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It's important to begin this discussion in Philosophy by making note of the fact that the main study material was the or constituted the main philosophical essays of Mao Tse Tung. And this morning we have final word of the verdict of the leadership of Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese Communist Party. The decision apparently was that Chung Ching and Chung Ching Chou were both sentenced to death. And their death sentence was suspended for two years presumably they said to allow for repentance and Wong Win who was the factory worker from Shanghai played an active role in the Great Uprising which was the struggle for power in Shanghai during the cultural revolution was sentenced to life. And You Yo Ying Young, who was the journalist who wrote the first article under the instructions of Mao leading off the Cultural Revolution through his articles, was sentenced to twenty years. And, the generals who were associated not as much with that period of the Cultural Revolution as earlier on with Yow, got 16 to 18 years, something like that. The importance of that is a couple of things. Number one, it's important to say that there are a lot of people in this country who are part of the revolutionary movement who know all those Chinese names more than they know the names of important political figures in this country. Frankly speaking, I know more about the political bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, particularly during ^{the} years from say 1966 to 1975, frankly, than I do the inner working of inner workings of the National Committee of the Republican Party, which has more to do with say, housing in this country, and in part that reflects how we came to

learn Marxism as a result of what was happening in China in the middle of the 1960's on into the early 70's. And in part it reflects what fundamentally what remains the dogmatic posture, not in a sense you know of yelling out slogans and memorizing documents, but just in the sense that if we want to make a revolution in the United States we have to intimately know our enemy and we have to intimately know ourselves. Anyway, that's one point. Another point however, is that ⁱⁿ the case of China we have another concrete case of the history of revolution that ends up doing a flip-flop from the positive to what appears to be the negative. You know, in other words, Gun Chou Ping and the rest of those people appear not to be revolutionaries, certainly when compared to Mao. A lot of people are now disillusioned by that. People who believed in the Red Flag, now see it thrown down and stomped on in the dirt by the very people that once believed in it. And this is a very heavy period, it happened before in the case of the Soviet Union. When Stalin died, and then Kruschev and people seized power in the Communist Party in the Soviet Union began a whole series of reversals, and that led to a lot of disillusionment, and people just said, "Damn, we believe in Revolution but the Revolutionaries are messing up, and therefore does that mean that ultimately we will mess up? If we were ultimately going to mess up anyway then why do it?" And a lot of people got disoriented. It's like reports today in China. College students trying to study Marxism, the question is "what is Marxism?". And if at every point a group of people are going to come forward and suddenly the line on something is going to change, then if at any given point you invest too much in believing a particular position, then it might cost you your career, it might cost

you your job later. Point is that people are becoming cynical about Marxism and China today and people are saying, "What the hell, well we'll just go with the tide." In other words, opportunism begins to take over. And the whole idea of lines of demarcation between correct and incorrect stands is something that is being corroded. But see, before Stalin, of course early on it was a question of Trotsky, and a lot of people who had believed in Trotsky when Trotsky was expelled, all over the world Trotsky movements emerged. The whole point here is that it's precisely in this context that we have to return to the fundamentals of Marxism/Leninism. We have to return to the fundamentals of Marxism/Leninism by on the one hand trying to remain loyal to the world history of revolution and to continue to study the lessons of world revolutionary practice. At the same time, we have to dig deep down to our own experience and apply these lessons, because only then will revolutionary theory really be ours. Not people who are bringing the lines in Chinese to United States, not people who are bring the line of African Liberation Movements to the United States. But rather people who are guided by revolutionary theory can sum up the concrete experience and practice of people in this country. People who constitute in fact the force that have to make a revolution. So while it's important for us to think about the worldwide importance of the Chinese struggle particular in light of the decision today, we have to look at ^{it} in an all-sided way, but mainly look at it from the point of view of what can we learn, how can this help us make a revolution here in this country.

Today, I'm going to try to in some short amount of time cover certain key aspects on the question of philosophy. The first point of course has to be why we study philosophy? The fact is, is that in

the main philosophy is something people study in college. It's a course

you take. Even something you might major in; particularly if you don't

know what else to do with your life. Then on the other hand philosophy

is also walled off from the other disciplines. That is to say that

philosophy somehow is something that philosophers do for the philosophers.

In that to the extent that we can discern various categories of course

the most important one is the history of philosophy that that's what

most college departments of philosophy are concerned with.

trying to understand what it is that Plato and Aristotle and other philosophers have said and what they have meant. Mostly, of course, is the study outside of the historical social context so that most of us study the history of philosophy. No one happens to mention that the motor production in Greece was a slave motor production in that it was slaves that produced the surplus that enabled Socratees, Plato and others to have the time to philosophize in the manner in which they did. Otherwise, they would have been out in the fields growing food or at some kind of a loom making clothes. That is to say that necessity would have driven them to do other things.

Of course philosophy is also connected to religion. Not only the religious ideas but more importantly and perhaps more usefully to the question of ethics and morality. That is to say codes of conduct that people have used and were prescribed in some abstract way within the context of society. And, of course, here to the establishment of abstract principles of for ethical behavior have to always be looked at in terms of the social context that they're used in so that there again if ethical and moral principles are divorced from their social context they become meaningless.

And then there is metaphysics, there is language analysis, there is a philosophy of science, there are schools of thought like exextensionalism, etc. etc. However, the main point is that most of this stuff constitutes a separate body of literature divorced from history and certainly divorced from the concrete needs of peoples lives particularly the students who go in those courses and take those subjects. When we turn to the society at large the fact is is that there are many examples of hos philosophy is very much a part of the lives of people who live in our community. First of all, one of the context ^{where} philosophical influence

has to do with religion in the church. The main reason why this can occur is because is because of culture and tradition that people are routed in the church particularly out of the rural experience where the church was a functional important social institution and a culture becomes like the bait and the glue. In other words it seduces and draws people in and then keeps them there. And in that context their consciousness is influenced by the ideas that dominate the central aspects of bourgeois thinking. The central aspects of bourgeois thinking independent really of the implicit metaphysical notions. That is to say that if you make a study of religion you will find that theology and philosophical concerns change and they change in response to the ruling ideas in any given time. That is to say the kind of thinking that led people into ^{the} crusades or the kind of thinking that led people forward into the frontier, the kind of thinking that led people to agree that one war is a good war and another war is a bad war had nothing to do really with ^a standard definition of what was in the Bible or a standard definition of some wholly document. But it had to do with ^{it is that} how people use religion to rationalize and put forward the main ideas of the ruling class of any particular time. In the end, of course, abstractly, ^{it} represents a particular world outlook. But if this world outlook does attract change in religion input to this purpose culture is the main bait and the glue that keeps people there.

Another thing of course, another main way, is just implicitly the kind of pragmatism that dominates thinking in American society. Because of the particular character of American society, how and when it was born in the context of rising capitalism, the context of development of cities and the context of constant change, a sort of fundamentally opportunist philosophical orientation is whatever works is right. The negation of theory, the negation of trying to explain the

real mysteries but rather simply getting over from day to day, from project to project, from week to week, from year to year is a fundamental pragmatic approach. So that is very little over-arch in theory. In fact Americans in general look at theory with disdain. Its something thats not practical. It's not a practical activity so that people are tied to the perception in that people are tied to the immediate kind of whatever it works is right. As opposed to understanding of logic the internal working for something the internal contradictions that pragmatism is the dominant philosophical tendency in the country. And that third, in the context of crisis what happens is there is always the rise of escapist mysticism. Particularly this is true among people who are divorced from the mainstream cultural activities in the church. This is something associated with the marginal petty bourgeoisie. This is something associated with the marginal students. The rise of astrology, tarot cards, numerology, all kinds of other escapist mysticism is used oftentimes as an entertaining sideline. The fact is that in our community there are people who are consolidated around these things. And every time that we go to the conference, ^{like} ~~as~~ the ^{National} Black United Front there will be people selling Astrological charts, there will be people who are actually charting people, there are people who come into TIMBUKTU. These represent, of course, the cheapest most degrading intellectual pools used to subordinate the masses to bullshit. I mean total unadulterated bullshit. And the idea that young intellectuals and students would be influenced by this represents almost the lowest state of some kind of intellectual rationale for almost anything. To pick up the Sun Times and to turn past the front page, past the sports page to a Omarr or whoever ^{reflects} people basically standing

in a society which is literally exploiting and (?repressing) them with no possible idea of what's going on. And the extent to which people do this, just as ^{the} people who are reading comic books is the extent to which that's who they are. You see. In other words people are what they do. It's not possible to read astrology every day and not to have some backward thinking in your consciousness. In ^{that} that's something that has to be routed out. And if you study it, it's only under the context of crisis. In other words in the 1960's when things were on the rise most people would not have stopped to entertain that. And its precisely when problems emerged that they couldn't there was no theory, there was no understanding, there was no method that people in turn to (-----halfway side I-----)

Now, of course all these things constitute the reasons why we need philosophy. Why we need revolutionary philosophy. Mao Tse Tung once used an expression that I think fits exactly our current situation. He said cast away ^{illusions} and prepare to struggle. Cast away illusions for us especially when we think of illusions being routed in middle-class objective elitism, such as is characteristic of college students and teachers and so called educated people really has to do with the struggle of materialism vs idealism or to quote my _____ on practice which speaks directly to those of us who come out of a college t context Knowledge o is a matter of science and no dishonesty or conceit whatsoever is permissible. What is required is definately the reverse. Honesty and modesty. If you want knowledge you must take part in the practice of changing reality. In other words the point is, most of the attitudes and dispositions that exist on the college campus really are preposturous and constitute illusions. That

honest and open discussions to facts is mostly something that does not happen and is something we have to fight against.

Secondly, the question of prepared struggle. Here, of course, we're talking about change, we're talking about, in philosophical terms, dialectics trampling over metaphysics. Mao says the following, "The active function of knowledge manifests itself not only in the active leap from perceptual to rational but", and this is more important, "it must manifest itself in the leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice. The knowledge which grasps the laws of the world must be redirected to the practice of changing the world. Must be applied in new with the practice of production, in the practice of revolutionary class struggle, and the revolutionary national struggle and the practice of scientific experience. That is to say one must take this knowledge, put it in the world through the concrete acts of engaging ⁱⁿ struggle. So, fundamentally we can say we need revolutionary philosophy because it gives us a good method of study, it gives us methods of thought, it guides us in using theory to practice.

