scientific manner.

Now a vital force within the United Front Against Imperialism is the student movement. Almost without exception, every successful revolutionary struggle has had a revolutionary student sector. This is because you are young, a group in transition, you are open to new ideas, you are full of energy, and you have not yet been tainted into total submission by the seductive propaganda of the ruling class. So we come to our third question: what is the revolutionary role of students?

There are incorrect ideas about the student movement that you must guard against.

1. **Students will lead the struggle.** This position is dangerous because it liquidates the necessary leadership of the workers and liberation forces in order to carry revolution through to the end led by a revolutionary party. An example of this reactionary line appeared in an editorial in the December 27th issue of the *Militant* newspaper. In dealing with the student call for a conference to deal with the crisis in Boston they write:

"Students have taken the lead, as they did in the earlier civil rights movement, by setting the next step in the campaign. They are urging supporters of civil rights to come to Boston again Feb. 14-15 for a conference to plan further action. This conference can be a powerful boost toward developing an ongoing movement that can defeat the racist offensive."

The correct communist position is to encourage the students calling the conference (1) to ensure that a full and decisive ideological struggle occur so that a clear choice can be made on a program and course of action; (2) to ensure to fully represent the interest of the Afro-American people and the proletariat in all planning,
and actions undertaken. The trotskyite newspaper doesn't mention the working class once, and they seem to shy away from ideological struggle. They have moved in like this before and brought havoc every time.

A new communist party is necessary in order to have correct leadership for the multi-national proletariat and the national liberation struggles, and the entire United Front Against Imperialism—including the student movement. Where does this party come from? It comes from all revolutionary sectors of society, most importantly the proletariat—but student revolutionaries are also a vital source of members for the party. So as your struggles develop, as you study the science of revolution, when you grasp Marxism-Leninism, you will increasingly lose your identity as a student, and take on a new one as a revolutionary who goes to school. So students don't lead, the proletariat and the national liberation struggles do, with their revolutionary party as their general staff.

But remember that you have two strategic responsibilities as you develop: on the one hand to raise your level of theoretical and practical work and transform yourselves into professional revolutionaries, on the other to maintain a good mass style so that the broad united front character of the anti-imperialist student movement is not sacrificed for the development of a politically advanced few.

2. Students are more knowledgeable than the people. This ill-fated arrogant elitism will lead to no movement at all. Knowledge is grounded in practice, especially revolutionary knowledge which is grounded in the practice of class struggle. This includes anti-imperialist student struggle. What students and intellectuals can have is a grasp of theory, and this only by serious systematic study of materials that sum up the lived experience of the masses. And the task is to go to the masses—the masses of students, the masses of workers, the masses of Black people and learn first hand of the particular details of oppression and exploitation—then your limited experience will be made rich by the storehouse of knowledge contained in the masses' experience. And you then will be able to arm the masses with your now firmer grasp of theory in order that they might find a clearer path of struggle. But we must
never believe the imperialist lie—the fact is that the people are wise, and we must learn from them.

These are aspects of revolutionary work on all levels—in the student movement and in more advanced organizational forms.

3. Students are not revolutionary and will not join in the struggle, or cannot. This is a leftist position that negates the history of world revolution. One manifestation of this regards students as petty bourgeois and focuses only on workers. Not mainly or most importantly on the proletariat, but only. This leftism isolates one from mass struggles which will be supported or even in some cases initiated by students. A variant of this position occurs when students are turned on to Marxism-Leninism, negate their revolutionary role in the anti-imperialist student movement, and abandon the campus and student work. This is an infantile purist position that burns bridges connecting the student movement to the communist movement, and leads to a rejection of the advanced elements by the masses of students. What must be done is to link the student movement to the communist movement for a new party. This is the correct revolutionary task of the politically advanced students. Also, this leftist position fails to recognize the difference between the objective conditions of students, and the subjective false consciousness of many students. Objectively the masses of students are in contradiction with imperialism, of course, there is a significant sector that is not—but its significance is more qualitative than quantitative since it is a small part of the 10,000,000 or so college students in the United States. And our grasp of the crisis of imperialism helps us to understand that the objective material conditions that students have with imperialism are heightening. The ruling class moves to camouflage this or dull it with drugs, sexual fantasy and perversion, popular culture, religious cults and all forms of mysticism. But the masses of students aren't going for it or can be won away from it. We must move correctly or we will be isolated from the masses. Our approach must be to practice "unity—struggle—unity" with the masses of students. Unite with them on issues they are concerned about, issues they understand, and build
tight bonds of unity. Then there is a basis to raise the political level of the
unity by increasing study and principled discussion on the conditions of exploita-
tion and oppression, and on how to build a movement to defeat imperialism. If our
movement is to be successful we must not be negative in our thinking, and reject our
fellow students for being temporary victims of imperialism.

