

Introduction to

AFRO-AMERICAN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH HISTORICAL
 STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IDEOLOGY SCIENTIFIC
 METHOD PROLETARIAT AFRICAN HERITAGE FEUDALISM
 COLONIZATION UNDERDEVELOPMENT BUREAUCRACY
 CAPITALISM EXPLOITATION IMPERIALISM MONOPOLY
 INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION MIDDLE PASSAGE SLAVE
 REBELLS TRIANGLE TRADE BOURGEOISIE CLASS
 RACISM LAMPEL PROLETARIAT MIGRATION STRATI-
 FICATION TECHNOLOGY SHARECROPPING COMMERCE
 PROLETARIAT INTERNATIONALISM REVOLUTION ROLE
 NEGRO BUSINESS ARGUMENT PROTECTORN SELF-HELP
 COMMUNIST CONTROL LEFT-CAPITALISM SCISM
 CLASS ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE FORD FOLK
 BLACK STUDIES CURRICULUM INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION
 SCHOOLS SEGREGATION TALENTED TENTH CLASS
 FREEDMAN'S BUREAU HUMANITARIAN CIVIL RIGHTS
 ELECTORAL POLITICS POLITICAL REPRESSION CLASS
 SOCIALIST REVOLUTION REFORM ARMED STRUGGLE
 BOYCOTT ELECTORAL RICHES EQUALITY RACE
 BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT NEGRO NATION
 CIVIL WAR CUNY LAMPEL ONE MAN-ONE VOTE
 REACTIONARY NATIONALISM SELF-DETERMINATION
 APARTHEID REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM UNITED
 FRONT NATIONAL RACE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT
 RACE VS CLASS CONTROVERSY GENERAL CRISIS OF
 IMPERIALISM INTERNATIONALISM PEOPLES WAR

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NEGRO BUSINESS LEAGUE PROJECT OWN SELF-HELP
COMMUNITY CONTROL ELECTORAL POLITICS FASCISM
CLASS ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE THIRD WORLD
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IMPERIALISM INTERNATIONALISM PEOPLES WAR

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PREFACE

This course outline-study guide is designed to provide a systematic and scientific introduction to the historical and current experiences of Afro-American people. It is intended for use as a year-long academic course and/or as a guide for an independent study circle.

Afro-American Studies has a long history, though in the last decade it has achieved wide popularity through the struggle of Black students and teachers fighting to make their curriculum relevant to the needs of Black people. One aspect of this struggle has been to restructure all courses to give a more comprehensive and correct view of Black people in the life of the USA and the world. Another aspect has been to structure special courses that sum up the main features of the historical and current experiences of Afro-American people. The aim of this outline-study guide is to sum up the many experimental courses and to standardize an introductory college course in Afro-American Studies for universal adoption.

As in any field of study, there is an accumulated body of knowledge that all students of Afro-American Studies must familiarize themselves with. So this outline-study guide is organized into two parts: (1) an extensive survey of major questions, concepts, and research; and (2) an intensive examination of several classics of Black social analysis. The basic purpose of this course of study is to cover the entire field on a general basis, and then examine several classical works by Black scholars that are key building blocks in the on-going accumulation of knowledge about Afro-American people.

This course of study will not answer all of the questions that a person will have about Afro-American people. It will answer some basic ones. But more importantly, this course outline-study guide will help those who undertake it to more sharply formulate the key questions and direct you to how and where to get the answers. Lastly, everyone must recognize that it is possible to get out of this study only as much as the time and effort put into it. This requires a critical approach to reading the required material (and as much supplementary material as possible), participation in class/study group discussion (based on the principle "no investigation, no right to speak"), and in writing papers (based on your own ability to use the concepts to interpret the

material studied). The key to learning is in using the beliefs you start with to systematically criticize all new material. Only then can you really find out if the new knowledge is better and more accurate, and therefore must be believed in place of the old, inadequate beliefs.

But the search for knowledge does not end when new knowledge confronts old knowledge and new ideas result. The real test of new ideas is not just in how well they help us understand the world; the real test comes in applying these new ideas to building a new and better world for the masses of people. Therefore, we encourage all of you who take up this course of study to test your ideas in practice. By practice we mean that we should all increase our study of history to include the on-going struggle of Black people for liberation (freedom, justice and equality), and that we should also increase our own involvement in these current struggles. STUDY AND STRUGGLE! STRUGGLE AND STUDY!

In fact, the INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES is the product of many years of collective study and struggle--inside college and university classes, on the job, in study groups, in the library, in community struggles, and in many conferences and discussions. It has been successfully taught as a course and used as a format for study groups. Most important, it has had the benefit of thoughtful review and criticism by many people. We hope that you will find it useful--as a course outline, as a guide for study groups, and as a general reference in all aspects of your study and struggle. Take the time to sum up your experiences with INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES. Send your comments, suggestions, and criticisms to us so that all of us can grow even stronger.

READINGS

GENERAL REFERENCE

1. Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, (1951), 2 Volumes.
2. William Z. Foster, Negro People in American History, (1954).
3. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (1957).

4. Langston Hughes, A Pictorial History of the Negro in the United States, (1968).
5. James McPherson, et. al., Blacks in America: Bibliographical Essays, (1971).

ON THE RISE OF BLACK STUDIES

1. Negro Digest, (Now Black World), "Toward the Black University," 3 special issues, (March, 1968, 1969, 1970).
2. Armstead Robinson, Black Studies in the University, (1969).
3. Joyce Ladner, The Death of White Sociology, (1973).
4. Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies in Historical Perspective," Journal of Social Issues, (1973).
5. Black Scholar, special issues on "Black Education: The Future of Black Studies," (September, 1974); especially Allen, Poussaint, McClendon and Peoples College.

METHODOLOGY

This introduction to Afro-American Studies is designed for use in academic courses and by study groups. Moreover, it can be useful for those being exposed to this material for the first time, or as a context for more advanced work that would include much of the supplementary reading material. These comments on methodology are for guidance in the academic and the study group approach.

ACADEMIC COURSES

PURPOSE OF THE COURSE

1. To challenge every student to be a serious intellectual, (knowledgeable about herself/himself and the society she/he lives in, committed to making the world a better place to live in).

2. To study the development of modern society and culture, and the role Black people have played in it.
3. To investigate and discuss the historical origins and development of the Afro-American people in the USA today.
4. To systematically examine the development, basis, and make-up of several important social institutions in the Black community.
5. To evaluate the relevancy of various ideologies concerning the social oppression, political repression, and economic exploitation of Black people (past, present, and future).

REQUIREMENTS

1. Class attendance.
2. Take good class notes.
3. Reading required materials.
4. Full participation in class discussions and class projects.
5. Write a short paper (2-3 typed, double-spaced pages), every week, and turn it in on time, the beginning of the first class period of each week. The papers are to be a summation of each week's topic.

CLASS SESSIONS

1. The student should be allowed to ask questions at the beginning of each class session about material already covered.
2. If necessary, sleeping students should be awakened, those without paper and pencil should be given some, and all disruption stopped immediately.
3. The teacher should freely use current examples and write new terms, names, and dates on the blackboard.
4. The class session should always reflect a dynamic interaction process and not an elitist one-way flow from

teacher to student. A good teacher will encourage students to deepen their investigations and to "teach" what they learn; good students will actively seek additional information and share it with the class--even when such aggressive efforts are not "officially" encouraged.

5. The class projects and audiovisual materials are intended to supplement the regular course of study. They are not required and should only be used after a thorough assessment of the concrete conditions and available resources in each local situation.

GRADES

1. 40% weekly papers and class participation.
2. 20% mid-term exam.
3. 40% final exam.
4. Student should be examined on:
 - (a) definition of key concepts,
 - (b) grasp of required readings and lectures,
 - (c) ability to apply the material covered to current conditions.

STUDY GROUP

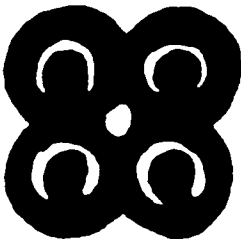
1. The study group should meet regularly, preferably once a week for 2-3 hours, and not be more than 15 people.
2. Each person should have access to the reading material (purchase or xerox), bring the required reading to the study session, and also have paper and pencil.
3. The group should have a consistent discussion leader, although initial presentations on each successive topic should rotate each session.
4. Since most groups will reflect uneven knowledge of this material the discussions should be based on few assumptions and systematically treat all material even if

it seems to be unnecessary.

5. Study groups should designate one person to prepare a brief written summation of each topic covered.

READINGS ON METHODOLOGY

1. Mortimer Adler, How To Read A Book, (1972).
2. Leo Huberman, "How to Spread the Word," Monthly Review, (December, 1967).
3. C. Wright Mills, "On Intellectual Craftsmanship," in his book, Sociological Imagination, (1959).
4. North American Congress on Latin America, (NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y., 10025 and P.O. Box 226, Berkeley, CA, 94701), Research Methodology Guide, (1970).
5. Mao Tse-Tung, Four Essays on Philosophy, especially "On Practice," "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From," and "On Contradiction."



NTESIE – MATEMASIE
(I have heard and kept it.)
"Nyansa bun mu nne mate masie."
Symbol of wisdom and knowledge.

PART I.

**SURVEY OF THE
AFRO-AMERICAN
EXPERIENCE**

1. WHAT IS AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES?

(SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO THE BLACK EXPERIENCE)

Black people in the USA must develop a scientific approach to understanding and changing this society. In the study of the Black experience, a scientific approach focuses on a set of systematically collected data on what has happened and is happening to Black people in this society (empirical data), and the historical-logical relationship between these facts (theory). This approach to the study of Black people which focuses on empirical research and theoretical analysis must be contrasted with an approach that disregards facts and substitutes subjective wishes, desires, beliefs, and distortion of facts. In the final analysis, Afro-American Studies must serve the liberation struggle of Black people. To do this, a scientific approach to the historical experiences of Black people in the USA and around the world is the most effective method to clarify the major questions facing Black people so that the correct path to Black liberation can be understood as it develops in the struggles of Black people.

KEY CONCEPTS

Afro-American	Intellectual/Student/Scholar
Data	Scientific Method
Empirical Research	Society
Historical Stages of	Socio-Economic Formation
Development	Theory
Ideology	

REQUIRED READINGS

1. W.E.B. DuBois, "The Propaganda of History," Chapter XVI from Black Reconstruction, (1934).
2. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Failure of the Negro Intellectual," Negro Digest, (February, 1962).
3. Peoples College, "Social Science and Black Liberation," (Rev., 1975).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Margaret Just Butcher, The Negro in American Culture, Based on Materials Left by Alain Locke, (1956).

2. James Blackwell and Morris Janowitz, Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, (1974); papers presented at the National Conference on Black Sociologists on May 5-6, 1972.
3. Horace Cayton, The Long Old Road, (1965); an autobiographical account of a leading Black sociologist.
4. St. Clair Drake, "In the Mirror of Black Scholarship: W. Allison Davis and Deep South," Harvard Educational Review, (1974).
5. W.E.B. DuBois, "My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom," in What the Negro Wants, edited by Rayford Logan (1944); a short discussion of DuBois as a student at Fisk, Harvard, and Berlin and four subsequent programs of intellectual work.
6. W.E.B. DuBois, Autobiography, (1968); an autobiographical account of the most important scholar of Afro-American Studies.
7. Rayford W. Logan, Howard University: The First 100 Years 1867-1967, (1969); a descriptive history of a major Black university in Washington, D.C.
8. Earle Thrope, Black Historians: A Critique (1958); a discussion of Black historians from 1800-1960.
9. Margaret Walker, How I Wrote Jubilee, (1972); a novelist describes how she gathered material to write an historical novel.
10. Richard Wright, "How Bigger Was Born," in Saturday Review, (June, 1940); a novelist describes his sociological study of several Black people to develop the characters in his social protest novel.

2. HOW DID AFRICA DEVELOP BEFORE THE EUROPEANS CAME?

(ANCIENT AND COLONIAL AFRICA)

The myth of Africa as "the dark continent full of savages" is being exposed and the reluctance of Black people to identify with our African heritage is ending. A positive Black self-image, which includes identification with an African heritage, has emerged because more scientific knowledge of African history and culture has been gained and greater contact with Africa established. It is important that we increase our knowledge of key aspects of Africa's history, particularly about the development of the different peoples and cultures of Africa prior to the colonization of Africa by Europeans. Africa's art, music, dance, and values --culture, as in all social systems--develops in accordance with the level of development of basic socio-economic forces. By understanding Africa prior to colonization we can better understand why Europe, because of its more developed technology and more advanced production relations, was able to dominate Africa. This domination is the root of Africa's underdevelopment in the modern world, and the historical basis for the current struggle for African liberation.

KEY CONCEPTS

African Heritage	Culture
Ancient African Societies	Development
Anthropology--Archaeology	Feudalism
Colonization	Tribe
Communalism	Underdevelopment

REQUIRED READING

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, (1972), Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. J. Ajayi and I. Espie (eds.), A Thousand Years of West African History, (1965); a compilation of articles selected by two African historians.

2. W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro (1915, 1970); an early effort to discuss the historical development of the African diaspora--Black people dispersed throughout the world. See also The World and Africa, (1947).
3. Leo Hansberry, "African Studies," Phylon, (1st Quarter, 1944); a listing of authorities, travellers, historians, geographers and other sources useful for the study of Africa.
4. L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Colonialism: A Bibliographical Guide (1973); a useful bibliography by two racist white scholars at Stanford's Hoover Institute.
5. B.O. Ogat and J.A. Loran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History (1971); anthology edited by African historians.
6. John Paden and Edward Soja, The African Experience (1970); a useful three-volume set of essays, study guides, and a computerized 4,000-entry annotated bibliography on many aspects of African Studies.
7. T.O. Ranger, Emerging Themes of African History, (1968); proceedings from a conference of historians in Tanzania covering many important questions of African history and the methodology of studying African history.
8. Review of African Political Economy; this new publication should provide insights into key aspects of Africa's historical development and contemporary struggles.
9. Walter Rodney, A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545 to 1800, (1970); a good study of the impact of colonization and slavery on West Africa.
10. Joseph A. Tillinghast, The Negro in Africa and America, (1902, 1968); often cited as the best example of racist scholarship on this topic.

3. HOW DO WE DEFINE THE MODERN PERIOD OF HISTORY?

(CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM)

The modern period of world history is defined by the rise of the world wide capitalist system. Modernity represents the historical formation of the capitalist system that developed out of feudalism in Europe and is characterized by urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization, and nationalism. As capitalism developed in Europe, especially the Industrial Revolution, and reached its monopoly stage, imperialism, these forces were spread through the world. The object of these global operations of capitalism was to secure profits through the exploitation of labor, raw materials, and markets for finished products. Imperialism as a system of international exploitation still exists as a world economic system. The main struggle in the modern world is between the exploited and oppressed countries, nations, and peoples of the world against the major imperialist powers.

KEY CONCEPTS

Bureaucracy
Capitalism
Exploitation
Feudalism
Imperialism

Industrialization
Monopoly Capitalism
Political Economy
Technology
Urbanization

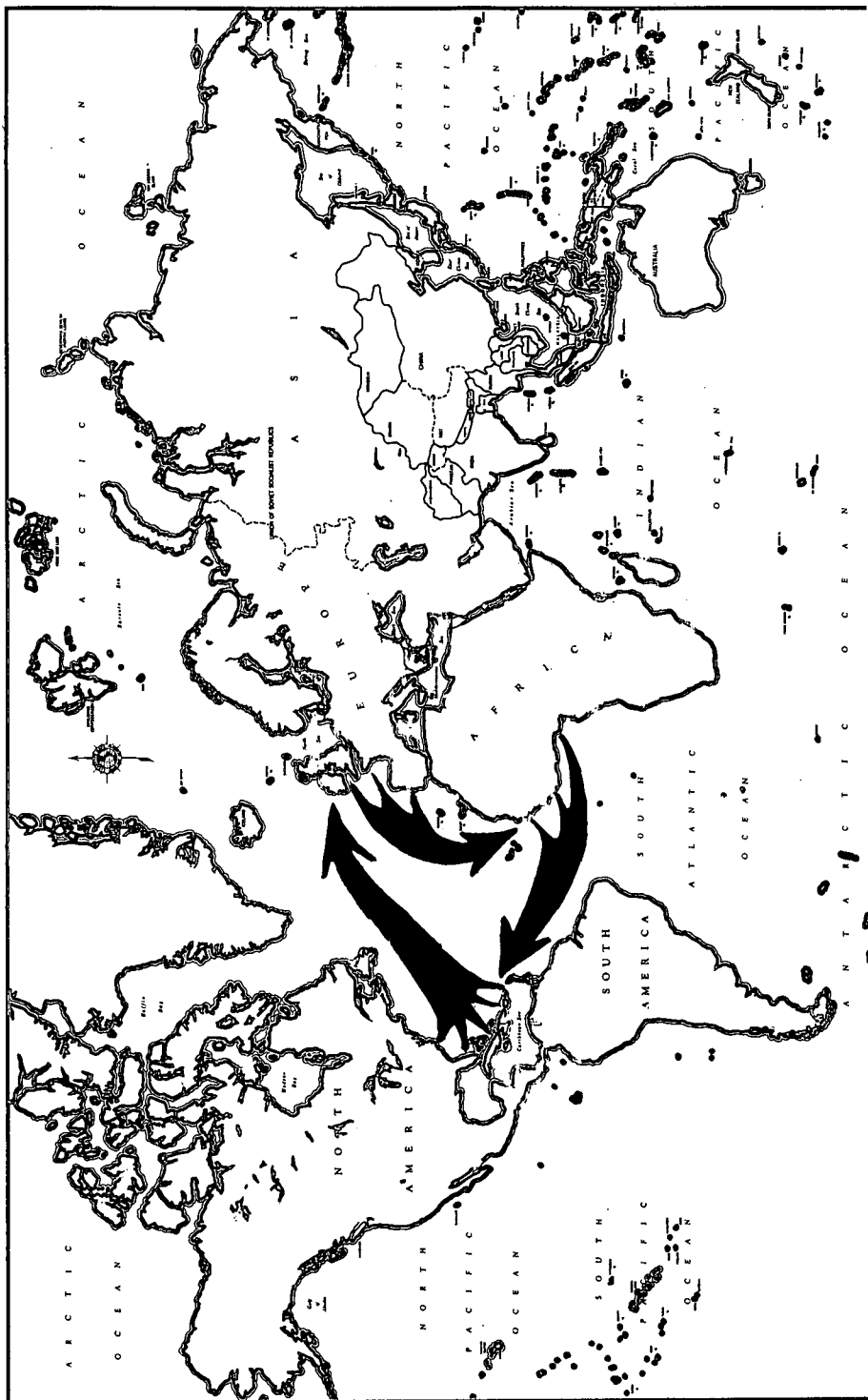
REQUIRED READINGS

Peoples College (ed.), On the Rise of The Modern World: Selected Readings, (1975).

Encyclopedia Britannica, 15th Edition, (1975); "On Colonialism," excerpts: "The New Imperialism (1875-1914" through "The Aftermath of World War II," (Macropaedia, Vol. 4, pp. 894-905).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Oliver C. Cox, Capitalism As A System, (1964); an important contribution to the understanding of capitalism by a noted Black sociologist.
2. Maurice Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism, (1947); a thorough study of the development of capitalism from feudalism to World War II.
3. Frederick Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England, (1892); written by the closest associate of Karl Marx, this study is a model for investigating and understanding the impact of capitalist development on the working class.
4. Piere Jalee, Imperialism in the Seventies, (1972); a useful investigation to determine if the evidence in the 1970's supports Lenin's 1917 analysis of imperialism. It does, the author concludes.
5. A. Leontiev, Political Economy: A Beginners Course, (1930, 1974).
6. Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism: The Economics of U.S. Foreign Policy, (1969); a study of the relationship of the US economy to the world economy demonstrating that imperialism is rooted in the economic activity of the monopoly economies of advanced capitalist countries.
7. Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I, The Process of Capitalist Production, (1967); published first in 1867, this book is the basic reference in the study of the development of capitalism.
8. Robert I. Rhodes, Imperialism and Underdevelopment, (1970); a compilation of 18 useful readings on the impact of imperialism in bringing about the poverty of the masses of the world's people.
9. Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, (1776); the classical analysis of early capitalism emphasizing the "laissez faire" (no government intervention) economy governed by the "invisible hand" of the market, supply and demand.
10. Paul Sweezy, The Theory of Capitalist Development, (1942); a good overview text on the development of modern capitalism.



4. WHAT WAS THE TRIPLE CHARACTER OF AFRICAN SLAVERY?

(TRIANGULAR ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE)

The Atlantic Slave Trade was carried on between (1) Europe, (2) Africa, and (3) the West Indies and the USA. The development of capitalism and increasing innovations of technology in England spurred a big demand for raw materials and agricultural products. English capitalists provided the capital to finance the colonization of the Americas to secure land, and financed the Atlantic Slave Trade to obtain labor to produce the goods in America. These operations provided huge profits that further spurred the Industrial Revolution and the development of capitalism in Europe and in the U.S. during the 19th century. Thus, the Triangular Atlantic Slave Trade was essential in the development of capitalism and imperialism. But Africans and slaves resisted their captivity, exploitation, and oppression at every turn: in Africa slave traders were fought; during the Middle Passage there were mutinies aboard ship; in America there were large numbers of escapes and hundreds of insurrections (including the successful Haitian Revolution in 1790); and Blacks engaged in a general strike and fought as soldiers during the Civil War, assuring the Northern victory.

KEY CONCEPTS

Accumulation of Capital
Commerce
Freedman
Industrial Revolution
Manumission

Middle Passage
Seasoning Slaves
Slave Codes
Slave Revolts
Triangular Trade

REQUIRED READINGS

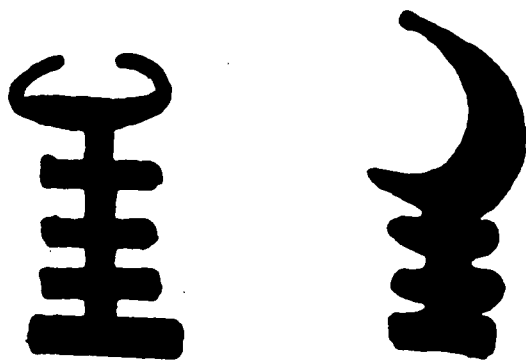
Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery, (1944), Chapters 1-5.

Herbert Aptheker, "Slave Resistance in the United States," in Nathan Huggins, et. al., Key Issues in Afro-American Experience, (1971).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts (1943); a good summary of the many revolts by slaves to protest exploitation and oppression.
2. Arna Bontemps, Great Slave Narratives, (1969); a collection of three slave narratives, an often forgotten and valuable source for Black perspectives on slavery. Bontemps' introduction comments on the slave narrative as a literary and socio-political document.
3. W.E.B. DuBois, John Brown, (1909); a biography published in 1909 in which the noted Black social scientist seeks to demonstrate that the white anti-slavery fighter "of all Americans had perhaps come nearest to touching the real souls of Black folk."
4. W.E.B. DuBois, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the U.S.A., 1638-1870, (1896); calling it "a small contribution to the scientific study of slavery and the American Negro." DuBois has produced a valuable survey of primary documents to establish the forces which led to the end of the U.S. slave trade.
5. Richard S. Dunn, Sugar and Slaves, The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, (1972); a study of the slave trade and slavery in the Caribbean.
6. C.L.R. James, Black Jacobins, (1963); an in-depth analysis of slavery in the Caribbean and the Haitian Revolution by a Black political activist. Places U.S. slave revolts in perspective.
7. Herbert S. Klein, Slavery in the Americas, A Comparative Study of Cuba and Virginia, (1967); maintains that institutional factors like the Catholic Church operated to make slavery less harsh and racist. "The dynamics of unopposed capitalism" and extreme racism influenced slavery in America.
8. Ulrich B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, (1929); an investigation of plantation records by a Southern scholar who held the prevailing racist views of Black inferiority and was dedicated to defending slavery.

9. Robert S. Starobin, Industrial Slavery in the Old South, (1970); a study of urban slavery which focuses on the use of slaves in Southern industry, an often neglected dimension of the subject.
10. Richard Wade, Slavery in the City, 1820-1860, (1964); an important study showing that urban slavery was different from plantation slavery, but equally as harsh and restrictive. Discusses institutional structure and the work of slaves in households, hotels, factories, railroads, and for municipalities which hired them out for short-term jobs.



AKO-BEN (War horn.)

The sound of the akoben is a battle cry, hence it symbolizes a call to arms.

5. WHAT IS THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE?

(RACISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE)

The exploitation of Black people as slave labor, as tenant farmers, and as industrial workers represents a history of economic (class) exploitation and racial oppression. But these experiences of class exploitation have not been the same for all Black people. While all Black people have suffered from some form of racial oppression, Black people have divided into different classes by some developing ownership of businesses, skills, and training, adding up to control of more resources in the political economy of the USA. Thus, some Black people are able to acquire a larger amount of wealth and lead lives very different from other Black people. There are Black people in all of the major class formations in the USA, but the vast majority are in the working class.

KEY CONCEPTS

Bourgeoisie	Proletariat
Class	Racism
Lumpen-Proletariat	Status
Migration	Stratification
Petty Bourgeoisie	Tenancy-Sharecropping
(middle class)	

REQUIRED READINGS

E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, (1962), Chapter 1, "The Roots of the Black Bourgeoisie," and Chapter 2, "The Economic Basis of Middle Class Status."

Harold Baron, The Demand For Black Labor, (1971).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States; a good resource up-dated and published annually.

2. Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, Black Workers and the New Unions, (1939); an important study of Black workers during the Great Depression, focusing on the organization and activity of the CIO.
3. Ebony, special issue on "The Black Middle Class," (August, 1973); a collection of articles that provides data and opinions of the Black middle class and defends the role it plays in the Black community and society.
4. Philip S. Foner, Organized Labor and the Black Worker: 1619-1973, (1974); one of the most comprehensive studies available on the trade union history of the Afro-American working class.
5. Harry Haywood, Negro Liberation, (1948); a good account of the post-depression struggles of Black people focused on the relationship of big business to the plantation system in the South. This book argues the case for the "Black Belt Nation" thesis.
6. Hosea Hudson, Black Worker in the Deep South, (1972); an account by a Black worker who was active in working class struggles and union organizing campaigns in the South during the 1930's and 1940's.
7. Julius Jacobson (ed.), The Negro and the Labor Movement, (1968); a collection of essays covering the 20th century Afro-American experience with organized labor.
8. John C. Leggett, Class, Race and Labor, Working Class Consciousness in Detroit, (1968); a study of the impact of economic insecurity and racial oppression on class consciousness.
9. Alain Locke, (ed.), The New Negro, (1925); a collection of essays on the Harlem Renaissance period which is useful for understanding the development of the social and cultural forces of the Afro-American community. See Frazier's article on "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," for example.
10. Carter G. Woodson, Free Negro Owners of Slaves, (1924); an important compilation of statistics from the 1830 census that is important for understanding the historical development of classes in the Black community.

THE LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS

RANK 74	COMPANY	SALES (\$000)
1	Exxon	42,061,336
2	General Motors	31,549,546
3	Ford Motor	23,620,600
4	Texaco	23,255,497
5	Mobil Oil	18,929,033
6	Standard Oil (Calif.)	17,191,186
7	Gulf Oil	16,458,000
8	General Electric	13,413,100
9	IBM	12,675,292
10	IT&T	11,154,401
11	Chrysler	10,971,416
12	U.S. Steel	9,186,403
13	Standard Oil (Ind.)	9,085,415
14	Shell Oil	7,633,455
15	Western Electric	7,381,728
16	Continental	7,041,423
17	E. I. du Pont	910,100
18	Atlantic Richfield	739,682
19	Westinghouse	6,466,112
20	Occidental Petroleum	5,719,369

THE LARGEST BLACK OWNED OR
MANAGED BUSINESSES

RANK 74	COMPANY	SALES (\$000)
1	Motown Industries	45,000
2	Johnson Publishing Co.	34,000
3	Johnson Products Co.	33,200
4	Fedco Foods Corp.	30,000
5	Garland Foods, Inc.	17,200
6	The Great Philadelphia Trading Co., Ltd./Asorted Music Inc.	15,000
7	H. G. Parks, Inc.	14,000
8	Wallace & Wallace Chemical & Oil Corp.	13,650
9	Al Johnson Cadillac, Inc.	13,600
10	F.W. Eversley & Co., Inc.	11,680
11	Dick Gidron Cadillac, Inc.	11,000
12	Capitol City Liquor Co.	11,000
13	TAW-International Leasing	10,100
14	Webb, Brooks, & Brooker	10,000
15	Stuart Mortgage Corp.	9,800
16	E. G. Bowman Co., Inc.	9,000
17	Big V Supermarkets	8,500
18	H. J. Russell & Co.	8,000
19	Drummond Distributing	7,750
20	Century Chevrolet, Inc.	

Statistics on Corporations from FORTUNE, May 1975

Statistics on Black Businesses from BLACK ENTERPRISE, June 1975

6. CAN THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE GET "A PIECE OF THE AMERICAN PIE" BY "PULLING OURSELVES UP BY OUR OWN BOOTSTRAPS?"

(BLACK CAPITALISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

The present US economy, characterized by monopoly capitalism and imperialism, has concentrated both the production and distribution of goods (the ownership of corporate wealth) in the hands of a very small number of capitalists--the US ruling class. Five hundred corporations produced 65% of all the goods sold in the USA, collected 75% of all the profits, and employed three-quarters of all workers in 1973. These same US corporations also monopolize the production of goods overseas, and dominate much of the world's raw materials. These are the main facts that must be kept in mind when we analyze Black capitalism and other reformist programs aimed at improving the economic well-being of Black people under the existing social order of monopoly capitalism. This tremendous concentration of wealth and economic power in the US ruling class is the source of most of the problems that Black people face, and this power has been effectively used to block most proposals aimed at improving the economic conditions of the masses of Black people.

KEY CONCEPTS

African Blood Brotherhood
Black Capitalism
Buy Black
Cooperatives
Double Duty Dollar

Economic Nationalism
Negro Business League
Project OWN
Reparations
Self-Help

REQUIRED READING

Earl Ofari, The Myth of Black Capitalism, (1970).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

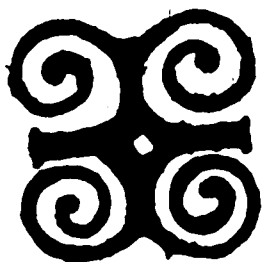
1. Ronald Bailey, (ed.), Black Business Enterprise, (1971); a comprehensive collection of readings on historical and

current discussions of Black economic development, including such topics as Black capitalism, economic separation versus integration and community economic development, and socialism as an alternative.

2. Paul Baron and Paul Sweezy, Monopoly Capital, (1968); the most important study of the functioning of the present US economy focusing on the operation and impact of the typical economic unit--the monopoly corporation. See especially chapter on "Monopoly Capitalism and Race Relations."
3. Robert S. Browne, "Barriers to Black Participation in the U.S. Economy," Journal of Black Political Economy, (Autumn, 1970); the author is the founder of the Black Economic Research Center (New York), and the Journal of Black Political Economy, both good resources.
4. St. Clair Drake, The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States, (1965); an effort to sum up the major theoretical work and empirical data in a useful statement covering topics such as powerlessness, self-identity, and health.
5. Richard Edwards, The Capitalist System: A Radical Analysis of American Society, (1972); a good compilation of radical critiques of US monopoly capitalism and imperialism. The editors are members of the Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE), a good resource.
6. Abram Harris, The Negro as Capitalist, (1936); an important study of banking and business among Blacks, this book states that Black businesses were motivated primarily by the desire for private profit and not any humanitarian or collective self-help intentions.
7. Donald Harris, "The Black Ghetto as Internal Colony: A Theoretical Critique and Alternative Formulation," Review of Black Political Economy, (Summer, 1972); an article sharply critical of the "Internal Colony" formulation of the problems of Black people suggesting instead that the economic system of American capitalism must be viewed as an integral whole, and the spatial separation and racial segregation of the Black community must be analyzed in light of this.
8. Bennett Harrison, "Ghetto Economic Development: A Survey"

Journal of Economic Literature, (March, 1975); a very comprehensive and useful bibliographical survey of 217 references.

9. Joseph Seward, "A Reply to Professor David," Review of Black Political Economy, (Winter, 1975); criticizes the application of "development economics" to Black communities in the US (as well as to Third World) economies as representing bourgeois ideology, not in the interest of the Black liberation struggle. See Frank Davis, The Economics of Black Community Development, (1972) as another example of what Seward criticizes.
10. Fortune and Black Enterprise. These magazines publish, respectively, annual listings of the largest US corporations and finance capital institution (banks, etc.); and the leading Black businesses. In 1973, the total sales of all the top 100 Black businesses as listed in Black Enterprise would have placed 496th on the 1973 Fortune list of the top 500 corporations.



DWANIMEN

(The horns of a ram.)

"Dwani ne ahooden ne n'amen; wopan
n'amen a na wo ayi no awie no."

The strength of the ram lies in its horns.

7. WHAT KIND OF POLITICAL POWER DO BLACK PEOPLE HAVE IN THE USA? (GOVERNMENT AND THE POWER OF THE STATE)

Black people can now participate in all aspects of American politics--as elected politicians and appointed officials in all levels of government, and as voters. While some power is wielded, it is minimal because Black people have little or no control over the large corporations and banks which dominate and dictate the policies of the US government. Black people have not always been able to participate in the political arena. In fact, the main relationship of Black people to the US government has been as objects of control and repression. The slave codes, the Black codes, and laws legalizing educational, job, and housing discrimination are examples of laws which have been enforced by the government against Black people. All components of the State--the executive branch, congress, the courts, the police, national guard, the military--have all facilitated the exploitation and oppression of Black people. As a result of this political repression by the US government, all the struggles and political protests of Black people are an important part of Black politics.

KEY CONCEPTS

Community Control
Electoral Politics
Fascism
Gerrymandering
Government
(Federal/State/Local)

Political Repression
Political Science
Proportional Representation
Third Party Movements
Voter Registration

REQUIRED READINGS

1. Ralph Bunche, "The Negro in the Political Life of the U.S.," Journal of Negro Education, (July, 1941), Bobbs-Merrill Reprint.
2. Paul Sweezy, "The State," Chapter 13 in Theory of Capitalist Development, (1942).
3. Julian Bond, Kenneth Clark, & Richard Hatcher, The Black Man in American Politics, (1969), Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Frances L. Broderick and August Meier (ed.), Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century, (1965); an excellent collection of writings which reflect the theme of protest in Black politics.
2. Stokeley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation In America, (1967); historical information on what the Black power struggle for political reform in the 1960's was all about.
3. Lenneal Henderson, Black Political Life in America, (1972); a collection of essays which analyzes the various struggles for Black political power.
4. V.O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation, (1949); a classic study of the role of the one-party system based on white supremacy and how it operated to disenfranchise Blacks in the South.
5. V.I. Lenin, The State and Revolution, (1917); the Russian revolutionary leader analyzes the historical development of the State (government) demonstrating that it is an instrument for the exploitation of the oppressed class-- "an executive committee . . . of the entire bourgeoisie."
6. Henry Lee Moon, The Balance of Power: The Negro Voter, (1948); a good summary of empirical data on Black electoral activity.
7. Gerald A. McWorter, The Political Sociology of the Negro, (1967); one of the most comprehensive and useful bibliographical essays on various topics related to Black politics.
8. James O'Connor, The Corporations and the State, (1974); eight essays discussing modern US capitalism and imperialism, particularly the place of large monopoly corporations in US society and the world economy, and the relationships of these corporations and the capitalist state.
9. James A. Wilson, Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership, (1960); a liberal study of Black political activity in Chicago, ending with an attempt to identify patterns of Black political goals, styles, leaders and action.
10. Joint Center for Political Studies, National Roster of Black Elected Officials, updated and published annually. A series of very useful publications is available from JCPS, 1426 H Street, NW, Suite 926, Washington, D.C.

8. WHY HAS RELIGION BEEN SO STRONG IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY?

(CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION)

The church has been the most stable institution in the Black community. The important role that religion has played among Black people is due to the conditions to which Black people were introduced to the United States and the historical conditions of exploitation, oppression, and racism in the context of US society. The church has functioned as the basis of social life, developed civic leadership, and provided an ideological orientation for the masses of Black people. The church has gone through different stages of development that reflect the basic experiences of the Black community. At times the church has played a leading role in the struggle for Black liberation--e.g., during slavery, and the struggle for democratic rights in the 1960's. But at other times the influence of the church has not been entirely progressive. As E. Franklin Frazier states: "the Negro church and Negro religion have cast a shadow over the entire intellectual life of Negroes and have been responsible for the so-called backwardness of American Negroes."

KEY CONCEPTS

African Survivals
Assmiliation
Call and Response
Gospel
Institutional Church

Invisible Institution
Religious Denominations
Secularization
Social Cohesion
Storefront

REQUIRED READING

E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America, (1964).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. "The Black Church," a special issue of Black Scholar, (Dec., 1970); six articles that generally reflect a

nationalist view of the contemporary role of the Black church.

2. E. Wilber Bock, "The Decline of the Negro Clergy: Changes in the Formal Religious Leadership in the US in the Twentieth Century," Phylon, XXIX (Spring, 1968).
3. St. Clair Drake, The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion, (1970); a discussion of the historical role of religion and the church in the political struggle in the Black Diaspora (or Pan-African world).
4. W.E.B. DuBois, (ed.), The Negro Church, (1903); the eighth report in the Atlanta University Studies. This volume traces the history of the Black church from Africa to 1890, dealing with the impact of slavery on the church and the revolution in Haiti on Black religious life.
5. Charles S. Johnson (ed.), God Struck Me Dead, Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Ex-Slaves, (1945).
6. Robert S. Lecky and H. Elliot Wright, Black Manifesto: Religion, Racism and Reparations, (1969); describes the struggle around the Black Manifesto that was adopted at the National Black Economic Development Conference (1969) and presented to white churches for "reparations".
7. Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph Nicholson, The Negro's Church, (1963); an historical account of the Black church and its role in the Black community.
8. Gerald A. McWorter, "A Critical Book Review of the Negro Church in America by E. Franklin Frazier," Sociological Analysis, (Winter, 1966); this review discusses Frazier's work in the context of previous social research on the Black church.
9. Ethel Williams, (ed.), Afro-American Religious Studies: A Cumulative Bibliography, Vol. I, (1971); a useful bibliography.
10. Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church, (1921); an account that discusses not only the church's institutional history but also the opinions of church leaders on political and economic questions during various periods.

9. HAS EDUCATION WORKED FOR BLACK PEOPLE?

(THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY FOR THE STATUS QUO)

Black people have historically viewed education as the path to Black liberation. Newly freed slaves in South Carolina passed legislation establishing the first public school system in the US. But the overall development of Black education must be seen in relationship to the development of US capitalism. During periods of economic expansion and the need for trained labor, Black educational opportunities were expanded. For example, such schools as Fisk, Atlanta University, and Howard were founded after the Civil War to meet the needs of a growing industrial economy dominated by the victorious Northern capitalists. The economic prosperity of the 1960's and the militant demands of students and the Black liberation movement led to an increase in the college enrollment of Black students, the creation of Black Studies Programs, and students actively supporting the Black liberation movement.

But recent studies continue to reveal that income and employment gaps between Blacks and whites are increasing despite the educational advances of Black people. Others argue that the control of Black education still rests outside the Black community. During the current economic crisis, we are witnessing widespread efforts to decrease the enrollment of Black students, dismantle equal educational opportunity programs, phase out Black colleges, and, generally, attacks against the right of Black students to quality education.

KEY CONCEPTS

Black Studies
Curriculum
Educational Philanthropy
Freedmans Bureau
Industrial Education

Intelligence (I.Q.) Tests
Liberal Arts
School Desegregation
"Separate-But-Equal"
Talented Tenth

REQUIRED READINGS

John Sekora, "Murder Relentless and Impassive: The American

Academic Community and the Negro College," Soundings, (Fall, 1968).

Tim Thomas, "The Student Movement At Southern University," Freedomways, (First Quarter, 1973).

Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," in Martin Carnoy (ed.), Schooling in a Corporate Society: The Political Economy of Education in America, (1972); also in Richard Edwards, The Capitalist System, (1973).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel, (1939); a study of the economic and social influences on the public education of Black people in Alabama, between 1865-1930. A good model.
2. Henry A. Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present, (1967); a useful general history of Black education.
3. James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, (1966); report to Congress and to the President on inequalities for Blacks and other third world people in education. Useful statistical appendix.
4. Robert L. Crain, Gerald A. McWorter, et. al., The Politics of School Desegregation: Comparative Case Studies of Community Structure and Policy-Making, (1968); a study of the school desegregation process in eight Northern and seven Southern cities.
5. W.E.B. DuBois, The Education of Black People, 1906-1910: Ten Critiques, (1973); a good anthology of DuBois' writings on Black education, especially his struggles against the "industrial education" policy of Booker T. Washington.
6. Robert L. Green (ed.), Racial Crisis in American Education, (1969); a useful collection of articles on many aspects of the struggles for quality education for Blacks, with essays on racism, community control, textbooks, and the expanding Black/white income gap despite educational gains.
7. Langston Hughes, "Cowards From the Colleges," in Good

Morning Revolution: Social Protest Writings, (1973); Hughes feels strongly that Black colleges in the 1930's were training students as political conservatives and not to engage in militant struggle for Black liberation.

8. North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), Who Rules Columbia, (1970); originally published in 1968 by activists, describes Columbia's link with the CIA, the Department of Defense, as well as corporate finance and real estate interests which control the university.
9. U.S. Government (Federal Inter-Agency Committee on Education), Federal Agencies and Black Colleges, (1970); a report in which the U.S. government admits its historical role in suppressing the development of Black colleges. Details only \$20 million aid to Black colleges and \$3 billion to predominantly white schools. See also the U.S. Office of Education's 4-volume National Survey of Negroes, (1942) and Statistics of Negro Colleges and Universities: Students, Staff and Finances, 1900-1950.
10. Carter G. Woodson, The Miseducation of the Negro, (1933); a study by a noted Black historian which states that education has served to keep Black people in oppression and not the purposes of Black liberation. Discusses the control by white philanthropy.



PA GYA (To strike fire.)

Employment status of the population, by ethnic origin, race, years of school completed, and sex, March 1974

Years of school completed and employment status	Men			Women		
	Spanish origin	White only	Negro only	Spanish origin	White only	Negro only
POPULATION						
Total: Number (thousands)	2,983	61,989	6,733	3,325	68,750	8,254
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 4 years of high school...	62.2	37.7	60.0	64.0	37.1	55.7
High school: 4 years	22.4	32.6	26.1	25.3	40.1	30.1
College: 1 year or more	15.5	29.7	13.9	10.7	22.8	14.2
LABOR FORCE						
Total: Number (thousands)	2,408	48,671	4,882	1,400	30,810	3,937
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than 4 years of high school...	57.9	30.9	52.2	50.6	26.0	41.8
High school: 4 years	25.5	36.5	31.8	33.3	45.2	37.6
College: 1 year or more	16.6	32.6	16.0	16.1	28.8	20.5
LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE						
Total	80.7	78.5	72.5	42.1	44.8	47.7
Less than 4 years of high school...	75.1	64.3	63.2	33.3	31.4	35.8
High school: 4 years	92.1	87.8	88.2	55.5	50.5	59.7
College: 1 year or more	86.9	86.3	83.2	63.2	56.7	68.8
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE						
Total	7.2	4.3	10.0	9.8	5.6	9.5
Less than 4 years of high school...	8.4	6.7	11.3	12.0	8.9	11.8
High school: 4 years	6.0	3.8	9.0	8.5	5.0	9.3
College: 1 year or more	4.5	2.5	7.8	5.7	3.5	5.2

Reprinted from Special Labor Force Report 175
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975

Number of children under 18 years old, median family income in 1973, type of family, labor force status of parents, and race, March 1974

[Numbers in thousands]

Type of family and labor force status of parents	All children		White		Negro	
	Number	Median family income in 1973	Number	Median family income in 1973	Number	Median family income in 1973
Total children	63,542	\$12,795	54,504	\$13,485	8,068	\$7,365
Mother in labor force	26,768	13,762	22,292	14,470	4,028	9,673
Husband-wife families	54,154	13,909	48,591	14,225	4,743	10,446
Mother in labor force	22,165	+15,000	19,168	+15,000	2,603	12,667
Mother not in labor force ..	31,989	13,086	29,423	13,428	2,140	8,135
Father employed	50,624	14,226	45,798	14,495	4,097	11,182
Mother in labor force	20,820	+15,000	18,107	+15,000	2,360	13,012
Mother not in labor force	29,804	13,408	27,691	13,682	1,737	8,726
Father unemployed	1,482	10,285	1,166	11,110	283	7,571
Mother in labor force	588	11,818	465	12,199	116	8,688
Mother not in labor force	894	9,127	701	10,050	167	7,191
Father not in labor force	2,048	7,327	1,627	7,856	363	5,603
Mother in labor force	757	9,148	596	9,495	127	8,187
Mother not in labor force	1,291	6,060	1,031	6,471	236	4,662
Female family head	8,648	4,729	5,339	5,236	3,168	4,227
Mother in labor force	4,603	6,193	3,124	6,734	1,425	5,058
Employed	4,186	6,422	2,901	6,899	1,232	5,397
Unemployed	417	3,678	223	4,057	193	3,419
Mother not in labor force	4,045	3,758	2,215	3,791	1,743	3,779
Other male family head	740	11,867	574	12,379	157	9,200

Reprinted from Special Labor Force Report 174
Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975

10. WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS FACED BY BLACK WOMEN?

(TRIPLE OPPRESSION - CLASS, RACE, SEX)

The oppression of Black women has its historical roots in traditional African societies, as well as in the foundation and development of capitalism and imperialism in the United States. This oppression of Black women is a result of three things: (1) oppression based on sex (forcing women into subordinate roles in a male-dominated society and denying women democratic rights such as equal pay for equal work); (2) Black women suffer from the many forms of racial oppression from job discrimination and denial of certain democratic rights based on race; and (3) most Black women work and are subjected to class exploitation. The essence of the problems faced by Black women is rooted in the system of imperialist exploitation.

Historically, Black women have made significant contributions to the struggle for democratic rights for Blacks, women, and the working class. This includes individuals such as Sojourner Truth (d. 1883), Harriet Tubman (d. 1913), and Ida B. Wells (d. 1931).

Among Black people today there exist opposing views about the oppression of Black women and their role in struggle. One view is that Black women should play a subordinate, submissive role--staying at home and standing behind Black men. And that the problems of Black women are no different from those of Black men. Another view is that Black women must participate in the society on an equal footing, recognizing the need for the development of women and struggling against their triple oppression. In sum, the Black liberation movement faces two roads on the problems faced by Black women; either the solution lies in Black women learning their proper roles, or the solution to these problems lies in the destruction of imperialism.

KEY CONCEPTS

Abortion/Sterilization
Equal Pay for Equal Work
Family
Feminism
Male Chauvinism

Marriage/Divorce
Matriarchy/Patriarchy
Sexism
Sex Roles
Women's Liberation

REQUIRED READINGS

Fran Beal, "Slave of a Slave No More": Black Women in Struggle," Black Scholar, (March, 1975), pp. 2-10.

"Black Women Speak of Womanhood," (pp. 563-615) in Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America, (1973).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. AUTOBIOGRAPHY:

- A. Jean Smith, "I Learned to Feel Black," The Black Power Revolt, ed. by Floyd Barbour (1967); the story of a Black college coed who got involved in SNCC and the Civil Rights Movement, the transformation of her ideas and views based on her experiences in the fight for democratic rights for Blacks.
- B. Crusade for Justice, The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells, (1970); the life story of a bold fighter for justice, against lynching and the denial of democratic rights.

2. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND OTHER SOURCES:

- A. Johnnetta B. Cole, "Black Women in America: An Annotated Bibliography," Black Scholar, (Dec., 1971); a good source for further research on women in general.
- B. Triple Jeopardy, newspaper of the Third World Women's Alliance; gives a good anti-imperialist perspective of the problems of Third World women such as health care, conditions on the job, cultural oppression of women, etc. (Write: 26 West 20th St., NY, NY, 10011).
- C. Union of Radical Political Economy (URPE), two special reading lists on women--specifically women workers, (Dec, 1971 and Summer, 1974).
- D. Black Scholar, 5 Special Issues on Black Women, (published once a year).

3. WOMEN IN THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT: Movement:

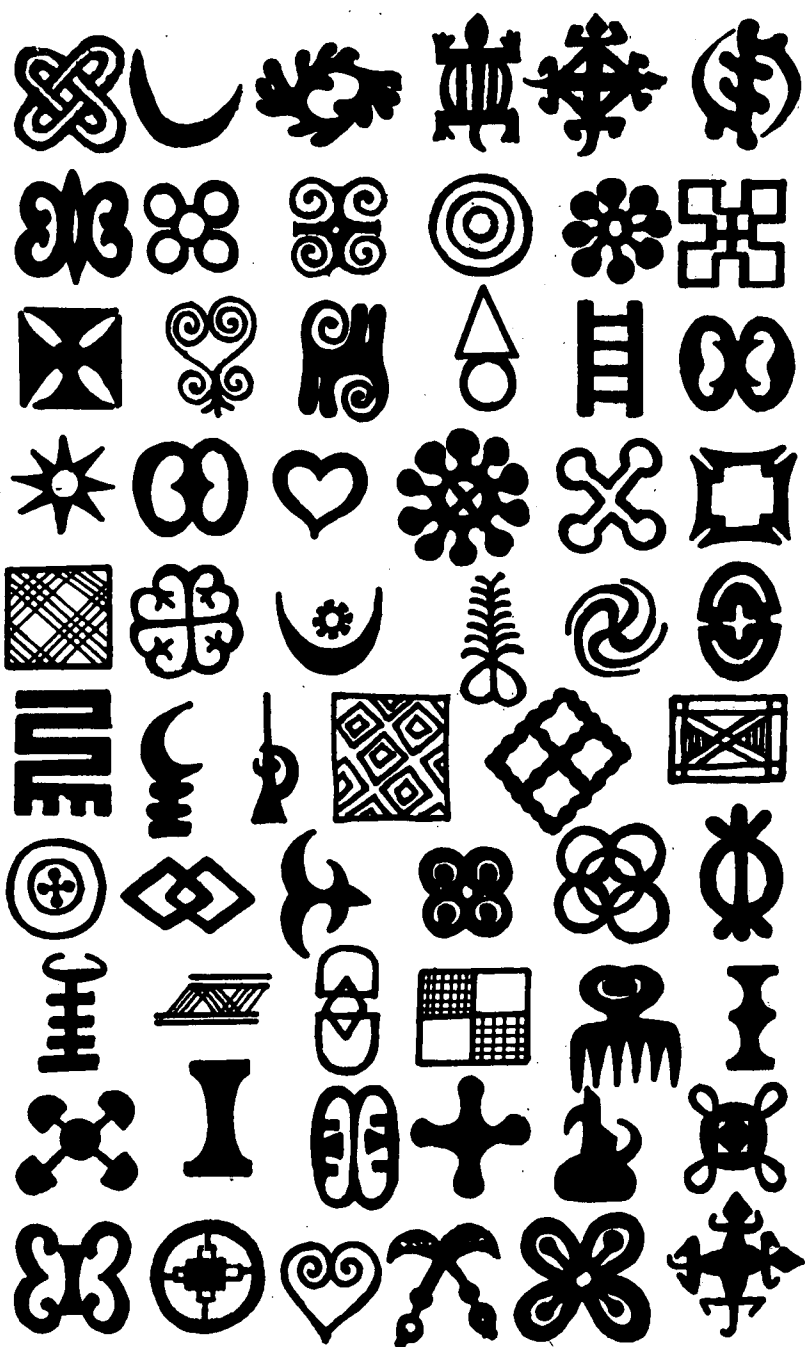
- A. "Black Women Suffer Triple Oppression," African

World, March, 1975; discusses the problems of Black women and their relationship to US imperialism.

4. WOMEN AND WORLD REVOLUTION:

- A. Sekou Toure, "The Role of Women in Revolution," Black Scholar, pp. 32-36, (March, 1975).
- B. LeDuan, "We Must View the Women's Question From A Class Standpoint," in On the Socialist Revolution in Viet Nam, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi (1967); a speech by a leading figure in the Vietnamese Revolution given at a national conference of women activists. Discusses the role of women in socialist revolutionary movements.
- C. New Women in New China, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, (1973). About the transformation of old feudal China into new socialist China and its relationship to the changing role of women as equals in society.

- 5. Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America, (1973); a good collection of articles in 10 sections, over 600 pages long.
- 6. Joyce Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow, (1971); a descriptive account of sex role socialization of young Black teenage women in a St. Louis housing project.
- 7. E. Franklin Frazier, Negro Family in the United States, (1939); the classic study of the historical development of the Black family.
- 8. Robert Staples, The Black Family: Essays and Studies, (1971); general selection of current standard literature of material on the Black family.
- 9. Political Economy of Women, URPE, (July, 1972); a collection of articles based on an economic analysis.
- 10. The Woman Question, Selections from Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, (1951); a selection of classic scientific writing on women and the family.



11. WHAT IS THE SOCIAL ROLE OF BLACK ART AND CULTURE?

(BLACK CULTURE AND BLACK LIBERATION)

The culture of a people develops historically and changes according to the material forces acting on that people. Afro-American culture is the result of African customs, values, and aesthetic-emotional styles being uprooted from Africa during slavery, and continually being transformed as the new cultural expression of what it means to be an Afro-American. Within this Afro-American culture the most basic difference is a result of the development of classes, though there are also differences based on regions, urban-rural patterns, and generational linkages. Because of its pervasive character, Afro-American culture is an integral and essential component of the struggle for Black liberation. The literature, music, art, and dance of Afro-American people during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's and during the Great Depression of the 1930's were powerful expressions for a positive identity and desire for liberation. The Black Art and Consciousness movement of the 1960's was a rebirth of this same spirit, although bolder and more popular, with greater involvement of the masses of people. A large part of the historical gaps in these high points of cultural developments is the result of the mass media--the vehicle to distribute cultural expressions, e.g., television, records, film--being controlled by the US ruling class. In sum, the role of Afro-American culture must be understood in 3 ways: (1) its relationship to the material experiences of the masses of people; (2) its control by the ruling class; and (3) its role on contributing to the struggle for Black liberation.

KEY CONCEPTS

Art
Assimilation
Black Art Movement
Cultural Aggression
Cultural Resistance

Harlem Renaissance
Jazz
Mass Culture
Mass Media
Values

REQUIRED READINGS

Amilcar Cabral, "Culture and National Liberation," in Return to the Source, (1973).

Richard Wright, "Blueprint for Negro Literature", in John A. Williams and Charles Harris, Amistad I, (1971).

Thomas Porter, "The Social Roots of Afro-American Music, 1950-1970," Freedomways, (Third Quarter, 1971).

Pull The Covers Off Imperialism Project, "Imperialism and the Black Media," Black Scholar, (November, 1973).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Sterling A. Brown, et. al., The Negro Caravan, (1941); one of the best anthologies of Black writing available including biography, essays, drama, as well as poetry, novels, short stories, and folk literature.
2. Delores Cayou, Modern Jazz Dance, (1970); written by a Black dancer, choreographer and teacher, the book covers dance techniques and includes a chapter on the origins of modern jazz dance, discussing the social function and historical development of dance in Africa, the Caribbean and among Afro-American people.
3. Langston Hughes, Good Morning Revolution, An Anthology of Social Protest Writings, (1973); edited by Faith Berry; a collection which demonstrates the revolutionary perspectives of Black artists during the period of the Great Depression.
4. LeRoi Jones, Blues People, (1963); a general social history of Black music.
5. Alain Locke, (ed.), The New Negro, (1925); a useful collection of writings that provides an overview of the literature and sentiment of the Harlem Renaissance.
6. James Porter, Modern Negro Art, (1943); a classic analysis of Black art up to World War II.
7. Mao Tse-Tung, On Literature and Art, (1960); a collection of essays in which Mao examines the relationship between

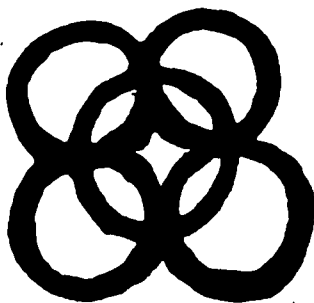
work in the literary and artistic fields and revolutionary work in general.

8. A.B. Spellman, Four Lives in the Be-Bop Business, (1966); an analytical discussion of the music and social experiences of four Black jazz musicians: Ornette Coleman, Herbie Nichols, Jackie McLean, and Cecil Taylor.
9. Sekou Toure, "Dialectics of Culture," Black Scholar, (November, 1969); the leader and president of the Republic of Guinea--also a poet--discusses the role of culture in the struggle of the people of Guinea.
10. Theodore Vincent, Voices of a Black Nation: Political Journalism in the Harlem Renaissance, (1973); a collection of writings from the Black movement press during the 1920's and 1930's. Provides a survey of the major ideological and political perspectives as well as insight into the role of journalism in the Black liberation movement.



OWO FORO ADOBE
(Snake climbing the palm).
Performing the unusual or
the impossible.

KUNTINKANTAN
(Do not boast)



12. WHAT WERE THE MASS STRUGGLES OF AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE DURING THE 1960'S ALL ABOUT? (CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY)

The struggle of Black people in the 1960's was a struggle for democracy, for civil rights. The 1960's was a continuation of the struggle for democratic rights denied to Black people since the American Revolution of 1776--in which Black people played a full part, and helped gain and protect democratic rights for the American people. The history of the Black struggle for democratic rights has been influenced by two main forces: the changing interests of the US ruling class and the militant unity and struggle of the masses of Afro-American people. For example, democratic rights were extended to Black people after the Civil War to consolidate the control of Northern capitalists over the rebellious South but snatched away when changing interests called for a new detente with the ex-slaveowners in 1876 (the Hayes-Tilden Compromise). During the 1960's, many different organizations and movements based on different social classes and groups united in struggle. While there were disagreements about the ultimate goals of the Black liberation movement that developed as the struggle continued, these groups were united in their demands that Black people be given full democratic rights.

KEY CONCEPTS

American Revolution	Integration
Bourgeois Democratic Rights	Ku Klux Klan
Civil Rights	"One Man-One Vote"
Civil War	Reconstruction
Equality	Sit-In Movement

REQUIRED READINGS

Ralph Bunche, "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Program of Minority Groups," Journal of Negro Education, (July, 1935), a Bobbs-Merrill Reprint.

Martin Luther King, "Pilgrimage to Non-Violence," Stride Toward Freedom, (1958).

Lerone Bennett, "The Black Establishment," in The Negro Mood, (1964).

Allen J. Matusow, "From Civil Rights to Black Power: The Case of SNCC, 1960-1966," in Bernstein and Matusow (eds.), Twentieth Century America: Recent Interpretations, (1969).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Ann Braden, "The Southern Freedom Movement in Perspective," Monthly Review, (July-August, 1975); an extensive and useful overview by a white radical activist working with the Southern Christian Educational Fund.
2. Phillip S. Foner, Black Panthers Speak, (1970); a collection of writings which traces the development of the Black Panther Party.
3. James Forman, The Making of Black Revolutionaries, (1972); an autobiographical account, this book is also an organizational history of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from 1961-1969.
4. Herbert Garfinkel, When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FECP, (1959); a useful account of the first March on Washington.
5. Charles F. Kellogg, NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Negroes, (1967); an authoritative work on the first decade of the NAACP, (1909-1920).
6. David Lewis, King: A Critical Biography, (1970); a good study of Martin Luther King and the social forces which gave rise to and shaped his leadership.
7. August Meier and Elliot Rodwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968, (1973); a recent and useful investigation of the Congress of Racial Equality.
8. Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution, (1961); a study that assesses the nature and scope of gains made by Black people during 1776 struggle and describes the part they played in the military conflict.
9. Arvarh E. Strickland, History of the Chicago Urban League, (1966); a valuable study illustrating Urban League activities on a local level.
10. Mao Tse-Tung, On New Democracy, (1940); defines the Chinese Revolution as a two-stage revolution; the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Mao then discusses Chinese politics, economics, and culture under the old democracy still dominated by imperialism, and under the New Democracy.

13. WHAT ARE THE BASIC IDEAS OF NATIONALISM?

(NATIONALISM)

Black nationalism is an ideology that is based on the aspirations of Black people for liberation. It is a response to racial oppression and the ideology of white supremacy. As with all nationalist ideology, the rise of Black nationalism is based on the material development of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and is aimed at achieving some form of self-determination for Black people in the areas of economics, politics, and culture. There have been and still are several kinds of nationalist expression--cultural nationalism, religious nationalism, economic nationalism, Pan-Africanism. Historically, however, there have been two main tendencies of nationalism among Black people that exists today. Reactionary nationalism holds back the Black liberation movement by advocating reformist solutions to the problems of Black people such as the creation of a Black business-owning middle class (Black capitalism), identifying the enemy of Black people as all white people because they are white and not because they are the exploiters and oppressors (race theory), or suggesting the mass migration of Blacks from the US to solve our problems (back to Africa movements). On the other hand, Revolutionary nationalism has pushed the Black liberation movement forward because it believes that the struggle of Black people is against capitalism and imperialism, and for national liberation. All ideologies should be judged in reference to the specific historical and social context in which they arise, whether they deal with the existing reality and concrete problems of that period, and emphasize struggle as the way to bring about a better life for the masses of Black people and society as a whole.

KEY CONCEPTS

Back-to-Africa Movements
Nation
National Liberation
Negritude
Pan-Africanism

Race
Self-Determination
Reactionary Nationalism
Revolutionary Nationalism
White Chauvinism

REQUIRED READINGS

E.U. Essien Udom, "Black Identity in the International Context," in Nathan Huggins, et. al., Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, (1971).

John H. Bracey, Jr., "Black Nationalism Since Marcus Garvey,"

in Nathan Huggins, et. al., Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, (1971).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Floyd Barbour (ed.), The Black Power Revolt: A Collection of Essays, (1968); an anthology giving the ideological history and variety of the Black Power Concept.
2. James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle, (1970); a collection of essays written by a former auto worker and political activist in Detroit.
3. John H. Bracey, Jr., August Meier, and Elliot Rudwick (eds.), Black Nationalism in America, (1970); an anthology of nationalist writings from 1787-1969, with a good bibliography.
4. Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, (1967); a cultural nationalist history of Black intellectuals with a polemical approach to personalities that limits the credibility of this otherwise representative work of nationalist thought.
5. Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, (1925); the best work of the nationalist views of the Garvey movement.
6. LeRoi Jones and Larry Neal, Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing, (1968); the best collection of cultural nationalist writing since The New Negro in 1925.
7. Malcolm X Speaks; Selected Speeches and Statements, (1965); this contains the major nationalist speeches of Malcolm X, especially "Message to the Grass Roots" and "The Ballot or The Bullet."
8. Edwin Redkey, Black Exodus: Black Nationalists and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910, (1969); an historical analysis of three major nationalist forces, A.M.E. Bishop Henry Turner, the American Colonization Society, and the International Migration Society.
9. Vincent B. Thompson, Africa and Unity, (1969); one of the best histories of the Pan-African movement.
10. Theodore G. Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement, (n.d.); a critical analysis of Marcus Garvey and the social character of the times.

14. WHAT IS THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM? (RACISM)

The contact and relations between races has been an integral aspect of world history. Generally, it was the 15th century expansion of European peoples and their subsequent domination of people of color for economic and political reasons which has created and been the basis for racism in the modern world. The study of race relations and the origins of racism gained importance after 1900 but as the noted Black sociologist Oliver Cox stated, these studies often "result in the substitution of the history of a system of rationalization for that of a material social fact." Today, the leading forces of racism are supported by ideologies that are based on a racial analysis. Racial theories hold that either Blacks or whites are inferior or superior based on genetic traits or cultural behavior. An opposing view states that a scientific understanding sees racism as a systematic ideology that justifies the oppression of a people, facilitates continued economic exploitation, and diverts attention away from capitalist exploitation which is the material basis of racism. Failure to grasp the basic connection of racist theories with the social and historical context in which they emerge leaves one with a biological theory of history that is unable to explain all of the complex characteristics of racism, national oppression, and economic exploitation in US society and throughout the modern world.

KEY CONCEPTS

Anthropology	Prejudice
Discrimination	Racial Conflict
Ethnocentrism	Racial Frontiers
Eugenics-Genetics-Race	Racial Superiority--Inferiority
National Oppression	Racism

REQUIRED READINGS

E. Franklin Frazier, "The Expansion of Europe and Racial Frontiers," Introduction to Race and Culture Contact in the Modern World, (1957).

Oliver C. Cox, "Race Relations: Its Meaning, Beginnings, and Progress," Chapter 16 from Caste, Class and Race, (1948).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Robert Allen, Reluctant Reformers, (1974); a survey analysis of several American reform movements that focuses on their failure to deal with racism.
2. Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (1954); a traditional summation of liberal interpretations of empirical studies of prejudice.
3. Ralph J. Bunche, A World View of Race, (1936); an essay on the role of race theories in world affairs that points out the economic and political interests served by them.
4. John Hope Franklin (ed.), Color and Race, (1968); an anthology summing up the role of color and race throughout the world by the establishment American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- 5.a. Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of An Idea in America, (1965); a social intellectual history of racial theories in the U.S. to World War II.
b. The Race Question in Modern Science, (1951); a series of 10 pamphlets by an international team of scholars, and published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).
6. Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas, (1964); an essay showing the socio-economic and political basis of racial views in Latin America and the Caribbean.
7. Winthrop Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812, (1968); exhaustive history of racial attitudes of white America pointing out the contradictory development of racism and democracy. (Revised as White Man's Burden, 1973).
8. Ashley Montagu, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, (1965); the most comprehensive study of race and racial theories by an anthropologist.
9. Peter I. Rose, The Subject is Race: Traditional Ideologies and the Teaching of Race Relations, (1968); a summation of academic racial theorists, and an empirical study of race relations courses.
- 10.a. Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement," Harvard Educational Review, (Winter, 1969).
b. Frances Cress Welsing, "The Cress Theory of Color Confrontation," The Black Scholar, (May, 1974). Both of the above articles (Jensen and Welsing) interpret social and historical development of race relations based on biological differences between Blacks and whites.

15. HOW IS THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT RELATED TO NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN THE THIRD WORLD? (INTERNATIONALISM)

The Black liberation movement is part of a world wide struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression. The lessons of successful struggles waged in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are vital components for developing a successful strategy for Black liberation in the US. The task of a revolutionary is to change the current social system of exploitation based on the rule of a few to a new and just system based on the rule of the masses. The three major aspects of a revolutionary movement are ideology (theory and laws of social development), political line (strategy and tactics), and organizational line (procedures and forms of organization). Black people have had an interest in African struggles for a long time, and have recently become increasingly interested in Asia and Latin America. The most important countries have been Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Tanzania, and Guinea (in Africa), Vietnam and China (in Asia), and Cuba (in Latin America).

KEY CONCEPTS

African Liberation Struggles	Neo-Colonialism
Apartheid	Peoples War
Guerrilla Warfare	Political Independence
Internationalism	Revolution
National Liberation Front	Third World

REQUIRED READINGS

Malcolm X, "Appeal to African Heads of State," in Malcolm X Speaks, (1965).

Martin Luther King, "The World House," from Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community, (1967).

Larry Neal, "Black Power in the International Context," in Black Power Revolt, ed., Floyd Barbour, (1968).

Robert Allen, "Black Liberation and World Revolution: An Historical Synthesis," Black Scholar, (February, 1972).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam Will Win, (1969); a sympathetic study of the revolutionary struggles of the Vietnamese people.
2. Amilcar Cabral, Revolution in Guinea, (1970); a selection of speeches of the assassinated leader of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, (PAIGC).
3. Fidel Castro Speaks, (1970); a collection of speeches by the leader of the Cuban Revolution.
4. Kwame Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, (1973); a selection of writings by this major African leader from 1942-1971.
5. Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, (1968); by the leader of the Tanzanian revolution. See his "Speech to the Sixth Pan-African Congress," Black Scholar, (July-August, 1974).
6. Outline History of the Vietnam Worker's Party, (1970); official history of the revolutionary party of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1927-1970.
7. Han Suyin, The Morning Deluge: Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Revolution, 1893-1954, (1972); generally the best popular history of the Chinese Revolution.
8. Sekou Toure, essays in Black Scholar, "The Permanent Struggle," (March, 1971); "Speech to Sixth Pan-African Congress," (July-August, 1974).
9. Mao Tse-Tung, Selected Readings, (1967); a representative selection of the most important writings of the leader of the Chinese Revolution.
10. Venceremos! The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara, (1968); 35 of Che's writings from 1955-1964.

16. WHAT PROGRAM WILL LEAD TO FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MASSES OF BLACK PEOPLE?

(THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT)

During this period of the USA Bicentennial Celebration, Black people are still faced with economic exploitation, racism, and many of the same problems which faced us as slaves in 1776. The unemployment rate among Black people during the mid-1970's is soaring higher and more rapidly than among other groups, and inflation, police repression, and cutbacks in social programs are hitting the Black community especially hard. Many programs have been put forward for improving the conditions of Black people. These programs can be categorized as Black capitalism and economic reform, Pan-Africanism, cultural nationalism, anti-imperialist national liberation struggles, and socialist revolution. Each program must be analyzed scientifically and judged on the basis of the historical experiences of Black people, the program in solving the major problems that the Black people face. This "education for liberation" linked with the practice of concrete struggle for Black liberation is the ultimate purpose of Afro-American Studies.

KEY CONCEPTS

Anti-Imperialist Struggle	Militant
Armed Struggle	Race vs. Class Controversy
Black Liberation Movement	Reform
Coalition	Socialist Revolution
General Crisis of Imperialism	United Front

REQUIRED READINGS

Abdul Alkalimat, A Scientific Approach to Black Liberation, (1974).

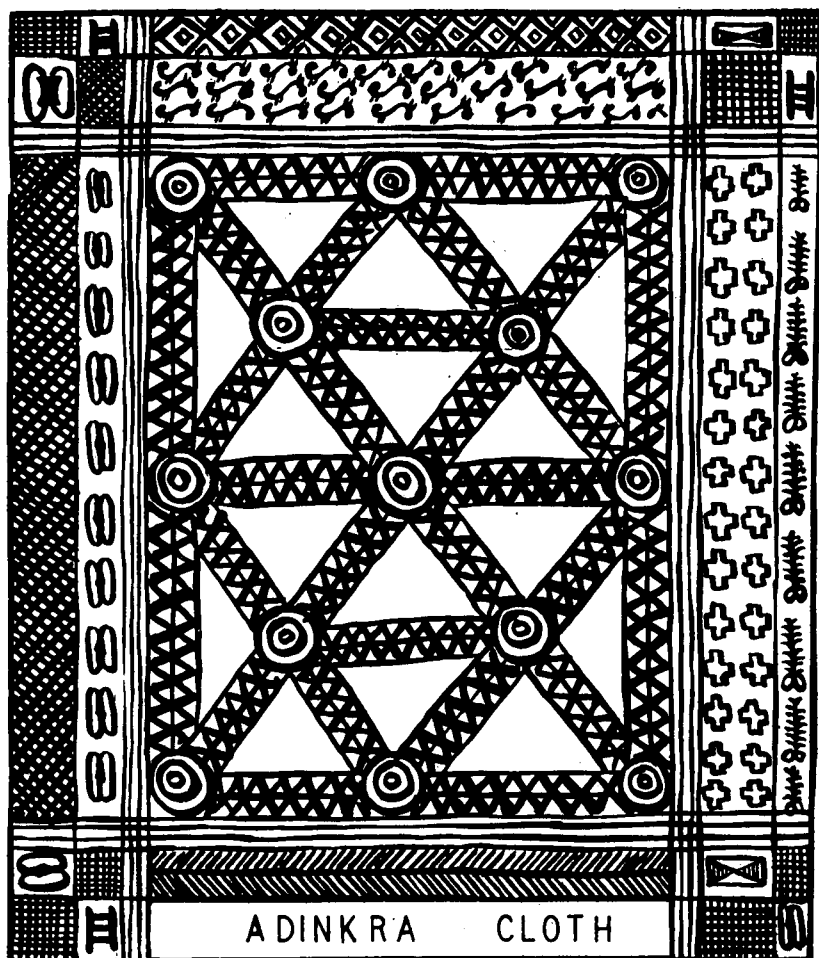
Haki Madhubuti, "The Latest Purge," Black Scholar, (Sept., 1974).

Operation Push, "An Economic Bill of Rights," Review of Black Political Economy, (Fall, 1972).

Mark Smith, "A Response to Haki Madhubuti," Black Scholar, (Jan.-Feb., 1975).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. African Liberation Support Committee, Statement of Principles, (1973); a document representing the statement of unity and view of Africa by an anti-imperialist support group. Also available is a regular newsletter Finally Got the News, from ALSC, P.O. Box 2482, Washington, D.C., 20013.
2. Robert Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, (1971); a radical view of the Black liberation movement.
3. Imamu Amiri Baraka, (LeRoi Jones), African Congress, (1972); the speeches, workshop papers, and resolutions of the 1970 cultural nationalist meeting of the Congress of African People.
4. Congressional Black Caucus, (1518 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C.), assorted publications dealing with various aspects of Black people from the point of view of Black elected officials.
5. Declaration Against Imperialism of the Pull the Covers Off Imperialism Project, (1975); an anti-imperialist manifesto of Black intellectuals.
6. W.E.B. DuBois, "Negroes and the Crisis of Capitalism in the U.S.," Monthly Review, (April, 1953); DuBois calls for Black involvement in and support of working class leadership of the fight for socialism.
7. February First Movement, Principles of Unity, (1975); a proposal for an anti-imperialist Black student movement.
8. Earl Ofari, "Marxism, Nationalism, and Black Liberation," Monthly Review, (March, 1971); general discussion of ideological trends in the Black liberation movement.
9. George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, (1956); the major theoretical argument and historical analysis that undergirds current Pan-Africanist programs.
10. Dan Georgakos and Marvin Surkin, Detroit--I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution, (1974); a history of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers; one of the first new revolutionary organizations of Black workers. It was based in the auto plants in Detroit.



PART II.

**FOUNDATIONS OF
BLACK SOCIAL THOUGHT**

The second part of this INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES is an intensive analysis of basic socio-economic forms experienced by Black people in the last 100 years. The purpose is to build on the survey (Part I) of topics with an in-depth study of seven (7) classics of Black social writing and analysis. A work of Black social analysis is considered a classic when it: (A) definitively summarizes the existing knowledge of a major Black experience; (B) represents a model of methodology and technique that serves to direct future investigation; (C) draws from the analysis theoretical concepts and propositions that contribute to our general theoretical grasp of the socio-economic and political history of the USA and Afro-American people; (D) stands the test of time by not being proven incorrect or inadequate and replaced by a superior work; and (E) guides one to take an active role in struggle to liberate Black people and fundamentally change the nature of American society.

RATIONALE

W.E.B. DuBois, in the last chapter of Black Reconstruction, discusses what he has termed "The Propaganda of History." He states:

"But are these reasons of courtesy and philanthropy sufficient for denying Truth? If history is going to be scientific, if the record of human action is going to be set down with accuracy and faithfulness of detail which will allow its use as a measuring rod and guidepost for the future of nations, there must be some set of standards of ethics in research and interpretation.

"If, on the other hand, we are going to use history for pleasure and amusement, for inflating our national ego, and giving us a false but pleasurable sense of accomplishment, then we must give up the idea of history either as a science or as an art using the results of science, and admit frankly that we are using a version of historic fact in order to influence and educate the new generation along the way we wish." (p. 714)

As we have consistently stressed throughout this course of study that it is the SCIENCE OF SOCIETY (a set of systematically collected indicators of what is happening--facts, and the OBJECTIVE relationship between these facts) that we must struggle to study to learn and to teach. DuBois goes on to make explicit

the principal task we face as Black students, teachers, and intellectuals:

"In the first place, somebody in each era must make clear the facts with utter disregard to his own wish and desire and belief. What we have got to know, so far as possible, are the things that actually happened in the world. Then with that much clearer and open to every reader, the philosopher and prophet has a chance to interpret these facts; but the historian has no right, posing as a scientist, to conceal or distort facts; and until we can distinguish between these two functions of the chronicler of human action, we are going to render it easy for a muddled world out of sheer ignorance to make the same mistake ten times over." (p. 723)

The historical record of Black people in the US and around the world is already too much characterized by wishes, desires, and beliefs--and not enough by scientific study.

The Black liberation struggle has been "muddled" by this failure and every day continues to become more muddled. Our task is scientific study of our history to clarify the questions facing our struggle.

But the fact remains that all phenomena--whether it is in the economic (material) base of society or in the social superstructure is dialectical in character; that is, it consists of contradictions, opposing aspects with each aspect continuously struggling to dominate the other. Such is the case with history. Different and opposing views emerge on every aspect of our historical experience, each view with its set of "facts". To these differences we should pay strict attention, using scientific investigation to judge the truth of any particular view. It is the process of uncovering, analyzing, and understanding this dialectic--opposing interpretations on various aspects of the important experiences of Black people--that we aim to engage in.

METHODOLOGY

The general methodology is the same as outlined in Part I. Where three topics are assigned below assignments should be made so that everyone can benefit from reading papers or hearing presentations on all three topics. All books should be read in full and a precise timetable for reading assignments and paper completion should be worked out and adhered to.

WRITING A RESEARCH PAPER

1. SURVEYING THE LITERATURE: THE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

This part of INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES will continue to pursue two very important goals: increasing our ability (1) to analyze the Black experience in the US more critically; and (2) to convey this analysis in clear and concise written form. The requirement for this part will be four research papers based on intensive treatment of four topics: Reconstruction, Rural-Urban Life, Social Class, and Black Autobiography.

An important first step in any serious research effort is surveying the available and most appropriate references about the topic on which you will write. The most effective method of summing up the results of this preliminary investigation is the annotated bibliography. This is a listing of books, articles, films, etc., which you can use in the formulation of your ideas on the topic, from which you can gather background material, and which you might use for quotes and other substantiation of the information you present in the paper. Webster's dictionary defines "annotate" as "to make or furnish critical or explanatory notes or comments," so for each reference you should write a three or four sentence description of the content, contribution, and significance of each book, article, etc. While research for a Ph.D. dissertation or a book may include hundreds of annotated references, 10-15 references for each of the four topics should be selected, and an annotated bibliography prepared very early in the research for that topic.

There are three readily available sources of titles for the books, articles, etc., to be included in your annotated bibliography.

1. Your personal library--The first place you should always turn to for information is your own personal collection of books--something that we should all struggle to build up. Check books from previous courses or readings which might possibly contain information on the topic you are investigating. Check to see if there is a bibliography or footnotes which list titles you may be able to follow up on.

2. Local Bookstore--Find one that is well-stocked and makes available the most relevant information on key aspects

of Black history and the Black liberation struggle, as well as struggles all over the world. Visit the store and survey the collection. Make careful notes of books which may be useful to you. Salespersons are often knowledgeable on everything in the store and can help you in locating materials on specific topics.

3. University and Public Libraries--

A. The Card Catalogue contains a listing of books by author, by title and by subject. The subject category is a useful tool; look up titles such as "Reconstruction" but also look under "Negroes, U.S.," etc. In addition, the card catalogue will give you the call number and location of titles that you have listed from other sources.

B. Special Collections: Some libraries have a Negro Collection or other special collection on Black people throughout the world. There should be a card catalogue which should help in locating specific titles. The holdings of the special collection are very valuable (as is the entire library) so be careful not to remove materials that you have not charged out.

C. The Reference Desk is a source of general reference assistance and a source of several bibliographies and other guides which may help you in locating specific titles on your topic. You may want to consult the following for references on your topic:

1. John Davis, The American Negro Reference Book, (Prentice Hall, 1966).
2. Elizabeth Miller, The Negro in America: A Bibliography, (Harvard, 1970).
3. Harry A. Ploski, Afro-USA: A Reference Work on the Black Experience, (Bellwether, 1970).
4. Dorothy Porter, The Negro in the US, (Xerox Publications, 1969).
5. Catalogue Holdings of libraries at Howard University, Fisk University, Atlanta University and the Schomburg Collection.

D. Periodicals--Journals, magazines, and newspapers (especially back issues as well as current ones) should be in-

cluded for each topic. The following should be consulted in the Reference Room:

1. Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature
2. Public Affairs Information Service
3. New York Times Index.

Government publications should also be searched as useful sources for information about Black people and some should be included in the bibliography. The following may be useful:

1. Monthly Catalogue of U.S. Government Publications
2. Index to Publications of the U.S. Congress
3. Congressional Quarterly (CQ).

2. INVESTIGATION, ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION: THE RESEARCH PAPER

The research paper you will do in this part of INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES will enable you to analyze the materials on the Black experience to be covered in discussions, assigned readings, and supplementary readings, and to present a synthesis of this material in a clearly written paper. The four topics are (1) Reconstruction; (2) Rural-Urban Life; (3) Social Class; and (4) Black Autobiography. In addition to completing the paper, students are expected to present a completed annotated bibliography prepared according to the guidelines above during the first stage of work on each of the four topics.

For each topic there are three questions from which to choose the topic of your paper. In all cases, there are two sides to all of the questions, usually presented in the books that we are reading. Pay careful attention to understanding the opposing views, evaluate the evidence which supports each argument and your evaluation of the evidence in your paper. All papers are required (including the annotated bibliographies). All papers must be turned in on time or expect to lose credit for specified periods of lateness.

STYLE

1. All papers should be 10-15 pages in length, excluding

title page, footnotes, and bibliography (typed, double-spaced).

2. Footnotes and bibliography are important. You must cite outside references consulted in supporting your arguments, and you will probably choose to quote the words of other authors to make your point as clearly as possible (but only when footnotes and quotes add to the paper's presentation). All footnotes should be compiled on a single page at the end of the paper's text. (Refer to Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 1973).
3. Papers which are written as effectively as yours will be written, and are as important as they are in clarifying the important questions that have faced and are facing Black people, deserve to be presented in the best possible FORM. Carefully re-read your paper (several times) checking for typing errors, mis-spellings, and punctuation. Correct all errors neatly with a black ball point pen.

GRADES

1. 60% for four research papers (with bibliography).
2. 15% for midterm exam.
3. 25% for final exam.

**WORK HARD!
FURTHER THE ANALYSIS!**

1. ON THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, 1860-1880.

REQUIRED READING

W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880, (New York, Atheneum, 1935).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: RECONSTRUCTION

In this survey of the "history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America," W.E.B. DuBois presents a detailed class analysis of the causes of the Civil War and of the crucial role played by Black labor in the outcome of that struggle. The social forces leading to the continued subjugation of Black people in America after the abolition of slavery and the unsuccessful attempt to establish genuine political democracy in the South during the Reconstruction Era are also detailed.

While paying careful attention to the national (racial) oppression of Black people, Black Reconstruction portrays the vested interests of several identifiable classes. The ruling classes before the war were the merchant, banking, and developing industrial capitalists of the North, and the Southern slave-holding planter class. The oppressed classes were the industrial workers and the independent small farmers of the North and West, and the poor whites and Black agricultural workers (first slaves, then as freedmen) in the South. The increased demand for cotton caused by the expansion of British industrial capitalism increased the demand for cotton-growing land in the U.S., and for Black labor to grow that cotton. This was the basis of the principal contradiction between the Southern planter class and the other classes, mainly the Northern capitalists, which did not want slavery to expand.

As DuBois puts it, "abolition-democracy based on freedom, intelligence and power for all men" confronted a push of "industry for private profit directed by an autocracy determined at any price to amass wealth and power." Moreover DuBois goes on to accurately portray how the "abolition-democracy" coalition was temporary, lasting only until the dominant industrial class defeated the South, expanded industrial production, opened up the West for growing its food, and proceeded full speed with the monopolization of production and the concentration of wealth. It was precisely this same consolidation of the ruling Northern capitalist class that DuBois cites not only as the basis of the exploitation of white worker, but as

the major force in the deliberate dismantling of the democratic gains made during Reconstruction and the betrayal of Black people. In 1877 federal troops were withdrawn from the South (and used almost immediately to suppress rebellions by railroad workers) when the Northern capitalists were assured that their control over the national economy and the U.S. state had been consolidated.

A major goal of Black Reconstruction is to assess the activities of Black legislators in the various states of the South. Positive achievements like the establishment of the first public-supported educational system in South Carolina are noted. The propaganda of racist bourgeois historians regarding the low character and backwardness of the Black electorate and their elected representatives is disputed by DuBois using patiently accumulated evidence. In addition, DuBois demonstrates that giving political emancipation to Black people was incidental to the economic designs of the dominant capitalist class.

Chapters one through seven provide the basic class analysis of the period, essential for understanding the causes, conduct, and outcome of the Civil War. The attitudes of each class toward the struggle receives extensive treatment. The next two chapters dwell on the politics of the immediate post-war period, and show how the class interests and national chauvinism of President Andrew Johnson and the forces he represented obstructed all attempts to establish an agrarian democracy based on land reform in the South. Next, DuBois deals with the achievements and shortcomings of the Reconstruction governments in three states with Black majorities. Land monopoly, imported capital, fraud, and physical repression were factors that prevented a successful exercise of the recently acquired political power. In the last chapters, DuBois shows how Black labor was returned to a state of peonage by the combined efforts of Northern capital and the majority of white workers who had not yet come to see that their freedom from exploitation was inseparably linked to the freedom of Black people.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

1. Were the economic factors, i.e., the production relations (classes) and production forces (technology, industrial level, etc.) at work in the United States over the period 1854 to 1876 the crucial factors influencing the course of events during Reconstruction, or were the attitudes of the "great men" (e.g., Lincoln and Johnson, Sumner and Stevens) the determining factors?

2. Did racism and ruling class interests interfere with the establishment of a genuine proletarian democracy in the United States over the period 1854 to 1876, or was it simply the backwardness and innate inferiority of the newly freed men and women that accounted for the failure of Black people to achieve full liberation?

3. "What are American children taught today about Reconstruction? . . . They would in all probability complete their education without any idea of the part which the Black race has played in America; of the tremendous moral problem of abolition; of the cause and meaning of the Civil War and the relation which Reconstruction has to democratic government and the labor movement today. Herein lies more than mere omission and difference of emphasis. The treatment of Reconstruction reflects small credit upon American historians as scientists." Discuss how the two schools of history--scientific and unscientific--discussed the role of Black people in the Reconstruction governments; and whose interests these two interpretations served.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. James Allen, Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy, 1865-1876, (1937).
2. Lerone Bennett, Black Power, U.S.A.: The Human Side of Reconstruction, 1867-1877, (1967).
3. Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865, (1956).
4. John Hope Franklin, Reconstruction After the Civil War, (1961).
5. Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in The Civil War, (1953).
6. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Civil War in The United States, (1937).
7. Willie Lee Rose, Rehearsal for Reconstruction, (1964).
8. Alrutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880, (1941).
9. Allen W. Trelease, White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan--Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction, (1971).
10. Vernon Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890, (1947).

2. ON THE CHANGING SOCIAL FORMS OF THE BLACK EXPERIENCE — FROM RURAL TO URBAN LIFE.

REQUIRED READINGS

St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, (Harcourt Brace, 1945).

Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation, (University of Chicago Press, 1934).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: RURAL — URBAN LIFE

In 1890, a quarter of a century after the end of the Civil War, four out of every five Black people still lived in rural areas of the United States. Ten years later in 1900, nine out of every ten were in the South. And between 1890 and 1910, three out of every five Black men worked in agriculture. By contrast, in 1950 almost three of every ten Black people (28.2%) lived in the North. Between 1910 and 1940, the proportion of the Black population resident in urban areas of the U.S. increased from 22.7% to 48.2%. In 1950, only 40 % of the Black population lived on farms and the number of acres operated declined 37% to 25.7 million acres. Moreover, in 1950 the United States Census Bureau reported that for the "non-white" population--95% of which was Black--only 18.4% were employed as farm workers, with 38% as "blue collar workers" (mainly industrial) and 34% as "service workers." This transformation of the social form of the Black community--from a predominantly agricultural laboring class in the rural South to an integral sector of the industrial proletariat more concentrated in the urban North--is one of the most significant social transformations in the history of the United States.

Charles S. Johnson's Shadow of the Plantation is a study of one important aspect of this transformation--the conditions of life among Black tenant farmers in rural Macon County, Alabama (near Tuskegee) in the 1930's. As a study which seeks "to portray realistically the life of a rural Negro community under the influence of a plantation economy," it is a classic. It is based on extensive interviews with 612 families, about 10% of Macon County's population.

The book is comprised of two major sections. The first section is devoted to the historical background and development of the plantation. It places the life of the Black families studied in the contest of the Black Belt South and in the

broader Macon County community. Johnson then details the internal structure and dynamics of the community, providing empirical data to demonstrate its historical evolution and stability. Included are observations on survivals, patterns of life, social codes and attitudes shaped in the economy of slavery, as well as memories of slavery and farming methods remaining from that previous period. The second section focuses on the common economic life and such institutions as the family, school, religion, the church, recreation, and health care, all important aspects of the general socio-cultural pattern. Throughout the entire work we are able not only to understand the dominant historical forces that maintain the status quo, but also to grasp the forces causing change.

The vast majority of Black people during the early 1900's were concentrated in precisely the type of rural Black Belt community that Johnson studies--51.2% of the U.S. Black population was found in the Black Belt in 1900. Because of this, Shadow of the Plantation provides essential information for a scientific study of the precise character of the Black experience during this period.

Many Black people who left the rural farms of the South migrated to Northern cities undergoing rapid changes due to the forces of industrialization and urbanization. Black Metropolis is a two-volume study of one such city--Chicago. The study discusses Chicago from its settlement by a Black tradesman in 1790 to the early years of World War II. It is based on extensive interviews and first-hand participant-observations conducted by a team of investigators employed by the Work Project Administration (WPA), a government job program during the Great Depression.

The major portion of the two volumes is a study of Black Chicago. Part I situates the Black community--swollen by the mass migrations of the World Wars in the context of Chicago, which was experiencing the same forces of social change on a broader scale. Part II is comprised of case studies of the various social forces and mechanisms which kept Black people segregated and subordinated in the economic, political, and social life of Chicago--and pinpoints the forces which were causing "rifts in the color line" in all three of those arenas. Volume II is an in-depth investigation of "Bronzeville," the Black community of Chicago. Four chapters are devoted to key Black institutions: the newspaper, church, businesses, and

"policy" (i.e., the numbers). Chapters 18-23 are primarily concerned with revealing the internal dynamics of the Black community, with the concept of "social classes" playing a pivotal role in the interpretation. "Of Things To Come" is a projection of the future trends based on the wealth of data presented, and a 1961 update has been added.

Black Metropolis provides an all-sided and in-depth look at the first phase of the historical experience that is still the "modal" (the most important and widespread) experience for Black people in the U.S. today--living and working in the city. Thus, it will help us to understand the historical development of many of the questions and issues that are assuming more and more importance during the 1970's--the effect of the Depression, increasing struggles against unemployment, inflation and other social problems, and the development of radical political and social thought and programs for radical social change and a new social order.

Both Shadow of the Plantation and Black Metropolis are excellent examples of the concrete conditions of their respective historical periods. In addition, both books seek to place the conditions of Black people "in the broad framework of man's experience in the world." Johnson notes the "control [of] large areas already in the possession of banks and insurance companies in satisfaction of mortgage defaults," and the increasing pressure of exploitation and oppression on the tenant farmers. He concludes by calling for "comprehensive planning . . . the complete reorganization of agriculture in respect to both production and distribution." Drake and Cayton, in a later period, note that the prospect of Black people "filling the role of whipping boy for an emerging American fascism . . . depends not so much upon Chicago as upon the possibility of America achieving full employment in the post-war world and on the development of a world program for emancipating the Common Man."

Thus, we have in these two books not just classics in methodology and empirical data, but also the kind of broad social vision of Black liberation that is the hallmark of the scientific tradition of Black intellectual work. It is this same challenging vision of the new world that we must help to build that should inspire our study and struggle during the present period.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

1. The social character of a community is based on the class structure of its inhabitants and its racial composition. Using the categories of race and class, compare the social character of Macon County in 1930 and Chicago in the 1940's. Include in your discussion the causes and social consequences of the second great migration of Black people from the rural South to the urban North.

2. In what ways does the social character of rural Macon County (as discussed in Shadow of the Plantation) compare to the area you live in now as it was in the 1930's? Discuss similarities and differences.

3. Discuss the concluding essay in Black Metropolis entitled "Of Things to Come." Compare its projection with the 1961 and 1969 appendices. Considering recent statistical data on the current situation in the life and struggles of the urban Black workers, what is the usefulness of Black Metropolis in understanding these conditions, and hence changing them?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

RURAL

1. Walter F. White, Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch, (1929, on Tynching).
2. Harry Haywood, Negro Liberation, (1948).
3. Charles S. Johnson, Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South, (1941).
4. Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree and Will Alexander, The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy, (1935).
5. Howard Kester, Revolt Among the Sharecroppers, (1936).
6. Hylan Lewis, Blackways of Kent, (1955).
7. Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South, (1939).

8. Arthur F. Raper, Preface to Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties, (1936).
9. Morton Rubin, Plantation County, (1951).
10. Carter G. Woodson, The Rural Negro, (1930).

URBAN

1. John Bracey, Jr., et. al., ed., The Rise of the Ghetto, (1971).
2. Chicago Commission on Race Relations, The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot, (1922).
3. John Henry Clarke, Harlem: A Community in Transition, (1969).
4. Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, (1965).
5. W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro, (1899).
6. Hollis R. Lynch, The Black Urban Condition, 1866-1971, (1973).
7. Constance McLaughlin Green, The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in The Nation's Capital, (1967).
8. Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, Negro New York, 1890-1930, (1966).
9. Allen H. Spear, Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920, (1967).
10. Robert Weaver, The Negro Ghetto, (1948).

3. ON THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF BLACK PEOPLE — PROLETARIAT, PETTY BOURGEOISIE, AND BOURGEOISIE.

REQUIRED READINGS

Abram L. Harris and Sterling D. Spero, The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement, (1931).

E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States, (1967).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: SOCIAL CLASS

The social structure of a society, and all of its constituent peoples and communities, is always fundamentally based on its social classes. This is true for the United States as for all societies that have ever existed, although the specific class character of each society is based on the particular historical conditions of that society. The history of Black people in the US can therefore be understood best if the historical development of classes in the US (particularly of Black people) is the basis on which it is done. So this area of study is a basic framework for the entire field of Afro-American Studies.

The Black Worker is "an effort to set forth descriptively and analytically the results of a study of the American labor movement in one of its most important aspects, namely, the relation of the dominant section of the working class to the segregated, circumscribed, and restricted Negro minority." Black Bourgeoisie set out "to make a sociological analysis of the behavior, the attitudes, and values of the "black bourgeoisie . . ." Together, these two books sum up the origin of the existing classes that undergird the social structure of Afro-American people.

Spero and Harris, in the Black Worker, focus on 4 basic factors: (1) "the persistence of the Negro's slave heritage," (2) "the exclusive craft structure of the leading labor organizations," (3) "the change in the Negro's fundamental relation to industry resulting from the recent migrations and the absorption into the mills and factories of a substantial

part of the reserve of black labor," and (4) "the rise of a Negro middle class and the consequent spread of middle class ideals throughout the Negro community." As the study was completed in the middle of the Great Depression, this approach has the added importance of showing how the crisis facing Black workers is connected to the crisis facing the entire society.

This study is organized in 5 sections, that include 21 chapters. The first section sums up "the heritage of slavery" in two chapters. The main contribution of the study is in the next four sections. This deals with the proletarianization of the Black masses and their relationship to white workers, trade unions, and the Black middle class. This volume should be read in three stages: (1) Sections 1 and 2 (7 chapters), (2) Section 3 (6 chapters); (3) Sections 4 and 5 (8 chapters).

Frazier begins his study of The Black Bourgeoisie by tracing the historical relationship of Afro-Americans to the development of capitalism, e.g., the Triangular Atlantic Slave Trade, plantation system of agriculture, and war-time industrialization. The significant historical development of this analysis is that "the relative size of the black bourgeoisie in the Negro population has increased during the past decade (1940's) largely because the proportion of Negro workers in clerical and kindred occupations has more than doubled and the proportion of female clerical workers quadrupled since 1940."

The book is in two sections: The World of Reality and The World of Make Believe. " . . . The first being the real or objectively existing economic condition and social status of the 'black bourgeoisie' in the United States, and the second being the standards of behavior and values of the isolated social world of this segment of the Negro population, which has come into existence as a consequence of racial discrimination and racial segregation." This book can be read in two stages.

These two books cover the main classes of the Afro-American people. It does not cover farmers, displaced workers (unemployed, welfare recipients, etc.) and the "lumpen proletariat." But the same methodology that is used in both can be applied to all classes. Therefore, although these books don't cover all classes of Black people they have helped lead the way in getting the total analysis done.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

1. Harris and Spero wrote "the obstacles which econom-

ic radicalism had to overcome in order to gain some acceptance in Negro life were: (1) the Negro's orthodox religious traditions; (2) the growing prevalence of Negro middle-class ideology; and (3) racial antagonism between white and black workers." (p. 398) Discuss the specific social content of each of the above three obstacles, and the role of trade unions and the Black press.

2. Compare, in detail, the specific attitudes of the Black proletariat and the Black bourgeoisie on the question of race relations. How does this general attitude show up in this particular instance which Harris and Spero discuss: "For three hundred years the Negro has been kept in a position of social and economic inferiority, and white organized labor, dominated by the hierarchy of the skilled crafts, has no desire to see him emerge from that condition. The educated leaders of the Negro see only the racial aspect of this situation."

3. Frazier, in Black Bourgeoisie, begins his investigations of "the world of reality," by discussing the historical roots and economic basis of the Black middle class. Harris and Spero in discussing the Black proletariat begin with the competition between Black and white labor during the slave regimes. Their method is to understand the economic (material) forces at work in society and then to interpret the social and political developments. Using both of their works, discuss:

A. the education and politics of the Black proletariat and the education and politics of the Black bourgeoisie;

B. material forces described by the two references which would account for these differences.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

PROLETARIAT

1. W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro Artisan, (1902).
2. Phillip S. Foner, Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973, (1974).
3. Herbert R. Garfinkel, When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC, (1959).

4. Herbert Northrop, et.al., The Negro in American Industry, (1968).
5. Ira D. Reid, Negro Membership in American Labor Unions, (1930).
6. Robert C. Weaver, Negro Labor: A National Problem, (1946).
7. Charles Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925, (1927).
8. Raymond S. Walters, Negroes and the Great Depression: The Problem of Economic Recovery, (1970).
9. Carter G. Woodson and Lorenzo Green, The Negro Wage Earner, (1930).
10. U.S. Department of Labor, Division of Negro Economics, The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction, (1921).

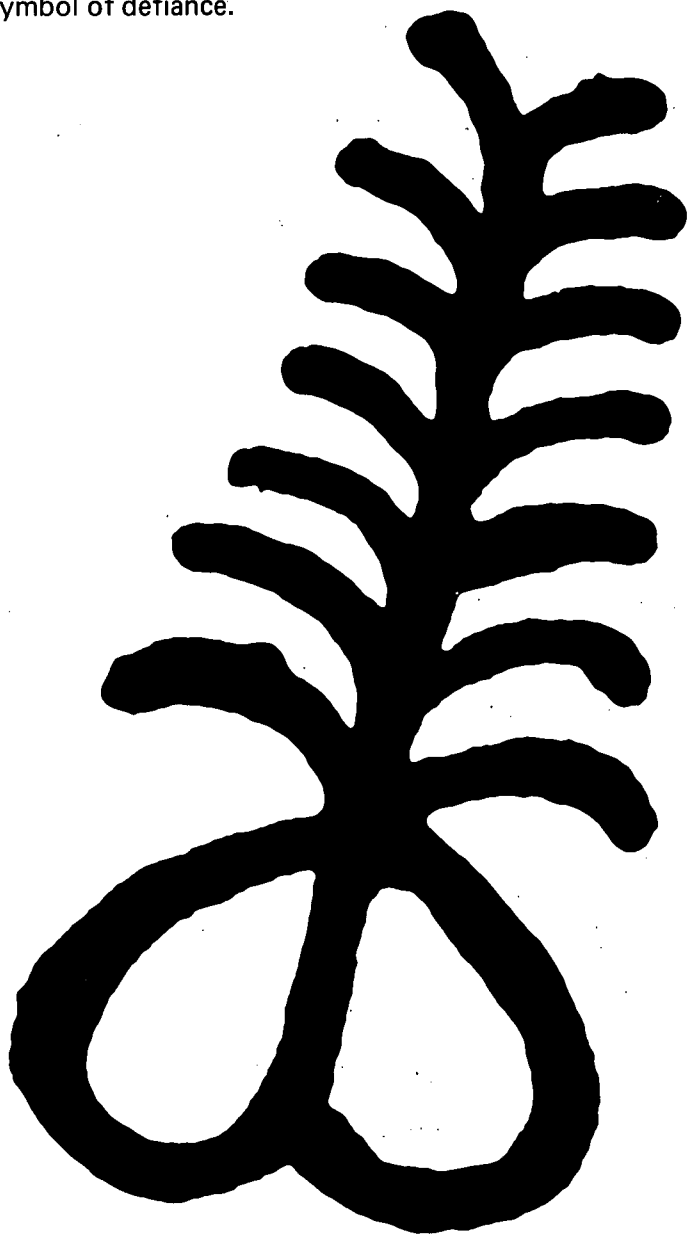
BOURGEOISIE

1. W.E.B. DuBois, "The Talented Tenth," in W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, eds., The Negro Problem, (1903) and The Negro in Business, (1899).
2. G. Franklin Edwards, The Negro Professional Class, (1959).
3. E. Franklin Frazier, "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," in Alain Locke, et., The New Negro, (1925).
4. E. Franklin Frazier, The Free Negro Family, (1932).
5. Charles S. Johnson, The Negro College Graduate, (1938).
6. August Meier and David Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1958," Journal of Negro Education, (Springs, 1959).
7. Joseph A. Pierce, Negro Business and Business Education, (1948).
8. Louis Robinson, Jr., The Black Millionaires, (1972).
9. Wallace Thurman, The Blacker the Berry, (1929).
10. Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and the Community, (1934).

AYA (the firn).

This word also means 'I am not afraid of you.'

A symbol of defiance.



4. ON THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF BLACK LEADERSHIP — BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND MALCOLM X.

REQUIRED READINGS

Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (1901).

Autobiography of Malcolm X, (1965).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: BLACK AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Most of our study thus far has focused on broad historical patterns that add up the entire field of Afro-American Studies. At this point we reverse our approach and focus on two prominent "leaders" of the twentieth century, Booker T. Washington (1858-1915) and Malcolm X (1925-1965). Our task is to demonstrate how the general pattern is linked to particular individuals, i.e., to demonstrate how these two "leaders" each in their own way, can serve as a prism through which to analyze the life of Afro-American people.

Booker T. Washington's life was promoted for decades by the Black middle class as the model for manhood. His view on race relations was "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." He promoted good Protestant virtues (thrift, cleanliness, hard work, etc.) and was an advocate of Blacks going into business. Booker T. Washington is being resurrected today by some elements in the Black community that believe his ideas are relevant to the Black middle class today.

Up From Slavery is presented in 17 chapters that can be read quickly like a short novel. Washington's life can be categorized in three periods: (1) Slavery and its aftermath; (2) studying, teaching, and administratering Negro educational institutions; and (3) as a regional, national, and international "leader" for Black people. This book covers only the first stage in a comprehensive way since Washington lived years after this book was published.

Malcolm has emerged as one of the militant heroes of the

Black liberation movement. More than most major figures he reflects the class and ideology of a force that rose up in the 1960's. Malcolm became the symbolic personification of the militant young nationalist movement, and is viewed as a revolutionary pillar of the nationalist and pan-africanist ideological school of thought.

Malcolm's life consists of four stages, and conveniently he had a different name in each one: (1) Malcolm Little; (2) Detroit Red; (3) Malcolm X; and (4) El Hajj Malik el Shabazz. This progression goes from (1) small midwestern city with a small Black population; (2) large eastern city with a large cosmopolitan Black population; (3) travel all over US as national spokesperson of the Nation of Islam; and (4) international spokesperson for all Afro-American and all other freedom-loving people.

The book is made up of 19 chapters, Introduction and 2 epilogues. This autobiography can also be read like a novel, although the epilogue by Alex Haley should be considered an important chapter to study as well.

As a model for manhood, Malcolm X (militant with a positive Black self-image, outspoken and always prepared to struggle) has replaced Booker T. Washington (conciliatory with a second class self-image, convincing and strengthened by contacts with ruling class contacts).

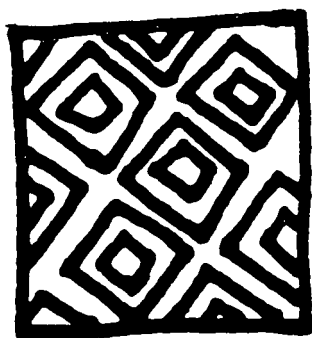
QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

Individuals, their ideology and their practice all develop in a concrete historical and social context. The specific context is greatly influenced by economic (material) forces operating in the society, and the struggles of the masses of people--for example a response of struggle and protest. Therefore, great leaders--their rise, their popularity, their changing ideas, and their fall--must be viewed in this broader context. Discuss the major features of Booker T. Washington's leadership and contrast that with a discussion of the leadership of Malcolm X. Identify the social, historical, and economic, and other factors which explain their differences.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. John Henry Clarke, ed., Malcolm X: The Man and His Times, (1969).

2. Malcolm X, On Afro-American History, (1967).
3. By Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews, and a Letter by Malcolm X, (1970).
4. The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches by Malcolm X, (1971).
5. W.E.B. DuBois, "Of Booker T. Washington and Others," in Souls of Black Folk, (1903).
6. Stephen R. Fox, The Guardian of Boston: William Monroe Trotter, (1970).
7. August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915, (1963).
8. Booker T. Washington, The Future of the American Negro, (1899).
9. Booker T. Washington, The Negro in Business, (1907).



ANIBERE A ENSO GYA
 (Red eyes can not light the fire.)
 Your anger can not set me on fire.
 You can not frighten me by
 pretending to be angry. Another
 symbol of defiance.

RESOURCES PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

1. AFRICAN RED FAMILY; a good source for revolutionary perspectives on the current African situation. (Quarterly. Available from Timbuktu Books, P.O. Box 7696, Chicago, Illinois 60680)
2. AFRICAN WORLD; the best source of monthly developments in the Black liberation movement, especially the anti-imperialist student movement. The African World Resource Center is a good source of films, pamphlets, and other resources. Write for further details. (P.O. Box 2413, Washington, D.C., 20013)
3. BLACK SCHOLAR; an important monthly review of Black Studies and the thinking of Black intellectuals since 1969. (P.O. Box 908, Sausalito, CA, 94965)
4. BLACK WORLD; a widely available monthly review in matters of Black culture, with annual issues on poetry, drama, and other special topics. (1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60616)
5. JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES; quarterly since 1970 that serves as a vehicle for academic research.
6. JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY; a quarterly publication initiated by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1916.
7. MONTHLY REVIEW; a good source of commentary by radical social scientists, edited by political economists.
8. PEOPLES COLLEGE PRESS; expanding resource center for political education materials on the Black liberation movement, anti-imperialist struggle, and world revolution. Write for a list of available publications. (P.O. Box 7696, Chicago, Illinois 60680)
9. REVIEW OF BLACK POLITICAL ECONOMY; since 1970, one of the leading centers and journals is reflecting some of the current thinking on economics among Black people. Special publications on the land question in the rural South, property taxes in Mississippi, and Black incomes 1947-1950 are available. (Black Economic Research Center, 112 West 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027)

10. UNION OF RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMISTS (URPE); an organization which attempts to develop a radical perspective on the current crisis of imperialism. Several publications are available. (URPE Office of Organizational Services, Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, MI, 48104)

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