Now, before I go on, ^{what} I want to mention is the first chapter of vol. I of Intro. to Afro American Studies because we designed this chapter consciously to give a firm philosophical basis in dialectical materialism to Afro-American Studies (to Black Studies). ^{And if you review that,} in popular language, in an attempt to identify the in the consciousness of the people who would be taking the course in the context of these times you would see our attempts to lay out the basic and fundamental and fundamental features of dialectical and stored materials. Let me go along now to talk about some basic concepts and ^{then} apply these concepts to see how philosophical thinking is key for understanding how o to go *about* the practice of making a revolution in the United States.

First Mao makes clear decisive contributions to our understanding of marxism. That is revolutionary philosophy. One is the distinction between what he calls the fundamental contradiction and the principle contradiction. To quote Mao, "The fundamental contradiction of the process ^{of} development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed. But in the lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of the development of the thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined or influenced by the fundamental contradiction, some become intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated and some new ones emerge. Hence the process is marked by stages. It goes on a little later, to say, to clarify something ^{about} these stages within the context of development and fundamental contradiction that "there are many contradictions of process of development of a complex thing, One of them is necessarily the principle contradiction (defined - Whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of the other contradictions) in other words, the difference between fundamental contradiction and the principle contradiction is that the fundamental contradiction ^{if} defines what it is you are talking ^a about. For example, if we are talking about capitalist society, there is a fundamental contradiction at its origin to its end. As defined by the central character of what defines the capitalist system. The capitalist

system is fundamentally defined by the struggle between the classes that are by definition, the most important classes; the working class and the capitalist class. ^{But} Within the life of any capitalist society, there are many stages within the development of that society. Of course, we notice immediately by referring the analysis that Lenin made in imperialism. That imperialism is a stage in the development of capitalism. It constitutes a change. It does not mean that the fundamental contradiction is gone. Fundamental contradiction is still the workers and the capitalists. But the nature of that contradiction as Myles says, "It intensifies" "It's intensified." It's intensified because of the changing development of the internal stages and the development of new principle contradictions as the system develops. We'll get more to how that appears today a little later.

So first the contradiction for the first conceptual clarity is fundamental contradiction and principle contradiction. Now Stalin makes clear how this basic philosophical, or these philosophical, tools contribute to or grasp a revolutionary politics and program when he makes a distinction between strategy and tactics. In relation to the fundamental contradiction is the concept of strategy. Stalin says in foundations of Leninism, "Strategy is the determination of the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at a given stage of the revolution. The elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of the revolutionary forces and the fight to carry out the plan throughout the given stage of the revolution. Now here what Stalin is talking about is ⁱⁿ the context of the fight in Russia for revolutionary socialism. And what he talks about are three stages. First the struggle

against the Czar with the struggle against feudal monarchy authority. And he talks about the mobilization of the workers and peasants. The second stage he talks about is once that had occurred during the year 1917 when the monarchy was overthrown. There was a struggle as to which class was going to dominate. With the rising bourgeoisie which was connected to the capitalist motor production which was connected to a stage in between feudalism with socialism going to dominate? Or, on the other hand, with workers going to dominate and lead the country past that stage into socialism. So that one power has been overthrown and then there is a period of struggle between these different classes as to which would control. And then once it was clear that the workers had seized control (in October) ^{then} from that point it was a question of the stage was a development of building socialism. So that here we're talking about that at each stage there was a different fundamental contradiction or fundamental contradictions that had to be dealt with. And that that would constitute each of those stages. Now, he goes on to ^{talk} about tactics, "Tactics are the determination of the line of conduct with the proletariat in the comparatively short period of the _____ movement (approx 5/6 of the way through side one, tape 1, or slightly better) of the rise or the decline of the revolution. The fight to carry out this line by means of replacing old forms of struggle and organizing of organizations by new ones, old slogans by new ones by combining these forms etc."

When you're talking about the quote I just read on tactics has to do with understanding that in non-revolutionary times change is relatively slow. In revolutionary conditions change is very rapid. Now, there are many attempts to sum up the Russian Revolution if we were to refer to the history of the

communist party Bol_____, S_____ we would see the whole sweep of the historical¹ process. On the other hand if we were to read a book by John Reed called Ten Days that Shook the World we would read a journalistic account of virtually an hour by hour discussion of the struggle over tactics in the Russian Revolution during the period of the actual move to seize power. Now, once you've recognized the difference between a slower period and a more rapid period we can then see that the period leading up to the overthrow of the Czar and the period from 1917 October forward really represent larger historical periods in which change is relatively slow. But the period of those months during 1917 were periods of active revolutionary struggle in which there was day-to-day week-to-week struggle over what kind of slogans. For example, the big struggle occurred in the central committee of the party over when to declare the need for our struggle, when to call for people to take up arms and begin to fight. In fact, there was a very important central committee meeting where Lenin and a few others were prepared to go against a leading force in the party numbers because ^{the} people were hesitant about the time to call for arms struggle. But it's precisely that kind of timing the revolutionary moment that where tactics and strategy come together. It's where principle contradiction fundamental contradiction come together. It's under those conditions that rather than the overall dialectical principle of a thing ^{breaking} down into contradiction that one dividing in to two. A thing having two ^{classes} two ^{aspects} to a contradiction etc. is where things come back together so that these two things become the same thing. Where the principle contradiction is in fact the struggle of the workers and capitalist straight-up over power.

Where in the question of the tactics and strategy. The tactics, for example, of actually seizing power with force is at the exact moment of taking control of the state. So at the point of (END SIDE ONE TAPE I) /SIDE II

IDE II

Further then and bringing it more concretely out of an abstract realm into a concrete realm. We're led to grasp the difference between revolution and reform. Revolution is connected to fundamental contradiction is connected to strategic considerations. Whereas reform is connected to principle contradiction. Tactical consideration. And of course our concern is not reform or revolution. Just as our concern is not strategy or tactics. Just as our concern is not fundamental contradiction or principle contradiction. That would be an incorrect approach walling off one from the other. The correct approach is to understand the dialectical relationship between the two. What is the relationship between the two? What is the relationship between the two. Which one is dominant and which one is not dominant? How do they relate to each other? Stalin says the following in Foundations of Leninism, "To a reformist reforms are everything while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That's why the reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeoisie rule reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument with-strengthening that rule. An instrument for disintegrating that rule. An instrument for disintegrating revolution. In other words, democrats give CETA jobs and that means the Democrats are cool. Even though the reform which is fighting for people to have something to eat - a job and so on - obviously are intrinsically valuable. That is to say, somebody getting a job is somebody having some money. But the fact is that the reform fought for in that way would tend to make it look like Jimmy Carter or the democratic party was doing something good for people. As opposed to a different way of fighting for that kind of

reform. But to continue with the quote, " To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms. To him reforms are the bi-product of the revolution. That's why with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule into an instrument for strengthening the revolution into a strong point for ^{the further} development of the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary will accept the reform in order to use it as an aide in combining legal work with illegal work. Legal work would be something like helping somebody apply for welfare or whatever or holding rallies that are based upon peoples rights and so on. Whereas illegal rights would be preparing somebody to do something that obviously had to do with breaking the law. Like there is a law against somebody conspiring to overthrow the government or there is a law against using arms to do different things. There is a law against a revolutionary right against self-defense against the police, etc. etc. And to intensify and to recover the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. That is the essence of making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism. The reformist, on the contrary, will accept reforms in order to renounce all illegal work. To thwart the preparation of the masses for revolution and rest in the shade of bestowed reforms. Like Urban League, Jessie Jackson and a whole bunch of other people who ultimately will say that after ^{all} the democrats did us good. That is the essence of reforms tactics. Now, we can see how there is some clarity to how we have to find themes for Black integration for 1980. and 1981. Revolutionary Black Power and Building Unity for the Revolution.

Revolutionary Black power is the slogan on the fundamental strategic

revolutionary level. Within this there is a contradiction- revolutionary and Black power - these are the two aspects of the contradiction. Mao says, "In any contradiction the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven. Sometimes they seem to be in equilibrium, which is however only temporary and relative, while unevenness is basic. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principle and the other secondary. The principle aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of the thing is determined mainly by the principle aspects of the contradiction. The aspect which has gained the dominant position. Remember now, if you just listen and think about the contradiction, on the one hand the aspect is revolutionary, on the other hand the aspect is Black power. I'm talking about the Black Liberation Movement. He said the nature of a thing (the Black Liberation Movement) is mainly determined by the principle aspect of a contradiction. That is two aspects, such as which one is principle. The aspect which has gained the dominant position. But this situation is not static. The principle and non-principle aspects of a contradiction transform themselves into each other and the nature of the thing changes accordingly. The given process or the given stage of the development of the contradiction

- a) is the principle aspect, and
- b) is the non-principle aspect.

At another stage, or in another process, the roles are reversed. A change determined by the extent of the increase or decrease in the course of each aspect in its struggle against the other in the course of the development of the thing.

We often speak of the new superseding the old. The supersession of

the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe. The transformation of one thing into another through leaps of different forms in accordance with its essence and external conditions. This is the process of the new superseding the old. In each thing there is contradictions between its new and its old aspects-- Black power, revolution--new, old, new. In each thing there is contradictions between its new and its old aspects. And this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles the new aspect changes from being minor to ^{being} major and rises to predominance. Revolution, while the old aspect changes from being minor to major and gradually dies out. And the moment the new aspect gains dominance over the old, the old thing changes from qualitatively into a new thing. It can thus be seen that the nature of a thing is mainly determined by the principle aspects of the contradiction--the aspect which When the principle aspect which has gained predominance changes has gained predominance. the nature of the thing changes accordingly.

That is on a general level of philosophical discussion. We applied this to our understanding of revolutionary Black power the following way:

(quote from 1980 _____ and News) "Our struggle for Black liberation walks on two legs. One being the most important immediate situation but, both have great significance in the course of the long run. Leg one - Revolution means that there must be a consistent fight between all forms of exploitation. A revolutionary is not just a fighter for one"(and you could read that one of anything, Black people women, Chicago, me, anything. Its not just a fighter for one but a fighter for all. "A revolutionary sees evil for what it is no matter who the victim is and no matter who the wrong doer is. A revolutionary not only fights against the individuals who carry out impressive acts. More important in the long run a revolutionary fights against the entire

system which includes such oppression, exploitation in the normal course of its operation. Leg two - Black Power means taking control wherever ^{Black} people are the majority. This is a basic democratic right that must be upheld by all revolutionary minded people. An example, of this, coming soon in Chicago--the next major city to have a Black majority. Thus if Chicago is over 51% Black, then the Mayor's office, the city council and other agencies must be controlled by a Black people. If the state of Mississippi becomes 51% Black--its about 40% now--tha same holds true for that state's government as well. Where Blacks are not in the majority the proportional representation should be the rule. This is the importance of the 1980 Census. . . The test to whether people are revolutionary or not is whether they will support the move by Black people to take power from the capitalist ruling class. And there are politicians ⁱⁿ geographical areas and institutions where Black people are the majority. For Black people therefore there is a big and important difference between reform and revolution. A reformist says 'we must not go fast' and that 'we must wait until the present rulers give us a piece of power' and that no 'basic changes are needed in capitalism for Black people to be free.' A revolutionary says that if Black people are going to be free that capitalism must go and that now is the time for Black masses to rise^{up} and struggle and fight the revolutionary Black power by any means necessary. Black power of the old type 1967 was consciously reformist; Stokely Carmichael, Chuck Hamilton's book and that whole thing. "The last reasonable opportunity" for capitalism to avoid revolutionary change. Black power of the new type, revolutionary Black power, fights for immediate reforms withunderstands that only fundamental

revolutionary change will free Black people in the U. S. Fighting for revolutionary Black power ^{is} and must be consciously upheld as the fight for socialism. The Black masses led by ^{its} proletarian core WILL nor are but will. That is to say the new rising aspect of the movement, the new thing the thing that will transform the Black liberation movement will rise up and fight against the capitalist class and its entire system of power and socialism. That is the statement of a strategic orientation. The question of Black people-what is their line on the Black liberation movement.? How does that fit in to the overall struggle for socialism-that is to say the overthrow of capitalism-that is to say the basic fundamental contradiction of all capitalist society. This year's slogan, "Building Unity to the Revolution" is a slogan on another level. Here the focus is on the principle contradiction. Tactics for the revolution. The reforms that helped to build the revolutionary movement. Even in 1980 in the last two paragraphs of the editorial we made a class for this years position. "There is no better time to build a principle unity among all who generally want Black liberations and right now. We need the unity of Black people form all classes and all walks of life, of all political persuasions. We need the unity of Black women and Black men. We need the unity of revolutionary Black communists and Black degressive Christians. We need the unity of nationalists and integrationalists. We need the unity of Black workers and Black students. We need the unity of Black people in different parts of the U. S. from Chicago in the north to Mississippi in the south from New York in the East ^{to}, California in the west. In cities like Chicago we need the unity of Black people on the West Side

Black people on the South Side. We need the unity of Black people and progressive people of all nationalities. We need all of this unity if our decisive struggle against the capitalist system which oppresses and exploits the masses of all of us if our struggle against this is to be recorded.

Now, in 1981, we made our theory. Note what Stolin says here: "Theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice just as practice gropes in the dark of its path if its path is not DELUMINED(spelled by sound) by revolutionary theory. We satisfy this because our current position of building unity for the revolution is based on our concrete summation of the practice that's going on in the context of the Black liberation movement right now. And further we are infact are completely involved in this practice as well.

Our theory of three unities sums up whats happening. First type one the question of building unity and concrete struggle. Here its clear that we are careful to follow the philosophical orientation of Mao Tse Tung, the philosophical orientation of Marxism, Leninism by stressing ^{its} the practice of Black people fighting to be free. Its the practice of people concretely fighting to transform their lives. Its the concrete struggle against the institutions, ^{and} classe that oppresses us. That practice that constitutes the most important context of building unity. In fact, its that stand, that position that enables us to smoke out the opportunist and the slick talking nero-nationalist who attempted to avert the movement by grabbing hold to certain things and then negating peoples struggles. But not allowing these contexts like the Black United Front to be the place for that

kind of discussion of people who are engaged in struggle.

The second type, the question of meeting people and having conversations in _____ is its key (half way through side two Tape I) mainly because as we state of the relationship that this can have to the summations of practice and guiding people to go back into practice. Our line is fundamentally based on the Marxist theory of knowledge that conferences should be summing up practice and guiding people to go back into practice. Its a place for the establishment of the revolutionary rational knowledge. Its a context for the summation and the clarification of lying.

Now, if you go to our revolutionary to our ten point program we can make some further clarifications. In these ten points, the first point is being a foot forward we demand revolutionary Black power is obviously a strategic demand. It has something to do with building socialism. A particular line on how that's going to come down.

Secondly, the tenth demand is equally a strategic demand. Building a fighting Black leadership committed to building principle unity and mass struggle around a program of concrete action for revolutionary Black power. Both of those are strategic. Both of ^{them} those have to do with people who are committed to destroying the system. People who have a strategic orientation. People who are committed to revolution.

And two through nine constitute our identification of the most important context for tactical reform struggle to link up the masses of people in revolutionary combat.

Demands two, four, six and nine: jobs, housing, hospitals, affirmative action, and education. These are social welfare questions that have something

to do with the welfare of peoples day to day lives.

Demands three, five, and seven: war, racist violence by the Klan, police brutality, and the war and the draft all constitute concrete ways that the state, through errors of co-mission or o-mission, terrorize people. And it constitutes the most naked use of the ruling class of power against the masses of people.

And, of course, the last point is the question of women, which is a special question. A question that cuts through all of our consideration, and a question which is a vital question for our understanding or for our organization of women who are linking the fight of all people against this problem _____ to this capitalist system and pre-capitalist societies as well.

O.K. All that is a general kind of statement. Now I want to become more specific about how this is useful in our understanding our political position regarding world revolution, regarding the U. S. war/struggle in this country etc.

With regard to the question of the fundamental contradiction of strategy and revolution our orientation basically was the position that was developed in the world communist movement in 1963 in summing up the world. That there were four fundamental contradictions in the world based upon Lenin's analysis of this being the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. First it was the contradiction of the socialist camp vs. imperialism. Second was a contradiction of the proletariat vs. the bourgeoisie within capitalist countries. Third it was a question of oppressed nations fighting imperialism. And, forth it was a question of

imperialist countries fighting each other or _____ groups within an imperialist country fighting each other.

Four. All four of these had to be resolved before you would have world socialism. A lot has happened since 1963. And what I want to suggest is that in this period realignment we could now begin to see two big categories having to do with these fundamental contradictions.

First is a category of class struggle within countries; and there are different types that we can see unfolding. First, of course, is in the advanced capitalist countries like the United States. The intensification of class struggle mostly from our experience in the United States being the onslaught of the ruling class against the working class. But, because we understand the dialectical process, obviously the Trade Union Movement or the Independent Workers Movement is not dead and is not without some capacity to fight back.

Secondly, we can see that in countries that have had some socialistic experience that they are the remaining class contradictions. After all this is something that Mao pointed out and what the whole culture revolution was about. Regardless of whether a country is on the road concretely to restoring capitalism or whether or not it's a question of revisionism in the partying and the policies of the party and the government had gone astray but that there are still fundamentally socialist institutions and so on.

Regardless of the position of any given country it's clear the class struggle is unfolding and is becoming sharp. This is true in the Soviet Union, this is true in China as well. This is also true in Viet Nam.

And the last example is in the Post-Colonial world where the question of the unity of the nation against imperialism has ceased being the dominant there is class struggle unfolding. Countries like ^(spelling) Senogai, in fact countries like Zimbabwe which is in a transitional state. The class struggle is sharpening up. And you'll find, for example, contradictions between spontaneous workers struggles in Zimbabwe - strikes and the central government, and different positions regarding what's principle and what's not. The point is all of those constitute class struggles within countries and they are all sharpening up.

The second category of things has to do with a struggle in the international arena between countries. And all of these have class characters. None of this is devoid of the class essence of the contradictions.

First, we have the continued existence of classic colonialism. And, of course, for us it's very clear that the major example of ^{that} ~~this~~ is in South Africa where you have a case of a settler colonial regime dominating an African Nation. And, of course, that cannot be divorced from British, U. S., German-- that is Western Imperialism--so that the class essence of that is not only a question of class courses within South Africa - is a question of the class forces from those imperialist countries that historically (?butcherist) and protective--the settler regime.

Secondly, you got the continued struggle of the post-colonial regimes against neo-colonialism. Good example of that would be OPEC would be the struggle of the producer of organizations. Particular examples of that would be Boxite, would be oil, something that failed, and like that. So, for example, take a country like Nigeria. While Nigeria on the one hand has

an intensive class struggle developing - on the other hand, the fact that Nigeria produces oil, puts it in contradiction with the large industrial advanced capitalist countries in their need and drive for consuming oil and so on.

And then, the last point I want to make in this category is the struggle between imperialist countries and of course that becomes very clear to us the contradiction between the United States and the common market in Europe, the contradiction between the United States and Japan and so on.

QUESTION: You said the question of unity against imperialism is starting a wave in this country?

ANSWER: Well, early on I was talking about the question of what's the dominant contradiction in any country.

QUESTION: And you're saying that unity against imperialism is starting a wave in the faces of class struggle in each individual country?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: How is that when imperialism stepping out? (less than 4 of tape to go)

ANSWER: This is the kind of thing I'm talking about. We have two countries, O.K.? Within each - this is a third world country - so I've got here bourgeoisie, proletariat, peasantry, and bourgeoisie proletariat. Now, in the period of colonialism the main thing was that this pole of personation fighting (illustration) this, with the main target, of course, being this, we're also paying attention to the particular benefits and therefore the special conditions ^{confronting} the workers of metropolitan countries. In other words, you read Lenin. The main thing Lenin is talking about is the absolute necessity of workers and revolutionaries in metropolitan countries to fight against national oppression. Because there is our objective benefit that people derive from it. In other words everyone in the United States derives benefits from energy has been used to rip off ^{from} the western world. Now this does not mean that workers

consciously participate in the exploitation does not mean that workers in this country would have to have a standard of living like a third world country. This is a more advanced society. But, we have benefited from the ruling classes rip-off. That's one content. But, what has happened is, and under this condition, this class divides into what is historically been called a national bourgeoisie and a comprador bourgeoisie. That is to say there is a contradiction within the capitalist class of (like) Nigeria. The difference would be the home industries, small scale food production, market women who got their money through commercial trade and then by land, maybe going into farming, ~~maybe~~ you can consider small factories. They represent indigenous bourgeoisie. Bourgeoisie that is not contingent, does not depend on these people. On the other hand this comprador class has to do with the people who manage and oversee the investment of the capitalist back in Europe. So they're time linked here. Now, to the extent that it is a national question united all these people. Not uniting these people cause they're going inevitably side with the bourgeoisie which is the basis for their being up there. Which is the basis of class privileges. But that's one thing. Once you begin to talk about nationalizing, the Nigerian government taking over and so on, this class diminishes in its importance. And as this class diminishes in importance, ^{then} this struggle intensifies. So that for example, I went to Nigeria a few years ago, both contradictions are staring you in the face. But, there was no longer the kind of national drive to the United ^{the} Nations. Where the main thing was a national liberation front. The main thing now, is for the workers and peasants to form a communist party which is designed not only to fight against the world capitalist system, but specifically has its cross-hairs on these people right here.

So these people now, not just these people, these people live in areas of Lagos and other places where they literally have ^{the} soldiers surrounding it with brand new weapons from the United States to keep the working peasants of Nigeria out. which is where these people live with maids and houses and private schools and the whole business. That is to say the eternal class contradiction sharpens up. But, that doesn't mean that this contradiction between the national bourgeoisie which now controls the production of crude petroleum in Nigeria and the bourgeoisie, that contradiction is still there too.

QUESTION: Do you say the class contradiction is sharper?

ANSWER: This contradiction is sharpening up. This contradiction is there too. And it depends on the world situation. You know what I mean? Its influx. But, right now before this class the comprador bourgeoisie is no longer the critical class. The unity of the nation for Nigerians is not the principle thing. Now the principle thing is the class war against their own indigenous bourgeoisie.

Bailey: Now let's see what's here in a situation like Zimbabwe. When we heard from colonial moves and everybody (almost end of side two tape I) was united against their external enemies, they just go closer to independence, something that's been going on a long time. As they get closer to their independence a lot of _____
_____ positions inside, cabinet members _____ . . .

ABDUL

ANSWER: Well, but see I think its important not to get sidetracked. but that's true politically. Actually, what's happening in Africa is countries like Nigeria, Zambia, countries where there is a working class. Ain't no working class in Zimbabwe. Working class in Zimbabwe works in Zambia, works in South Africa. That is to say Zambia exploits workers and in a moral thing in terms of if you just add all of Zimbabwe who work in extractive industries

or in production industries. Whereas, if you were to say in Africa when you talk about communism as anywhere in the world, the first thing you have to say is what is the material basis

END OF TAPE.

cause part of the problem that is in Zimbabwe is who are you people? All of them constitute the petty bourgeoisie. All the people in Zanu, all the people in Zaku, all those people who are fighting it out. You know, the ministers and so on. Not one historically was a trade union leader. with roots among the working class. There were teachers, intellectuals, diplomats 'That is to say after so many years outside the country, ^{I guess,} you have to call different ones diplomats, you know if you're traveling around during the meetings'. But, who's rooted concretely among the practice of the masses in the context of what? producing the wealth as workers. Which means that :

- a) you're not an isolated little peasant off to the side by yourself. You are engaged in common practice with people transforming nature.

What does Mao say about practice. Three kinds of practice Class Struggle, Scientific experiment and production. This says that the collective production of the masses is where you have to be rooted to make a revolution. Now, its a ve ry fluid situation. The main thing I'm trying to point out here is that there is two things, within countries there are all kinds of class contradictions, between countries there are all kinds

of class contradictions. And that the four contradictions that were laid out in 1963 no longer constitute an accurate summation of exactly what's going on. For example, the first contradiction that was pointed out was that there was a socialist camp vs. imperialism. Socialist camp doesn't exist any more. So that's just not true.

Now, in the United States, the fundamental contradiction has to do with both class and nationality. What's important here is that these are not separate and distinct things. So that of the two, the issue here is that class constitutes a principle contradiction.

In the movement, and this gets back to the question of -----
If we were to ask ourselves 'what are the fundamental contradictions facing us?' we would have to say that it is the development of the three revolutionary weapons; the development of revolutionary vanguard parties, the development of the United Front against imperialism, and the development of armed forces fighting for revolution. These are the three fundamental things that we need. This would put the movement at another stage - fundamental.

ANSWERING A QUESTION

Yes. In other words what I just laid out in regards to fundamental contradictions: first-what is happening in the world; second-what is happening ^{the} in ~~the~~ society. And ^{in the United States,} third-what was happening in the revolutionary movement. When the party in the United Front against the imperialism and the Armed Forces, people are prepared to fight. For example, if you right now would go to Harlem county Kentucky and relate to what it is that the minors are talking about, you'd find people who are ready to fight

without any question. Armed and prepared to do it and more people have done it. That is to say, have used weapons. Straght up. And not in a game, but when they fight or have a strike the signs say "them and us" and there is no ambiguity about who's with them. It's the police, it's the pinkerton agents its all representatives. Scabs and its straight up. And its a life death struggle. It may obstensively be about, at a certain level, a struggle over wages. But its a struggle over wages that at best reflect a generational struggle between people who had been beaten down over generations by the minds.and who had fought back against this being beaten down vs. the people who operated the interest of finance capitol; the people who sit up in New York and Chicago and someone reaping the benefits of their misery. That is something that is going to be characteristic of the ^{vast} bad masses of people. In a sense its going to be like back to Gunsmoke. It will only be by having a party and a United Front that is a set of fighting forces the people are going to be united. Its sort of like when Dick Gregory, Mohammed Ali or Jessis Jackson, or any clown or any entertainer is sent out by the ruling class, you know when Black rise up to fight back, what does that mean? Well if peoples heads are still ^{into} being clowns and listening to commedians tell jokes and tell about these diets . . . and think that has something to do with getting freedom then they'll say cool, come on Dick. Right? But the fact is that when Dick Gregory or somebody went out into Watts, I think somebody got shot. See. When King went out there they were in Birmingham or one

of those places, they were going to shove them aside.
in other words the worship of all these people they don't
Like lay down!, or what happened in Miami.... In

other words when the masses rise up a lot of the Bullshit
is put forward gets thrown aside. And people want people
who represent struggle. See. And that's why, for example,
Snick was important, thats why Panthers were important and
thats why in the same sense that we have to be important.
Recognize its fires. Not the clowns. Recognize people
who are committed to the strategic concerns of making a
revolution. People who have the welfare of the people.
Not the day to day sloppy kind of welfare that goes on
in the common institutions that we've been forced to live
in on a survival ^{tip} as important as they historically
have been, but the bright future of solving the problems.
Not of heaven in the heaven, but, a heaven on earth
concretely made with human hands. That's what we have to
represent.

Now, on to the principle contradiction. First thing we have to
say is that in the main the principle contradiction has to do with these
country to country struggle mainly still third world struggle against imper-
ialism or against domination. After all that what Iran is all about, that
is what El Salvador is all about, thats what Nicaragua and the S _____
is all about. Thats what South Africa is all about, thats what Poland is all
about. The struggle of countries against domination; against foreign domination.
However, and this is on the world scale, not in any particular country in
terms of what's happening, However, its clear that following closely on this
and complicating it is the contradiction between the Unites States and the
Soviet Union. And this contradiction means that world war which of course
will affect everything in the world is on the horizon. And whats interesting
is that if you would examine the way in which the United States ruling is
dealing with the Third World struggle whats happening is that the United States
is using these to prepare for a world-wide conflict. It is precisely Ronald

Regan talking tough to the Iranians that provide the political cohesion the United States necessary to overcome the dissillusion in Viet Nam and to prepare people to fight in other world conflicts and to prepare young people to rush headlong into the army and to volunteer for the draft. These are the things. When Regan is going to prepare to give concrete aide to overthrow the left forces in El Salvador... In every stage while the United States recognizes this question of still Third World struggle is whats determining the course of politics right behind that still is this question of the Soviet Union and the States ^{United} and could easily, very easily become the dominant thing and could become a hot war very soon. Much sooner than anybody realizes I think. Now specifically in the United States talking about the fundamental contradictions involving both class and mass oppression its clear that we have to target class exploitation as a principle contradiction and recognize how that is intensified in a national form that is in class exploitation is intensified when it comes to Black people. Fundamentally, thats why Bill Wilson's book is correct. That is to say, there is a declining significance of race in the sense that the Black middle class has privileges now which are not crumbs but are actually glue that ties them to the system. That is to say this guy pierce who was appointed by Reagan to be in the cabinet these hundred Black people, including Charles Hirsch formally from Malcolm X College, who met me in New York or a conference that some ruling class intellectual type like Thomas Seoul; these are people who are consciously going to agree to arrest and murder Black revolutionaries throughout the country. These are in fact the Black people who stand to be ovens and force Black people into struggle inside the ovens to be gassed in the Hitler fashion. These are the people who are indistinguishable from the

Rockefellers and the Duponts. Not that they run it. They just indistinguish from them like Malcolm describes the 'house niggers' ^{who when} from the plantation owner got sick said 'we sick'. That's the point. However, its important that while it has a national form we not liquidate the national character of it. And that of course represents the point of view in college.

QUESTION:

When you say that Wilson's book is correct you mean in a statement of the interest of

ANSWER

Well, what is Wilson say? Wilson's book says that affirmative action programs in the main have helped middle class people. In that the main problem is that the masses of Black people ^{are economically exploited and that the masses of} are also targeted because of nationality. ^{Black people} So, as far as theyre concerned problems have gotten worse. What Wilson is trying to do and does a bad job of it; the title is bad, the bourgeoisie don't like the title, the Black middle class, the Black petty bourgeoisie intellectual speaks out about the title. But the instance of the book is that the people who have benefited from the 60's have not been masses of our people. The people were still unemployed are the masses of Black youth but he demonstartes that if you're black and you graduate from Northwestern, you have almost the same chances of some white people. O. K.? But if you're a dropout from Phillips high School or Englewood or Marshall or Crane you're in trouble. Cause everybody in your community is in trouble cause that's where 50% of the people are employed. For those students at Northwestern or Urbana or any of the prestigious schools are going to have income levels at least at entry (he doesn't have data

ANSWER
CON'T

has to do with the life span). But the data demonstrates that middle class people got over and everybody else didn't. Now that's why middle class people freak out about it. Because if you say (example) here is a type community

here is a bourgeoisie and here is a proletariat. If you say its racism, then everybody equally is oppressed. So that middle class people, so that when the masses of people fight against racism, and then the ruling class says alright cool we're going to now target affirmative action targets and we're going to say that 5% of all these jobs have got to go to black people. The question is who gets those 5% of the jobs? Those people. Why? These people speak Black English. These people have police records. These people grew up in homes where they didn't eat enough and therefore when they went to school they were hungry and didn't learn. These people went to school and smelled like pee. And therefore the teachers thought they were ignorant and dumb and ought to be in the remedial class. These people, on the other hand, went shopping before every school year and were cleaned up, were methodists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, know how to eat properly, know how to speak properly, know what a paragraph is, never been in jail, know what a vacation is. All those differences. And therefore they would get the job. It means it made sense. And its precisely those people that condemned Wilson. There are some other problems with the book but the main thesis is the declining significance of race is that the light chances of the bourgeoisie among Black people and Black middle class are at another level than these people. Now, by talking about the cycle, this is 1960 and '78. 1980 and '90 it may not be no secret. It

may not be no affirmative action. In which case, the difference is racial then its a different situation. Then it doesn't matter wheteer you speak Black English or whatever other language histroy. If you Black you won't get the job.

In terms of the movement, in terms of what's principle. The principle thing in the movement today is the nature of the leadership overwhelmingly the reformed leadership that got its biggest play under Carter, the Andrew young's, the Jessie Jackson's. Beyond that level the Jessie Hill's, the Vernon Jordans, a lot of people's names we need to know and to know their history. These people who are the dominant forces. They are the ones who called the shots. They ^{were} the most important people in America. They are the ones that Johnny Johnson gave awards to in addition to himself and all his cronies. On T V trying to make us believe that they were all so terribly relevant.

Now, in 1980, as we pointed out there is a rise of attempt to form a new radical militant center for Black Liberation Movement. Precisely in that context we have the struggle between the opportunist and the revolutionary. Its precisely that you characterize our understanding of the struggle between the communiversity of the African community of Chicago and the Peoples College.

I want to end up with a couple of quick comments about two other contradictions that characterize our work.

- (1) One is with regard to students. What does Mao say with regard to you? Mao says how should we judge whether youth is revolutionary? How can we tell? There can be only one criteria: ^{mainly,} whether or not he is willing to intergrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice.

If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary. Otherwise he is a non-revolutionary, or a counter-revolutionary. If today he intergrates himself with the masses, then today he is a revolutionary. If tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns around to oppress people then he is a non or a counter-revolutionary. Mao here is applying philosophical principles. He goes on in the essay on practice to say that as a guide to students, if you want to know a certain thing you must personally participate in the practical struggles to change reality. Change that thing. For only thus can you come into content with them as phenomenal. Only through personal participation in the practical struggle to change reality. On every campus, can you uncover the essence of students in general. Only then can you even comprehend them. The principle contradiction in this country facing progressive students is not theory but is practice, because there is plenty of theory. And further it is that context of practicing the mass line talking, summing up your experiences, having the experiences yourself, engaging in common practice on the mini context that are outdated. That experience creates the necessity of analyzing the past Snicks, the Panthers, The Black Student United Front in Detroit, National Asso. of Black Students, whatever. Otherwise what we have to ask ourselves is this, "

"What is the source of the question that drives us to examine practice for what kind of rational knowledge that would lead to the ^{kind of} ~~the~~ revolutionary practice we need. If we got all this experience in the past, what do we ask of it in order to gain knowledge to make a revolution marry student movement. Its got to come from the necessity that we face when we engage in trying to go out and understand and unite with the students the way they are. So thats a philosophical comment on that. Also I think its important for us to understand something about Peoples College in the way of which we try to operate. I just want to make a ^{comment} ~~comment~~ on the census conference. The Census Conference focusing on the Black Undercount was a battle on the philosophical front. It was a fight between materialist approach to examining the powers of Black people and an idealism approach. Fundamental question of what was real. And what we demonstrated was the following: (1) The Census had admitted that there was an error but said their incorrect number was the best game in town. They admitted that the world was out there as an external objective gavity (which is what we assume as well). They admitted that their symbolic representation of that was incorrect. Which we agree with but then they said that was the best thing you could do. Which then the 'gates' the statistical methods that they used determined that they were wrong. Which is a rather

sinister kind of position. where we have to, if we read and understand, we have to accept the fact that the numbers are wrong, and yet accept it. So, we, contrary to their position, demonstrated that this error was (a) (politically, economically, etc.) significant and we discussed the consequences.

Further, we demonstrated that these errors were historically determined and reflected the form of national oppression and that historically existed at any given time.

What we have done is contributed to the philosophical subversion of the ruling class of the government and we created a basic s tool of struggle that will be true of decades to come.

What I tried to do is to lay out a basic set of concepts. that we need to constantly discuss. Fundamental contradictions, principle contradictions, strategy of tactics , revolution reform; all of them in relationship to the theme in 1980 Black Liberation Month., revolutionary Black Power and in 1981 Black Liberation Theme 'Building Unity for the Revolution'. We must continue to deepen and carry on philosophical discussion and debate but we must do so not in the confines of small groups not in the confines of classrooms but, out among the masses. This means that we're going to have to learn about three or four things. We're going to have to learn about Religion, and actively engage people in discussion of religion and what kind of philosophical ideas exist there since that is pervasive among

our people. I'm saying this principally, you see I would say this differently about workers in a factory like working in a trade union or something ^{than} ~~like~~ I would students on a campus. Because one of the things about the campus is that ideas are bouncing around all the time. Even when people aren't intellectual and there are a lot of people, contrary to what people might think, there are a significant number of people who would take up these ideas and debate them with you. You know what I mean? And then talk about one side vs another. I think that they are more likely to read on practicing ^{on} Contradictions. They: the people who believe in religion. And debate their point of view with us. Then ^{we} historically, people on the left, are prepared to study religion and debate those ideas. But if our people are locked up and the jail is called the church then on a philosophical level, we got to understand the nature of the jail. And, of course we can't confuse ideological and philosophical discussion with polited emotion to build unity with people who believe in God and go to church, etc. etc. But we got to prepare ourselves to discuss the realities of revolutionary theories, of philosophy, of theology, of religion with them. Secondly we have to better understand pragmatism, ^{third} ~~we~~ have to understand racialism, and the kind of metaphysical and idealist thinking involved there, We have to also understand fatalism. People who basically have given up; people who say we can't win etc., and get at that the roots, the philosophical roots at that. Marxism Leninist philosophy

is an invincible tool. Nothing can stop it from catching hold if we root it in the experience of the masses; If we can explain it through the prism of our cultural experience; if we can learn to how to defeat the wrong line that in fact exist among the masses as opposed to the books we read or that we might imagine exist. Fundamentally, philosophy is a tool and a weapon. Philosophy is not an abstract luxury. And its precisely through this reason that we started out our study of the fundamentals of Marxism and Leninism with philosophy. And its for this reason that in every step along the way in studying Marxist/Leninist thinking and tools of analysis, like taking up political economy next, that we will be referring back to all these things that we dealt with in terms of philosophy.

----- We have a problem here. The problem is that its 12 o'clock and that people are hungry but it seems that we better have a little discussion before we break-----

QUESTIONS? COMMENTS? DISAGREEMENTS? STRUGGLES?

QUESTION:

When you talk about revolutionary ^{Black} power and looking at that in terms of aspects of a contradiction, can you look at it that way? It almost seems as if you're saying Revolutionary Black Power characterizes the Black Liberation as it exists.

ANSWER:

That's right. That is exactly what I'm saying. If you say this is revolutionary and this is Black power then we can say that it is a reformist and a revolutionary approach to Black power. This is the typical Black Mayor and a whole lot of Black bourgeois thinking. This is a large ^{group} of people relatively

small but _____ over all but there you have it. And that's a contradiction. In other words, one could do it this way - now, within this revolutionary we say that there is the false and truth. The truth has to do with t his there ain't no other revolution. You can't call anything else consistent unless in terms of being in a capitalist society which has to do with what? The fundamental contradiction, which has to do with what? Destroying capitalism, creating socialism. And what are the set of practices in the world and what is the theory that is necessary for that is Marxism/Leninism. Ain't no other. And then you have all kinds of other various unsundry formulations. There are people who say all kinds of stuff but who still would call themselves revolutionary and that would include Dartry, that would include Manning Merrill, that would include all kinds of people who actively talk about d fundamental change, who actively talk about some past hapenism, But that doesn't mean that thats what they mean, cause if you mean it then this is what you are. Because it is necessarily a conscious process theres no way to approximate it, no way to spontaneously get to it, there's no way to feel it. You have to subordinate your mind. Subordinate your practice to the requirements dictated from the nature of the kind of society we're trying to change. In other words, its not about anybody's will. Lenin didn't think it up, Marx didn't think it up just off the top. I could say that by talking about the aspects, the reason I went through that was right now thats principle and as the Nixon thing develops among the masses I think its going to be very=hard to sell Pierce, Charles Hirst. They're going to get alot of money and they are going to be on T. V. and the rest of it. But most people are going to get drugged and a lot of the other opportunist leaders who hear are going to sneak in the

in the back door. We've got this struggle going on in the Black Liberation Movement today. This is this. Right now this is principle.

SIDE II

TAPE II

Whats significant is th^at it put Marxism and Leninism on the agenda. And after that struggle developed, anti-imperialism led the Black Liberation Movement. And it was in that context that we called the conference _____ of imperialism. That was a very significant conference because I think will be known historically as a significant conference because it united intellectuals around a clear anti-imperialist position. All that has now been changed. this group now has control. They are going through every conceiv^eable method of intrigue and backroom double dealing that they can to keepus out. That's what this whole business is in the United Front and the party about constitution and who represents it and got to watch those people. But they can't do nothing about, you see, because either we will fight and gain ascendancy in that context? Or that context will prove to be meaningless. Because the basis of any context is mass struggle. The N.A.A.C.P. still exists. Who thinks the N.A.A.C.P. needs the black liberation movement? Anybody? including the ruling class? That they can do is gove b give _____ some T.V. time. That's what clear It was Stevie Wonder, you dig? An entertainer who led this march! That would be unheard of. Helf he was the N.A.A.C.P. or some organization with some ligitimacy to lead Black people. The best they could do is put entertainers on T.V. the ruling class is in trouble because they don't have anybody who demands the respect of Black people. People don't vote, etc. etc. When Manning Bailey the Mayor of Washington got on peoples _____ when Jessie Jackson, before he could finish he went 'ballook'. What could they do? Jessie was, you know what I mean? I mean

they didn't want to hear that!

QUESTION:

Can you talk to me about reforms; leadership vs revolution in this category _____. Now, in terms of our day to day practice of _____, student work _____. You got to break that down some more because obviously we talked about uniting with _____ as revolutionaries in terms of leadership of the struggle. Whats that as we teach it

And we are really talking about breaking that down a little further. Talked about whats inside this group that call themselves revolutionaries.

ANSWER:

That's what this is! That's what this is! In other words, lets be concrete about it, O.K.?

QUESTION:

What's bothering me is in this formulation there's a lot of folks who are in fact reactionist not revolutionaries.

ANSWER:

The critical thing is that we are not guided by ideology in the sky. We are guided by the essay on practice. Thats precisely what we put forward in the meeting. So that the real decisive difference is not what ^{ever} anybody calls themselves. Thats irrelevant. What's relevant ^{to} us in the context of this is what they gonna do. Thats the only question. And thats where we expose people and thats where people right now that are here will be won over to this. And the people who are not going to be won over to this are either going to be the ^{Andy} anti-Thompsons, the Bobby Wrights and the people who try to avoid practice. And then thats the way we expose them..... I don't understand twhat the problem was. 'cause see the problem here Doug is this - when we study on practice on contradiction we can make it into an abstract logical exercise. Any given thing can be divided and you can just keep on dividing and dividing and dividing. We have this deep giant chart. One into two and then each of these and thats four and then four into eight and then eight into sixteen and that might look

like whats for real going on in the world. Whats _____ is much more more simple than that. Its much more simple than that. You know you read the essays out there on serving the people with dialectics or philosophy is no mystery and much more basic than that. When we walk into a inbuk meeting, O.K.?, the significant difference is we say 'What are we going to do?' Thats the way we divide the house. We do not initially divide the house on the basis of ideology, we do not initially divide the house on the basis of whatever kind ^{of organizational} mysteries they want to create with their lawyers and constitutions. We go in there and we say what are ^{YOU} we going to do? You gonna get down with the Mollison struggle, you gonna fight over Byrd, you gonna fight over police brutality, what do you want to do? And what do we find? The house divides at some point. Some people want to do womething, other people don't want to do nothing. Now, whats interesting is that we have we don't have whats going on in New York. Whats going on in New York is the Black United Front does some things. But as it turns out, they don't want nobody else involved. They go out with police brutality, but they don't gotry to do unity broadly around it. They just help their people. When other people come around they try to protect their people. Because then they might learn that Gautry and _____ and various other people aren't the only style of leadership I mean they don't know everything. Apparently there was some dissillusion that _____ struggle, we got some people in New York who are going to sum that up for us. But the United Front could get it all together come out ofcthat clean. But the main thing is to how do we keep the thing simple and clear. And whats clear is this divides down in terms of practice. Thats the critical cutting edge. And thats political. The political practice. The essence of our porision here in ~~thex~~ terms of being persistent is Marxist/Leninist; but thats not the requirement we put on IMBUK and I think thats part of what you were f driving at. And its not what we do in student struggle

either. Because if we did, we'd be the only people out there. And then that becomes self-servient. Because then you can say we are revolutionaries. Thats the way _____ is. We are revolutionaries, aint nobody else there. Well, then who's to dispute you? everybody claps (claps). And then that makes it look like its right and then everybody goes on where they are going.

QUESTION:

I found the philosophy of

and particularly the laying out of the three points reality, changes, knowledge. And how you talk how the key questions in these concepts have unfolded historically and people have taken one view or another and how this can be seen in terms of ^{the} a struggle we cannot yield into imperialism. And i wonder if we can continue to have a discussion along those lines b4 because whats happening now, I think, and I also listened to you Jessie Jackson is a special sermon on this question of self-determination and he's been the first week it was in regard to the manford Byrd issue and yesterday he took it a step further, of course, it was still the same content but he took it a step further, but its being popularized from his viewpoint and it seems to me some of these questions are raised over what are the key issues ⁱⁿ of reality in philosophy papers? How we talk about identity _____. Because these concepts are going to crop up and become popularized it, I

think it would be important for us to understand the basis of them and whether or not they represent another _____ station of the struggle between idealism and ^(materialism) materialism and how we are able to talk to people about them. Jessie does have some compliments and its going to be out there a lot among people in discussion and we we will be coming into contact with this. So, we need need to have some basis to sum up whats being said. And not just _____ for other current things that are being _____. But to try to take this paper and move it forward into our daily work and ... struggle through discussions with people. But that you structured yesterday, cause he's coming off of this. If you listen tho to this you could easily get caught up in this cause it has a nice ring to it. Its a concept of self determination. Course it could be used in the left as well.

ANSWER:

Well let me give you an example of how

But If you look at the number of distrubuterships and bottleships you dont hire any black people. Self determination means therefore that we should have 25% of the dealerships and 25% of the bottleships not jobs, he said, but what? Thus, you go back to that diagram on the other side of the board and start talking about affirmative action applied to that situation means that like you need a job. But everyday.

Thats what the question in philosophical terms would be. If you're to judge ideas by practice, then who is he targeting. for a change in practice to represent positive developmant for Black people? Is he targeting the practice for everybody? Or, is he targeting the practice of a small gom greup of people? Well he's obviously targeting the group of people who would in fact be the dealership. Because why? Well, if he is a part of that group or he is appealing to that g^roup then if you got a little money now and you wantto be a dealer and Jessie wants you to be a dealer then you might give some money to Jessie cause Jessie's saying you should be a dealer might help you be a dealer. So, why would you give money to Jessie?

COMMENT: Look what happened to breadbasket.

ABDUL: That's right. On the other hand, suppose you are a poor unemployed person. Well we might not give our money to somebody who wants to be you know, so you could help somebody else sell you coke-a-cola which you can't buy now and you won't be able to buy later. But you might give some money to the church because you say hey in the end the church might do something ^{good} / ~~forme~~ in the short run and in the long run I might go to heaven. And I don't know what its like for people to believe in heaven now or not. And I think its some variation out there that we need to do some investigation. How much is the church a social reality for people and how much is it a gateway to heaven? How

QUESTION: How would you deal with the philosophical terms of the use of the word heaven? In some way or shape linguistics because Jessie in reality was defining in class terms what usually the same kind of concept that you would apply to the interest of the masses of people.

ANSWER: See the problem is this its like the ¹¹ contradiction its You take the concept of Malcolm (drawing on board - illustration) because this self otherwise Black otherwise national or community or whatever meaning everybody ~~wastes~~ down into these classes that have different interests and thats the basic breakdown. Meaning any time you talk about the whole people of the United States, Black people whatever, the class reality comes true. This is a working class ^{philosophy} reality

its a question of looking at different classes. This is a fundamental question. This breaks doen into things; (1) a reformist notion and (2) revolution. This means piece of the pie. This means new pow.

And what you have is the bourgeoisie line or the pieces of pie, the revolutionary line the Proletarian line necessitates a new pie. So that when Lenin for example talks about the solution to the national question meaning in part insuring the right of self determination he's not saying that revolutionaries spite the bourgeoisie to get over. If the fight for the masses of people, in the context of a new situation determines the way in which they are going to solve their basic problems, then that necessitates what? fighting for a new pie. If you don't fight for a new pie than there's no such thing as self determination. For who's self you talking about. You're talking about the Proletarian core, the majority of the people and not the one hundred (you know, like its a club in nre new York called the one hundred Black men). Theres a key to Black leadership, you know, who influenced at least two or three articles in the paper, the Amsterdam News. Not this guy Pierce is going to meet with around the country. The main thing we're talking about is how you run practice among contradictions in relationship to what we're talking about.

COMMENT:

I was thinking about that especially during the coming months and question because there are a number of key people who represent different aspects than that other diagram that you made that came off of Tim's question on the revolutionary Black power and contradiction. The Andy Thompson the _____ lecture as that aspect of nationalism Dautry, the IMBUK and the PC Lecture Report too certainly should be put in the context of .-----
_____ Walters coming to another question having to do with the United Front and a mutual party (?) and James Turner and traditional forms

of leadership. I think its very important that we tak opportunities to attend these sessions and sum them up in the context of today's lecture and understanding exactly what those people represent and how they're trying to put b people basically into a swamp.

ABDUL: Let me also deal with (a little bit more with) Jessie Jackson. Here is a man who is in PUSH whose name is Jack Odell. He is, if you look in the Freedomways magazine, ^{one of} the associate editors. Jack Odell has been associated with movement for several decades. He was a, he is the political thinker who was close to Martin Luther King. And, in fact,

the F.B.I. challenged his key advisory role claiming he was a member of the communist party. And of course, historically he has been. I don't know if he joined it or not, but he might as well, there are people for example just in terms what they do and how other people look at them. Jack Odell now emerges as the right hand man of Jessie Jackson, so that when he went to South Africa, Jack Odell whn he went in to see the Republic leadership, Jack Odell, went it came time to go to Middle East arranged the trip to the Middle East, who arranged the trip to Lebanon, Jack Odell When anytime you see Jessie where you have to do something thinking around politics, Jack Odell. Several months ago, almost a year ago, whatever iwent to talk to Jessie Jackson and who was sitting there Jack Odell The thing is that Jack Odell is their interesting man. Jack odell is not unaware of exactly what we are studying. Jessie uses the term like self-determination it is not an accident, he has over heard somebody else say it and then came up with it. But when he gets the speech and it sounds almost like what we said it is not an accident and it is precisely that, that confuses things. You see it wonder that it would be somebody like Bobby Wright, ~~or~~ just some crazy, psychopathic white personality and that is the way to analyze the way of the world. Your

common everyday experiences teaches you that's nuts and most workers say that's nuts. I stand in line and everybody is broke and that means all colors and shapes. Man, what are you talking about, do you know what I mean? And it could be that the manager of the store or the clerk who is catching hell could be any color or size or shape. So what is this. And Jessie is clear because there is an whole history of opportunities itself, jumping the movement, different publicity, different rewards split and the people are left. But there will be new people to come on the scene and these new people will not necessarily be known and they would want

Like Dorchef, Dorchef popped out of nowhere and it is interesting he is a Pentecostal minister, choir, and you know that Pentecostal are people who are very emotional and they believe in the practice of the spirit becoming real in their flash. I don't know what that does in terms of bringing people in and out of his church. But he has that ministerial aspire he can go hollar and get people worked up but nobody knew that he was in prison for a while, anyway nobody knows his history, including people we know that have been struggling in New York for a long time so it is a kind of mystery. And the police are going to put people out here to lead us all kinds of things are going to happen. And a lot of people will follow and the only thing that will help us not follow is because we have a science, we have principals, and there is no variations on that, it is practice. If the police join the Klan and shoot other people that the Klan wants shot they are the claimant. If they come into our movement and help us build the revolution then they are making a positive contribution. We have to watch everybody, they would stop making positive contribution and do something else. It is that point that our science will reveal that they are doing that and there will be an exposure. But this is what gets us through and not automatically of course. It is the application although almost at one point; you know what I mean.

COMMENT: I am a little bit confused because we are talking about what are the principal contradictions in terms of society and the principal contradictions of the movement. Now you mention that the principal contradictions is this point

in time is leadership and I always thought the principle contradiction is where all things link up. Whereas the leadership could possibly be holding up the movement. On the other hand there is the question that _____. You know when Sigmund Freud and contradictionsⁱ that link up many forces. So it seems like both of them are principle contradictions. That might be because there's a universality in the contradictionⁱ.

ABDUL: See, if we were to say which issue is the most important issue facing a Black youth today it probably jumps. That's the most important issue. If we could take a survey where we could enter the discussions that people have then what do you talk about most? What is it that affects your life most? Matter of fact of the job question that a lot of brothers who volunteered ^{COU} could have got jobs. The job question that make people think that the bread was already made necessarily. Cause what, is the job. All jobs are dangerous. And after all there are kinds of people saying, 'Hey you know there is always croptearing in the army.' So it depends on how slick you are. There's some movie about Vietnam where the brother who gets drafted, he is a lightweight hustler and the brother who drives them up to the camp, just to go up and be inducted and they were going to deal because he is going to corner the heroine partner over in Vietnam and figure out how to get this smoke and hash and get this ^{was fine} back to Detroit, wherever he is. But the thing about the movement if we say the principal contradictions is the contradictions which ^{its} change influence all other contradictions

The reason leadership is the question is because which line is going to lead beginning to find the issue? In other words, the Black Liberation, The Black United Front could give leadership to a lot of struggles. And begin to link those struggles up. But if you go to the Black United Front meeting and say Bobby Wright, Andy Thompson, Harky Marbooty, or Bernita Busch, Conrad Walls old people, right? How are you going to lead us to soeey!? I represent to the struggle of mothers to get their care for the children. I represent the struggle for elementary schools, I represent the struggle for hospitals. I represent the struggle ^{always} against police brutality. All different struggles. You know what they say? Spend the years studying the constitution of our organization. We are not oriented. Issue orientations ^{always} stop the movement. Every one of them niggers sleep well every night. Own buildings. Have comfortable jobs. _____ wall conferences, O. K.? Their lives from a day to day basis are very nice. The masses are getting stopped on every day. And that's why we say they are actively subverting the Black Liberation Movement. We have tried to go along with their bullshit. Ask them to come here to talk, ask them to do things. They ~~subvert~~ subvert the movement. Not only are they subverting the movement, but, the last thing was just the straw that broke the camels back. They put out this piece of garbage their newspaper. You know who they support in this newspaper? They support Sieaga. He's this fascist who just won in Jamaica. Now we know people in Jamaica who this fascist is going to murder in the streets. Understand? And they're actively supporting these people. Sieaga is the CIA. Sieaga's campaign was paid for by

the radical right. Now, You up at Northwestern heard Michael Manley's wife when she was here last year. Interesting thing is they're not even socialist. They're not even Marxist/Leninist. He's a trade unionist. He's a good liberalist; Michael Manley. Now these people here are promoting this kind of shit. What are we going to do? Are we going to say, well cool this is a Black unity and yall into that and we into this? We have to draw a line of demarcation. We extended the hands of Harkey and to Val Grey What did they come here. They came here and spewed out all kinds of devices. They didn't come here to talk about Walter Rodney and we can unite. They came here to talk about there are people in the movement (laughter) who are _____. You remember? Look, this ain't no play thing these people are openly and blatantly supporting U. S. Imperialism. Then they go to New York, they go to Brooklyn, they go to Philadelphia and stash the franchise and those opportunists^{come} back to Chicago and keep the movement from developing. Now I happen to know that Andy Thompson^{lives} three doors down from Jessie Jackson. They friends. They talk together. Matter of fact, Andy Thompson went to the Middle East with them. Andy thinks Jessie is cool. They, in fact, have a little x deal whether they know it or not. Andy is out among the radicals, I'll keep them cool. I'll keep the radicals disorganized; I'll keep the franchise from the nuts in the east coast, come back here-keep everybody d cooled-out. Can you dig it? Cultural people will continue to be confused by various kinds of things.

happenint at EPAY. Know what I mean--various diets, various rituals and different things. They don't know nothing about people trying to

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buy some Wonder Bread, whatever. All the militant radical students keep confused then Jessie will have a clear shot at leading the Black community. But, if you go back a few years, every time a militant movement was out here Jessie had to embrace it. He tried to embrace it. He got no kind of morals. No kind of nothing. Embrace the Panthers. Embrace the Jeff Ford and Stones. And the only reason they fell out with the Stones is the Stones wanted more money. And no sooner than that happened then Jessie went out and got these Black men middle-class dudes and they formed an organization called the Black men movement. And they armed and said we'll fight. And it was all about who's getting the money? Same thing with Daddy-O Daley when he had a bowling alley and they were playing around with the Panthers and it all had to do with drugs, prostitution, extortion. Big Dough. I don't mean no penny-assed money, I'm talking about Twenty and thirty and forty-thousand dollars a day out of specific neighborhoods all of which was facilitated by the government. Because they wanted to destabilize the neighborhood. You want to destabilize the neighborhood let the Stones come in and feed dope to the kids. And the kids will rob from each others mamas to get the dope. Then the neighborhood is shot to hell. Nobody can mobilize nothing. And thats what they're doing. Jessie and all those middle class people. You know these people are despicable. People speak against these classes its not because of some personal problem with somebody the way

END OF TAPE II SIDE II

BEGINNING TAPE III SIDE I

ABDUL: Mao says for example, that of the two essays one practice is the most important. Why?

COMMENT: Because basically in line with the contradiction in showing that these people really aren't living up to what they're talking about. And it shows who really out in support of the masses.

ABDUL: Right. Why would we say on practice is more important than contradiction? of the two essays?

COMMENT: On contradiction represent the theoretical summation the practice needs to so one would have to have and a certain amount of practice to understand with a dialectical

ABDUL: Of the two problems as you could see people out here in _____ Black people who talk during the day; which problems do you think people have the most with? The issues that it talks about in the two essays? People you talk to. If you had to say which essay would you have to concentrate on to be able to make the in-rules.& Why?

COMMENT: The essay on practice because basis of the two. The beginning of theory.

COMMENT: Like you said about students. Students have to concentrate on practice. instead^a of theory. We're always theorizing but to practice is another story. That's like the contradiction of study or struggle. Struggle would have to be put out there as the principle aspect as opposed to

studying. Students are always studying. But you can theorize for days.

COMMENT: And another thing about having a lot of practice is you can block them off and say well what are you doing? Put those ideas into practice. What are you doing to solve this problem declining admission? What are you doing to fight against the tax on Black Studies? I mean its not all about this abstraction. And you know people begin to wonder.

ABDUL: Let me give an example of this. When we ^{'ve} ^{ed} talk intro at Circle Campus there is a notorious organization on Circle ^{'s} Campus called GSOC. Where that name came from I don't know. Black Student Organization for Communication. (comment) (Black Student on Campus). Black Students on Campus and Black Students off Campus (laughter). But anyway, check this out now heres what happened, they put out a newsletter/and the newsletter had two things in it that we found very interesting. First of all it had a book review oc of intro-news they send out on practice thats important. Check this out. First of all the brother with the great big astrology book. Whats his name? This brother and another cat wrote the book review of intro. They had not been in the course. They had not read the book. And yet they felt able to red-date the book. And they talked about how the book had nothing to do with the Black experience. Then these white people and the communists O. K.? Secondly there wassan article there advertising their program. And their program was, and this is in relation to Black Liberation, was to bring somebody to campus to teach Egyptian yoga ^{and} mystical methods of thought. That was their alternative. Now, you see, there

we have a clear ^{case} picture. We're not only were they criticizing some phanthom in their head as opposed to t something out there wthat was real like the book. You know, the book. You can pick it o up and read it I told you this. But they knew that they would read about a political attack. Its very important that there the question was they didn't read the book and we reunited students. The students wrote to the newspaper against them and openly spoke against them.

People who had taken the course because they were threatened too. Cause if they took the course and they liked the ~~then, obviously they were dupes of these white people~~ course, ~~they were dupes of the communists, they were dupes.~~ You knowwhat I mean. If they are right they had to fight back. When people said well first of all you didn't take thecourse did you? Well no. Did you read the book? Well no. Well then you're a fool. You know and that kind of exposed them in that Egyptian yoga. I maan you know. That goes back to the first comments I made. Theres some people who get sucked up in that. Just like theres some people who get sucked into an exotic diet. There are some people who walkeinto an macro-bionic diet and almost die. And all of that is divorce from the practice of the masses that we have this real struggle in our community of peoples who survive on all fronts. And its in that practice that we can solve our problems. Not reading Jethro Clauses East of Eden or that book. There is a lot of stuff in there thats good. But all these mystical escapist kind of things that take you away from the mainstream of human history the mainstream of our experience and in that practice divide the good from the bad. And thats the way you can unite the masses. You can't unite the masses by

"On The Country Get Over" or "On The Country Some Exotic Religion"
And thats not theyway anybody in any society has ever changed.
You get down with the masses of people. Then you can change. Its
obvious.

COMMENT: Whats interesting in ^{terms} of this question practice. Or if you ask
a student whats happening you might get all kinds of what I'm into
these days. Discussions about ideological interests or intellectual
pursuits. If you ask som^ebody on the bus or a friend you run into
that you went to high school with or maybe whose fixing to go to
college 'whats happening'? The first answer is trying to make it.
You know the description of working two jobs how hard it is but
generally a nositive discussion. And it seems to me you
can sum that up #1: in class essence of those two answers. But

the fact the social practice, production, scientific experiment
and so on. The middle class is in fact the key to understanding.
And if its on a very basic level that comes from people. We try to
engage people in the bookstore when they come in and thats the
kind of responsd you get from people depending on where they come
from. Whats happening? What you do? And concretely people will
respond. Based on their practice. So thats why you have to negate the
response to whats happening people say nothing. That
don't tell you anything and it does tell you something too.

ABDUL: Yes. You have to decode it. You know when people say your world
and you say I just live here. You say Naw Naw I'm just hanging there
too. Look, those are stylistic responses that do reflect culture and

and class. Because if you were to go up to somebody who was in a mink coat who was standing in front of a Rolls who lived on the north side up high in the sky in one of those quaint sophisticated rehab jobs like on Fullerton or Armitage or somewhere on those three story walk-ups. Everybody knows what I'm talking about all the kind of places you look at, plants, big iron gates and all of that. And you walk up and say 'Hey, whats happening'? Very few of those people say ain't nothing happening unless they were intoxicated one way or another.

COMMENT: I'm not so sure about that.

ABDUL: They would.

COMMENT: One of the points that came out of some of the novels and stuff where they were talking about the tenured composition of people who would associate with the different administrations. And he said these people when you walk up to some of them and say well what do you do? And they look at you and say 'Do?' As if do people do things? (laughter)

ABDUL: Other than this? (laughter)

But its true we have to figure out how to do that. Because the ques- about philosophy is not how do we read books. Complicated strange books you wouldn't read otherwise. But somebody wrote this book I don't know why they wrote it. But those kinds of things you do in college. But its how do you take everyday conversation like some kind of liquid and then you boil it and get the essence. You know sometimes you cook it. Boil it down until you get the essence. Like the liquor in the greens you know what I mean. That. Really the essence. The good stuff. How do you do that in everyday conversation?

How do you get the philosophical content? How do you know whether somebody is metaphysical or dialectical? How do you know whether somebody is idealist or materialist? Its interesting. That is the key. You know how you know? First of all you know in relationship to practice. Because after all most people are not systematic thinkers. Most people have contradictory ideas in their heads. A lot of Black people think this-all white people are bad. On the other hand I know some good white people. (laughter) Then on the contrary when you're walking down the street and the police are there and white people whipping on Black people it brings out one thing in you, on the other hand, if you think about that Polish guy on the job, he and I ate lunch together, we have a beer after work together. You have these conflicting ideas. Matter of fact in the movement there are conflicting ideas. for example, most men in the movement who are revolutionary minded have good lines. In general on the question of women o in the struggle and so forth. In other words most of us right here probably run _____
_____ 1979. You should anyway. But probably there are contradictions in our line and certianly our practice.with regard to how thats implemented. Thats part of the struggle. Thats part of the struggle to transform. I think that among people like ourselves who are Black Marxist/Leninist and so forth ^{there's} probably contradiction with the residue of nationalism hanging around. Here and there and thats a constant struggle. Its a constant struggle

to take into consideration the realities of national oppression.
and who we are and not forget who we are. On the other hand how
much do we make of that? What do we make of that? For example,
if we are fighting to save the Black studies program, fighting to
save an open admissions program, fighting to save an open admissions program for
on campus and so on. Do we just go out and organize Black people?
Circle Campus has 22,000 students and 3,000 Black people. Is that
what we say? Or do we go out and try to reach and explain to every-
body and talk about a fighter for one a fighter for all. How do you
talk about a fighter for one a fighter for all. How we need to
take all the problems that face and use our collective
strength to fight for the things that represent democracy and progress?
The point here is that we have to constantly avoid nationalism.
without s liquidating the fact a that we are Black people. Its not
unreal. Its real. Its a material reality. And its a function of
two things one positive one negative. Positive in the sense that we
are who we are based on our traditions based upon our history, based
upon our collective experience. And we are who we are negatively
based upon a bunch of racists
because we're oppressed by a bunch of racists.who tell us we are all
in the same group. So that not only is it a matter of choice, its a
matter of you ain't got no choice. And its for both reasons. And
while we fight f to overcome the negative,-and that gives everybody the
possibility of saying I'm going to be the kind of person I want to be--
and that could be I'm going to live with white people, I'm going to

live with Indians. Cat I grew up with, right?, Abrahm Sally who does from the cards out there, his brother who's the baddest artist=of them all, all these cats in Chicago, went to live with the e Indians.

Cat lives in New Mexico. In grade school he drew 'little Abner. Boy! He could draw 'lil Abner. He was out-a-sight!. All them little characters. But he cut out and he should have the right to do that.

The Black dude grew up in Cabrini just like everybody else. Cats living with the Indians. I don't know how he got there. How his life - the zig and the zag - we would fight for the right for people to be able to do that. At the same time we would fight for the right to maintain our own traditions. We would fight for the right to maintain whatever dialectical continuity we could rediscover all the way back to the origins of people. Whether that was _____ or whatever it would be. Linking us up to our heritage in that way.

Because all those things represent the democratic future for every group of people. We're Nero. On the other hand, we're not universal to the point that we don't know who we are. That we think we're Russian, Chinese or something else. Which is of course what the Nero-nationalist would like to think. When I look at this book I don't see 'simply China'. I'll keep my a _____ in the debate and the (?NYC) stood up and said Mao was a Chinese nationalist. He got in those caves in (Unan?) and re-wrote Marxism and subordinated^{it} to the needs of nationalist in China. And when in point in fact he was in armed combat with Chiang Kai Zcheck^(sp) who was a Chinese nationalist straight up. Its completely misunderstood and rmisrepresented this. We see this. We see the color red. And the color red is what?

The universal color of the proliteriat all over the world. And if you were right now went to any country in the world revolutionaries would be talking about Marxist and Leninism. Every country in the world. Not one exception. And that included Iran. ____ the Moolas and the Iat^(sp)ollas represented the progressive force against the Shaw and now represent a re-retrogressive force in Iran. And of the very ones who would end up embracing the United States and throwing grain in revolutionaries like a lot of ^{the} students that we have historically struggled with in this country.in jail. Why? Cause women need to wear veils and walk behind me. And because I'm an Iatolla and I'm _____ I can have 6 or 7. And any volunteers. The Iranian women ain't going for it. Theres going to be blood in the streets. But in the end the color of revolution is red. Its as simple as tht. And its hard in the United States because theories ain't nothing. And then they always want to say outside and bringing some foreign ideas. Thats why be dialectical be a materialist. Root it in our practice. Before its over you know how our dialectist are going to get over? For the masses? When we get another person like Langston Hughes, who is a thorough going revolutionary thinker who can translate it through somebody like Jessie P. Simple. And a cartoonist.And somebody who's going to be singing like Stevie. See Stevie is not a materialist. Stevie's on Saturn. You understand? Where its slow and orange. We're on earth snow in graves. Chicago.

He makes an interesting analysis thats song. You can h^aer him say Thats right. Thats right. And that's gone. That shows the flaw.

You need somebody to talk about it right here. And thats something you should do too. What happens to young kids. Every high-school in this city has talent shows. Big events. Real important. And there are two kinds of things people do

- (1) You copy somebody who is famous. (90% of the singing groups go in and sing somebody elses jams. The latest tunes they come in and they sing them. Every now and then some people come along who are truly creative do their own stuff at that level. Now what the ruling class does is they say look we're so serious about keeping our thing going - ain't nothing but a constant talent search. You know how the art institute works? They have a program that starts in grade school. They go out throughout the city and they find all these kids in grade school who are good artists and they have a saturday program. So, from grade school through-out high school you go to their ^{saturday} program and the guy comes around and says O. K. next week bring in a picture of a horse galloping. Everybody draws it and they come in and you get the g credit. 5 points for something. By the time you graduate from high school and you have enough points you get an automatic full scholarship from the art institute. The sculptor, Chicago Black sculptor Richard Hunt. Thats how Richard Hunt got over. They found his buttiin Englewood when he was in gradeschool And the reason I know this story was Calvin Jones who helped do the wall up here on Michigan was also found in grade school and they were class mates at the art institute and spent grade school and high school going to the art institute. Thats the ruling class stuff. Now you go up and talk to Richard Hunt; Richard Hunt doesn't know who he is. He's got a big barn, he has a

party ever

party every year. He brings in the classical music group and they sit around and play European music and everybody sits around sipping cocktails and that's the great Black artist. And he's got something hanging out there in Woodson Museum. A thing called something. I don't know what it is but it's a thing two twisted pieces of metal. I think maybe we should do that? That is go out and find people with talent and get them to turn their talent not toward the tastes of bourgeois _____. But toward artistic expression regarding struggle. Regarding Black unity. Regarding bring people together singing something positive. Like all those songs that came out in the sixties. People don't know about them kids don't necessarily know about those songs any more. Keep on pushing. 'We're a Winner'. 'I'm Black and I'm Proud'. All those songs. 'Wake up Everybody' Those are the songs that need to be emulated. Not just the way they are but in terms of what the cultural style is ^{of} right now. Sing the songs in the context that relates to the practice of people but that guides 'em. Don't lower t ourselves to the practice which would mean that we would go off conquer - whatever it is. Whatever the different styles are that people are into. One last thing on this question of style, I hope that everybody could see that this is a more dynamic process. Cause there are two things wrong number one this is Sunday and people might confuse because of my errors and style perhaps because of ritual this is Sunday and this is not a sermon. This should be a dialog and there should be struggle. The struggle to wheter these ideas are real or not. And how to apply them so that this is no substitute

for individual study, or collective study. In peoples before when we would have a session like this and different students would go off and sometimes we would spend all night debating these ideas until they could git 'em. If you could get 'em you could move further towards revolution. If you don't git 'em then you are consciously deciding not to do that. And it to be honest with what it is you are trying to do. really, You know what I mean. Like remember when you talked about being read from the inside out. Its hard. Its not easy. Its easy to wash your hands. Its not easy to cleanse your body. And its really hard to cleanse your mind. Think your body just stopped eating at McDonalds. Cleanse your mind is difficult and thats what we're talking about. So I hope that we don't make the error of misinterpreting. Because the other thing is ^{is} that something I say might very well be wrong. And if it isn't rooted outtand we are not consolidated around it, then my error becomes your error. And then the movement is reduced down to those kinds of limitations and thats not the case. That would be a disaster and not a good thing. So as I understand it the calendar (recognizes ^{another} point from someone)

COMMENT: Each year in bringing out the Black Liberation News with a major article and a calendar struggle inside. And we thought through the editoriaa1 in one session so you really know what the remainder of the last three pages of the editorial in the was influenced. And the _____ and the point is how you take the line out. Cause we know legitimate that we study the struggle

Timbuktu and do ways

Well _____ we're coming upon very intensive periods of getting the _____ And its going to require each and every one to make a very substantial contribution in terms of time and resources. To Two things: 1) I'll be calling on people to physically deliver the calendar lots of time, wher whether or not you have a car

And

ten bundles an hour or two hore hours

And there will be directions in terms of who will pick up the check or just drop it off and that kind of thing. To get to that point we need places to take it. And I think the people have any ideas about community centers, barber shops--places where people hang out the calendar should be delivered.

if you got questions about how much the calendars cost that information you can takewith you have that information and pass it along.

But the basic trying to get people to purchase more than they need so that we can give other people free calendars. So that people who make donations, people can make donations to the Center for Afro-American Studies so that they can you know that those donations are taz tax deductible. That information is going to be needed also. And during the month as you go to these othr^e things because

occasions that you will be parti-
cipating in you should remember to keep your mind and you should have some kind of restrictions and take them out, distribute them, and when you come back let me know what kind of response you got and that kind of thing.

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The calendars will be in the store but it is imperative that you do not grab and snatch campus.

Whats happening to the line? How its being used.

If I'm not here just leave a note how many you took. And what happened to them. But I would per prefer that you actually let me know how things went down.

OTHER

QUES/COMMENT: Are you using the term s calendars synonymous with Black Liberation?

Answer: Black Liberation.

ABDUL O.K. Theres some food.

END OF TAPE