This brings us to a major question—what steps must be taken to place the
February First Movement on a solid anti-imperialist footing? I'd like to suggest
five (5) principles for your consideration:

1. An anti-imperialist student movement must be based on scientific con-
sciousness of current patterns of oppression and exploitation and a grasp of the
historical role students have played in revolutionary struggle. This means that
you must study, not just with books, though this is absolutely essential, but with
the newspapers, the mass media in general, and most important of all—make direct
investigation among the masses of students, workers, and throughout the Black com-
community. Learn how to listen to people, learn how to learn from the people's ex-
perience. And be objective, be systematic, and be thorough.

One more point on study. Our main task is to combine the advanced learners
with the average learners by having a clear understanding of what one's objectives
are, what problems need solving. This will help us when we develop our approach to
study. Remember that the same books can be read by people on different theoretical
levels and much be gained by it, and remember that theory is good only as a guide
to action. The task is not merely to understand the world, but to change it.

2. An anti-imperialist student movement must make creative use of propaganda
and cultural activity to raise the general consciousness of the masses. This points
to leaflets, forums, and small discussions in which we try to state as clearly as
possible in a way that the masses will readily grasp what is happening in the world,
in the community, on the campus, the problems of imperialism and the solution—strug-
gle. We must let the masses use these instruments to speak for themselves. Also,
we must use the African World as our major voice. We must write for it, we must
support it financially, we must distribute it widely, and we must organize the consistent systematic study of it. In addition, no student movement can make an all-sided statement without use of cultural activities like songs, poems, plays, paintings and parties. We must use these forms to educate, we must make anti-imperialist consciousness appealing and enjoyable—the choice cannot be having fun versus the movement. A student must be able to have fun that has anti-imperialist content.

3. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a consistent commitment and discipline to revolutionary change. This has a dual character. Objectively we can measure our commitment and discipline by how we spend our money, and how we allocate our time. We must find time everyday to struggle, and make it as regular as sleeping, eating, going to the bathroom, putting our clothes on. We do those things everyday and we must make the struggle as regular. Subjectively, in everything we do, not just on those things that pertain directly to the struggle, we must ask ourselves two questions: What role does imperialism play in this? How can this help the struggle? These questions will become a new set of glasses for you to look through and interpret the world, and strengthen your commitment to struggle. One last point concerns organization. Our commitment and discipline must not be merely viewed as individual tasks but must be viewed and carried out in the organizational life of the February First Movement. As the crisis of imperialism breaks down organizational efficiency around us in the society, the February First Movement must be a model of responsibility and follow-through, organizational accountability to the masses (like being able to account for all funds raised), and simply, always be on the scene of struggle and creatively involved in it.

4. An anti-imperialist student movement must have a positive attitude and ability to integrate well with the masses of students, workers, and people throughout the community. If we place our faith in the masses, and know that while the struggle will be long and hard, we will win. Then let us go to the masses with a smile on our face and warmth in our hearts. People like to be liked. And after all,
don't we love the people. So loosen up your style, and flow among the masses like a fish in water with no real fear since they are our real friends. As we raise high the banner of the February First Movement the masses will come to love us. And their love will not be based simply on emotions, though it's necessary for that to be there, they will love us because we represent an end to suffering and oppression, we stand for the truth, and we are consistent in our willingness to fight in their interests to smash our common enemy, imperialism. All this is possible because we know the laws of history:

"While massacring the people in other countries, U.S. imperialism is slaughtering the white and Black people in its own country. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

We will win, there is no doubt!

5. An anti-imperialist student movement must be **bold in its action** to support and spearhead the mass student struggles. Bold action, guided by all that we have just discussed, is one sure way to overcome fear, break down inertia, and spark the flames of struggle. No injustice can be allowed to go unchallenged, no righteous struggle, no matter how small, can go unsupported. Remember that a single spark can start a prairie fire. Four freshmen students in 1960 led to 50,000 students in the sit-in movement. That is the legacy of the sit-ins. To go to that counter and sit in was bold. When the students of San Francisco State struck, the students of Howard University seized the campus and the students of Southern went to the docks at Burnside to fight the importation of Rhodesian Chrome, all these were bold. The February First Movement must raise this tradition high. "Be resolute! Fear no sacrifices! Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win."

In sum, the principles are simple but far-reaching. An anti-imperialist student movement must have:

1. scientific consciousness
2. creative use of propaganda and culture
3. consistent commitment and discipline
4. positive attitude
5. be bold in its action.
Yours is a necessary historical task in the struggle to liberate Black people and bring an end to imperialism. What I have tried to do is share with you a few thoughts to contribute to your success. I welcome criticism and discussion so that our knowledge may be deepened and our movement set on a correct path.

DEATH TO IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION!

FORWARD TOWARD BUILDING A NEW GENUINE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDENT MOVEMENT!

HOLD HIGH THE BANNER OF THE FEBRUARY FIRST MOVEMENT!
8. STUDY AND STRUGGLE: BLACK STUDENTS AND THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE 1980's
ON BUILDING A NEW BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT:

STUDY GUIDE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY