

AN EVOLVING PROGRAM FOR BLACK STUDIES CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT ,
1972-1982

A TEN-YEAR DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF INTRODUCTION
TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES
AND OTHER RELATED ACTIVITY OF PEOPLES COLLEGE

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SPECIAL NOTE

Copies of this document, "An Evolving Program for Black Studies Curriculum Development, 1972-1982: A Ten-Year Documentary History of Introduction to Afro-American Studies and other Related Activity of Peoples College", were reproduced with funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities for use in a workshop entitled "Developing Humanities-Based Model Courses for a Core Curriculum in Afro-American Studies." The workshop was funded by N.E.H. and sponsored by the Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research and held at the University of Chicago, July 6-18, 1982. A main task of the workshop, involving Black Studies professionals from around the U.S., was a critical review and evaluation of Introduction to Afro-American Studies.

Preface

This document is an effort to share with others materials developed by Peoples College and its members in support of the Black Studies movement over the past ten years. It focusses specifically on curriculum development, especially the textbook Introduction to Afro-American Studies. It includes materials produced directly by Peoples College and published by Peoples College Press, as well as materials produced by organizations in which members of Peoples College have been active (e.g., the Illinois Council for Black Studies, the National Council for Black Studies, etc.).

While the document is extensive, it is by no means complete. New materials which will undoubtedly surface will be added to it.

We hope that the compilation will serve a useful purpose:

- (1) by demonstrating the long-standing commitment of Peoples College to Black Studies and to developing materials which can contribute to the struggle to secure a more permanent place for it in U.S. higher education.
- (2) by demonstrating our continuing efforts to link the work of Black scholars and activists-intellectuals inside the academy to the concerns and motion of the masses of Black people. This is the legacy that the best of Black intellectual tradition offers.
- (3) by giving others a fuller picture of these continuing efforts that they can be criticized and improved, thus involving more and more people in this important collective enterprise

The crisis is deepening and our need is more obvious for educational materials and programs which aid Black people and others in exploring the dimensions of our current situation, its historical roots, and alternative solutions to mounting problems. As this occurs, we look forward to your comments and criticisms of these documents, to learn of and support your

efforts, and to develop a greater collective capacity to take care of the necessary business in the remainder of the 1980s and beyond.

In Unity for
Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility
in Black Studies,

PEOPLES COLLEGE

July 1982

WHAT IS PEOPLES COLLEGE?

PEOPLES COLLEGE is an organization of revolutionary Black people dedicated to fight against racism, imperialism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression. Its goal is total freedom for Black People, all oppressed people, and all people who are victims of class exploitation which will require fundamental changes in the U.S. capitalist system.

Peoples College was founded in Nashville, Tennessee in 1970. It represented reclaiming the activist-intellectual legacy of a previous Peoples College founded at Fisk in the 1930s by Charles S. Johnson, noted sociologist. Now based in Chicago, the key theme that has guided the work has been "education for liberation." Peoples College has been actively involved in many activities in the Black liberation struggle. We have been active participants in the Black Studies movement. Another area of activity has been African liberation support work: building African Liberation Day demonstrations in the early 1970s, the FREE ZIMBABWE campaign, the anti krugerrand struggles in Chicago, and African Liberation Sunday in 1978.

Peoples College also operates TIMBUKTU: THE BLACK PEOPLES BOOKSTORE, a non profit educational center at 2530 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago. Peoples College has also published the BLACK LIBERATION MONTH NEWS for over ten years.

AN EVOLVING PROGRAM FOR BLACK STUDIES CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, 1972-1982
A Ten Year Documentary History of Introduction to Afro-American Studies

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James Newton, "Standardization: Key to Afro-American Studies," Education (Volume 98, No. 5, 1977), pp. 436-439.

James Stewart, "Introducing Afro-American Studies: A Critical Examination of Some Textual Material (Umuja (Spring 1979)

Charles P. Henry and Frances Smith Foster, "Black Women's Studies: Threat or Challenge," Western Journal of Black Studies (Volume 6, No. 1, 1982).

TOWARD A TEN-YEAR SUMMATION OF INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

A Preliminary Outline

1. Introduction to Afro-American Studies has deep roots in the rich soil of the Black liberation movement which surged forward in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, and the Black Studies movement which was its manifestation on campuses throughout the U.S. This period nurtured many important new ideological transformations, political orientations, and organizational forms. Introduction to Afro-American Studies was one aspect of a more general efforts of Peoples College, which also was founded during this period (1970), to bring greater consciousness to the fundamentally spontaneous character of the Black Liberation/Black Studies upsurge.
2. Introduction to Afro-American Studies, called Intro, as a product of this period reflects the increasing radicalization of a generation of young Black activists and scholars who sought to make their academic training and intellectual work "relevant" to the needs of Black people fighting for freedom, a fight that had been rendered tremendous blows by the assassination of Malcolm and King, and subjected to both increased repression and cooptation. This spirit of Black intellectuals serving the struggle in a radical way is perhaps best expressed in a document called The Declaration Against Imperialism, adopted by a 1975 conference of more than 100 people, including leading scholars and activists. This conference also called for the development of study guides for academic courses and community-based study guides. These guides could clarify the history and current conditions of Black people, and lay a firm foundation for more intelligent and committed involvement in the ongoing liberation struggle.
3. Introduction to Afro-American Studies is a collective product in two senses: (a) of the Peoples College editorial collective which conceived it,

spearheaded its development, and sustained its subsequent exposure and improvement for almost a decade; (b) of the broader social movement which was the cutting edge of struggle and change in the U.S. - in the broad society and within the academy. Over the past ten years, deliberate attempts have been made to expose Introduction to Afro-American Studies in a variety of contexts.

(a) In the academy: Among the professional organizations where presentations were made (usually at the annual conference) and where input, comments, and criticisms were sought were the following: The African Association of Black Studies, the African Heritage Studies Association, the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, the Association for Social and Behavioral Sciences, the Association of Black Psychologists, the Caucus of Black Sociologists, the conference of the Center for Afro-American Studies at Atlanta University, the College Language Association, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, the National Council for Black Studies, the New York Conference on Black Studies, the North Carolina Council for Black Studies and others. In addition, many copies of the first versions of Introduction to Afro-American Studies were mailed to scholars all over the U.S. and abroad for their comments. Several significant conferences where the discussion of Intro and curriculum in Black Studies was central were also organized.

(b) In the movement: Intro was developed in close relationship to the developing work of movement organizations, especially the African Liberation Support Committee, the leading Black liberation organization between 1972 and 1975.

Building unity between Black liberation movement activists and the

scholars working in the context of the academy was a central theme of much work by Peoples College during this period, and a central theme reflected in Intro--STUDY AND STRUGGLE.

4. Introduction to Afro-American Studies has for ten years raised the important question of curriculum standardization--as a way of consolidating the important products and lessons of Black intellectual history, and as a way to consolidate a base for responding to the crisis and cutbacks increasingly facing U.S. higher education and Black Studies. But in raising standardization, the conception was not to become "the official textbooks" of the Black Studies movement nor to dictate all the content of every Black Studies course. Rather, the conception was to contribute to developing a consensus that would identify and write on a set of common aspects that could be studied as the core content of Black Studies: topics, themes, questions, concepts, personalities, events, books, required courses etc.

More concretely, our view was that if only 10% of what we taught in Black Studies introductory courses initially reflected this consensus, we would be much better off. We would also have a basis for increasing the consensus to encompass a large portion of the core curriculum.

5. Introduction to Afro-American Studies faces the future with the dimensions of the crisis facing Blacks in society and in higher education much clearer now than when it was initiated. But the symbol for crisis in Chinese is the combination of the symbol for danger and the symbol for opportunity. There is the danger that the rightward drift, and increasing institutional and societal racism and the resulting budget cutbacks will destroy or severely

weaken Black Studies. This is the obvious trend with social welfare programs, affirmative action, and the like.

But there is the great opportunity and possibility that Black Studies professionals can seize the initiative, engage in much need mutual self-criticism and criticism, and then move ahead to consolidate Black Studies on a higher level of academic excellence and social responsibility. This is especially important as Black people and the Black liberation movement surge forward as in the previous decade, again seeking relevant (and increasingly militant) answers to respond to and solve the deepening crisis.

Introduction to Afro-American Studies has a history as a collective product with deep roots in the struggle of Black people. It seeks to reclaim our history and garner to best of the rich intellectual traditions of Black people. As has been the case for almost ten years, Peoples College is open to comments and criticisms of Intro toward making it a better and more useful product. Because its orientation and that of Peoples College, the organization which has created and sustained it, is not only to understand the work and the conditions of Black people but to change them, we are confident that it has a meaningful contribution to make in the years ahead.

June 1982

PEOPLES COLLEGE
NATIONAL BLACK HISTORY
WEEK I

- A. How did the original English colonists acquire the land on which they settled with the landing of Columbus in 1492?

The United States of America (USA) was founded on genocide (the systematic murder of most of the Native Americans - Indians), for the purpose of stealing LAND. Mercenary explorers (like Christopher Columbus) came to the Americas with trinkets and guns to buy off or to kill off the original inhabitants of the land. The seizure of Wounded Knee by Indians in North Dakota served as a sharp reminder of the current oppression of the Indian peoples. But this genocidal oppression has deep roots in U.S. history as this excerpt from Dee Brown's Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee (1970) illustrates.

Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket, and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and the oppression of the White Man, as snow before a summer sun.

Will we let ourselves be destroyed in our turn without a struggle, give up our homes, our country bequeathed to us by the Great Spirit, the graves of our dead and everything that is dear and sacred to us? I know you will cry with me, "Never! Never!"

—TECUMSEH OF THE SHAWNEES

IT BEGAN with Christopher Columbus, who gave the people the name *Indios*. Those Europeans, the white men, spoke in different dialects, and some pronounced the word *Indien*, or *Indianer*, or *Indian*. *Peaux-rouges*, or *redskins*, came later. As was the custom of the people when receiving strangers, the Tainos on the island of San Salvador generously presented Columbus and his men with gifts and treated them with honor.

"So tractable, so peaceable, are these people," Columbus wrote to the King and Queen of Spain, "that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbors as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy."

All this, of course, was taken as a sign of weakness, if

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BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE

not heathenism, and Columbus being a righteous European was convinced the people should be "made to work, sow and do all that is necessary and to adopt our ways." Over the next four centuries (1492-1890) several million Europeans and their descendants undertook to enforce their ways upon the people of the New World.

Columbus kidnapped ten of his friendly Taino hosts and carried them off to Spain, where they could be introduced to the white man's ways. One of them died soon after arriving there, but not before he was baptized a Christian. The Spaniards were so pleased that they had made it possible for the first Indian to enter heaven that they hastened to spread the good news throughout the West Indies.

The Tainos and other Arawak people did not resist conversion to the Europeans' religion, but they did resist strongly when hordes of these bearded strangers began scouring their islands in search of gold and precious stones. The Spaniards looted and burned villages; they kidnapped hundreds of men, women, and children and shipped them to Europe to be sold as slaves. Arawak resistance brought on the use of guns and sabers, and whole tribes were destroyed, hundreds of thousands of people in less than a decade after Columbus set foot on the beach of San Salvador, October 12, 1492.

Communications between the tribes of the New World were slow, and news of the Europeans' barbarities rarely overtook the rapid spread of new conquests and settlements. Long before the English-speaking white men arrived in Virginia in 1607, however, the Powhatans had heard rumors about the civilizing techniques of the Spaniards. The Englishmen used subtler methods. To ensure peace long enough to establish a settlement at Jamestown, they put a golden crown upon the head of Wahunsenacook, dubbed him King Powhatan, and convinced him that he should put his people to work supplying the white settlers with food. Wahunsenacook vacillated between loyalty to his rebellious subjects and to the English, but after John Rolfe married his daughter, Pocahontas, he apparently decided that he was more English than Indian. After Wahunsenacook died, the Powhatans rose up in revenge to drive the Englishmen back into the sea from

"THEIR MANNERS ARE DECOROUS AND PRAISEWORTHY" 3

which they had come, but the Indians underestimated the power of English weapons. In a short time the eight thousand Powhatans were reduced to less than a thousand.

In Massachusetts the story began somewhat differently but ended virtually the same as in Virginia. After the Englishmen landed at Plymouth in 1620, most of them probably would have starved to death but for aid received from friendly natives of the New World. A Pemaquid named Samoset and three Wampanoags named Massasoit, Squanto, and Hobomah became self-appointed missionaries to the Pilgrims. All spoke some English, learned from explorers who had touched ashore in previous years. Squanto had been kidnapped by an English seaman who sold him into slavery in Spain, but he escaped through the aid of another Englishman and finally managed to return home. He and other Indians regarded the Plymouth colonists as helpless children; they shared corn with them from the tribal stores, showed them where and how to catch fish, and got them through the first winter. When spring came they gave the white men some seed corn and showed them how to plant and cultivate it.

For several years these Englishmen and their Indian neighbors lived in peace, but many more shiploads of white people continued coming ashore. The ring of axes and the crash of falling trees echoed up and down the coasts of the land which the white man now called New England. Settlements began crowding in upon each other. In 1625 some of the colonists asked Samoset to give them 12,000 additional acres of Pemaquid land. Samoset knew that land came from the Great Spirit, was as endless as the sky, and belonged to no man. To humor these strangers in their strange ways, however, he went through a ceremony of transferring the land and made his mark on a paper for them. It was the first deed of Indian land to English colonists.

Most of the other settlers, coming in by thousands now, did not bother to go through such a ceremony. By the time Massasoit, great chief of the Wampanoags, died in 1662 his people were being pushed back into the wilderness. His son Metacom foresaw doom for all Indians unless they united to resist the invaders. Although the New Englanders flattered Metacom by crowning him King Philip

of Pokanoket, he devoted most of his time to forming alliances with the Narragansetts and other tribes in the region.

In 1675, after a series of arrogant actions by the colonists, King Philip led his Indian confederacy into a war meant to save the tribes from extinction. The Indians attacked fifty-two settlements, completely destroying twelve of them; but after months of fighting, the firepower of the colonists virtually exterminated the Wampanoags and Narragansetts. King Philip was killed and his head publicly exhibited at Plymouth for twenty years. Along with other captured Indian women and children, his wife and young son were sold into slavery in the West Indies.

When the Dutch came to Manhattan Island, Peter Minuit purchased it for sixty guilders in fishhooks and glass beads, but encouraged the Indians to remain and continue exchanging their valuable peltries for such trinkets. In 1641, Willem Kieft levied tribute upon the Mahicans and sent soldiers to Staten Island to punish the Raritans for offenses which had been committed not by them but by white settlers. The Raritans resisted arrest, and the soldiers killed four of them. When the Indians retaliated by killing four Dutchmen, Kieft ordered the massacre of two entire villages while the inhabitants slept. The Dutch soldiers ran their bayonets through men, women, and children, hacked their bodies to pieces, and then leveled the villages with fire.

For two more centuries these events were repeated again and again as the European colonists moved inland through the passes of the Alleghenies and down the westward-flowing rivers to the Great Waters (the Mississippi) and then up the Great Muddy (the Missouri).

B. Where did the colonies accumulate enough capital to become independent?

After the colonies were founded in the Caribbean and on the North American mainland, the settlers needed a LABOR source to develop the land. This labor source was stolen from Africa. A triangular trade developed in order to facilitate the development of this labor and make money for the businessmen in Europe mainly England. The industrial revolution in Europe developed on the basis of bloody profits reaped from the slave trade. Ships sailed from Europe with arms, beads, cloth, and other goods to exchange them for slaves. They sailed from Africa with hundreds of slaves chained together. This is the Middle passage in which many died because of suffocation and disease due to the inhumane conditions of their prison ships. After delivering slaves to the West Indies, Brazil, or the colonies, the ships left for England with goods received in payment for the slave, e.g., rum, indigo, tobacco, etc., (slave grown or produced goods). The triangle was from Europe-to-Africa-to-colonies-and-back-to-Europe.

THE TRIANGULAR TRADE

(Quotes from Capitalism and Slavery, (1944), by Eric Williams)

ENGLAND

AFRICA

"The triangular trade thereby gave a triple stimulus to British industry. The Negroes were purchased with British manufacturing goods.... The profits obtained... financed the Industrial Revolution." p. 52

"In this triangular trade England--France, and Colonial America equally--supplied the exports and the ships; Africa supplied human merchandise; the plantations the colonial raw materials. The slave ships sailed from the home country with a cargo of manufactured goods. These were exchanged at a profit on the coast of Africa for Negroes, who were traded on the plantations, at another profit, in exchange for a cargo of colonial produce to be taken back to the home country." p. 51

"The British Empire was a magnificent superstructure of American commerce and naval power on an African foundation." p. 52

THE CARIBBEAN

"The West Indian Islands became the hub of the British empire, of immense importance to the grandeur and prosperity of England. It was the Negro slaves who made these sugar colonies the most precious colonies ever recorded in the whole annals of imperialism." p. 52

Many writers have studied the significance of this early trade in Black men to the development of the contemporary world. Karl Marx has stated that, among two other factors, "the turning of Africa into a commercial warren for the hunting of black skins signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." In a more recent book called How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Walter Rodney has dealt not only with Africa's contribution to Europe's development but as importantly, the impact of the slave trade on the present underdevelopment of the African continent.

- C. How did the accumulation of capital in the colonies lead up to the "Revolutionary War"?

The colonies used slave labor to accumulate CAPITAL, but most of this capital had to be sent to England (the mother country). Even though the colonies helped to support Britain, it had no representation in British parliament. Laws were passed to prevent the colonies from trading directly with another country. England forbade the colonies to import goods from the West Indies or to begin construction of iron-works in the colonies. When England passed the Stamp Act of 1765 and the Tea Act of 1773, the colonies decided to declare itself independent and wage armed struggle against England.

In The Negro People in American History, William Z. Foster gives a more detailed account of this important revolutionary period.

The first American Revolution was a violent economic, political, and military collision between the young colonial capitalism striving to grow and acquire independence, and the dominant British capitalism, which sought to stifle and restrict it. Under King George III, the combination of landlords, merchants, and industrialists ruled England in accordance with the mercantile spirit of the times. They considered the colonies as merely so many appendages apparently designed by nature for the profit and glory of British exploiters—a supposition which sounds familiar enough in these days of ruthless imperialist exploitation of colonial peoples. British policy aimed specifically to prevent the growth of American industry and trade. The end result was the Revolution of 1776, in which the American merchant capitalists, landowners and slaveholders, with their allies among the masses of the people, broke the controls of the British masters and began their own independent course of national development.

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

From the founding of the Virginia and Massachusetts colonies, British policy moved persistently to strangle independent American economic development. "Whether the king's authority was strong or weak, whether the party in power was Whig or Tory, British landlords and merchants worked increasingly to keep the colonies in leading strings."¹ The economic life of the colonies was confined to the tender care of the Council of Foreign Plantations in 1660, which became the Board of Trade in 1696. This body was responsible thenceforth for many crippling laws and regulations, such as the Navigation Acts of 1660-63, giving England a monopoly of the tobacco, rice, indigo, and dyewood trades; the Act of 1699, prohibiting the shipment of wool from one colony to another to protect the English wool-growers; the Act of 1732, forbidding the export of American-made

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hats; the Act of 1733, designed to force the importation of sugar and molasses directly from the British West Indies, regardless of price; the Act of 1750, forbidding the construction of iron-works in the colonies; and the persistent wiping out of all colonial legislation and practices facilitating the growth of American commerce and industry. To put teeth into these restrictions, England governed the colonies through a whole set of corrupt Royal provincial governors and judges, appointed by the Crown and altogether beyond the control of the colonies.

It was one thing, however, for the "home country" to put crippling economic decrees on the books and quite a different matter to enforce them. For over a century, England had been waging a life-and-death struggle with other European powers to establish its control of the seas, and it was in no position to give very close attention to controlling its vigorous American colonies. Hence, by seizing upon every opportunity, the latter were able to extend their commerce, create some industrial beginnings, and to win a small measure of democracy in the various colonies. The Americans smuggled on a wide scale, traded with the enemy in times of war, and openly flouted many economic and political regulations that had been solemnly proclaimed by the bigwigs in London. These illicit economic operations "virtually became the foundation of northern mercantile capitalism."²

Upon the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, which definitely crippled the power of France in America and Europe, England decided upon a more drastic policy regarding her American colonies, which were fast getting out of hand, with their expanding commerce and budding industries. Many severe regulations followed—the restriction of western land speculation and the far-flung fur trade by the Treaty of 1763, which established a demarcation line along the Appalachian mountains; the Sugar Act of 1764, which hamstringing the big American slave trade and put a damper on widespread smuggling and piracy; the Stamp Act of 1765, which hit all commercial activity; and the Acts forbidding the colonial issuance of money; the Tea Act of 1773, etc. The British also sent troops to terrorize the colonial population.

The inevitable explosion followed. The American bourgeoisie (which now sends Communists to jail for long terms for even mentioning revolution), proceeded to take up arms against the oppressor, when its own vital class interests were menaced. Boldly enunciating the right of revolution, the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, proclaimed to the world: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and institute new Government."

D. How was slavery provided for in the Constitution?

The colonies won political independence from Britain, but all of her own population was not free. In fact, slavery was written into the Constitution (without using the word, slavery). To ensure the exploitation of free slave labor 1) Slaves were declared 3/5 of a man (for voting purposes of the South), 2) Slaves could be imported with a \$10 tax on each slave and 3) Slaves could not escape to another state. Therefore, it is incorrect to call the "American Revolution" a revolution. Revolutions are not consistent with slavery.

Logan and Cohen give this account of the Constitutional Convention in The American Negro:

The slavery question comes up at the Constitutional Convention. When the delegates to the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787, the issue of slavery did not concern them greatly. Under the Articles of Confederation the central government lacked power to tax and was too weak to deal with threats of armed violence

from discontented citizens like those led by Daniel Shays in Shays' Rebellion (1786). Businessmen, property owners, and the middle class in general wished to strengthen the central government. By 1787, there was perhaps greater concern for the protection of *property* rights than human rights. As a result, when the federal Constitution was drawn up, the "rights" of slaveowners, as owners of property in slaves, were indirectly strengthened. The rights of slaves, on the other hand, were ignored. Although the word "slavery" does not appear in the original text of the Constitution, three different sections dealt with the practice of slavery. Let us consider them briefly.

1. *The "three-fifths" compromise.* The most important part of the Constitution dealing with slavery was the so-called "three-fifths" compromise which was related to representation in Congress. The biggest issue at the convention was how the "large" states — those with the largest population — and the "small" states would be represented in the national legislature. This issue was largely settled by the "Great Compromise." Each state, regardless of population, was to have two seats in the Senate, but seats in the House of Representatives were to be apportioned on the basis of population.

The southern states naturally wished to have all slaves counted in determining population. At the same time, they wished not to count the slaves when direct taxes were to be levied on the basis of population. The northern states objected to these proposals because they would increase the power of the South in the House of Representatives and would enable slaveholding states to escape from paying their fair share of taxes.

The three-fifths compromise settled this dispute. Three fifths of the slaves were to be counted in determining both a state's representation and taxes.³ This compromise, of course, conferred no rights on the slaves.

2. *The importation of slaves.* Another section of the Constitution dealt with the foreign slave trade. Northerners generally opposed restrictions on foreign commerce, and some Southerners feared that such restrictions would curtail the number of slaves imported. On the other hand, some Northerners and some Southerners wished to end the importation of slaves. The result was that another compromise was written into the Constitution. It provided that Congress could not prohibit the importation of slaves before 1808. But it permitted Congress to impose a tax of not more than ten dollars on each slave brought into the country.⁴ Since this compromise did not say that the slave trade would be *prohibited* after 1807, Congress — if it so wished — would have to enact a law to end the trade after that time.

³ Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 of the Constitution reads: "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within the Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. . . ."

⁴ Article I, Section 9, Clause 1 reads: "The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person."

3. *The provision concerning fugitive slaves:* The third provision in the Constitution affecting slavery dealt with the question of runaway slaves. Though this section, like the others, did not use the word "slave," its meaning was clear: a slave escaping into another state had to be surrendered upon the claim of the slaveowner. This provision was destined to cause friction between the free and the slaveholding states.⁵

These three compromises on slavery were necessary to persuade the required number of delegates to sign the Constitution. But their inclusion in the Constitution helped to insure the continued enslavement of the Negro and checked the efforts of Quakers and others who opposed slavery. A number of historians hold that the adoption of the Constitution reinforced and strengthened the slave system. Certainly the Constitution's provisions concerning slavery placed a heavy burden upon the new nation — a burden that would later threaten to destroy it.

⁵ Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3 of the Constitution reads: "No person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due."

Guaranteeing the legality of slavery in the Constitution assured a constant increasing supply of cheap labor increased the production of cotton. New developments in technology even more rapidly pushed this process. William Foster summarized these developments:

THE RAPID GROWTH OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM

The invention of the cotton gin, resulting in the spectacular growth of cotton production especially after 1825, had a number of important economic, political, social, and even military consequences. The entire development of cotton culture solidified the foundation of the slave system. Cotton provided an incomparably broader and stronger basis for human bondage than the comparatively narrow cultivation of tobacco and such plantation crops as rice, indigo, and eventually sugar cane. Before 1790, many people, including large numbers of planters, had believed that slavery was limited in its scope and perspective, and that it would eventually pass away of itself. Now, after the turn of the century, it took on new strength and vigor. Cotton gave the slave system a fresh spirit of life. In earlier years the slave-masters had defended their "peculiar institution" somewhat shamefacedly. After the invention of the cotton gin they boldly and arrogantly supported it as a blessing to man (including the slaves) and ordained by God. The plantation-slave system launched upon an aggressive course designed to dominate and enslave the entire United States.

Increased cotton production raised the question of slavery from what had become essentially a sectional issue after the Revolution to a matter of profound national importance. "With the admission to statehood of Louisiana in 1812, Mississippi in 1817, and Alabama in 1819, the political and economic power of the 'cotton kingdom' became the predominant factor in our national life and remained so until it was destroyed by the Civil War."⁶

The wide expansion of cotton production before the Civil War sentenced the economy of the South to remain agricultural. King Cotton precluded a substantial growth of industry in its realm for several reasons. First, the plantation capitalists poured all the capital

they could scrape together into land and slaves, the latter absorbing most of it; consequently, there was neither the capital nor the desire to build Southern industry. Second, the planters, who could not successfully use slaves in industrial production, acutely feared the effects of a "free" industrial proletariat upon their slaves, and this would have been the inevitable result of any substantial development of industry in the South. And third, the plantation-slave system repelled the immigrant workers then pouring into the United States, as these workers wanted no competition with slaves, and could not meet it.

"All the labor, all the capital, all the increase of population and wealth by immigration from more northern climates, all the accumulations of every trade, or business, or pursuit, were devoted to the one [cotton] cultivation."⁷ For Southern slavery to live, industry must be kept out. The plantation-slave system devoured everything in its own monstrous growth.

The expansion of cotton production, with high profits and with the African slave trade partly closed, vastly increased the demand for slaves and tended also to raise their price, which rose from about \$300 in 1800 to \$1,500 or \$2,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War. Slave prices also varied with the price of cotton. Besides loading Southern agriculture and industry with an impossible financial burden, rising slave prices also tended to check the process of manumission, which had previously been developing. It became far more difficult for slaves to buy themselves and their families free. With the demand for and high cost of cotton slaves, an outcry was raised for the legal resumption of the African slave trade, and there was gross, wholesale violation of the anti-slave trading laws on every hand.

Cotton growing was much more intensive than the slave production of other crops in colonial times. This fact resulted in much sharper exploitation of the Negro slaves and the institution of more brutal and rigid systems of control and domination. This, in turn, led to more insurrections and active forms of slave unrest and revolt. It also stimulated more militant types of Abolitionism among Negro freedom and their white allies. The growth of the fighting Abolitionist movement after the turn of the century was definitely linked with the rapid extension of the realm of King Cotton.

E. Did our ancestors readily accept their condition of servitude?

Slaves, however, did not accept their condition of slavery. They had been revolting since they left their homeland of Africa. They took over the ships on the way (e.g. Amistad Mutiny). They refused to work when they reached the United States and they organized revolt after revolt until "emancipation." (Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti, Nat Turner in Virginia, Denmark Vesey in Charleston, S.C.)

Inspired by this militant resistance, Black men like Henry Highland Garnet sought to arouse greater resistance in 1843:

Fellow men! Patient sufferers! behold your dearest rights crushed to the earth! See your sons murdered, and your wives, mothers and sisters doomed to prostitution. In the name of the merciful God, and by all that life is worth, let it no longer be a debatable question whether it is better to choose *Liberty or death*.

In 1822, Denmark Vesie, of South Carolina, formed a plan for the liberation of his fellow men. In the whole history of human efforts to overthrow slavery, a more complicated and tremendous plan was never formed. He was betrayed by the treachery of his own people, and died a martyr to freedom. Many a brave hero fell, but history, faithful to her high trust, will transcribe his name on the same monument with Moses, Hampden, Tell, Bruce and Wallace, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Lafayette and Washington. That tremendous movement shook the whole empire of slavery. The guilty soul-thieves were overwhelmed with fear. It is a matter of fact, that at that time, and in consequence of the threatened revolution, the slave States talked strongly of emancipation. But they blew but one blast of the trumpet of freedom and then laid it aside. As these men became quiet, the slaveholders ceased to talk about emancipation; and now behold your condition today! Angels sigh over it, and humanity has long since exhausted her tears in weeping on your account!

The patriotic Nathaniel Turner followed Denmark Vesie. He was goaded to desperation by wrong and injustice. By despotism, his name has been recorded on the list of infamy, and future generations will remember him among the noble and brave.

Next arose the immortal Joseph Cinque, the hero of the *Amistad*. He was a native African, and by the help of God he emancipated a whole ship-load of his fellow men on the high seas. And he now sings of liberty on the sunny hills of Africa and beneath his native palm-trees, where he hears the lion roar and feels himself as free as that king of the forest.

Next arose Madison Washington that bright star of freedom, and took his station in the constellation of true heroism. He was a slave on board the brig *Creole*, of Richmond, bound to New Orleans, that great slave mart, with a hundred and four others. Nineteen struck for liberty or death. But one life was taken, and the whole were emancipated, and the vessel was carried into Nassau, New Providence.

Noble men! Those who have fallen in freedom's conflict, their memories will be cherished by the true-hearted and the God-fearing in all future generations; those who are living, their names are surrounded by a halo of glory.

Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered. You cannot be more oppressed than you have been—you cannot suffer greater cruelties than you have already. *Rather die free-men than live to be slaves*. Remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS!

It is in your power so to torment the God-cursed slaveholders that they will be glad to let you go free. If the scale was turned, and black men were the masters and white men the slaves, every destructive agent and element would be employed to lay the oppressor low. Danger and death would hang over their heads day and night. Yes, the tyrants would meet with plagues more terrible than those of Pharaoh. But you are a patient people. You act as though you were made for the special use of these devils. You act as though your daughters were born to pamper the lusts of your masters and overseers. And worse than all, you tamely submit while your lords tear your wives from your embraces and defile them before your eyes. In the name of God, we ask, are you men? Where is the blood of your fathers? Has it all run out of your veins? Awake, awake; millions of voices are calling you! Your dead fathers speak to you from their graves. Heaven, as with a voice of thunder, calls on you to arise from the dust.

Let your motto be resistance! *resistance!* RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. What kind of resistance you had better make, you must decide by the circumstances that surround you, and according to the suggestion of expediency. Brethren, adieu! Trust in the living God. Labor for the peace of the human race, and remember that you are FOUR MILLIONS.

Frederick Douglass, in starting the newspaper North Star, sought not only to serve his oppressed brothers and sisters but also to assert to white abolitionist co-workers that the direction of the movement must rest primarily with Black people.

Frederick Douglass Dedicates His North Star (1847)

To Our Oppressed Countrymen

We solemnly dedicate the "North Star" to the cause of our long oppressed and plundered fellow countrymen. . . . It shall fearlessly assert your rights, faithfully proclaim your wrongs, and earnestly demand for you instant and evenhanded justice. Giving no quarter to slavery in the South, it will hold no truce with oppressors in the North. . . . Remember that we are one; that our cause is one, and that we must help each other. . . . We have drunk to the dregs the bitter cup of slavery; we have worn the heavy yoke; . . . and writhed beneath the bloody lash; . . . We are indissolubly united, and must fall or flourish together. . . .

[To All Fellow Abolitionists]

It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow-laborers, to assert . . . that the man who has suffered the wrong is the man to demand redress, . . . that he who has endured the cruel pangs of Slavery is the man to advocate Liberty. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates. . . .

F. What conflict led to the Civil War?

The North began to develop industry based on wage-slavery, while the South was dependent upon slavery (free labor) to maintain its plantation system. Each section of the country needed land in order to expand its markets and sources of raw materials. As the South expanded slave territory was expanded and the North viewed this expansion as a threat to its economy. Both sides undertook certain strategies and made various compromises (Missouri Compromise, annexation of Texas, War with Mexico, Fugitive Slave Law, Kansas-Nebraska Act, Dred Scott Decision in which Justice Roger B. Taney said, "the Black man has no rights that a white man is bound to respect.") But there came a time when no more compromises could be made and the question was: Which economic system would dominate? The South seceded in order to form its own government and the North (which needed cotton from the South for its textile mills) was determined to keep the Union together.

Thus, the struggle between Southern planters and Northern industrialists was basic to the Civil War.

**SOUTHERN PLANTERS VERSUS
NORTHERN INDUSTRIALISTS**

The wide and swift development of the cotton industry sharpened and matured all the basic contradictions between the Southern plantation system, based on slave labor, and Northern industrialism, based upon "free" wage-earners. These fundamental and inevitable antagonisms enlisted eventually almost every section of the North—industrialists, many merchants, farmers, professionals, and workers. Consequently, when the Civil War finally broke out, they were lined up in a fighting alliance against the Southern slavocracy. Either the industrial North or the plantation South had to conquer.

The fundamental antagonism between the North and South originated in the fact that, due to the great expansion of cotton production, the whole South was largely separated from the national market. This was true not only with regard to Northern commodities but also capital investment. The Southern planters, who found their best customers for their cotton in England, tended in turn to buy a large percentage of the commodities they needed from that country. In fact, the South with its cotton came to develop a sort of colonial relationship with England, producing raw materials for that country and receiving manufactured goods in return—to the partial exclusion of commodities from the North. All this was intolerable to Northern businessmen. For it is a first principle of a national bourgeoisie, especially one as vigorous as that of the North, that it must have the fullest control over the whole national market in its entire territory. It took the Civil War to enable the Northern bourgeoisie to put this principle into effect in the South.

The contradictory interests of the Northern industrialists and the Southern planters over the control and regulation of the national market also expressed themselves in long, chronic, and ever-more bitter struggles over the question of the tariff. Ever since the Revolution of 1776, the Northern capitalists, who wished to safeguard the home market for themselves, had veered more and more toward a policy of protective tariffs. This was also the general position of the Northern workers and farmers at the time. On the other hand, once intensive cotton growing had really gotten under way, the Southern planters usually championed a low tariff, seeking to get the manufactured commodities of their key customer, England, as cheaply as possible. This head-on antagonism over the tariff created an issue

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which was to bedevil American politics for half a century and sharpen the struggle between the North and the South right up to the Civil War. In this struggle, the South managed to sew up a firm alliance with those large sections of Northern businessmen, bankers, and shippers who devoted their main attention to financing, transporting, and marketing the increasing cotton crop. The latter groups eventually became the basis of the Northern "Copperheads" of Civil War times.

Another major source of conflict was the fundamental question of which wing of the bourgeoisie, North or South, would control the disposition of the huge amounts of land either already in the hands of the Federal Government or about to be stolen from the Indians or weak neighbor governments. For instance, in the great Yazoo land frauds of 1795 the planters seized one-half of western Georgia—now Alabama and Mississippi. The planters' appetite for land was insatiable—they wanted to grab everything west to the Pacific Coast and south to Brazil, and they even eyed northern territories as potential slave plantations. On the other hand, inasmuch as the colder climate did not facilitate a slaving plantation system based on the production of cotton and other world market crops, the Northern bourgeoisie favored getting the land into the hands of free farmers. They wanted the government to hand over huge tracts of land to speculators, who would sell it at immense profits. As for the workers and other democratic groups in the North and West, they, too, wanted to build up a great body of free farmers, but by direct government land grants to actual settlers.

All these ever-sharpening contradictions between the Northern industrialists and the Southern planters and their respective allies naturally took on political forms. Initially the most acute form of this antagonism was the struggle to control politically the many new states which were coming into the Union as fast as they accumulated sufficient population. These state fights sometimes grew into miniature armed conflicts.

Uniting all these individual struggles was a still broader contest—for control of the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court, and the nation as a whole. It was a life-and-death conflict for power between the industrial North and the plantation South that was developing during these decades. One or the other had to conquer. This was the basic meaning of the "irrepressible conflict." Its inevitable climax was revolution, the great Civil War of 1861-65.

PEOPLES COLLEGE
NATIONAL BLACK HISTORY
WEEK II

A. Was the Civil War fought over slavery?

The Civil war was an armed struggle between the Northern capitalists, i.e., bankers, factory owners, railroad owners, and Southern capitalists, i.e., owners of large slave based plantations. The struggle was over who would control the government for their own groups' economic and social benefit. Neither group represented the interests of Black people, nor working class whites. Foster supports this observation:

The Civil War was a revolution, the second in United States history. It was a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Lenin, in estimating it, spoke of "the greatest, world-historic progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1861-65."²

The Civil War was a revolution, because it brought about "a transference of power from one class to another."³ Prior to the war, the planters had dominated the Federal Government. Up to 1856, the South had furnished 11 of the 16 presidents, and most of the others were Northern tools of the slaveholders. The Beards remark that from Jackson's time to the Civil War, the Democratic Party, the party of the slaveholders, had controlled the Presidency and the Senate for 24 years, the Supreme Court 26 years, and the House 22 years.⁴ The war drastically changed this situation, putting the Northern industrialists firmly in the political saddle. The war also substituted one social system for another by knocking out chattel slavery and, despite its introduction of semi-serf sharecropping, eventually opening up channels for the introduction of capitalist industry and the wage system into the South.

The war was a bourgeois revolution, because the economic and political changes it brought about did not go beyond the scope of the capitalist system. The general effect of the war was to clear away barriers in the path of capitalism and to stimulate that system into tremendous expansion. Both South and North, it largely broke the fetters that the slave system had fastened upon capitalist development.

The war was also a democratic revolution, because it led to many important democratic developments. The most important of these were the emancipation of the slaves and the enfranchisement of the Negro people; the enactment of the Homestead law in 1862, which cleared the way for small farmers to get some of the government-held land; and the creation of a political climate in which the trade union movement could make great strides. Marx said on this latter aspect, "As the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle classes, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes."⁵

B. How did the real Lincoln differ with the character you became familiar with in grade school history?

Lincoln, the great "emancipator" was a racist. He came from the slave state of Kentucky where he grew up ruling slaves. He escaped from poverty by becoming a lawyer, and was elected to the presidency by a coalition of industrial capitalists, midwestern small farmers, and working class movement. These groups, including Black leaders like Frederick Douglass, backed Lincoln for diverse reasons, though none without reservations. He maintained the Northern industrialists' point of view; not real opposition to slavery, just to its expansion.

But in trying to keep the union together he was forced to free the slaves and arm them because he needed their help in overthrowing the Southern planters. He issued a warning, the Emancipation Proclamation and on January 1, 1863, hesitantly signed the final document. His idea of reconstruction was to pardon the South, deny freedmen the right to vote, and to colonize them in another land, i.e. Haiti. He was killed before he was able to implement his plan. It is important to compare his position with the position of the National Negro Convention Movement who had plans for the resettlement of the Black population.

Lincoln's response to a letter from Horace Greeley is a good example of his interest in saving the Union and not necessarily freeing the slaves:

Lincoln's Reply to Greeley, August 22, 1862*

Hon. Horace Greeley

Dear Sir:

I have just read yours of the nineteenth instant, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*.

If there be in it any statements or assumptions of facts which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be—the Union as it was.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

If there be those who would not save the Union unless

they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my views of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.

Yours,
A. LINCOLN

C. Why did the North win the war?

There are three major reasons why the North won the civil war: 1) the North had an industrial economy and could more easily produce the arms, transportation, communications, and clothing etc., necessary to create and sustain an army and navy; 2) the labor force of the industrial North was better developed to fight a war than the semi-feudal agricultural workers from the South, and 3) slave labor completely disrupted the Southern economy through individual acts of desertion, subversion, and terrorism as well as a general strike.

W.E.B. DuBois, in his classic *Black Reconstruction, 1860-1880* has given us an excellent account of the significance of the Black general strike on the South.

Thus, confusion and lack of system were the natural result of the general strike. Yet, the Negroes had accomplished their first aim in those parts of the South dominated by the Federal army. They had largely escaped from the plantation discipline, were receiving wages as free laborers, and had protection from violence and justice in some sort of court.

About 20,000 of them were in the District of Columbia; 100,000 in Virginia; 50,000 in North Carolina; 50,000 in South Carolina, and

as many more each in Georgia and Louisiana. The Valley of the Mississippi was filled with settlers under the Treasury Department and the army. Here were nearly 500,000 former slaves. But there were 3,500,000 more. These Negroes needed only the assurance that they would be freed and the opportunity of joining the Northern army. In larger and larger numbers, they filtered into the armies of the North. And in just the proportion that the Northern armies became in earnest, and proposed actually to force the South to stay in the Union, and not to make simply a demonstration, in just such proportion the Negroes became valuable as laborers, and doubly valuable as withdrawing labor from the South. After the first foolish year when the South woke up to the fact that there was going to be a real, long war, and the North realized just what war meant in blood and money, the whole relation of the North to the Negro and the Negro to the North changed.

The position of the Negro was strategic. His was the only appeal which would bring sympathy from Europe, despite strong economic bonds with the South, and prevent recognition of a Southern nation built on slavery. The free Negroes in the North, together with the Abolitionists, were clamoring. To them a war against the South simply had to be a war against slavery. Gradually, Abolitionists no longer need fear the mob. Disgruntled leaders of church and state began to talk of freedom. Slowly but surely an economic dispute and a political test of strength took on the aspects of a great moral crusade.

The Negro became in the first year contraband of war; that is, property belonging to the enemy and valuable to the invader. And in addition to that, he became, as the South quickly saw, the key to Southern resistance. Either these four million laborers remained quietly at work to raise food for the fighters, or the fighter starved. Simultaneously, when the dream of the North for man-power produced riots, the only additional troops that the North could depend on were 200,000 Negroes, for without them, as Lincoln said, the North could not have won the war.

But this slow, stubborn mutiny of the Negro slave was not merely a matter of 200,000 black soldiers and perhaps 300,000 other black laborers, servants, spies and helpers. Back of this half million stood 3½ million more. Without their labor the South would starve. With arms in their hands, Negroes would form a fighting force which could replace every single Northern white soldier fighting listlessly and against his will with a black man fighting for freedom.

This action of the slaves was followed by the disaffection of the poor whites. So long as the planters' war seemed successful, "there was little active opposition by the poorer whites; but the conscription and other burdens to support a slaveowners' war became very severe; the whites not interested in that cause became recalcitrant, some went into active opposition; and at last it was more desertion and disunion than anything else that brought about the final overthrow." "

D. What was the class basis of the Republican Party?

Establishment Republicans under the leadership of President Andrew Johnson attempted Southern reconstruction through a coalition between Northern industrial capital and Southern plantation capital under the domination of Northern capital. Blacks were given only token freedom as semi-feudal serfs (sharecroppers), totally without political and economic power and at the mercy of Southern whites. This plan gave huge profits to those Northern capitalists who had bought up large tracts of land, especially the railroads. Andrew Johnson represented their interests at the Federal level.

Radical Republicans, however, were under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner. They also represented a section of Northern industrial capital, but without deep seated interests in saving the Southern ruling class.

Their plan to control the Federal government in their interests was to create land reform for Blacks and completely destroy their competition, Southern capital, with the development of a land-based, small farmer Black-white coalition in control of the South and forever grateful to the Republican party. Their interests are best explained by material factors and not spiritual factors like religion of their concern for justice to their fellow man.

E. How did Black people react after the Civil War?

After the Civil War there was a revolutionary struggle developing over the question of land and political power. The most advanced people in this struggle were Black freedmen who had recently served with the Union army. Their desire to secure land reform by dividing up their former masters' plantations was the basis of struggle between the freedmen and the forces of the two capitalist factions in the Republican Party. During this period Blacks seized plantations and refused contract labor (slavery in one or two year agreements). In many cases Blacks formed militias to protect their new property, e.g. Port Royal, Louisiana Delta, and many other areas that were long occupied by Union forces. During this time Blacks were literally fighting for their lives, land, and liberation against the long arm of slavery, racism, and capitalism.

William Z. Foster has described this struggle in The Negro People in American History:

THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S FIGHT FOR LAND

Unlike the more circumspect Radical leaders, Negro and white, the ex-slaves wanted the land, believed they were entitled to it, and were resolved to get it. They logically reasoned that they had been freed from the planters' bondage and that the land would have to be freed likewise. Innumerable writers report that the belief prevailed almost universally among the freedmen that the government was going to give each family "40 acres and a mule." So deep and widespread was this conviction that swindlers were able to take advantage of it, selling among Negroes special red, white, and blue pegs with which to stake out their expected lands.¹⁴ There was a general belief that the land distribution would take place on Christmas Day, 1865, and there was fear in government circles of an insurrection should no free land be forthcoming.¹⁵

The ex-slaves did more than hope for land. In many cases they moved in, divided up abandoned plantations, shared out the stored cotton, tools, and mules, and began to cultivate the land. The Negro regiments were especially insistent that land be allotted to the freedmen. The ex-slaves refused to give up the seized lands to the returning planters, but it was the definite policy of the government that they do so. As Allen says, "With the insolence of revolution the untutored ex-slaves were proving themselves far better educated in the needs of the epoch than their Northern allies. In many instances they took possession of the land dangerously near the field of battle, risking their liberty and even their lives."¹⁶

In the face of local reaction, government opposition, and lack of support from the Radical Republicans, the freedmen did manage to get hold of some important chunks of land. Notable was the case of the 10,000-acre plantation of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, in Mississippi. General Dana, under the protection of a Negro regiment, allotted it to them as a home colony. "In a number of home colonies the Negroes set up a form of self-government and in some places worked the land on a cooperative basis."¹⁷

The most extensive bloc of land secured by the freedmen, however, was on the Sea Islands, off the Coast of South Carolina and Georgia. There General Sherman opened up the Sea Islands to the freedmen, allotting each family 40 acres. He took this action under pressure of the enormous local mass of freed slaves, at the instigation of a body of Negro leaders from Savannah,¹⁸ and with the sanction of

Washington. Eventually 40,000 families occupied the cotton and rice plantations as far as 30 miles inland. As Allen remarks, the Sea Islands then became "the most advanced outpost of the Revolution." But the government wrenched on General Sherman's order and later spared no effort to oust the Negro farmers and to return the land to the planters.¹⁹ The freedmen resisted so stoutly, however, that even as late as 1890 they still owned some 60 percent of the land originally given them.

During the war the government gave 23 million acres of land as subsidies to the railroads, but it had none for the freedmen. The government's reactionary policy, in denying free land to the ex-slaves and protecting the ownership of the former slaveholders, set the pattern for the future regime in the South. It preserved the plantation system and forced the Negroes and poor whites into the categories of sharecroppers and laborers. Very few of them were ever able to buy land, although many bankrupt plantations were on sale after the Civil War. Thus, the basis was laid for turning the South into a horror prison for the Negro people and for preserving the planters as a reactionary political force, both of which have continued to plague the country right down to the present day. Allen hits the nail squarely on the head when he says: "When the bourgeoisie lent a deaf ear to the cry for land, the fate of the Revolution was already sealed."²⁰

A Letter from the Colored People's Convention of South Carolina is another example of the reaction of Black People after the Civil War:

*Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States in Congress Assembled
(Proceedings of Colored People's Convention
of South Carolina)*

Gentlemen:

We, the colored people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, respectfully present for your attention some prominent facts in relation to our present condition, and make a modest yet earnest appeal to your considerate judgment.

We, your memorialists, with profound gratitude to almighty God, recognize the great boon of freedom conferred upon us by the instrumentality of our late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the armies of the United States.

*"The fixed decree, which not all Heaven can move,
Thou, Fate, fulfill it; and, ye Powers, approve."*

We also recognize with liveliest gratitude the vast services of the Freedmen's Bureau together with the efforts of the good and wise throughout the land to raise up an oppressed and deeply injured people in the scale of civilized being, during the throbbings of a mighty revolution which must affect the future destiny of the world.

Conscious of the difficulties that surround our position, we would ask for no rights or privileges but such as rest upon the strong basis of justice and expediency, in view of the best interests of our entire country.

We ask first, that the strong arm of law and order be placed alike over the entire people of this State; that life and property be secured, and the laborer free to sell his labor as the merchant his goods.

We ask that a fair and impartial instruction be given to the pledges of the government to us concerning the land question.

We ask that the three great agents of civilized society—the school, the pulpit, the press—be as secure in South Carolina as in Massachusetts or Vermont.

We ask that equal suffrage be conferred upon us, in common with the white men of this State.

This we ask, because "all free governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; and we are largely in the majority in this State, bearing for a long period the burden of onerous taxation, without a just representation. We ask for equal suffrage as a protection for the hostility evoked by our known faithfulness to our country and flag under all circumstances.

We ask that colored men shall not in every instance be tried by white men; and that neither by custom nor enactment shall we be excluded from the jury box.

We ask that, inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States explicitly declares that the right to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed and the Constitution is the Supreme law of the land—that the late efforts of the Legislature of this State to pass an act to deprive us of arms be forbidden, as a plain violation of the Constitution, and unjust to many of us in the highest degree, who have been soldiers, and purchased our muskets from the United States Government when mustered out of service.

We protest against any code of black laws the Legislature of this State may enact, and pray to be governed by the same laws that control other men. The right to assemble in peaceful convention, to discuss the political questions of the day; the right to enter upon all the avenues of agriculture, commerce, trade; to amass wealth by thrift and industry; the right to develop our whole being by all the appliances that belong to civilized society, cannot be questioned by any class of intelligent legislators.

We solemnly affirm and desire to live orderly and peacefully with all the people of this State; and commending this memorial to your considerate judgment.

Thus we ever pray.

Charleston, S. C., November 24, 1865
Zion Presbyterian Church.

F. What did the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments do?

1. The 13th amendment (Dec. 18, 1865) gave official sanctions against the enslavement of Blacks. The rebellious states had to ratify this amendment to get back into the union.
2. The 14th amendment guaranteed Blacks the right to vote. (July 23, 1869).
3. The 15th amendment (March 30, 1870) gave the right to vote to all male citizens.

The last two amendments were compromises that were to provide reforms for Blacks and a power base in the South for the Republican Party among Blacks. The last two also contained an escape clause that the vote was safe unless due process of law i.e., like the grandfather clause.

*Thirteenth Amendment**

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

*Fourteenth Amendment**

SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

*Fifteenth Amendment**

SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

G. Why did the Freedmens Bureau Fail?

Created by an act of Congress in March 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was first called "The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands." It was an effort to protect and aid former slaves and carried out a wide range of activities, including providing food, clothing, supplies, job placement, educational facilities, and land. The Bureau is reported to have operated 46 hospitals with over 5,000 beds, and to have issued over 15 million rations to freed slaves.

While its assistance was at the time very valuable, it failed in part because it did not fulfill the revolutionary demands of Black people and other progressive forces: the confiscation of the estates of the planters and the redistribution of free land to the former slaves who had worked it. (The Bureau was authorized only to rent land, even though in 1862 Congress had granted confiscation power never seriously used by Lincoln, Johnson, or Grant.)

The Bureau was also a focal point of intense political conflict. President Andrew Johnson, strongly representative of the cotton planters, wanted to keep slaves helpless in their struggle with their former masters. In 1866, he vetoed a bill extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau and enlarging its powers. Although Congress passed a second bill over his veto, the stage was set for an open and far-ranging battle between the executive and legislative branches over the direction and scope of Reconstruction activities. The battle lasted long enough for the planters and their Northern allies to consolidate their forces to restore the power of the planters over the Black ex-slaves.

H. How were the Black schools founded?

Education was one of the goals and demands of the Black masses after the Civil War. Black people of all ages were eager to learn. Many institutions - religious and missionary organizations, federal agencies - attempted to meet the educational needs of the ex-slaves. These included Negro churches of the North, the American Missionary Association, and the Freedmen's Relief Association of New York. Several schools and colleges were started. With substantial subsidy from the Federal government through the Freedmen's Bureau, the now well known Black institutions - Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, Hampton, and others were founded in 1866 and 1867.

I. What were the Black Codes?

Black Codes were passed by reactionary governments controlled by Southern planters. Their purpose was to re-enslave Black labor. The codes generally restricted the freedmen's movements and many forbade freedmen to do any work except farming or service without a special license. In some states it was against the law for Blacks to preach and walking off the job was a crime. During this period laws were designed to complete the restoring of the Southern capitalist factions to their former power.

The following are excerpts of Black Codes from Louisiana and South Carolina:

An Act to Provide for and Regulate Labor Contracts for Agricultural Pursuits

Section 2. Every laborer shall have full and perfect liberty to choose his employer, but, when once chosen, he shall not be allowed to leave his place of employment until the fulfillment of his contract . . . and if they do so leave, without cause or permission, they shall forfeit all wages earned to the time of abandonment. . . .

Section 8. Be it further enacted, &c., That in case of sickness of the laborer, wages for the time lost shall be deducted, and . . . on refusal to work according to the contract, double the amount of wages for the time lost; . . . and should the refusal to work continue beyond three days, the offender shall be reported to a Justice of the Peace, and shall be forced to labor on roads, levees, and other public works, without pay, until the offender consents to return to his labor.

Regulations of Labor on Farms

XLV. On farms or in out-door service, the hours of labor, except on Sunday, shall be from sun-rise to sun-set, with a reasonable interval for breakfast and dinner. Servants shall rise at the dawn in the morning, feed, water and care for the animals on the farm, do the usual and needful work about the premises, prepare their meals for the day, if required by the master, and begin the farm work or other work by sun-rise. The servant shall be careful of all the animals and property of his master, and especially of the animals and instruments used by him, shall protect the same from injury by other persons, and shall be answerable for all property lost, destroyed or injured by his negligence, dishonesty or bad faith.

XLVI. All lost time, not caused by the act of the master, and all losses occasioned by neglect of the duties hereinbefore prescribed, may be deducted from the wages of the servant; and food, nursing and other necessities for the servant, while he is absent from work on account of sickness or other cause, may also be deducted from his wages. Servants shall be quiet and orderly in their quarters, at their work and on the premises; shall extinguish their lights and fires, and retire to rest at reasonable hours. Work at night, and out-door work in inclement weather, shall not be exacted unless in case of necessity. Servants shall not be kept at home on Sunday, unless to take care of the premises, or animals thereupon, or for work of daily necessity, or on unusual occasions; and in such cases only so many shall be kept at home as are necessary for these purposes. Sunday work shall be done by the servants in turn, except in cases of sickness or other disability, when it may be assigned to them out of their regular term. Absentees on Sunday shall return to their homes by sun-set.

XLVII. The master may give to a servant a task at work about the business of the farm which shall be reasonable. If the servant complain of the task, the District Judge, or a Magistrate, shall have power to reduce or increase it. Failure to do a task shall be deemed evidence of indolence, but a single failure shall not be conclusive. When a servant is entering into a contract, he may be required to rate himself as a full hand, three-fourths, half, or one-fourth hand, and accord-

ing to this rate inserted in the contract, shall be the task, and of course the wages.

XLVIII. Visitors or other persons shall not be invited, or allowed by the servant, to come or remain upon the premises of the master, without his express permission.

XLIX. Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the permission of the master.

Rights of Master as Between Himself and His Servant

L. When the servant shall depart from the service of the master without good cause, he shall forfeit the wages due to him. The servant shall obey all lawful orders of the master or his agent, and shall be honest, truthful, sober, civil, and diligent in his business. The master may moderately correct servants who have made contracts, and are under eighteen years of age. He shall not be liable to pay for any additional or extraordinary services or labor of his servant, the same being necessary, unless by his express agreement.

Causes of Discharge of a Servant

LI. The master may discharge his servant for wilful disobedience of the lawful order of himself or his agent; habitual negligence or indolence in business; drunkenness, moral or legal misconduct; want of respect and civility to himself, his family, guests or agents; or for prolonged absence from the premises, or absence on two or more occasions without permission.

LII. For any acts or things herein declared to be causes for the discharge of a servant, or for any breach of contract or duty by him, instead of discharging the servant, the master may complain to the District Judge, or one of the Magistrates, who shall have power, on being satisfied of the misconduct complained of, to inflict, or cause to be inflicted, on the servant suitable corporal punishment, or impose upon him such pecuniary fine as may be thought fit, and immediately to remand him to his work; which fine shall be deducted from his wages, if not otherwise paid.

LIII. If a master has made a valid contract with a servant, the District Judge or a Magistrate may compel such servant to observe his contract, by ordering infliction of the punishment, or imposition of the fine herein before authorized. . . .

Rights of Servant as Between Himself and Master

LXIV. The servant may depart from the master's service for an insufficient supply of wholesome food; for an unauthorized battery upon his own person, or one of his family, not committed in defence of the person, family, guests or agents of the master, nor to prevent a crime or aggravated misdemeanor; invasion by the master of the conjugal rights of the servant; or his failure to pay wages when due; and may recover wages due for services rendered to the time of his departure.

LXV. The contract for service shall not be terminated by the death of the master, without the assent of the servant. Wages due to white laborers and to white and colored servants, shall rank as rent does in case of the insufficiency of the master's property, to pay all debts and demands against him; but not more than one year's wages shall be so preferred. When wrongfully discharged from service, the servant may recover wages for the whole period of service according to the contract. If his wages have not been paid to the day of his discharge, he may regard his contract rescinded by the discharge, and recover wages up to that time.

J. What did Black people do while they were in governmental positions during Reconstruction?

The noted Black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier has provided us with an accurate account of the overall significance of the state legislatures in which Black ex-slaves played a major role.

In assessing the work of these state legislatures one must understand the economic interests that were involved at the time in the political situation in the South. With the passing of Thaddeus Stevens in 1868 and the supremacy of the New Radicals after 1870, the equalitarian and democratic ideals of the Old Radicals ceased to influence Reconstruction. After the election of Grant the Fifteenth Amendment, safe-guarding the right of the Negro to vote, was passed by Congress in 1869 and declared in effect in 1870. During the same year Congress passed an act to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment and during the following year it was necessary to pass a drastic law to deal with the Ku Klux Klan. It was also necessary to use federal troops in order to suppress this organization, which had introduced a reign of terror in some places in the South. Despite these measures which were designed to protect the right of the Negroes to vote, the Radical Republicans were not sympathetic toward the Negro's struggle for land, but were concerned with their own plans for the investment of capital in the South. Therefore, a judicious appraisal of the constitutions of the Reconstruction legislatures may be summed up in the words of Hacker, who writes:

... as a result of the combination of Negroes and white scalawags and carpetbaggers, they established the supremacy of petty-bourgeois enterprise in the South. They were, in short, leveling documents which sought to defend the civil and economic rights of men of small property, both white and black. And, interestingly enough, because they were so satisfactory to the majority of whites in the South, they were maintained long after the southern Reconstruction governments were overthrown. Thus, the Florida constitution, written in 1868, was kept on until 1885; the Virginia constitution survived from 1870 to 1902; the South Carolina constitution from 1868 to 1895; and the Mississippi constitution from 1868 to 1890.³²

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³² Reprinted from *The Triumph of American Capitalism* by Louis M. Hacker, pp. 378-79. Copyright 1940 by Simon and Schuster, Inc.

Another account of the convention in South Carolina gives us additional insights into the key role of the Black legislators:

At South Carolina's Constitutional Convention Negroes played a decisive role—there were 76 of them among the 131 delegates. Among the delegates were such brilliant and educated Negroes as Francis Cardoza and Robert B. Elliott, both educated at British universities. But it was another Negro college graduate and delegate, Reverend Richard Cain, who proclaimed the great purpose of the convention.

I want a constitution that shall do justice to all men.
I have no prejudices and feel above making any distinctions. . . . I hope we will take hold high upon

the highway of human progress. . . . I want to see internal improvements, the railroads rebuilt, and, in fact, the whole internal resources of the State so developed that she shall be brought back more happy and prosperous than she ever was.

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The Constitution drawn up by the Negroes and whites of the state of South Carolina brought the great reforms of the North to the South. Louis F. Post, who was to serve Woodrow Wilson for eight years as Assistant Secretary of Labor, was present in South Carolina and recalled:

By every truly democratic test, that Negro-made constitution of South Carolina stands shoulder high above the white man's Constitution which it superseded.

The state lowered the taxes on the poor, abolished imprisonment for debt, granted voting rights to all regardless of property or race. The state's first public school system was established. Women were granted greater rights than ever before. Presidential electors were chosen directly by the people. Courts, county governments, hospitals, and charitable and penal institutions had to be built or reorganized.

Years later Negro Congressman Joseph Rainey, a former slave who escaped during the Civil War, pointed with pride to the justice of the South Carolina Constitution:

Our convention which met in 1868, and in which Negroes were in a large majority . . . adopted a liberal constitution, securing alike equal rights to all citizens, white and black, male and female, as far as possible. Mark you, we did not discriminate, although we had a majority. Our constitution towers up in its majesty with provisions for the equal protection of all classes of citizens.

It is important to point out, however, that these legislatures and the laws they passed all operated under the close scrutiny and control of Northern capitalists. This control is reflected in the fact that while land was always on the program of Black legislators, opposition from Northern capitalists who controlled the Federal government prevented any real land distribution.

K. How did Southern planters come back into power?

The Southern planter, now under the direct economic influence of Northern capitalists, were completely set free by the 1872 Amnesty Bill. It forgave the last of the rebels and more important, finished the land question for Blacks in the South. After the Amnesty Bill, Blacks were on the road to complete disenfranchisement and the quasi-feudal condition of sharecropping. This all led to a period of increased terror to help the legal side of the conspiracy to destroy everything Blacks had gained. But in the election of 1873 Hayes and Tilden waged a very hard struggle for President with Tilden demanding "full autonomy for the South" wanting to restore the planter ruling class completely. Hayes supposedly stood for continuing the Grant administration policies of not betraying the former slaves. The election was deadlocked and disputed votes were to be decided by Congress. Hayes and the Republican Party then completely sold out Black people in exchange for a "stable South" economically, and political control by the Northern and Southern capitalists. With the election victory Hayes withdrew the last troops from the South and dealt a fatal blow to Reconstruction and the gains by Blacks.

PEOPLES COLLEGE
NATIONAL BLACK HISTORY
WEEK III

This session's discussion focuses on the conditions of Black people during and after the period of Reconstruction. Since slavery meant 100% employment for the Black people we were all workers, for the most part.

There are several key points which should be stressed in your readings and discussions:

- (1) What were the main economic (material) forces at work in the U.S. and what effect did this have on the conditions of Black people.
 - (2) What organizational form developed to deal with the problems of Black workers.
 - (3) What prevented the lasting cooperation of Black people and the exploited white working class.
- A. What were the conditions of Black labor during and after Reconstruction?

Since Black people gained very little from the first "American Revolution", they undoubtedly hoped that the second--ostensibly in their behalf--would yield some greater benefits. But after the Civil War, America remained true to its past as a "nation . . . born in the fires of an anti-colonial revolution while at the same time consolidating its state power and sovereignty on the basis of preserving the slavery variety of colonialism." Two principal aspects of the economy should be addressed in understanding this paradox--land and labor.

The defaulted promise of forty acres and a mule is now legendary. The struggles for land became as important to Black freedmen as the exercise of political rights. Land redistribution policy was sabotaged by the reactionary and racist politics of President Andrew Johnson, who represented the interest of the dethroned planters and worked to keep Black people helpless until their former slave owners could consolidate their strength. Even lands allocated to freedmen by the Freedmen's Bureau were not distributed. In some few cases, slaves put theory into practice by moving in and dividing up abandoned plantations. But even with permission for some of this redistribution given by General Sherman, the government refused to back his orders. Much of the land had to be returned to its former occupants. Another measure, the Couthern Homestead Act which allowed lands in several southern states to be sold in small parcels of 80 acres, was repealed in 1876. Foster's concluding statement in his discussion of this issue merits quotation here:

During the war the government gave 23 million acres of land as subsidies to the railroads, but it had none for the freedmen. The governments reactionary policy in denying free land to the ex-slaves and protecting the ownership of the former slaveholders, set the pattern for the future regime in the South.

With slavery abolished but with the patterns of land ownership intact, Southern planters had to devise a system of labor exploitation for use in agriculture consistent with the new socio-political reality. The resulting form, sharecropping, was a more developed form of the feudal element found in the system of slavery. The planter was able to charge the sharecropper an extremely high rate for the use of land and farm utensils. The sharecropper was (and is) paid with a share of the crops, but by various devices the landowner kept the tenant in constant debt and at a very low level of subsistence. As Lenin has observed the sharecroppers were "mainly semi-feudal or . . . semi-slave tenants."

Throughout this period there were racial antagonisms on a larger scale than during slavery because of the expectations generated by Emancipation and citizenship. The principal contradiction over which the Civil War was fought had been resolved. Northern capitalists were now in the driver's seat of American industrial and commercial development, having been victorious over the rebellious planter-slaveowners of the South. The abolition of slavery, of no small consequence in and of itself, was nevertheless only a stratagem necessary in order to assure an outcome favorable to the North in its struggle with the South. Having dealt with the principal contradiction, the Northerners were more than willing to facilitate and encourage the former slaveowners in once again becoming the dominant actors in their struggle with former slaves. Southern planters were restored to their role as exploiters of Black labor--but this time with the assistance and direction of the developing urban white middle class and the Northern super-rich. With domination and exploitation no longer sanctioned by custom or accepted by Black people, a most virulent form of racialism was substituted. It is no coincidence that such an arrangement greatly intensified the exploitation of the Black internal colony by Northern capitalists in cooperation with their Southern intermediaries.

Karl Marx has observed that "at a certain stage of development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production . . . with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution." The development of the American economy after the Civil War must certainly be viewed as the working out of this general theory in history.

The American economy, no longer restrained by the fetters of chattel slavery, made tremendous progress for 40 years after the Civil War. Foster has correctly identified this period as the beginning of American imperialism.

Capital invested mounted by 450 percent, the value of manufactures climbed 500 percent, the length of railroad mileage increased by 500 percent, profits soared as never before in history, and the total national wealth went up some 400 percent. Together with this great post-Civil War growth of the nation's economy went a rapid process of monopolization . . . and the great industrial network had largely fallen under the

control of a huge banking-industrial-transportation concerns-- financial capitalists . . ."

While much of this expanded development took place in the North-- representing the "profits" on investments made in fighting and winning the Civil War--the South also showed much advance. During the years 1880-1900 the capital invested there rose almost 320% and the number of industrial workers showed an increase of about 300%. The question that is of central importance to our analysis has to do with the implications of this expanded development for the Black internal colony.

Economic advances in the South came mainly through increased activity in the construction of railroads, in the exploitation of lumber and coal and iron deposits, and in tobacco and cotton manufacturing. The Black internal colony was again the source of much needed labor. The movement of Black workers underscores this point. From 1790 to 1900 about 90% of all Black people lived in the South. The Civil War did very little to change this fact, but after the war there was a migration of Black people to both Northern and Southern cities. Between 1860 and 1870 the Black population increased 90.7% in 14 southern cities as compared to an increase of 16.7% in the white population in the same cities. In 1890, 80% of all Black people still lived in rural areas and almost 70% of the urban Black population was found in the South. According to Frazier, "the movement to southern cities was in response to the demand for labor created by railroad building and growing industrial and commercial enterprise in the South."

B. What was the National Labor Union?

The National Labor Union was one of the earliest national labor unions. Its goals were better conditions and more pay and an eight hour day. Their leadership understood the importance of Black labor, but their practice and organization didn't reflect their statements. They failed to understand the importance of Black reconstruction to the labor movement in general. Racism and white supremacy helped destroy whatever working class unity that ever existed.

In Black Reconstruction, DuBois gives us a detailed account of the National Labor Union.

The National Labor Union of workers was organized at Baltimore, Maryland, August 20, 1866. There were sixty delegates and on their banner was inscribed "Welcome to the sons of toil from the North, East, South and West." An address was issued on cooperation, trade unions, apprenticeship, strikes, labor of women, public land and political action. As to the Negroes, the union admitted that it was unable to express an opinion which would satisfy all, but the question must not be allowed to pass unnoticed. The Negro worker had been neglected. Cooperation of the African race in systematic organization must be secured. Otherwise, Negroes must act as scabs, as in the case of the colored caulkers, imported from Virginia to Boston, during the strike on the 8-hour question. There should be no distinction of race or nationality, but only separation into two great classes: laborers and those who live by others' labor. Negroes were soon to be admitted to citizenship and the ballot. Their ballot strength would be of great value to union labor. If labor did not accept them, capital would use the Negro to split white and black labor, just as the Austrian government had used race dissension. Such a lamentable situation should not be allowed to develop in America. Trade unions, eight-hour leagues, and other groups should be organized among Negroes.

Here was a first halting note. Negroes were welcomed to the labor movement, not because they were laborers but because they might be competitors in the market, and the logical conclusion was either to organize them or guard against their actual competition by other methods. It was to this latter alternative that white American labor almost unanimously turned.

This was manifest at the second annual meeting in Chicago in 1867, where the Negro problem was debated more frankly and less successfully. The President called attention to Negroes whose emancipation had given them a new position in the labor world. They would now come in competition with white labor. He suggested that the best way to meet this situation was to form trade unions among Negroes. A committee of three on Negro labor was selected. The Committee on Negro Labor reported that having had the subject under consideration, and after having heard the suggestions and opinions of several members of this convention—pro and con—they had arrived at the following conclusions:

"That, while we feel the importance of the subject, and realize the danger in the future of competition in mechanical Negro labor, yet we find the subject involved in so much mystery, and upon it so wide diversity of opinion amongst our members, we believe that it is inexpedient to take action on the subject in this National Labor Congress.

The whole question was finally dodged by taking refuge in the fact that the constitution invited "all labor."

In the meeting of the National Labor Union in New York in 1868, there was no mention of Negroes, but in 1869 at Philadelphia among 142 representatives, there appeared nine Negroes representing various separate Negro unions and organizations. This pointed a way out which labor eagerly seized. Contrary to all labor philosophy, they would divide labor by racial and social lines and yet continue to talk of one labor movement. Through this separate union, Negro labor would be restrained from competition and yet kept out of the white race unions where power and discussion lay. A resolution was adopted saying that the National Labor Union would recognize neither color nor sex in the question of the rise of all labor, and the colored laborers were urged to form their own organizations and send delegates to the next conference. The Negroes responded and declared that all Negroes wanted was a fair chance and no one would be the worse off for giving it. Isaac Myers, their leader, said: "The white laboring men of the country have nothing to fear from the colored laboring men. We desire to see labor elevated and made respectable; we desire to have the highest rate of wages that our labor is worth; we desire to have the hours of labor regulated as well to the interest of the laborer as to the capitalist. Mr. President, American citizenship for the black man is a complete failure if he is proscribed from the workshops of the country."¹⁹

In 1869, the General Council of the National Working-Men's Association sent a letter signed by Karl Marx to the President of the National Labor Union.

"The immediate tangible result of the Civil War was of course a deterioration of the condition of American Workingmen. Both in the United States and in Europe the colossal burden of a public debt was shifted from hand to hand in order to settle it upon the shoulders of the working class. The prices of necessities, remarks one of your statesmen, have risen 78 per cent since 1860, while the wages of simple manual labor have risen 50 and those of skilled labor 60 per cent. 'Pauperism,' he complains, 'is increasing in America more rapidly than population.' Moreover the sufferings of the working class are in glaring contrast to the new-fangled luxury of financial aristocrats, shoddy aristocrats and other vermin bred by the war. Still the Civil War offered a compensation in the liberation of the slaves and the impulse which it thereby gave your own class movement. Another war, not sanctified by a sublime aim or a social necessity, but like the wars of the Old World, would forge chains for the free workingmen instead of sundering those of the slaves."²⁰

Sylvia, President of the International Labor Movement, acknowledged this letter but said nothing about slavery, confining himself to attacking the monied aristocracy.

Thus American labor leaders tried to emphasize the fact that here was a new element; new not in the sense that it had not been there,—it had been there all the time—but new in the sense that the Negro worker must now be taken account of, both in his own interest and particularly in their interest. He was a competitor and a prospective under-bidder. Then difficulties appeared; the white worker did not want the Negro in his unions, did not believe in him as a man, dodged the question; and when he appeared at conventions, asked him to organize separately; that is, outside the real labor movement; in spite of the fact that this was a contradiction of all sound labor policy.

C. How did the program of the Colored National Labor Union speak to the problems of the Black working class during Reconstruction?

The Colored Labor Union was an alliance of Black Labor, unskilled and skilled, to improve the conditions and pay of Black workers. They understood the importance of land and reconstruction to the Black man. But their strength was not enough to affect the reactionary forces in control of the country. After 1870-71, the NCLU moved toward being a total political organization working for the Republican Party and died out just one year before the Hayes-Tilden election.

D. Was there a unity of action between Black and white labor during Reconstruction?

The problem of white supremacy and racism gave the capitalists during this period an upper hand in controlling labor that has been maintained until the present. By being able to pit Black against white, capitalists were successful in preventing the abolition of racial barriers and racial conflict did not make for a united struggle in the interests of all workers. Foster describes the situation like this:

There was much good will between the National Labor Union and the Colored National Labor Union, and if they could not establish closer working unity between Negro and white workers, this was due to their failure to overcome a number of serious obstacles. Chief among these was the N.L.U. failure to combat the employers' Jim Crow policies in industry. The white workers tended to oust Negro workers from the skilled trades, to refuse to work with them in the shops, and to bar them from the trade unions. This white chauvinist trend which was to wreak such havoc in the labor movement in later decades, was already manifest among unions in the N.L.U., despite the educational work of such men as Sylvius. The call for the founding convention of the Colored National Labor Union in 1869 said: "In the greater part of the United States colored men are excluded from workshops on account of their color."¹⁸

to rectify the injustice. This shameful incident contributed to Frederick Douglass' unfriendly attitude toward trade unionism and to that of many Negro workers as well.

Besides failing to cleanse their ranks of such white chauvinist practices, the National Labor Union did not understand the special nature of the Negro problem. Instead of giving active support to the basic demands of the Negro people in the Reconstruction of the South—for land, the vote, and equal rights—they tried to divert the attention of the Negroes away from their elementary demands and toward such issues as Greenbackism, currency reform and the like, in which the Negroes had little or no interest. This lack of realism among white N.L.U. leaders worked against the establishment of solid co-operation between Negro and white trade unionists.

This deplorable situation was painfully dramatized in 1869-70 by the case of Lewis H. Douglass, the son of Frederick Douglass. The younger Douglass had secured a job at the Government Printing Office, but the printers' union would not allow him to become a union member. The pretext was that he had once worked for less than the union scale, but the real reason was that he was a Negro. Repeated appeals to the head of the International Typographical Union failed.

E. Who were the Knights of Labor?

The Knights of Labor was a multi-racial national labor organization that fought for Black and white workers and for improved conditions in pay and on the job. It became popular because of the early successful strikes it waged against railroads. The organization started to decline in 1888-90 because of unsuccessful strikes and more important a lack of a tightly organized body. The Knights of Labor led to the American Federation of Labor.

THE NEGRO WORKERS AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The National Labor Union, as we saw in Chapter 32, made a considerable effort to fight against the employer-cultivated Negro-white split in the trade union movement, but with only limited success. The N.L.U. was succeeded by the Knights of Labor, which was formed in Philadelphia, in December 1869, by a handful of garment workers. It began to expand in 1871, and by 1877 it had 15 state and district assemblies. It extended into Canada. In 1886, at its peak, the K. of L. had some 600,000 members, making it then the largest labor organization in the world. After that date it declined, however, and by the mid 1890's it was virtually extinct. The founder of this very important labor organization was Uriah S. Stephens, an old-time Abolitionist and cofighter with Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison.

The K. of L., like the N.L.U. before it, aimed at uniting not merely a fringe of skilled crafts, but the whole working class. It proposed to organize all workers without regard to race, sex, or craft. The organization, stating that "labor created all value," proposed as its goal "to establish cooperative institutions such as will tend to supersede the wage system by the introduction of a cooperative industrial system." Its motto was, "An Injury to One Is the Concern of All." Its organization was based upon local mixed assemblies of various crafts, and also district and national assemblies. In some cases, the latter bodies took on much of the shape of national industrial unions. The organization had an elaborate ritual, and until 1878 it was a secret body. This practice of secrecy—to escape the bitter anti-union persecution of the times—was adopted by many other young trade unions.

Marxist Socialists played an important part in the Knights of Labor and they were the source of many of its progressive policies and much of its record of militant struggle. They were especially responsible for the order's friendly attitude toward Negro workers. A number of K. of L. leaders were Socialists. Even Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman from 1879 to 1893 and ultimately very conservative, once belonged to the Socialist Labor Party. Also influential in the K. of L. were the Lassalleans, whose base was chiefly among the German workers. They were an off-shoot of the General Association of German Workers, founded by Ferdinand Lassalle in Germany in 1863. Pseudo-Socialists, they put forward state-subsidized workers' co-operatives as their goal. They condemned trade unions as useless and concentrated on opportunist electoral action; they were the originators of various harmful tendencies in the K. of L.

The K. of L. paid much attention to the organization of Negro workers. But it never adopted a solid policy of seeing to it that Negroes had the full right to work in all industries and crafts—the heart of the industrial question for Negro workers. Nor did the organization have any kind of constructive program for the Klan-terrorized South. Nevertheless, it generally welcomed Negro workers and many of them held official posts. At the height of the order's strength, in 1886, it had an estimated 60,000 to 90,000 Negroes in its ranks. Not until this day has the A.F. of L. achieved such a high percentage of Negro members. Moreover, ten percent of the members of the K. of L. were women.

Negro workers enthusiastically joined the K. of L., especially in the terror-ridden South of the post-Reconstruction period. Frederick Douglass and some other prominent Negro leaders, however, did not share this pro-trade union position. But the Negro press, hitherto distrustful, generally urged Negro workers to join the order. The national official organ of the Knights highly praised the Negroes as union members, saying: "The testimony is that for fidelity to their obligations, strict attendance in all meetings, prompt payment of dues, good conduct, and all that goes to make good members and good citizens, they are not excelled by any other class of man of the Order."

F. What is the oldest national trade union federation in existence today?

The American Federation of Labor was the first tightly organized central union of the country. They organized only skilled workers and stood a better chance of winning and collecting dues. They have always played lip service to Blacks, but maintained the policy of individual rights of its locals and many were racist. They failed to deal with the masses of Blacks and white labor at the time.

The A.F. of L. was formed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on November 15, 1881. One hundred seven delegates attended the convention, about 60 from organizations of the Knights of Labor and 40 from six independent national trade unions. The new national center was called the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada. Leading among its founders were Adolph Strasser, Samuel Gompers, Peter J. McGuire, and Frank K. Foster, all members of the K. of L. At the second convention Gompers became president of the A.F. of L., a position which he held continuously, except for the year 1894-95, until he died on December 13, 1924, 42 years later. Gompers was an immigrant Jewish cigar-maker, born in London. In December 1886, at its convention in Columbus, Ohio, the organization changed its name to the American Federation of Labor.¹²

The policy of the K. of L., as stated by Powderly, its chief leader, was to organize Negroes and whites either in single unions or separately, as the local workers decided. Foner remarks "that both forms of organization prevailed widely. There were mixed local assemblies, not only in the North, but also in many Southern states. It was reported in 1885 that there were hundreds of colored assemblies in the South."¹³ In the South, however, the white workers frequently excluded Negroes, a practice which the K. of L. leaders could not, or at least did not, eradicate. There were a number of paid Negro organizers in the field.

Despite the white chauvinist attitude of many of its officials, the Knights of Labor represented the highest stage of Negro-white unity yet achieved by the workers, as well as the most effective stand of the working class against the offensive of the employers. The organization began to decline after 1886 from a variety of causes. Among these were the destructive influence of the large influx of non-working class elements—farmers, professionals, etc.—who came into the order; tendencies of the leadership to play down and even betray strikes and other militant working class actions; trends toward purely opportunist political activities; disruptive activities by Most and other anarchists, and involvement of the organization in the prevailing "cheap money" quackeries. Especially destructive was the hostility of the rival national craft unions, which were strongly opposed to the organization form of the order. By 1895, after 10 years of its greatest activity, the K. of L. was no longer the key labor organization of the working class.

The A.F. of L. was based upon craft unionism, as opposed to the mixed mass organization of the K. of L. It represented the coming together of the national craft unions, which had been gradually organizing themselves since the 1850's. At first there was no apparent clash between the two national organizations, but by 1886 they were at loggerheads. In its early years the A.F. of L. was a militant organization, and it outmaneuvered the K. of L. by taking over the leadership of the successful national eight-hour-day strike of 350,000 workers in 1886. This strike had been called by the K. of L. and then abandoned by its leader, Powderly. From this time on, the A.F. of L. was in the ascendant and the K. of L. in decline.

The advent of the A.F. of L. greatly worsened the attitude of organized labor toward the Negro worker. The National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor, being broad class organizations and aiming at the unionization of the whole body of the workers, had taken the position that the Negro workers had to be organized. But the American Federation of Labor, although in its earlier stages it showed some solidarity with Negroes in industry, generally cultivated the interests of individual skilled or semi-skilled crafts, and ignored

and even worked against the organization of Negro workers. Traditionally, the unions of skilled workers in the main opposed Negroes entering or working in the crafts; hence they also barred them, in practice or by constitutional provisions, from joining the unions. This was the policy of many pioneer national trade unions—the Sons of Vulcan (Blacksmiths), the Typographical Union, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Bricklayers, Carpenters, and others. Despite exceptions in the case of some of their unions, the N.L.U. and K. of L., as essentially class organizations, stressed the solidarity of all workers, including the Negroes. Despite contrary policies by many of its affiliates, the A.F. of L., based upon craft organization, put the accent upon white chauvinism and the exclusion of the Negro from the skilled trades and the labor movement.

The A.F. of L. has always claimed to represent the whole working class; in reality, however, it has cultivated the interests of the labor aristocracy at the expense of the great mass of the workers. For many years it crassly ignored and sabotaged the interests of women workers, the youth, the unskilled, the foreign-born, and above all, the Negro workers. The crafts even betrayed each other upon numberless occasions; over the years hundreds of strikes have been lost because one group of craft unions in a given industry remained at work while the others were on strike.

These divisive craft policies, especially with regard to Negro workers, played right into the hands of the employers. They constituted the great tragedy of the labor movement for half a century, down to the birth of the C.I.O. in 1935. It cannot be assumed that these policies of betrayal were merely incidental to the cultivation of craft interests by the union leaders and were unwanted by them. On the contrary, the Gompersite leaders were cunning enough to know what they were doing. They constituted the most corrupt leadership in the history of world trade unionism, great numbers of them being barefaced crooks. They sold "strike insurance," robbed union treasuries, allied themselves with the underworld, took money from corrupt politicians, and made agreements with the bosses to keep the unskilled out of the unions. In line with this corruption, they also deliberately and knowingly sold out the interests of Negro workers (along with those of the women, youth, foreign-born, and unskilled) for such advantages as they could wrangle for themselves and, secondarily, for their crafts. They were precisely what De Leon called them, "labor lieutenants of capital in the ranks of the working class," and they committed their working class treason consciously.

- G. What was one of the most important mass political movements during this period and what were its effects on Blacks?

The Colored National Farmers Alliance was a separately organized alliance of members of farming communities mainly in the South. It numbered 1,250,000 at its height and was very instrumental in the election of Populist candidates to public office, and was noted for its ability to work and organize across racial barriers or "jim crow." It moved on to be integrated into the Populist movement that, in the end, was co-opted and turned reactionary with the help of the capitalist class and latent racist feelings.

THE COLORED NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE

From the outset, the Southern planters looked with hatred and alarm upon the growth of the Southern Farmers Alliance. They saw in it not only a challenge to their despotic rule; but they dreaded that despite the Alliance's lily-white clause, it would lead to common political action between the poorer white farmers and sharecroppers and the Negroes. Nor were their fears without basis; for the Alliance leaders in the South were quick to understand that they could accomplish nothing politically without the election support of the Negroes. Therefore, they definitely favored Negro-white co-operation on the political field. The misfortune was that this general conception could not have prevailed among these whites during the Reconstruction years, when the Negroes and their Republican allies were fighting so desperately to build some elements of democracy in the South. But the common action that the main body of small white farmers had refused to take then, they were now ready for under the heavy pressure of the rapacious landowners, the railroads, and other oppressive trusts. Therefore, the white Southern Alliance favored and helped organize the Negro farmers and farm workers, seeking as best it could, however, to control the Negro organization.

The Colored National Farmers Alliance and Cooperative Union was launched in Houston, Texas, in December 1886. It at once won wide support from among the Negro agricultural masses. Hicks says, "Members poured into the Colored Alliance in prodigious numbers."⁸ In 1888, the national organization was formed, and by 1891, says Hicks, it had 1,250,000 members, including 300,000 women and 150,000 youths. By this time there were members in all the Southern states and 11 state organizations had been chartered. The organization headquarters was in Galveston, Texas.

The specified purpose of the Alliance was "To elevate the colored people of the United States, by teaching them to love their country and their homes; to care more earnestly for the helpless and sick and destitute; to labor more earnestly in agricultural pursuits; to become better farmers and laborers, and less wasteful in their method of living; to be more obedient to the civil law; to become better citizens and truer husbands and wives."⁹ Presumably this conservative moralistic statement of principles, which jibed ill with the militant activities of the organization, was written by its white founder and "Superintendent," the Reverend R. M. Humphrey, a Baptist preacher from Texas.

Those whose business it is to belittle the Negro people picture the Colored Farmers National Alliance as having been a passive tool of the white organization. Actually the Alliance possessed much of the militancy of the Union Leagues of the Reconstruction period. Woodward significantly remarks that "there is considerable evidence of independence among the Negroes."¹⁰ And Abramowitz says that, "Contrary to the general assumption that the Colored Alliance was a mere appendage of the Southern Alliance, there were serious differences between the two organizations, particularly over the issue of the Lodge Bill or Force Bill as it was known in the South."¹¹ One of the many other manifestations of the independent spirit of the Negro organization was its calling of a cotton-pickers' strike for a wage increase throughout the South in 1891. This movement, however, was broken by Colonel Leonidas L. Polk, president of the Southern (white) Alliance, who condemned it as "one section of the organization striking against another."¹²

PEOPLES COLLEGE
NATIONAL BLACK HISTORY
WEEK IV

A. How did the big corporations take over the United States?

After 1880, America began to make its move to imperialism. Railroad monopolies developed (six groups controlled railways of the country). By 1900 there were 455 giant corporations which controlled everything in the United States. Workers were crippled and/or killed under inhumane conditions in the factories. Company towns developed where industries, stores, churches, newspapers, and everything else was in complete control of the company. The capitalists bought legislators and judges so that they could use "law and order" to end workers' strikes. Northern capitalists expanded southward and made whites overseers of their property. Black people were terrorized and lynched to keep them working for lower wages. In 1898, the United States moved into world imperialism when it gained control of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines during the Spanish American War.

Foster describes this period:

Lenin has defined imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, displaying five basic qualities: (a) the growth of great industrial and financial monopolies which dominate the life of the nation; (b) the merger of the industrial and financial trusts, with bank capital dominant; (c) the export of capital to foreign lands; (d) the systematic division of the world's markets among the big capitalist powers; and (e) the completion of the division of the world's territories among the imperialist powers.¹ These are the essential imperialist qualities of all the great capitalist powers—Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Italy, and the United States.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

American imperialism began definitely to take shape from about 1880 on, and by 1900 it was well developed. As we have seen in Chapter 34, American industry made tremendous progress between 1880 and 1900. This was the concrete realization of the revolutionary victory of the Northern industrialists in the Civil War. Capital invested mounted by 450 percent, the value of manufactures climbed 500 percent, the length of the railroad mileage increased by 500 percent, profits soared as never before in history, and the total national wealth went up some 400 percent. Meanwhile the number of workers increased by 325 percent and the population by 150 percent.

Together with this great post-Civil War growth of the nation's economy went a rapid process of monopolization, of trust-building, especially after 1880. Consequently, by 1900, according to Moody, there were in the United States 445 large industrial, franchise and transportation trusts, with a total capitalization of over \$20 billion.² The billion-dollar United States Steel Corporation was organized in 1901, and there were already in existence six huge railroad monopoly groups, each with a capital of from one to two and one-quarter billion dollars.

In the process of trustifying, the great industrial network had largely fallen under the control of a few huge banking-industrial-transportation concerns—finance capitalists; namely, Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Vanderbilt, Kuhn-Loeb, and others. These wealthy capitalist overlords had also come to dominate the national government. Their first marked advance onto the world scene as militant imperialists, aiming at the conquest and robbing of colonial peoples,

was during the Spanish-American War of 1898. In this war (deliberately provoked by imperialist Washington), the militant young United States stripped decrepit old Spain of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico—the last remnants of its once vast American and Asian colonial empire.

Of course, the Negro people, who were located overwhelmingly in the South, did not escape the intensified exploitation and oppression characteristic of the growth of monopoly capitalism during the decades before 1900. On the contrary, they were the worst of all its victims. Kuczynski says, "If we compare the material conditions of the Negro workers at the end of the nineteenth century with those existing just before the Civil War, the change was very small indeed."³ But before we deal concretely with this situation, let us glance briefly at the growth of monopoly capital in the South.

In Chapter 33, we indicated the development of Southern industry—railroads, steel, coal and iron mining, lumber, textiles, tobacco, and other branches—during the decades after the Civil War, and more especially in the years following 1880. These new and expanded Southern industries were established chiefly under the ownership and control of Northern monopoly capital. Taking over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and greatly expanding it, was one of the earliest major invasions of the South by Northern big capital. During the economic crisis of 1873-78, that road passed into the control of Jay Gould, August Belmont, Thomas Fortune Ryan, and Jacob Schiff.⁴ Russell Sage and other Northern capitalists at this time were also busily grabbing control of railroads in the South. In 1893, J. P. Morgan created the Southern Railroad out of the remains of the Richmond and West Point Terminal Railroad; and within ten

years he controlled 10,000 miles of the most important Southern railroad mileage. In 1907 Morgan also took over the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company.⁵ Meanwhile, other big Northern capitalists bought or stole their way into the lumber, coal, textile, and other Southern industries. By 1900, Wall Street capitalists, with a billion dollars invested in the South, dominated not only the economy of that area, but also its political life.

The South, being an organic part of the economic, political, and social structure of the United States, could not, of course, become a colony of Wall Street; but the Northern monopolists in many respects treated it as such. They achieved hegemony over the Southern industrialists; they subordinated the economic life of the South to the needs of the Northern economy; they practiced absentee ownership, sucking profits out of the South on a semi-colonial basis; they built up railroad differentials (much on the principle of tariffs) against the South; and they subjected the Southern workers, Negro and white, agricultural and industrial, to super-exploitation, much as they were then doing in their newly acquired real colonies—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The Negroes especially suffered this super-exploitation. The Northern monopolists exploited them in the most

brutal manner, treating them as an oppressed nation, entitled to no economic or political rights that they were bound to respect.⁸

The relations between the erstwhile rulers of the South (principally the cotton planters) and its new imperialist masters, the Wall Street monopolists, were essentially those of major and minor partners in an ultra-reactionary coalition. Perlo thus pictures the connections and policies of these allied forces: "Their economic course was to prevent the Negro people from getting the land, to preserve the plantation system in a new set-up in which Northern bankers, merchants, and manufacturers derived the lion's share of the profits from its operation, with the Southern landowners as junior partners and overseers."⁹

B. Why didn't the Socialist Party appeal to Black people?

Socialists united across the land in the form of the Socialist Party in 1901 to unite workers to oppose their exploitation by the capitalists. The Socialist Party invited Black workers to unite with them in their struggles. Because the socialists did not understand the special nature of the Black man's plight for a long time they refused to put forth demands which spoke to the problems of Blacks. They refused to take a stand against lynchings. When these demands were put forth, the socialists said that solutions to these problems could wait until socialism had been achieved. White chauvinism played an important influence in shaping this attitude of socialists toward Black people.

C. What was the purpose of World War I and how did the United States gain from participating in the war?

The First World War (a war between two camps of imperialist powers) began in 1914. Its purpose was to create new markets, more raw materials, more labor to exploit, and more strategic points to control. The masses of people in the United States were against entering the war. Big businesses got richer selling war supplies to the countries who were in the war at its beginning. When it looked as if German imperialists might win the war, the big businesses pushed the United States into the war to protect their interests. The regiments sent to Europe were segregated so all Black regiments did most of the menial labor and the hardest fighting. After Anglo-French-American imperialists won the war, there were 42,554 millionaires in America. Two percent of the people held 60 percent of the nation's wealth. The poorest 65 percent held only 5 percent of the wealth. The war was fought in Europe and consequently, most of Europe was damaged. America had to loan money to the European countries in order to get them back on their feet. Europe was indebted to America.

D. How did Booker T. Washington's philosophies keep the "Negro" in his place?

As we have discussed the 1880's was the start of the development of imperialism in the U.S. Southern capitalists and their Northern sponsors were locked in an intense struggle to destroy the gains of Blacks after Emancipation and to establish complete domination of the working class in the South. It was in this context that Booker T. Washington came to Tuskegee Institute in 1881 with a theory of

industrial education (teaching farming, bricklaying, carpentry, blacksmithing, cooking, etc.). He de-emphasized the importance of math, history, the sciences, etc. Booker T. encouraged Blacks to open businesses in order to show white people what they could do. The National Negro Business League was organized in 1900 to further this end. Washington's 3rd point was to discourage political action among Black people. "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 became very popular with the owners of big businesses in the North and South because they saw in his program a perfect way of controlling the Black masses so that they could be more easily exploited.

W.E.B. DuBois has described the position of Washington in his autobiography:

Since the controversy between me and Washington has become historic, it deserves more careful statement than it has had hitherto, both as to the matters and the motives involved. There was first of all the ideological controversy. I believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. I knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities. Mr. Washington, on the other hand, believed that the Negro as an efficient worker could gain wealth and that eventually through his ownership of capital he would be able to achieve a recognized place in American culture and could then educate his children as he might wish and develop their possibilities. For this reason he proposed to put the emphasis at present upon training in the skilled trades and encouragement in industry and common labor.

These two theories of Negro progress were not absolutely contradictory. Neither I nor Booker Washington understood the nature of capitalistic exploitation of labor, and the necessity of a direct attack on the principle of exploitation as the beginning of labor uplift. I recognized the importance of the Negro gaining a foothold in trades and his encouragement in industry and common labor. Mr. Washington was not absolutely opposed to college training and sent his own children to college. But he did minimize its importance, and discouraged the philanthropic support of higher education. He thought employers "gave" laborers work, thus opening the door to acquiring wealth. I openly and repeatedly criticized what seemed to me the poor work and small accomplishment of the Negro industrial school, but did not attack the fundamental wrong of giving the laborer less than he earned. It was characteristic of the Washington statesmanship that whatever he or anybody believed or wanted must be subordinated to dominant public opinion and that opinion deferred to and cajoled until

it allowed a deviation toward better ways. It was my theory to guide and force public opinion by leadership. While Mr. Washington was a matter of writing and teaching, the Washington leadership became a matter of organization and money. It was what I may call the Tuskegee Machine.

But there were discrepancies and paradoxes in this leadership. It did not seem fair, for instance, that on the one hand Mr. Washington should decry political activities among Negroes, and on the other hand dictate Negro political objectives from Tuskegee. At a time when Negro civil rights called for organized and aggressive defense, he broke down that defense by advising acquiescence or at least no open agitation. During the period when laws disfranchising the Negro were being passed in all the Southern states, between 1890 and 1909, and when these were being supplemented by "jim-crow" travel laws and other enactments making color caste legal, his public speeches, while they did not entirely ignore this development, tended continually to excuse it, to emphasize the shortcomings of the Negro, and were interpreted widely as putting the chief onus for his condition upon the Negro himself.

All this naturally aroused increasing opposition among Negroes and especially among the younger class of educated Negroes, who were beginning to emerge here and there, particularly from Northern institutions. This opposition began to become vocal in 1901 when two men, Monroe Trotter, Harvard 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst 1895, began the publication of the *Boston Guardian*. The *Guardian*, a weekly periodical, was bitter, satirical, and personal; but it was well edited, it was earnest, and it published facts. It attracted wide attention among colored people; it circulated among them all over the country; it was quoted and discussed. I did not wholly agree with the *Guardian*, and indeed only a few Negroes did, but nearly all read it or were influenced by it.

This beginning of organized opposition, together with other events, led to the growth at Tuskegee of what I have called the Tuskegee Machine. It arose first quite naturally. Not only did presidents of the United States consult Booker T. Washington, but governors and congressmen; philanthropists conferred with him, scholars wrote to him. Tuskegee became a vast information bureau and center of advice. It was not merely passive in these matters but, guided by Emmett Scott, a young secretary who was intelligent, suave and far-seeing, active efforts were made to concentrate influence at Tuskegee. After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments of Negroes were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were very often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal. How much Mr. Washington knew of this work of the Tuskegee Machine and was directly responsible, one cannot say, but of its general activity and scope he must have been aware.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that this Tuskegee Machine was not solely the idea and activity of black folk at Tuskegee. It was largely encouraged and given financial aid through certain white groups and individuals in the North. This Northern group had clear objectives. They were capitalists and employers of labor and yet in most cases sons, relatives, or friends of the Abolitionists who had sent teachers into the new Negro South after the war. These younger men believed that the Negro problem could not remain a matter of philanthropy. It must be a matter of business. These Negroes were not to be encouraged as voters in the new democracy, nor were they to be left at the mercy of the reactionary South. They were good laborers and they could be made of tremendous profit to the North. They could become a strong labor force and properly guided they would restrain the unbridled demands of white labor, born of the Northern labor unions and now spreading to the South and encouraged by European socialism.

E. How did W.E.B. DuBois stand on the "Negro question" as opposed to Booker T?

W.E.B. DuBois stood in opposition to Booker T. Washington's program. He helped to organize the Niagara Movement in 1905 which demanded for Black people the right to vote, full education, justice in the courts, service on juries, abolition of Jim Crow, etc. So while Washington preached humility, DuBois preached militancy. In his autobiography, DuBois describes his response to the jailing of Monroe Trotter, the outspoken publisher of THE GUARDIAN because Trotter had "heckled" Booker T. Washington during a Boston speech.

With this incident I had no direct connection whatsoever. I did not know beforehand of the meeting in Boston, nor of the projected plan to heckle Mr. Washington. But when Trotter went to jail, my indignation overflowed. I did not always agree with Trotter then or later. But he was an honest, brilliant, unselfish man, and to treat as a crime that which was at worst mistaken judgment was an outrage. I sent out from Atlanta in June 1905 a call to a few selected persons "for organized determination and aggressive action on the part of men who believe in Negro freedom and growth." I proposed a conference during the summer "to oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticism; to organize intelligent and honest Negroes; and to support organs of news and public opinion."

Fifty-nine colored men from 17 different states eventually signed a call for a meeting near Buffalo, New York, during the week of July 9, 1905. I went to Buffalo and hired a little hotel on the Canadian side of the river at Fort Erie, and waited for the men to attend the meeting. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the hotel, I should certainly have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail; but as a matter of fact, 29 men, representing 14 states, came. The "Niagara Movement" was incorporated January 31, 1906, in the District of Columbia.

Its particular business and objects were to advocate and promote the following principles:

1. Freedom of speech and criticism.
2. An unfettered and unsubsidized press.
3. Manhood suffrage.
4. The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color.
5. The recognition of the principle of human brotherhood as a practical present creed.
6. The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race.
7. A belief in the dignity of labor.
8. United effort to realize these ideals under wise and courageous leadership.

The Niagara Movement raised a furor of the most disconcerting criticism. I was accused of acting from motives of envy of a great leader and being ashamed of the fact that I was a member of the Negro race. The leading weekly of the land, the *New York Outlook*, pilloried me with scathing articles. But the movement went on.

- F. What led to the founding of the NAACP? What kind of organization is it and how does it implement its programs.

Imperialism continued its ruthless efforts to reap super-profits through the brutal exploitation of labor. Industry expanded and all attempts of the working class to organize against this exploitation were suppressed. Abroad, imperialists proceeded to attack and control many countries--Cuba, Mexico, etc. Even an official United States government committee was forced to conclude in 1912 that "the final control of American industry rests in the hands of a small number of wealthy and powerful financiers." Of course Black people suffered most during this period. Mob killings, lynchings, murders were widespread.

Efforts to oppose this terror were equally widespread. The A.F. of L. grew in membership from 600,000 to 2,000,000 in 1914. Black people also struggled against this oppression. It was in this context that the NAACP arose.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was organized on May 30, 1909, in New York City, as the National Negro Committee. It was formed in response to a call sent out on Lincoln's hundredth birthday anniversary by 35 prominent liberals and Socialists, Negro and white.* Among the Negro signers of the call were William L. Bulkeley, a New York school principal; Mrs. Ida B. Wells-Barnett of Chicago; Dr. Du Bois of Atlanta; Reverend Francis J. Grimké, Bishop Alexander Walters, and Dr. J. Milton Waldron of Washington. Among the white liberals signing the call were Professor John Dewey, Jane Addams, William Dean Howells, Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Dr. Charles E. Parkhurst, Louis Wald, Mary E. Woolley, and Susan P. Wharton. There were also several white Socialists among the signers, including William English Walling, Charles Edward Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Mary E. Dreier, Florence Kelly, and Mary W. Ovington.

The organization crystallized under its present name at its second national conference, in May 1910. Moorfield Storey, who had been

Charles Sumner's secretary and a leader in the Anti-Imperialist League, was chosen president, Frances Blascoer, executive secretary, and W. E. B. Du Bois, director of publicity and research. In November 1910, *The Crisis*, a monthly, was established as the official organ, with Du Bois as editor. Headquarters were in New York.

Meanwhile, there were numerous Equal Rights Leagues operating in various states. These worked in the tradition of the Equal Rights League of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. W. M. Trotter, the militant Boston Negro leader, who looked askance at the liberal whites dominating the N.A.A.C.P., furthered this movement. It was soon absorbed, however, by the N.A.A.C.P.

The basis of the new N.A.A.C.P. was the rising wave of resistance among the Negro people, earlier expressed by the Niagara Movement, which the N.A.A.C.P. absorbed. The immediate impulse for its formation was given by the race riot in Springfield, Illinois, the home of Abraham Lincoln, in August 1908. W. E. Walling, himself a Southerner, was in Springfield at the time. He was so outraged by the unprovoked attack upon the Negroes that he wrote an article in *The Independent*, of September 3, bitterly condemning the "riot" and calling for action to prevent the recurrence of such barbarities. This article led directly to the founding of the N.A.A.C.P.

- G. What was the rationale for the development for the Urban League?

The political activities of the NAACP caused great alarm among those who desired a more conservative movement in the Black people. To counter the NAACP, the National League of Urban Conditions was formed in 1911 to help the great number of Black people who had moved North. The rationale for the Urban League was developed by George Haynes in a report on the conditions of the urban Negro in New York. Haynes later came to Fisk and helped to establish the Sociology Department.

The Urban League started as an interracial organization but under the control of liberal, wealthy whites. The Urban League was not designed as a protest organization but as a voluntary community service agency of civic, professional, business, labor and religious leaders dedicated to improving the economic conditions of Black people by placing them in better jobs, in better housing,

providing playgrounds, health clinics, etc. (By agreement, the fight for civil rights was left to the NAACP.) From its beginning the Urban League has had the backing of large foundations controlled by big capitalists, and has remained true to the goals stated by the wife of a rich owner of a railway can who co-founded the organization: "Let us work together not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone, but together as American citizens for the common good of our common city and our common country." History has demonstrated that when rich and poor "work together" the large capitalist businesses that really benefit.

H. What was the Back to Africa Movement based on?

Black people after the end of World War I in 1918 were again the victims of increased racial oppression. Many Black soldiers were involved in fighting "to make the world safe for democracy." They were inspired by the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 and very much wanted and needed a mass movement to guide their energies. Marcus Garvey, a West Indian, came to the U.S. in 1916 and proceeded to build the Universal Negro Improvement Association which he had founded a few years earlier in Jamaica. The dominant thrust of the UNIA was "Back to Africa."

The Garvey movement was based on Black agricultural workers still under the domination of the Southern sharecropping systems and on industrial workers who had recently migrated from the plantations into the urban areas of the North. They saw in the Garvey movement the possibility of escape from the brutal oppression which they knew on Southern plantations and an opportunity to liberate Black people in Africa and the Caribbean.

But the leaders of the Garvey movement were primarily Black people who did not come from the working class--lawyers, small businessmen, and preachers. While the position of the Garvey movement in the beginning was forced to be very close to the militant posture that the masses of Black people had adopted during that period--demanding the right of self-determination for Black people, demanding an end to lynchings and other brutalities, etc.--the leadership was eventually coopted and adopted the slogan that "the Negro must be loyal to all flags under which he lives." This was followed by an agreement with the Klu Klux Klan in which the KKK supported deporting Black people back to Liberia. Garvey totally negated the liberation struggle of Black people here in the United States.

Garvey taught his followers to distrust anyone white and to rely on themselves for the improvement of their conditions. Thousands of people contributed money to the Garvey movement. But the business ventures and plans of Garvey to take Black people to Africa fell through and he was indicted by the Federal government for "mail fraud" and sentenced to prison. Black crooks who infiltrated his movement had much to do with the movement's failure.

While the importance of Garvey in generating mass sentiment and mobilization around the many wrongs inflicted on Black people cannot be denied, its most important contribution was the lessons it taught to the masses of Black people that our struggle must be led by the strong leaders from the working class or we run the risk of being coopted by reforms (like Black capitalism) which middle class Blacks will readily accept.

PEOPLES COLLEGE
NATIONAL BLACK HISTORY
WEEK V

A. Why was World War II fought?

World War II was a further re-division of the world. Germany, Japan, and Italy were trying to dominate the world scene while crushing the working class at home. Germany rebuilt itself after World War I and wanted to gain back the territories it had lost. The only way to this was through war. America thought that it might expand its imperialist markets still further. (It had an excuse to enter the war after Japan crushed America's fleets at Pearl Harbor.) Mussolini went into Ethiopia in 1935. Hitler invaded Poland in 1939 and after smashing it, invaded Europe (France, Holland, Belgium, and Britain). He then invaded the Soviet Union June 22, 1941 and Japan hit Pearl Harbor Dec. 7, 1941. The United States was fighting in Europe while the Soviet Union (hated by the U.S. for being socialist) had to defend itself against Germany. The United States finally opened up the Western front and in 1945 the Russians captured Berlin. The Japanese had already been defeated when on August 14, 1945, the United States needlessly dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

B. What was the first major victory in the fight for school desegregation?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People proceeded with the program of ending discrimination through legal procedure and in 1954 with the *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, it overturned the doctrine that the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case had established (separate but equal). The Supreme Court (Warren Court) ruled in the *Brown* case that separate facilities are inherently unequal. This was the first victory in the battle for educational equality. Below is a summary of the NAACP brief.

*NAACP Brief**

Summary of Argument

These cases consolidated for argument before this Court present in different factual contexts essentially the same ultimate legal questions.

The substantive question common to all is whether a state can, consistently with the Constitution, exclude children, solely on the ground that they are Negroes, from public schools which otherwise they would be qualified to attend. It is the thesis of this brief, submitted on behalf of the excluded children, that the answer to the question is in the negative: the Fourteenth Amendment prevents states from according differential treatment to American children on the basis of their color or race. Both the legal precedents and the judicial theories, discussed in Part I hereof, and the evidence concerning the intent of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment and the understanding of the Congress and the ratifying states, developed in Part II hereof, support this proposition.

Denying this thesis, the school authorities, relying in part on language originating in this Court's opinion in *Plessy v.*

* Brief for Appellants in Nos. 1, 2, and 4 and for Respondents in No. 10; from the briefs on reargument submitted to the Supreme Court, October term, 1953.

Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, urge that exclusion of Negroes, *qua* Negroes, from designated public schools is permissible when the excluded children are afforded admittance to other schools especially reserved for Negroes, *qua* Negroes, if such schools are equal.

The procedural question common to all the cases is the role to be played, and the time-table to be followed, by this Court and the lower courts in directing an end to the challenged exclusion, in the event that this Court determines, with respect to the substantive question, that exclusion of Negroes, *qua* Negroes, from public schools contravenes the Constitution.

The importance to our American democracy of the substantive question can hardly be overstated. The question is whether a nation founded on the proposition that "all men are created equal" is honoring its commitments to grant "due process of law" and "the equal protection of the laws" to all within its borders when it, or one of its constituent states, confers or denies benefits on the basis of color or race.

The argument that the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment are met by providing alternative schools rests, finally, on reiteration of the separate but equal doctrine enunciated in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Were these ordinary cases, it might be enough to say that the *Plessy* case can be distinguished—that it involved only segregation in transportation. But these are not ordinary cases, and in deference to their importance it seems more fitting to meet the *Plessy* doctrine head-on and to declare that doctrine erroneous.

Candor requires recognition that the plain purpose and effect of segregated education is to perpetuate an inferior status for Negroes which is America's sorry heritage from slavery. But the primary purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to deprive the states of *all* power to perpetuate such a caste system.

5. The first and second of the five questions propounded by this Court requested enlightenment as to whether the Congress which submitted, and the state legislatures and conventions which ratified, the Fourteenth Amendment contemplated or understood that it would prohibit segregation in public schools, either of its own force or through subsequent legislative or judicial action. The evidence, both in Congress and in the legislatures of the ratifying states, reflects the substantial intent of the Amendment's proponents and the substantial understanding of its opponents that the Fourteenth Amendment would, of its own force, proscribe all forms of state-imposed racial distinctions, thus necessarily including all racial segregation in public education.

The Fourteenth Amendment was actually the culmination of the determined efforts of the Radical Republican majority in Congress to incorporate into our fundamental law the well-defined equalitarian principle of complete equality for all without regard to race or color. The debates in the 39th Congress and succeeding Congresses clearly reveal the intention that the Fourteenth Amendment would work a revolutionary

change in our state-federal relationship by denying to the states the power to distinguish on the basis of race.

The Civil Rights Bill of 1866, as originally proposed, possessed scope sufficiently broad in the opinion of many Congressmen to entirely destroy all state legislation based on race. A great majority of the Republican radicals—who later formulated the Fourteenth Amendment—understood and intended that the Bill would prohibit segregated schools. Opponents of the measure shared this understanding. The scope of this legislation was narrowed because it was known that the Fourteenth Amendment was in process of preparation and would itself have scope exceeding that of the original draft of the Civil Rights Bill.

6. The evidence makes clear that it was the intent of the proponents of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the substantial understanding of its opponents, that it would, of its own force, prohibit all state action predicated upon race or color. The intention of the framers with respect to any specific example of caste state action—in the instant cases, segregated education—cannot be determined solely on the basis of a tabulation of contemporaneous statements mentioning the specific practice. The framers were formulating a constitutional provision setting broad standards for determination of the relationship of the state to the individual. In the nature of things they could not list all the specific categories of existing and prospective state activity which were to come within the constitutional prohibitions. The broad general purpose of the Amendment—obliteration of race and color distinctions—is clearly established by the evidence. So far as there was consideration of the Amendment's impact upon the undeveloped educational systems then existing, both proponents and opponents of the Amendment understood that it would proscribe all racial segregation in public education.

C. What incident led to the Civil Rights Movement?

The Civil Rights Movement began in 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama when Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus. After that Black people desegregated buses, lunch counters, etc. The main tactic (advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr.) being used was non-violence. Soon organizations like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality began to use tactics of direct action, e.g. Freedom Rides.

D. Why did Malcolm X defect from the Nation of Islam?

Wallace Fard Muhammad founded the Nation of Islam in Detroit in 1930 and it is now under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad. The Muslims reject integration with the "white devil" and ask Blacks to form a Black nation for themselves. They call upon Allah (their God) for divine intervention. The Nation of Islam attracted most of Garvey's followers.

As with many of its members, Malcolm (Detroit Red) Little was introduced to the Nation of Islam in prison and became the National spokesman for Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm left the nation because of ideological differences with Mr. Muhammad. His faith in Mr. Muhammad had been shaken when he was forced to admit that Elijah Muhammad was human and made mistakes. From that point he began to deal more with the struggle that Black people were waging everyday. His scope had broadened because of international experience. He grew to reject capitalism, and bourgeois nationalism and began to realize the importance of Third World struggle. Malcolm X was assassinated in February of 1965.

E. What is "Black Power?"

In 1965, Stokely Carmichael of SNCC openly used the slogan "Black Power" (originally it was coined by Willie Ricks, a SNCC organizer). Most people were confused by the militant sounding slogan because it mentioned something that Black people did not have - power. Black power meant different things to different people. It meant being a reformist and radical, nationalist and/or internationalist - all depending on the individual or the organization. Robert Allen, author of Black Awakening in Capitalist America, has summarized five formulations of Black Power.

5 formulations of black power

By the time of the Newark Black Power Conference in July, 1967, it was clear that black power meant different things to different people, and the divisions in the political spectrum which black power represented became manifest at that historic meeting.

Within this spectrum five different formulations of black power can be roughly distinguished. All of them are permeated by varying degrees of cultural nationalism, and there is a good bit of overlapping between categories. In addition, orthodox black nationalists, being a political potpourri, can be found in all five categories. Moving from the political right to the political left in this spectrum, we can distinguish:

(1) Black power as black capitalism. This is espoused, for example, by the nationalist Black Muslims who urge blacks to set up businesses, factories and independent farming operations. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, essentially endorsed this formulation in his recent call for "ghetto power." Another exponent is Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a black neurosurgeon and president of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), who in a speech Feb. 1, 1968, before a Young Americans for Freedom audience eschewed government handouts and called instead for whites to provide capital to black businessmen through loans.

The most recent supporter of black capitalism is presidential aspirant Richard M. Nixon. In a speech April 25, 1968, Nixon called for a move away from massive government-financed social welfare programs to "more black ownership, black pride, black jobs . . . black power in the most constructive sense." Black militants, according to Nixon, should seek to become capitalists—"to have a share of the wealth."

(2) Black power as more black politicians. Several years ago electoral politics was endorsed by SNCC as a means to achieving power. SNCC urged that black people organize independent parties, such as the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom party, which can place in office black men who will remain responsible to their people. This was ethnic politics. But it soon was distorted into integration politics. For example, the January, 1968, issue of *Ebony* magazine, which is integration-oriented and aimed at the black middle

class, described the election of Negro mayors in Gary, Ind., and Cleveland, Ohio, as "Black power at the polls." But in those elections and their aftermaths the essential ingredients of ethnic group loyalty were missing. As militants have said time and again, "A black face in office is not black power."

In addition to these examples, electoral politics as a means of realizing black power has taken some unexpected turns, particularly in Newark. In a city with a growing black majority population but run by an Italian minority government, one has a situation comparable with the classic colonial model.

(3) Black power as group integration. Nathan Wright, chairman of the Newark Black Power Conference, expressed this view most clearly in his book, "Black Power and Urban Unrest." Wright urges black people to band together as a group to seek entry into the American mainstream. For example, he calls for organized efforts by blacks "to seek executive positions in corporations, bishoprics, deanships of cathedrals, superintendencies of schools, and high-management positions in banks, stores, investment houses, legal firms, civic and government agencies and factories." Wright's position differs from black capitalism or integration politics in that he calls for an organized group effort, instead of individual effort, to win entry into the American system. This might be regarded as simply another version of ethnic politics.

(4) Black power as black control of black communities. This is the political center of the black power spectrum and the most widely accepted formulation. It is what SNCC, in part, originally meant by the term and how the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) views black power today. It implies a group effort to seize total control of black communities from the white governing structure and business interests.

"Black people," said Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE in a speech July 31, 1967, outlining the group's program, "seek to control the educational system, the political-economic system and the administration of their own communities. They must control their own courts and their own police . . ."

"Ownership of businesses in the ghetto must be transferred to black people—either individually or collectively."

The difficulty with this program is that it overlooks conflicting interests within the black community. It doesn't specify who is to control or in whose interest. Thus, it is open to co-optation by the power structure or may degenerate into black capitalism.

In the 1930s and '40s the Communist party supported black separatism under the slogan, "Self-determination in the black belt areas of Negro majority." Party theorists

argued that black people formed a colony and that the fundamental task of the black liberation movement was to "complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution" (i.e., the Civil War) by forming a separate black nation in the Southern states, thus ending white domination and the semi-feudal status of Southern blacks. The party recognized that the Negro petty-bourgeois class, attempting to play the role of a black bourgeoisie or ruling class, has traditionally been the "most aggressive carrier of nationalism," but it thought that the proletarian and nationalist revolutions could occur simultaneously, resulting in the creation of a separate proletarian black state. At the time this might have been termed working class control of the black community.

The party later changed its line and became integrationist.

An indirect link to the third world exists in the black antiwar movement. Most militant black antiwar activists openly endorse revolutionary liberation struggles around the world while opposing imperialist wars of aggression. These activists also have a potential base from which to operate. For example, two days before President Johnson announced his noncandidacy, the Philadelphia Tribune, a black community newspaper, completed a seven-week "Vietnam Ballot" in which 84.5% of those polled favored a "get out of Vietnam" position. Only 11% favored a "stop the bombing-negotiate" position, and fewer than 5% supported what was then U.S. policy.

Unfortunately, this sentiment by and large has not been transformed into organization or action. The black antiwar movement has suffered from opportunism and weak or ineffective organizing efforts. A new group, the National Black Antiwar Antidraft Union, headed by SNCC's John Wilson, hopes to solve some of these problems, but it is still too young to have had any noticeable effect.

Aside from these problems the pressure of events is also overtaking black radicals. On the one side they are facing the prospect of increasing repression, on the other there is the escalating anger and nihilism in the ghettos. Black power did in some sense speak to the anger and frustration of urban masses and increased their militance. Their response has been bigger and better rebellions. The out-

breaks are political in that they clearly challenge property rights, but black power militants have not brought this political undertone into conscious focus, except among black students, nor have they been able to deal with the resulting repression and co-optation. Instead, those who have not been co-opted, jailed or killed have tended to yield to nihilism and fatalism.

(5) Black power as black liberation within the context of a U.S. revolution. This wing of the black power movement, represented by the Black Panthers, many members of SNCC and various local groups, views black people as a dispersed internal colony of the U.S., exploited both materially and culturally. It advocates an anticolonial struggle for self-determination which must go hand-in-hand with a general revolution throughout the U.S. It urges alliances with white radicals and other potentially revolutionary segments of the white population since, according to its analysis, genuine self-determination for blacks cannot be achieved in the framework of the present capitalist imperialism and racism which characterize the U.S. Links with the revolutionary third world are also stressed since the black struggle will supposedly be anticolonialist like other national liberation movements, and directed against a common enemy: U.S. imperialism.

But the black radicals, with some exceptions, have been unable to apply this analysis concretely or transform it into a program for struggle. There is a widespread feeling among militants that this is the way things ought to be, but few are sure as to why or how to make it reality.

For example, there has been no elaboration of the relationship between a general U.S. revolution and the black national liberation struggle. Only the theories of the orthodox white left are available, but these are explicitly rejected by black militants.

The question of third world link-ups has also presented difficulties. Aside from trips to third world countries or meetings with third world representatives, the only program developed for a direct link-up is found in the Panthers' call for a UN-supervised black plebiscite and the stationing of UN observers in U.S. cities. And even this is simply a variation on Malcolm X's plan in 1964 to secure UN intervention.

F. Why did the Ford Foundation give money to the various organizations involved in the Black Power Movement?

The Ford Foundation soon entered the Black Power arena in 1966 when McGeorge Bundy became head of the Ford Foundation. He put money into different organizations in order to eventually gain control of the movement (domestic neo-colonialism).

the politics of the ford foundation

One of the most important though least publicized organizations in the civil rights movement today is the multi-million dollar Ford Foundation.

Housed in an ultra modern headquarters building on East 43rd St. in New York City, the Foundation plays a key part in financing and influencing almost all major civil rights groups, including the Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Working directly or indirectly through these organizations, as well as other national and local groups, the Foundation hopes to channel and control the black liberation movement in an effort to forestall future urban rebellions.

The Foundation catalogs its programs and grants under such headings as: public affairs, education, science and engineering, humanities and the arts, international training and research, economic development and administration, population, international affairs and overseas development. The list reads like a selection from the courses offered by a good liberal arts college. Race problems are listed as a subclass of public affairs.

Under the leadership of McGeorge Bundy, former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the Ford Foundation in 1966 made an important decision to expand its activities in the black freedom movement. Prior to that time the Foundation had limited its activities among black Americans to traditional educational efforts and research projects designed to bring more blacks into the middle-class mainstream. The 1966 decision was a direct response to urban revolts, which were growing, both in size and frequency. It was a logical extension of an earlier decision to actively enter the political arena.

Established in 1936 by Henry and Edsel Ford, the Foundation initially made grants largely to Michigan charitable and educational institutions. According to its charter, the purpose of the organization is "To receive and administer funds for scientific, educational, and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare, and for no other purposes . . ." Most of the Foundation's income was, and still is, derived from its principal asset, class A nonvoting stock in the Ford Motor Co. In 1950, serving as a tax-exempt outlet for war profits, the Foundation expanded into a national organization, and its activities quickly spread throughout the U.S. and some 78 foreign countries.

In a special Board of Trustees' report prepared at that time, the Foundation announced its intention to become active in public affairs by "support[ing] activities designed to secure greater allegiance to the basic principles of freedom and democracy in the solution of the insistent problems of an ever changing society." This vague mandate, which at first meant little else than underwriting efforts to improve public administration, was gradually brought into sharper focus as the Foundation experimented with new programs.

foundation 'interest' shifts

In 1962, Dyke Brown, then a vice president with responsibility for public affairs programs, could write that the Foundation's interest had "shifted from management and public administration to policy and the political process." He added that these programs "tended to become increasingly action—rather than research-oriented" which meant that the Foundation had to be prepared to take certain "political risks."

How an official of a supposedly independent, non-partisan, nonpolitical philanthropic institution could justify such a statement can be understood simply by examining how the Foundation views its relationship to the major political parties and the government. Simply stated, the Foundation sees itself as a mediator which shows Democrats and Republicans their common interests and reasons for cooperating. For example, the Foundation has sponsored many "nonpartisan" conferences of state legislators and officials with the purpose of stressing "nonpolitical" consideration of common problems. Such bipartisan activities insure the smooth functioning of state and local political machinery by reducing tensions and other sources of conflict which might upset the U.S. corporate society.

The role of the private foundation vis-a-vis the government was made explicit by Henry T. Heald, Bundy's predecessor as president of the Ford Foundation, in a speech at Columbia University on March 5, 1965. "In this country, privately supported institutions may serve the public need as fully as publicly supported ones," Heald said. "More often than not, they work side by side in serving the same need."

Heald went on to state that, through their activities, private foundations can serve as a kind of advance guard, paving the way for later government activity, not only in the fields of education and scientific research but also in

the area of "social welfare." Thus, the private foundation can act as an instrument of social innovation and control in areas which the government may not be able to penetrate.

Bundy learned that it is necessary to work both sides of the street in order to secure and expand the American empire. Thus he was a staunch supporter of Kennedy's and Johnson's war policies in Vietnam while at the same time stressing the necessity of keeping channels open to the Soviet Union.

Such a man was ideally suited to work with and aid civil rights groups, including black power advocates, while at the same time the government is arming and preparing to use force to suppress the black communities. The seeming contradiction here, to use Bundy's term, is only a "surface" manifestation.

The Ford Foundation's interest in the civil rights movement was announced by Bundy at the 1966 annual banquet of the National Urban League in Philadelphia. "We believe," he said, "that full domestic equality for all American Negroes is now the most urgent concern of this country." More specifically: "the quality of our cities is inescapably the business of all of us." Many whites recognize, he continued, "that no one can run the American city by Black Power alone," the reason being, he suggested at a later point, that urban black majorities would still be faced with white majorities in the State Houses and the U.S. Congress. But if the blacks burn the cities, then, he stated, it would be the white man's fault and "the white man's companies will have to take the losses." White America is not so stupid as not to realize this, Bundy assured the Urban Leaguers.

cooling the militants

Another important development in the summer of that year was an unpublicized meeting between Foundation officials and representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League and other civil rights groups. The meeting took place at Foundation headquarters in New York, and reportedly the discussion centered on how to deal with black power and isolate the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a group which was becoming increasingly militant.

In early 1967 the Foundation made grants of several hundred thousand dollars to the NAACP and the Urban League. A few months later the Foundation gave \$1 million to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's new National Office for the Rights of Indigents. But for the Foundation's purposes, these groups were less than satisfactory since there was serious doubt as to how much control they exercised over the young militants and frustrated ghetto blacks who were likely to be heaving molotov cocktails during the summer. If its efforts to keep the lid on the cities were to succeed, the Foundation must somehow attempt to penetrate militant organizations which were believed to wield some influence over the angry young blacks of the ghettos.

Clearly, a new approach was needed in Cleveland, and the stage was set for the Foundation's first direct grant to a militant group—the Cleveland chapter of CORE. The Foundation announced July 14 that it was giving \$175,000 to the Special Purposes Fund of CORE to be used for "training of Cleveland youth and adult community workers, voter registration efforts, exploration of economic-development programs, and attempts to improve program planning among civil rights groups." In explaining the grant, Bundy said that Foundation staff and consultants had been investigating Cleveland "for some months." In fact, he said, "It was predictions of new violence in the city that led to our first staff visits in March."

"businesslike" arrangement

Apparently realizing that the grant might give the impression of a close relationship developing between the Foundation and CORE, Bundy added: "The national officers of CORE have dealt with us on this matter in a businesslike way, and neither Mr. Floyd McKissick nor I suppose that this grant requires the two of us—or our organizations—to agree on all public questions. It does require us both to work together in support of the peaceful and constructive efforts of CORE's Cleveland leadership, and that is what we plan to do."

It must be said that CORE was vulnerable to such corporate penetration. In the first place, they needed money. Floyd McKissick in 1966 had become national director of an organization which was several hundred thousand dollars in debt, and his espousal of black power scared away potential financial supporters.

Secondly, CORE's militant rhetoric but reformist definition of black power as simply black control of black communities appealed to foundation officials who were seeking just those qualities in a black organization which hopefully could tame the ghettos. From the Foundation's point of view, old-style moderate leaders no longer exercised any real control while genuine black radicals were too dangerous. CORE fit the bill because its talk about black revolution was believed to appeal to discontented blacks, while its program of achieving black power through massive injections of governmental, business and Foundation aid seemingly opened the way for continued corporate domination of black communities by means of a new black elite.

Surprisingly, to some, CORE's program, as elaborated by Floyd McKissick last July, is quite similar to the approach of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC). Both organizations see themselves as intermediaries whose role is to negotiate with the power structure on behalf of blacks and the poor generally. Both suggest that more government and private aid is necessary and both seek to gain admission for poor blacks and whites into the present economic and political structure of U.S. society. McKissick, who last fall became the second CORE official to accept a MARC fellowship, criticized capitalism but only because black people are not allowed to participate fully in it.

The Ford Foundation could apparently view its grant to Cleveland CORE as a success. There was no rebellion in Cleveland, and, as the Jan. 6 issue of *Business Week* suggested, money given to a black militant group helped to elect a Negro moderate as mayor.

Having proved successful in Cleveland, the Ford Foundation began exploring other ways of ensuring urban tranquility. In March, 1967, following a year of demonstrations and boycotts centering around community control of schools, the Harlem chapter of CORE proposed that an independent school board be established for Harlem. According to the proposal, integration had failed and the only way to achieve quality education for Harlem's youth was through community control of its schools. Harlem CORE set up a Committee for Autonomous Harlem School District and began organizing support for its proposal.

The following November, Bundy recommended that New York's school system be decentralized into 30 to 60 semi-autonomous local districts. Bundy had been named head of a special committee on decentralization at the end of April after the state legislature directed Mayor John Lindsay to submit a decentralization plan by Dec. 1 if the city was to qualify for more state aid. Lindsay insisted that decentralization was "not merely an administrative or budgetary device, but a means to advance the quality of education for all our children and a method of insuring community participation in achieving that goal."

Bundy's proposal would allow for not one but possibly several school boards for Harlem. Harlem CORE's school board committee therefore found itself in the curious position of being on the same side as *The New York Times* in giving critical support to the Bundy plan, while both the New York City Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers opposed it.

Although the Bundy plan is still being debated, it again shows the Foundation's willingness to make small alterations in the local status quo in order to insure tranquility while maintaining the overall balance of power.

links with sclc

Following the summer rebellions King announced plans for a "massive civil disobedience" campaign in major cities in an effort to avert continued urban violence. At the beginning of January it was disclosed that the civil disobedience action will center on Washington, and that SCLC staff members will be assigned to nine cities and six rural areas to mobilize people for the demonstration in the capital. Two days later the Ford Foundation announced a grant of \$230,000 to SCLC to be used to train black ministers in urban leadership and help them start local programs to deal with the "crisis in the cities." Under the terms of the grant SCLC will conduct seminars for about 150 ministers. The seminars are to be held in 15 cities and run in cooperation with none other than the Metropolitan Applied Research Center.

F. What is the most important organization involved in the Black Liberation movement in the U.S.?

The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) is one of the most significant organizations in the Black liberation struggle today. ALSC was formed in late 1971 after Owusu Sadaukai visited behind the lines with FRELIMO, the liberation army fighting the Portuguese in Mozambique. The liberation fighters told him that Black people could support the African struggle by demonstrating in large numbers in the U.S. On May 27, 1972, almost 50,000 Black people demonstrated in Washington, San Francisco, Canada, and in the Caribbean.

On May 26, 1973, over 80,000 Black people in over 30 locations in the U.S., Canada, and the Caribbean Islands took to the streets in another massive display of support for liberation movements in Southern Africa,

reaffirmation of continued struggle at home, and determination to see an end to the racist exploitation and domination of African people throughout the world. The occasion was the second annual observance of African Liberation Day (ALD) in the Western Hemisphere. Most of the demonstrations were planned and coordinated in conjunction with the African Liberation Support Committee (ALS) and operated under the theme "THERE IS NO PEACE WITH HONOR FOR AFRICAN PEOPLE. AFRICAN PEOPLE ARE AT WAR WITH IMPERIALISM BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD." The effort was a success accomplishing the aims set forth including the collection of funds under the United African Appeal. The goal of \$40,000 was reached, and was recently delivered to liberation fighters in Africa.

Out of the June 1973 retreat of ALSC, held in Frogmore, S.C., came a document reflecting the statement of principles and program for ALSC. The three summary points of the document are: 1) The new unity of the Black Liberation Struggle must be anti-racist, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist in character. 2) The struggle to unify Black anti-racist, anti-imperialist forces is our strength in building an ideologically advanced movement. 3) Our unity must involve all Black social groups and class formations and we propose that BLACK WORKERS TAKE THE LEAD. Election of officers was also held and Gene Locke of the Lynn Eusan Institute, Houston, Texas, is the new chairman.

Part of the ALSC national motion since Frogmore has been to promote the Repeal the Byrd Amendment Campaign. The Byrd Amendment (Public Law 92-156, named after Sen. Harry Byrd, Jr., Ind.-Va.), allows the U.S. to purchase chrome ore from the illegal racist white minority government of Rhodesia. This action by the U.S. government is in violation of United Nations mandatory economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia in December, 1966. In May, 1973, a coalition was formed in Congress to begin new efforts to repeal the Byrd Amendment. ALSC local committees have been staging pickets at Federal Buildings coordinated at the national level. The major slogan in "NO CHROME FROM RHODESIA! FREEDOM FOR ZIMBABWE!"

MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE

Taught By

Afro-American Studies Program
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Course Designed by

Peoples College
P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, TN 37208

(For further information write the above address.)

MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE

1. PURPOSES OF THE COURSE

- A. To challenge every student to be a serious Black intellectual, (knowledgeable about himself and his people, and committed to make the world a better place to live in).
- B. To study the development of modern society and culture, and the role Black people have played in it.
- C. To investigate and discuss the historical origins and development of the contemporary Black community in the U.S.A.
- D. To systematically examine the development, basis, and make-up of several important social institutions in the Black community.
- E. To explore the relevancy of various ideologies concerning the social position of Black people (past, present and future).

2. REQUIREMENTS

- A. Class attendance.
- B. Take good class notes.
- C. Reading required materials.
- D. Full participation in class discussions.
- E. Writing a short paper (2-3 typed double-spaced pages) every week, and turning it in on time.

3. GRADES

- A. 40% weekly papers (due the first session of each week) and class participation.
- B. 20% mid-term exam (middle of October).
- C. 40% final exam (middle of December).

4. OUTLINE OF COURSE CONTENT

WEEK

1. What's it all about? (INTRODUCTION)

Black people in the U.S.A. have to develop a scientific approach to understanding and changing this society and themselves. Our focus on problems must start with Colonialism and Slavery (because all subsequent social developments are related to Colonialism and Slavery) and then turned to Liberation (because all current social action must be based on bringing Liberation about).

2. What was Africa like before the European came? (COLONIZATION)

Africa as "the dark continent full of savages" is an image only recently corrected in most history books. But while that negative image has been replaced by a strong positive image and identification with Africa, we have not developed a full understanding of the peoples and cultures of Africa before European penetration. Until we do so we can have little appreciation of the full impact of that which we often intuitively condemn--"how the white man exploited Africa" in terms of slavery, colonialism, and imperialism. What was Africa like before the coming of Europeans? What was the state of its economy, its politics, its art, its music, its dance, and its religion?

3. What was slavery all about? (SLAVERY)

Black labor from Africa provided white landlords in the Americas with agricultural and mineral produce which provided raw materials for industrial revolutions in England and the United States during the 19th century. Black societies in the New World, being deprived of ownership of land and capital, were thus unable to develop economically, socially, or politically.

4. What is modern? (CAPITALISM)

All societies develop in historical stages based upon the ways in which people are organized to develop and distribute the goods and services needed to survive. In general, the modern period is based on a revolution of science and technology and corresponding revolutions in the social organization of society. In sum, modernity is a social phenomena after the fall of feudal society and is the result of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization.

5. Are all Black people the same? (SOCIAL CLASS)

Social classes are formed when people are organized on the basis of inequality, i.e., some people own and control the resources of the society while others are forced to work for them in order to make a living. Black people in the U.S.A. have been forced to play different social roles and have developed different relationships with the ruling class. In sum, this has resulted in a middle class

WEEK

5. (con't.)

and a working class, with marginal groups such as welfare recipients, the unemployed, and the lumpen-proletariat. However, none of these differences are as great as that between the ruling class and all class elements of Black people.

6. Can Black people get a "piece of the American Pie"? (POLITICAL ECONOMY)

Monopoly capitalism, nationally and internationally, places control of the means of production outside the reach of Black people in the United States, in the Caribbean, and to a large extent in Africa. This essential fact has made reformist, integrationist, and separatist proposals from Black capitalism to Black nationhood less than effective in improving the relative welfare of the vast majority of oppressed Blacks.

7. What kinds of political power do Black people have in the U.S.A.? (GOVERNMENT & THE POWER OF THE STATE)

Black people are participating in politics in greater numbers than ever. As appointed officials, as elected politicians, and through voting, some degree of power is yielded. In addition, Black community groups play an important political role. What gains have been secured through Black political activity? Have there been any long-lasting gains? Or have the roles of the game been changed when meaningful Black political power becomes a possibility?

8. Why is religion so strong in the Black community? (CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION)

The church has been the most stable institution in the Black community. It has functioned as the basis of social life, developed civic leadership and provided an ideological orientation for the masses of Black people. The historical stages of its development reflect the basic experiences of the total Black community.

9. Has education paid off for Black people? (THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CHANGE)

Tremendous strides have been made since the 1954 Brown Decision of the Supreme Court in improving educational opportunity for Black youth on all levels of education. These strides, however, have not come without great sacrifice and struggle. Still, many contradictions remain to be resolved. Recent studies indicate that income and employment gaps between Blacks and whites are increasing despite

WEEK

9. (con't.)

Black educational advancements. Others argue that the control of Black higher education rests outside the Black community. If Black people are not benefiting from their education, then who is? How do we assess the past and present struggles of Black people in the educational arena?

10. How and why do we spend our money? (THE CONSUMPTION OF POPULAR CULTURE)

Black culture serves to give identity to the Black community. This identity can be understood in terms of who produces the cultural forms, and who consumes them. Black people tend to be the cultural innovators and consumers, but others control and produce the cultural forms. Examples are clothes, radio stations, movies and music.

11. What was the struggle during the 1960's all about? (CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS)

The struggle in the 1960's was a struggle for democracy, civil rights. The different organizations and movements were based on different social classes and groups in the Black community. A great deal of what happened can also be explained by examining the changing interests of the ruling class. The highest point of struggle (based on the motion of the masses of people) can best be discussed in light of Martin Luther King.

12. What are the basic ideas of an integrationist? (THEORY OF ASSIMILATION)

Schools of thought among Black intellectual leaders have had a central dichotomy, integration or separation. It is proper to view these alternatives not as ends in themselves but as alternative tactics to deal with racism in America. The integrationist position has as its underlying assumption that assimilation is the ultimate solution of all racial conflict.

13. What are the basic ideas of a nationalist? (THEORY OF NATIONALISM)

There is disagreement about whether Black people constitute a nation or a national minority. Numerous organizational activities and protests have taken nationalist forms. How can we characterize the various strains of nationalist thought throughout our history? What factors account for the rise and dominance of any particular form? What are the main tendencies of nationalist thought today?

WEEK

14. What are the basic ideas of a revolutionary? (THEORY OF INTERNATIONALISM)

Pan-Africanism and concern with Third World problems generally are increasingly becoming the concern of Black intellectuals in search of solutions to the oppression suffered by Black people in the United States. National liberation movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have prompted a renewed interest among Black scholars in the idea of internationalizing the fight against oppression.

5. REQUIRED READINGS

WEEK

1. INTRODUCTION

- A. "Social Science and Black Liberation," Abdul Alkalimat,
(mimeographed by Fisk Afro-American Studies Program)
- B. "The Failure of the Negro Intellectual," E. Franklin Frazier,
Negro Digest.

2. COLONIZATION

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Walter Rodney
Chapter 1 - "Some Questions on Development".
Chapter 2 - "How Africa Developed Before the Coming of the
European".

3. SLAVERY

Capitalism and Slavery, Eric Williams
Chapter 1, 2 - Origin of Negro Slavery/Development of the
Slave Trade
Chapter 3 - "Triangular Trade"

4. CAPITALISM

Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, (Peking,
Foreign Languages Press).

5. SOCIAL CLASS

Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazier, (New York, Collier Books, 1962).
Chapter 1 - "The Roots of the Black Bourgeoisie"
Chapter 2 - "The Economic Basis of Middle Class Status"

The Demand for Black Labor (pamphlet from Radical America ,
Harold Baron

6. POLITICAL ECONOMY

- A. The Myth of Black Capitalism, Earl Ofari
- B. Monopoly Capital, Paul Baron and Paul Sweezy,
Chapter titled "Monopoly Capital and Race Relations"

7. GOVERNMENT & THE POWER OF THE STATE

- A. "Sub-community Gladatorial Competition: Civil Rights Leadership
as a Competitive Process", Gerald McWorter and Robert Crain,
(mimeographed by Afro-American Studies Program).

WEEK

7. (con't)

- B. "Two Negro Politicians: An Interpretation," James Q. Wilson, Dobbs-Merrill Reprint).
- C. "The Functions of Disunity - Negro Leadership in a Southern City," Jack Walker, (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).
- D. "Black Rule in the Urban South," Lee Sloan and Robert H. French, (Translation, November/December, 1971).

8 THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The Negro Church in America, E. Franklin Frazier.

9. THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

- A. "Education and Employment Status of Blacks and Whites Since 1946: The Growing Disparity," Daniel Kruger, in Racial Crisis in American Education, Robert L. Green, (Follett, 1968), pp. 20 - 44.
- B. "Murder Relentless and Impassive: The American Academic Community and the Negro College," John Sekora.
- C. "School Segregation Cases (1953-1955): Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka," in Civil Rights and the American Negro, A. P. Blaustein and R. L. Zangrando, (New York, 1968), pp. 414 - 424.

10. THE CONSUMPTION OF POPULAR CULTURE

- A. Black Bourgeoise, E. Franklin Frazier, Chapters 5, 7, 9.
- B. "The Black Middle Class," (Special Issue of Ebony).

11. CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

- A. Peoples Colleges, "Black Liberation and the Student Movement," (mimeographed handout, Fisk Afro-American Studies Program).
- B. Dialectics of Black Power, Robert Allen, (New York, Guardian pamphlet).
- C. 1967: High Tide of Black Resistance, James Foreman.
- D. "On the Role of Martin Luther King," August Meier, (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).

WEEK

12. THEORY OF ASSIMILATION

- A. "Sociological Theory and Race Relations," E. Franklin Frazier, Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).
- B. "Review of An American Dilemma," Ralph Ellison, in (Shadow and Act, Ralph Ellison).

13. THEORY OF NATIONALISM

- A. "The Nationalist Tradition," E. U. Essien-Udom, (in Black Nationalism: Search for Identity).
- B. "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," John Bracey, (in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Nathan Higgins, Harcourt, 1971).

14. THEORY OF INTERNATIONALISM

- A. Speeches by Martin Luther King on Vietnam and W.E.B. DuBois.
- B. "Message to the Grass Roots," Malcolm X, (an L. P. record).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. INTRODUCTION

- A. Horace Cayton, The Lonely Road.
- B. Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual.
- C. W. E. B. DuBois, Autobiography (last one of three he wrote).
- D. W. E. B. DuBois, The World and Africa.
- E. Ralph Ellison, Invisible Man.
- F. Frantz Fanon, Wretched of the Earth.
- G. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States.
- H. Melville Herskovits, The Myth of the Negro Past.
- I. Armstead Robinson, Black Studies in the University.
- J. John Williams, The Man Who Cried I Am.

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS (con't)

2. COLONIZATION

- A. Robert O. Collins (ed.), Problems in African History.
- B. Phillip Curtin (ed.), Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade.
- C. Basil Davidson, The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times.
- D. W. E. B. DuBois, Black Folk: Then and Now.
- E. Yosef ben-Jochanan, Black Man of the Nile: Contributions to European Civilization and Thought.
- F. Henry H. Johnston, A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races.
- G. John S. Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophies.
- H. B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History.
- I. Josepy A. Tillinghast, The Negro in Africa and America.
(Perhaps the best example of racist scholarship in this area.)
- J. Carter G. Woodson, The African Background Outlined.

3. SLAVERY

- A. Herbert Aptheker, Slave Revolts.
- B. W. E. B. DuBois, The African Slave Trade.
- C. John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom.
- D. Richard Hofstaalter, "U. B. Phillips and the Plantation Legend,"
(Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).
- E. H. Klein, Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba.
- F. Simon Rottenberg, "The Business of Slave Trading," (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).

SLAVERY (con't)

G. Robert R. Russel, "Economic History of Negro Slavery," (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).

H. K. Stamp, Reconstruction.

I. Richard Wade, Slavery in the Cities.

J. B. Ward, The Industrial Revolution.

4. CAPITALISM

A. Marc Bloch, Feudal Society.

B. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society.

C. V. I. Lenin, The State and Revolution.

D. Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilization.

E. David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd.

F. Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.

G. Alex de Tocqueville, The Old Regime and the French Revolution.

H. Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society.

I. Richard Wright, Black Boy.

J. _____, Man, Machines and Technonogy, (International Publishers).

5. SOCIAL CLASS

A. James Bodds, Racism and the Class Struggle.

B. Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto.

C. William Davidson, "Our Negro Aristocracy," (Saturday Evening Post, January 13, 1962).

D. E. Franklin Frazier, "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," in The New Negro, Alain Locke, (ed.).

SOCIAL CLASS (con't)

- E. Novall Glen, "Negro Prestige Criteria," (American Journal of Sociology, Nov. 1963).
- F. Hosea Hudson, Black Worker in the Deep South.
- G. Julius Jacobson, (ed.) The Negro and the Labor Movement.
- H. Charles Johnson, The Negro College Graduate.
- I. August Meier and David Lewis, "History of the Negro Upper Class in Atlanta, Ga.: 1890-1958," (Journal of Negro Education, Spring 1959).
- J. Spero and Harris, The Black Worker.

6. POLITICAL ECONOMY

- A. Ron Bailey, Black Business Enterprise.
- B. Baran & Sweezy, Monopoly Capital.
- C. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.
- C. Haddad and Pugh, Black Economic Development.
- E. Marshall, The Negro Worker.
- F. D. Mermelstein, Economics, Mainstream Readings and Radical Critiques.
- G. Kwame Nkrumah, Dark Days in Ghana.
- I. Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism. The Last Stage of Imperialism.
- J. Vatter & Palm, The Economics of Black America.

7. GOVERNMENT & THE POWER OF THE STATE

- A. Harry A. Bailey, Negro Politics in America.
- B. Stokley Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.
- C. William Domhoff, Who Rules America?
- D. Lenneal Henderson, Black Political Life in the U.S.

GOVERNMENT AND THE POWER OF THE STATE (con't)

- E. William R. Keech, The Impact of Negro Voting: The Role of the Vote in the Quest for Equality.
- F. V. I. Lenin, The State and Revolution.
- G. Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics.
- H. Hugh Price, The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History.
- I. Charles Stone, Black Political Power in America, (Bobbs-Merrill, 1968).
- J. Hanes, Walton, Black Politics.

8. THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

- A. William Banks, The Black Church in the U.S.
- B. Albert B. Cleage, The Black Messiah.
- C. James H. Cone, Black Theology and Black Power.
- D. Oliver C. Cox, Capitalism as A System (Monthly Review, 1964). Chapter 3, "The Role of Religion."
- E. St. Clair Drake, The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion.
- F. W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Church.
- G. Benjamin E. Mays and Joseph W. Niclolson, The Negro's Church.
- H. Ira De Augustine Reid, "Let Us Pray," Opportunity, Sept, 1926.
- I. Joseph R. Washington, The Politics of God: The Future of Negro Churches.
- J. Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church.

9. THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

- A. Africa Research Group, Who Rules Harvard?
- B. Albert P. Blaustein and Clarence Ferguson, Desegregation and the Law: The Meaning and Effect of the School Segregation Cases.

THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY OF SOCIAL CHANGE (con't)

- C. Henry A. Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South.
- D. John Egerton, Black Public Colleges: Integration or Disintegration, (Race Relations Institute, 1971).
- E. Robert L. Green, (ed.) Racial Crisis in American Education.
- F. Federal Interagency Committee on Education, Federal Agencies and Black Colleges, (June 1970), a government report detailing federal support of Black colleges (about \$120 million) as compared to "White" colleges (about \$3.9 billion).
- G. Negro Digest, "Toward a Black University," March 1968, 1969, 1970, Three volumes with articles by Gerald McWorter, James R. Lawson, Vincent Harding, Nathan Hare and others.
- H. Armstead L. Robinson, Black Studies in the University, (Yale University Press, 1969), Articles from a Yale symposium with articles by Harold Cruse, Gerald McWorter, Martin Kilson, Ron Karenga, Nathan Hare, McGeorge Bundy and others.
- I. Reginald Stuart, "Ford in Black Higher Education," Race Relations Reported (March 1973).
- J. Nathan Wright, What Black Educators Are Saying.

10. THE CONSUMPTION OF POPULAR CULTURE

- A. St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United," (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint).
- B. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoise.
- C. Gibson, The \$30 Billion Negro.
- D. Vatter & Palm, The Economics of Black America.
- E. Black Enterprise, (periodical), all issues.
- F. "The Black Middle Class," Special Issue of Ebony, August 1973.
- G. Baher, Raymond, Scott M. Cunningham and Lawrence H. Wortzel, "The Marketing Dilemma of Negroes," Journal of Marketing, July, 1965, pp. 1 - 6.
- H. "Black is Beautiful, But Maybe Not Profitable," Media/Scope 13, August, 1969, pp. 31 - 37.

THE CONSUMPTION OF POPULAR CULTURE (con't)

- I. Henry Allen Bullock, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White - Part I," Harvard Business Review, May - June, 1961.
- J. Henry Allen Bullock, "Consumer Motivations in Black and White - Part II," Harvard Business Review, July - August, 1961.

11. CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

- A. Robert Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, (history of the movement since 1965).
- B. Lerone Bennett, The Negro Mood.
- C. James Farmer, Freedom - When? (about C.O.R.E.).
- D. James Foreman, Sammy Younger, Jr.: The First Black College Student to Die in the Black Liberation Struggle, (in Tuskegee, Ala.)
- E. Langston Hughes, Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP.
- F. Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom.
- G. Martin Luther King, Why We Can't Wait.
- H. Martin Luther King, Where Do We Go From Here?
- I. Bobby Seale, Seize the Time.
- J. Howard Zinn, SNCC: The New Abolitionist.

12. THEORY OF ASSIMILATION

- A. Robert Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America.
- B. Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice.
- C. Michael Banton, "Sociology and Race Relations," Race I (November 1959), pp. 3 - 14.
- D. Hansjorg Elshorst, "Two Years After Integration: Race Relations at a Deep South University," Phylon 28. (Spring, 1967) pp. 41 - 41, Undergraduate Negro students at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

THEORY OF ASSIMILATION (con't)

- E. Hugh Davis Graham, Crisis in Print: Desegregation and the Press in Tennessee.
- F. Robert J. Harris, The Quest for Equality: The Constitutions Congress, and the Supreme Court, Louisiana State University Press, 1960.
- G. Beauregard James, The Road to Birmingham .
- H. Jacob K. Javits, Discrimination - U.S.A.
- I. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma.
- J. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967, contains bibliographical essays by subject areas.

13. THEORY OF NATIONALISM

- A. Floyd Barbour, The Black Power Revolt: A Collection of Essays.
- B. John H. Bracey, et. al. Black Nationalism in America.
- C. St. Clair Drake, "Hide My Face," in Herbert Hill, Soon One Morning.
- D. A. James Gregor, "Black Nationalism: a Preliminary Analysis of Negro Radicalism," Science and Society, (Fall 1963).
- E. Harry Haywood, Negro Liberation.
- F. Leroi Jones and Larry Neal, Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing.
- G. Ernest Iaiser, "Recent Literature on Black Liberation Struggles and the Ghetto Crisis: A Bibliographical Survey," Science and Society, (Spring, 1969).
- H. Bill McAdoo, "Pre Civil War Black Nationalism," Progressive Labor, (June-July 1966).
- I. V.B. Thompson, Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism.
- J. Theodore Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement.

15. THEORY OF INTERNATIONALISM

- A. Wilfred Burchett, Vietnam Will Win.
- B. Amilcar Cabral, Revolution in Guinea.
- C. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.
- D. Robert Lewis Gill and Roberta Louise Gill, "International Implications of Black Power as Viewed by Their Advocates," Quarterly Review of Higher Education among Negroes, (October 1969), pp. 158-176, bibliography included.
- E. Alex Haley, Autobiography of Malcolm X.
- F. Marc Kaminsky, "Radical Affirmatives," American Scholar 36, (Autumn 1967), pp. 621-630, in part, a discussion of Malcolm X's autobiography.
- G. Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mozambique.
- H. George Padmore, Pan Africanism or Communism.
- I. "Pan Africanism III - The Caribbean," The Black Scholar, February 1973.
- J. Southern Africa, A Monthly Survey of News and Opinion, (March 1972 and all issues).

AFRICA BEFORE the EUROPEANS

NCW/ 1-12-77

| AFRICAN SOCIETY | WHO OWNS THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION | CONDITION OF LABOR |
|---|--|---|
| EGYPT 10,000 YRS. | Initially land was property of the state which had complete control in deciding its use. Ruling military became new class of landowners. By 15th century most land owned by king and military. Extensive middle class owning no means. | Laborers were landless peasants called fellahin. Those who did own land had it taken from them and were forced to work for landlords if they wanted to eat. Thoroughly exploited and taxed. Often brutalized. |
| ETHIOPIA 1,900 YRS. | Most land owned directly by the crown. Large quantities given to the king's families and friends, priests, etc. Some land communally owned. | The Greatness of Ethiopia rested on the backs of the exploited classes. Peasants were robbed of their land and could get food only by paying taxes to the landlord and to the state. |
| NUBIA (KUSH, NUBIA) 1,400 YRS. NORTHERN SUDAN | Arabian kings and monasteries play key roles in the ownership of land. Churches and monasteries were like feudal manors. | Workers who build Nubia were greatly exploited. There are no records but one could calculate the amount of forced labor required for construction work alone. Skilled labor was also oppressed. |
| EAST AFRICA (CARTHAGE) 1,500 YRS. MOROCCO, ALGERIA, TUNISIA | Big landowners (feudal). Some grazing land was owned communally. There was also family ownership and labor. Slave ownership was present. Strong commercial, financial, handicraft sector grew enriching some merchants. | On the bottom were slaves or herding; next were <u>abnana</u> or landless peasant (feudal). They had to turn over 80% of what they grew to landlord. Miners, craftsmen, women were also exploited. |
| AFRICA TODAY (GUINEA, MALI, SONAGAL) 1,500 YRS. SENEGAL, MALI, UPPER VOLTA, GUINEA, GUINEA, NIGER | Communal ownership was declining. Feudal ownership of the land and slavery had come into existence. By 15th century chattel, domestic, and feudal slavery had fully emerged. | Workers could be enslaved or forced to raid neighboring villages for slaves. Forced labor reflects in the quality of W. Sudan society. |
| AFRICA-LACUS TRAIL ZONE 1,200 YRS. GHANA, TANZANIA | Pastoralists and cultivators have land under communal ownership. Aristocrats gradually take control of land. | Slave artisans and administrators were used. Labor was often forced to build such structures as the Zimbabwe Ruins. |
| ZIMBABWE 900 YRS. ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA) | Owning class in the 15th century were pastoralists. Organized system of production and trade, collecting a tax from villages strengthened the ruling strata in monopolizing economic | Workers of different ethnic groups were forced to work in Zimbabwe (as they are today). |

AFRICA BEFORE the EUROPEANS CONT.

| | STATE OF TECHNOLOGY | SUPERSTRUCTURE: GOVERNMENT | SUPERSTRUCTURE: OTHER | FORCES OF CHANGE |
|----------|---|---|--|--|
| EGYPT | Science flourished. Industry grew. Small tools of stone, tools for irrigation, agriculture. Wind mills, waterwheels, sugar, and textiles. | 30 dynasties of 300 kings, very powerful government with big bureaucracy to assist the king in exploiting the people. Controlled by the military. | Exploitation of the landless peasant supported by "golden age." Pyramids, etc. King had around him hundreds of middle class, university built. | Each antagonism between peasant and rural lord. Constant conflict among feudal class as to which person would rule. Fights with other countries. |
| ETHIOPIA | Tools for agriculture, construction. Extensive trading. Adopted or invented farming technique. Iron tools to cut stone, etc. | Ruling class was a very religious king who used his holy parentage of Solomon and Sheba to stay in power. Conquered and forced Christianity on many people. | Massive churches carved out of stone. Strongly religious. History written to support king. Church very rich, co-operating with exploitation by king. Rituals. | Internal strife between peasants and landlord; invasions by other ruling classes. |
| LIBYAN | Iron mining and smelting industry. Brass work, cotton weaving, iron industry using handicraft method. | Was under the rule of Egypt for many years and shared its governmental policies. Later when it ruled Egypt it also annexed lands (war). | Well developed architecture. Extensive cultural influence which reached to W. Africa, uniting which is yet translated. | Attacks by Arabs and Christians. Internal contradictions. Achievement stops and Nubia disappears in 15th century. |
| EGYPTIAN | Tools in mining, metal; agriculture dominated. Mills under Romans, dams, engineering, etc. | Centered around resistance to Roman conquest. Shifted as Berbers became close to the ruling class of the Roman Empire. | Maintained high degree of linguistic and cultural similarity. Indicates role religion can play--inspired development but retarded it when it allowed slave form. | Contradictions between kin groups and outsiders. Revolts led to organized units and to three nations. |
| EGYPTIAN | Iron tools, horses as transport, along with pack animals; handicraft industry. | State considered advanced because it held together many factions, collected taxes. Complexity increased and set example for entire Africa. | Cities like Timbuctu, and big university, kings made trips to Mecca--120,000 slaves dressed in silk, 80 camels of gold dust | Desiccation of the desert and inability to intervene because of European intrusion into Africa. |
| EGYPTIAN | Iron tools, manufacture of bark cloth, drilling, earth work, terracing, irrigation. | Ethiopia developed an extensive state machinery; local officials appointed to rule over peasants on behalf of ruling class. | Religion played a key role in moving society from simple organization to complex one. | Division of labor between pastoralists and agriculturalists pushed stratification in society. (classes) |
| EGYPTIAN | Advanced technology, irrigation, terracing, and gold mining. Hydrology and prospecting. | Ruler was "the great pillager." Annexed other peoples. | Religion was important in binding individuals to each other. Rituals. | 7 million Africans who are ruled. 250,000 Europeans who continue to rule. |

GUIDELINES FOR WEEKLY PAPERS - MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE/FLP

In preparing your weekly papers, the following guidelines should be followed by each student enrolled in the course.

1. Purpose - The purpose of the papers is to give you the opportunity to show that you have understood the readings and discussions for that week. The papers also encourage you to improve your skills of analysis and communication which will be very important in college and later in life.

2. General

- A. All papers are required. There will be no exceptions.
- B. All papers should be turned in by 5:00 p.m. on Monday in Africa Hall. Late papers will automatically lose 50% credit.
- C. All papers should be 2-3 pages, neatly typed (double-spaced) on unlined typing paper.

3. Topics - The topic of each paper has been stated for each week on pages 2-4 of the course syllabus. The paper turned in on each Monday will be on the topic of the previous week's discussion. (e.g., On Monday, September 17, a paper on "Africa Before the Europeans" is due.)

4. Steps in preparing the papers

- A. Use three sources of information:
 - 1. Required reading and reading notes
 - 2. Lectures and lecture notes, class discussions
 - 3. Supplementary readings, (While not required, we encourage reading from other sources as being very helpful. See pages 8-14 of the syllabus for suggestions.)
- B. State what you intend to accomplish in the paper - the key point or points you want to get across.
- C. In very clear language, support your key points with information you have gained from the three sources above. Your own ideas are very important here. But to be scientific, we must support our ideas with concrete facts.
- D. Carefully re-read the paper after you have finished (two or three times). Make sure it is your best effort. Check for spelling, punctuation, correct sentences and to see if you have made the points you wanted to make in the most convincing manner possible.

5. Footnotes Bibliography

- A. Using someone else's words without saying so is plagiarism. This is not to be done. Quotes should be used only to make very important points since the paper is to reflect your own thoughts and to show how well you can teach what you have learned and not just repeat the ideas of others.

If you use quotes, they should be in quotation marks (" ") and footnoted. After the quote, put a number of the quote in parentheses. At the bottom of that page of the paper, put a footnote telling the source and page of the quote. Use the following form:

(1) Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (London, 1972), p.4.

- B. If you use supplementary readings, each one should be listed in alphabetical order in a bibliography on an additional page:

DuBois, W.E.B., Black Folk, Then and Now (New York: H. Hold, 1931).
"Egypt," Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: William Benton, 1962).

6. Title Page - The first page should include title, course name, section, your name and date.

ANALYSIS AND COMMUNICATION ARE IMPORTANT! WORK HARD!

MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE

WRITING THE RESEARCH PAPER

PART II--The Research Paper

PURPOSE

The research papers you will do this semester will enable you to analyze the materials on the Black experience to be covered in course lectures, assigned readings and outside readings, and to present a synthesis of this material in a clearly written paper. Five research papers (10-15 pages each) will be required this semester, all based on intensive treatment of five topics chosen because (1) they represent the "modal" (i.e., most important) experiences of Black people during a particular historical stage of development; and (2) some of the best social analysis about Black people and by Black people--THE BLACK CLASSICS--have been written on the experiences in the historical periods covered.

The five topics (or the five modal experiences) and the date papers are due are:

| <u>Topic</u> | <u>Due Date</u> |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Reconstruction | Feb. 15th |
| Rural Life | March 1st |
| Black Workers | March 25th |
| Urban Life | April 15th |
| Black Models | May 3rd |

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 that 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 the course, and as we will continue to stress, 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 Modern Culture and Black People and all courses taught by the Afro-American Studies Program endeavor to study and teach. Brother DuBois goes on to make explicit our 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 U.S. 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 to contribute to scientific study of our history to clarify the questions facing our struggle.

But the fact remains that every phenomena--material economic (in the base) and social (in the superstructure) is dialectical in character, that is, 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 and understanding this dialectic--the opposing interpretations of various aspects of the important experiences of Black people which we will study--that papers this semester will aim.

PROCEDURE

The five (5) papers this semester will each focus on opposing views on aspects of the topics to be investigated. The task is to use scientific investigation of available resource material in supporting or refuting the views presented, and drawing conclusions as to which is the most (scientifically, not emotionally) valid position.

For each topic, you will be given a general guide to lectures and the assigned readings. This handout will include the organizing theme for your paper--one or more questions which must be covered in the paper. The organizing theme will consist of a question (s) relating to one (or more) of the three aspects of scientific investigation and literature we have discussed:

1. Production relations and production forces (BASE)
2. Social Institutions
3. Beliefs and Ideology

For each question, you are to follow these steps:

1. State the position on the question from the assigned reading(s);
2. Summarize the data which is used to support the position put forward;
3. State an opposing view(s) on the same question (which usually will have to be researched in outside reference);
4. Summarize the data which is offered to support this opposing view(s);
5. After an analysis of the above, write a conclusion indicating your critical grasp of both views and your position on which is most valid (valid because your analysis shows that the facts as presented are more scientific).

GENERAL

- A. GRADES: 60% ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND 5 RESEARCH PAPERS
 15% MIDTERM EXAMINATION (FEB. 25th)
25% FINAL EXAMINATION (MAY 6-9)
 100%
- B. All papers are REQUIRED. There will be NO EXCEPTIONS. (Medical and similar excuses must be presented--signed by the physician and certified by the Dean within two days after the excused period.)
- C. All papers must be turned in by 5:00 P.M. on the date due in Africa Hall. Late papers will lose one grade automatically, 50% off if less than one week late, "E" if over one week late but should be submitted because NO paper will substantially lower your final grade, while failing papers will be given some credit.
- D. Style
1. All papers should be 10-15 pages in length, excludng title page, footnotes, and bibliography (typed, double-spaced).
 2. Footnotes and bibliography will be more 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). We would prefer that all footnotes be compiled on a single page at the end of the paper's text. We refer you to a general reference book on writing term papers for guidance on the mechanics of the paper. A good one is Kate Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations (Chicago, 1973). The Communications component of the Freshman Interdisciplinary Program and the Writing Lab have offered their general assistance in improving your research paper writing skills.
 3. Papers which are written as effective 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. Carelessness in this regard will count more heavily against you than last semester.

WORK HARD! FURTHER THE ANALYSIS!

MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE

RECONSTRUCTION

In his classic study of the "history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America," W.E.B. DuBois, in the volume entitled Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880, 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 conflict. The forces leading to the continued subjugation of Black people in America after an all too brief attempt to establish genuine political democracy in the American Southland during the Reconstruction Era are also covered.

DuBois, while paying careful attention to racial factors, emphasizes the vested interests of several identifiable classes. The ruling classes before the war were the merchant, banking, and embryonic industrial capitalists of the North and the Southern slave-holding plantocracy in the South. In the subordinate class were the industrial workers and independent small farmers of the North and West, and the poor whites and Black agricultural laborers in the South. The increased demand for cotton by British industry meant that there was a derived demand for cotton-growing land, and consequently for Black labor to work that land. These derived demands put the Southern planters in conflict with the other groups, who did not want to see the slave economy expand westward. The struggle for Kansas, whether the territory was to be slave or free, led to the Civil War, and the struggle for wealth and jobs after the War led to the failure of Reconstruction.

Dating the Civil War from 1854 (and the struggle for Kansas) to the election of 1876 (and the infamous Hayes-Tilden Compromise), DuBois shows how Black people were returned to peonage after the War, and subsequently stripped of the civil rights conferred by the Reconstruction constitutional amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th amendments). Actual hostilities persisted from the guns of Fort Sumter (1861) to Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865. Northern troops were to occupy considerable portions of the South until being withdrawn by provisions of the Hayes-Tilden Compromise.

Positive achievements were credited to Black legislators in the various states of the South, particularly with regard to the establishment of public educational systems. The propaganda of white historians regarding the quality of the Black electorate and their representatives is belied by DuBois' patiently accumulated evidence.

WEEK ONE-BLACK RECONSTRUCTION - Chapters One through Seven (Prof. Seward)

The lectures in this week will discuss the class analysis of DuBois, the causes of the Civil War, and the outcome of the war. The attitudes of the Plantocracy and of the Abolitionists and Radical Republicans during the Reconstruction period will also receive coverage.

WEEK TWO-BLACK RECONSTRUCTION - Chapters Eight and Nine (Prof. Bailey)
Chapters Ten and Eleven (Prof. McWorter)

Prof. Bailey's lectures will dwell on the politics of the immediate post-Civil War period, and show how President Andrew Johnson's racism and class interests obstructed attempts to establish an agrarian democracy based on land reform in the American South.

Prof. McWorter's lectures will discuss the achievements and failures of Reconstruction governments in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, all states with substantial Black majorities at the time. Land monopoly, imported capital, and force and fraud were the factors that prevented a democratic outcome to the efforts of the Black legislative representatives.

WEEK THREE-BLACK RECONSTRUCTION - Chapters Twelve through Seventeen (Prof. Seward)

The material covered in this final week of the unit on Reconstruction shows how Black labor was returned to a state of peonage by the combined efforts of Northern capital, and white labor in all regions of the country. The final chapter, "The Propaganda of History," is of special significance in that it shows how each group writes history in its own image, and from its own point of view, a theme that should receive careful treatment in the papers for this week.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDENT PAPERS ON BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

The following statements and/or questions are to be used as guidelines for the structuring of papers on Black Reconstruction:

1. Were the economic factors, i.e., the production relations and production forces, at work in the United States over the period 1854 to 1876 the crucial factors influencing the course of events, or were the attitudes of the "great men" (e.g., Lincoln and Johnson, or 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 man and women that account for the failure of Black people to achieve full liberation?

3. What were the achievements of Black political power in the United States during the Reconstruction era treated in the various assessments of the period by historians?

FINAL EXAMINATION

MODERN CULTURE AND BLACK PEOPLE FRESHMAN INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM & AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM FISK UNIVERSITY December 14, 1973

The examination is in two parts. Part I is composed of 25 terms of which responses are required for any 20. Each correct answer will count one point, with incorrect answers receiving zero credit. Each additional term answered correctly will count for one bonus point. It is expected that students will do Part I in twenty minutes. Part II consists of seven essay questions of which responses are required of four. This allows twenty minutes for each essay. Each essay will carry a maximum credit of twenty points.

Part I - Define any 20 of the following 25 terms in a brief, concise manner. Each correct answer will count one point. Each additional correct answer beyond 20 will count one bonus point.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. IDEOLOGY | 16. CARIBBEAN |
| 2. BASE | 17. TALENTED TENTH |
| 3. SUPERSTRUCTURE | 18. PROLETARIAT |
| 4. CLASS | 19. MIDDLE PASSAGE |
| 5. REVOLUTION | 20. SOCIALISM |
| 6. IMPERIALISM | 21. FREEDMEN'S BUREAU |
| 7. NATIONAL LIBERATION | 22. NEO-COLONIALISM |
| 8. BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM | 23. MONOPOLY CAPITALISM |
| 9. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM | 24. RECONSTRUCTION ERA |
| 10. TRIANGULAR TRADE | 25. PRODUCTION RELATIONS |
| 11. BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION | |
| 12. INVISIBLE INSTITUTION | |
| 13. ASSIMILATIONISM | |
| 14. COLONY | |
| 15. INTEGRATION | |
| SCIENCE | |
| RELIGION | |
| DILECTICAL MATERIALISM | |

Part II - Answer four of the following seven essay questions. Each essay counts a maximum of twenty points.

1. "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."
From the Communist Manifesto by
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

(Answer both A & B)

- A. Define the State. Briefly describe concret examples from each of the five stages of development, or modes of production, that will enable one to prove (or not prove) the validity of the above statement.
- B. Using your knowledge of current events, give two examples - two from the national level and two from the international level - that illustrate the relationship between the U.S. government and the U.S. ruling class.
2. The industrial revolution occurred in England before it occurred elsewhere because of the "enterprising spirit and energetic quality of the English race". How do you react to this statement?
3. "The fact of the matter is that the most profound reasons for the economic backwardness of a given African nation is not to be found inside that nation. The true explanation lies in seeking out the relationship between Africa and certain developed countries and recognizing that it is a relationship of exploitation."

From How Europe Underdeveloped Africa
by Walter Rodney

Define development and underdevelopment and the relationship between the two concepts. Use the Williams thesis on the triangular trade to illustrate the above-mentioned aspect of the historical relationship between Europe and Africa. Also discuss imperialism and its relationship to Africa.

4. "The call for Black capitalism today by the descendants of Frazier's Black bourgeoisie - the Black elite - is more than just a rekindling of a misdirected faith in the myth of Negro business. It is part of a thorough Black exercise in mass self-delusion. Behind it all lies a legacy of mis-leadership historically constructed by the American system.

So long as white corporate enterprise is completely dominant, it will never be entirely possible to complete a plan for Black community development. However, only when state political power is genuinely in the hands of an aroused and conscious American people, and economic imperialism is ended, will the liberation struggles of Black and Third World peoples be fully successful. Black capitalism has no place in this struggle."

From Myth of Black Capitalism

(question continued on next page)

4. (cont)

Answer both A & B

- A. Ofari's statement implies a certain analysis of the context in which Black capitalism must operate. This context is often called monopoly capitalism. What is your analysis of monopoly capitalism and how does it relate to Black capitalism?
- B. Discuss "tokenism" as it relates to the above quote. Can this concept also be applied to the political arena? If so, in what way?

5.

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

We recognize at present three important class formations: 1) comprador petty bourgeoisie, 2) national petty bourgeoisie, and 3) rural and urban workers.

From Black Liberation and Class Struggle: The Student Movement by Peoples College

Discuss the difference between the concepts of exploitation and oppression as they relate to Black people. Also, outline the historical development of social class in the Black community.

6.

"As Black students participating in America's institutions of education we find that it is impossible to continually ignore the glaring contradictions that exist between our educational experiences and the realities of our lives. We view this institution as a control mechanism functioning to mold the minds that would submit to the tyranny that exploits and dehumanizes the people of the world; therefore, it acts to submerge men's consciousness. In understanding that the educational system in America is geared to the continuation of the oppressive conditions that Black students call for the redefining of Southern University as it relates to the students and the Black and world community. It is our conten-

(continued)

tion that the administration of the Southern system functions to perpetuate the injustices inflicted upon Black and poor people. Furthermore, we feel that our educational experiences are of no value if they do not speak to the objective realities and conditions of the oppressed masses. It is our objective to transform the present educational system so that it will aid in the building of a more humane society.

From Support Your Struggle: Documents of Students United of Southern University.

Answer both A & B

- A. What historical data can be used to support the claim of Southern University students in the above quote that Black educational institutions function as a control mechanism. In whose interest have these institutions been controlled? Use examples from slavery, reconstruction, and the period 1900-1915.
- B. What material forces (in the Base) best explain the current attempts to destroy Black educational institutions? Incorporate the events at Southern University and the attempts to merge Black colleges like Tennessee State into your analysis.

7.

World View

"If there is no struggle, there can be no progress . . ."

"Black people throughout the world are realizing that our freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces - racism and imperialism. The world imperialism system festers in Africa and Asia and engulfs the Western Hemisphere as well. In the United States we know it as monopoly capitalism, in Africa it is imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial form. Wherever it appears, its cornerstone is the white ruling class of the United States of America.

Imperialism is neither invincible nor invulnerable. As the blows against it increase, the crisis of imperialism heightens and leads to new levels of exploitation of Black people in the Western Hemisphere, Africa and the rest of the world.

From Statement of Principles
African Liberation Support Committee

Answer Both A & B

- A. Using our understanding of the two components of society (base and superstructure), discuss the importance of the ALSC position that "Black people's freedom will only be won through a protracted struggle against two forces - racism and imperialism. Be specific about the origins of racism and imperialism, and their relationship to each other.
- B. Which ideological view does the ALSC position flow from?

TO: Students, Freshman Interdisciplinary Program, Fisk University
FR: Professors McWorter and Bailey, Afro-American Studies
RE: The Road Ahead in Modern Culture and Black People

We have deliberated on your concerns and have come to several decisions. Let us first state that we commend you on undertaking criticism, and to some extent, self-criticism, with regards to the MCBP course. It was a step forward and upward. Many of the barriers to academic excellence and intellectual productivity which have become an accepted and tolerated part of the Fisk experience, will easily crumble if subjected to the kind of collective and disciplined process in which you have been engaged. We trust that you will extend your concerns in a similar fashion to your entire environment. DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!

On the availability of materials, we are taking steps to insure that assigned readings are requested at the campus bookstore, as well as Timbuktu. We must reiterate our desire to see as much support as possible given to an institution based in and serving the entire Black community (locally and nationally). But certainly no one would insist that supporting Timbuktu hamper your own intellectual development, (e.g., if you are unable to buy the requested books). Its purpose is not to hamper but to serve.

In the same vein that some of you stated "this is what we are paying you for," we state that our primary responsibility to you is to provide you with the best possible introductory training in the social sciences as related to the lives of Black people. We are not talking about a kind of education that has been "passed down from on high," nor one that we have simply dreamed up, nor one that necessarily is based on your notions of what education should be. But rather one that is based on a scientific analysis of what education has done and has not done for Black people. This involved summing up our own experiences (re-read McWorter's "Social Science for Black Liberation"), as well as studying the experiences and writings of other Black people (read E. Franklin Frazier, "Failure of the Negro Intellectual," Carter G. Woodson, Mis-education of the Negro, Armistead Robison (ed) Black Studies in the University; and paying strict attention to the most advanced thinking on how we can increase the contribution of Black education to Black liberation (re-read the documents prepared by Black students at Southern University, and materials prepared in connection with the National Save and Change Black Schools Project).

Of course, our conception of our responsibilities to you, and to those who will look to you in the future, is subject to the dialectical process of UNITY-STRUGGLE-UNITY. In other words, starting from our common interest in getting the most from our interaction, (not primarily in terms of your happiness or our having a light work load, but in terms of productivity and development), we engage in intense and open discussions of differing views on all subjects, and on the other end of that process emerge with greater unity around a new conception of the road ahead of us. It is for this reason that we are

inspired by the recent discussions we have taken in all your comments and criticisms, and after a careful assessment of them, have restructured the course in several ways.

We encourage and challenge you to respond with a qualitatively higher level of work and a more intense search for truth that you say will be facilitated by the kind of (quantitative) restructuring you have suggested.

FORGE A CORRECT SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS! CONTRIBUTE TO THE LIBERATION OF BLACK PEOPLE!

REORGANIZATION OF MCBP

1. Required papers will remain 10-15 pages in length. We have reduced the number of papers; rather than the five papers and the annotated bibliography initially required, assignments will now include: the annotated bibliography (already completed), three papers, (one already completed), completion of two research questionnaires, and work on one group project.
2. In response to the feeling that in our scientific study of the conditions of Black people in the U.S. and in other parts of the world we have come to a critical evaluation of the capitalist mode of production but have not fully discussed alternative modes, we will devote the last weeks of the semester to a scientific analysis of the socialist mode of production, in theory and as it is affecting the lives of people in various parts of the world.

Accordingly, the reorganization of class discussions and assignments will be as follows:

| DATES | WK | TOPIC | ASSIGNMENT | DUE |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| Jan14-18 | 1 | The Negro in America: An Overview | Annotated Biblio. | Jan 28 |
| Jan21-Feb 8 | 3 | Reconstruction | Paper | Feb 18 |
| Feb11-Feb 26 | 2.5 | Rural Life | Interview Question | Mar 1 |
| Mid-term Exam | Feb 28/Mar 1 | | | |
| Spring Vacation | Mar 4 - Mar 8 | | | |
| | | Rural Life | Completed Interview | Mar 13 |
| Feb27-Mar29 | 3.5 | Urban Life | Research Data | Mar 20 |
| | | | Rural/Urban Research Paper | Apr 1 |

Apr 1-Apr 26 4 Socialism/Capitalism Research Paper Apr 22

Political Economy of Socialism:
An Overview

(Readings to be assigned)
USSR, China, Cuba, Africa
(Guinea-Bissau, Tanzania)

Group Report Apr 29
(6-8 people working
on aspects of a
particular country)

FINAL EXAMINATION DURING REGULAR EXAM PERIOD.

Report to Students and Staff of FIP

Re: Problems Raised by Students in Modern Culture

The FIP Faculty has met two (2) times, on the questions posed in the student petition relative to course requirements in Modern Culture and Black People and the concerns generated by the student representatives at our last monthly meeting. At the meeting Wednesday, February 20, Dr. McWorter, for the instructors in Modern Culture, stated that the number of papers required in the course would be three (3).

As a general response:

It seems to be the consensus of the faculty that these requirements of said course do not conflict with sound academic pursuits and, so far as they could determine, seem to enhance the goals and objectives of the overall Program rather than the contrary.

These principles are fully reinforced:

1. A student has the right to express grievances to his instructor, the Director, or by any other method so provided, e.g., the monthly reports. It is an inalienable right that cannot be abridged if healthy interaction among the components of the Program is to be fostered.
2. These grievances should be investigated in a free, open inquiry and in the method best dictated by the nature of the grievance.
3. Adequate and sound solutions to legitimate and clearly determined problems should be pursued within the context of what the Program aims to do as well as Fisk as a whole.
4. The results of these deliberations should be made known to those presenting the grievances as soon as possible.
5. An instructor (s) has primary responsibility for his course; but all instructors in the Program have a unified responsibility for the overall success of the Program. If a problem goes beyond a single course in effect, it becomes the problem of the entire Program.
6. All instructors in FIP should continue to explore further means of maximizing the interrelatedness of all courses in the Program, including joint assignments and the synchronizing of topics and themes.

Next Meeting: Tuesday - 11:30 - English Building 101

For your reaction: if this statement does not clearly and accurately reflect the outcome of our deliberations, please inform me or return this report with your corrections.

Thank you.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'R.B.P.', is written over a horizontal line.

(Dr.) Rosentene B. Purnell

A DECLARATION AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

Adopted at the National Planning Conference
Pull The Covers Off Imperialism Project
Fisk University Nashville, Tn.
January 11, 1975

Today the world is plunging head long into crisis. The prosperity and world domination of the USA is being challenged and exposed as the center of an exploiting imperialist system. Capitalist exploitation shaped the historical experience of Black people during European colonization and chattel slavery. Today capitalism is in the stage of monopoly control by international financial institutions and multinational corporations. Consideration of both of these stages of capitalist exploitation pinpoints the underlying target of the Black liberation movement over the last century of struggle. Once again it is time for Black intellectuals to speak out--to raise our voices in a rising chorus that lays bare the true character of US imperialism and unites our work with the movement for Black liberation.

Imperialism is a dying system that is based on intense economic exploitation, national and racial oppression, political repression. One of the tools for maintaining imperialism is cultural domination through control of educational institutions and the mass media. The development of the world imperialist system has led to a general crisis affecting all aspects of society, leaving no nation, country, or people free of its destructive impact. However, where there is exploitation and oppression there is resistance and struggle. People are fighting for economic security, overall improvement of their living standards, freedom, justice, and equality which requires a new social order. This is the trend of world history, and Black people in the USA are no exception. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution.

As the USA moves toward the Bicentennial celebration of its existence it is the historical responsibility of Black intellectuals to prevent distortions, lies and deception by exposing US imperialism. Over 100 years ago (on July 4, 1852 in Rochester, New York) Frederick Douglass set the pace when he clearly exposed "the great sin and shame of America":

"What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty an unholy license; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns; your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy--a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation of the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than are the people of these United States at this very hour."

The exposure and defeat of the "revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy" of US imperialism in all its forms must be adopted today as the main objective of the historical task of Black intellectuals.

The economic crisis of the world capitalist system is intensifying, and adds up to an all-sided attack on the living standards of the people in the USA, especially the working class and oppressed peoples--Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asians, and Native Americans. Our task is to expose the essence of this crisis by demonstrating who benefits from imperialism and who is exploited by imperialism--how and why, and how all the reforms now under discussion have historically failed, such as during the Great Depression, to be more than short term measures that deal with symptoms of the economic crisis and not its fundamental cause.

mental cause. The current ineffectiveness of these reforms, such as during the Great Depression, characterized this problem.

One of the main manifestations of the world character of imperialism is the striving of the US ruling class for hegemony in every region of the world. The US government and corporations, aided by the foundations, universities and mass media, have extended to all corners of the globe so that the sun never sets on US imperialism. But just as when that description was applied to the British empire and was ended by the forces of national liberation after WWII, so the forces of liberation and revolution are bringing down US imperialism as demonstrated by the victorious war won by the heroic Vietnamese people and the defeat of US-backed Portuguese Colonialism in Africa. Our struggles in the USA have also been blows against imperialism, like the struggle at Attica, the Oneita Textile strike and the struggle at Wounded Knee. A key role of Black intellectuals, literally located within the belly of US monopoly capitalism, is to turn the character of US imperialism inside out, pulling off the covers that conceal it, and attacking it on its ideological front.

As the Black liberation movement spreads and reflects the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of Black people, there also develops a great need for black intellectuals to become politically relevant. This is a crucial mandate for all students, teachers, journalists, professionals, artists, and writers. But a Black intellectual cannot be defined simply by an occupational role or by formal education. Black intellectuals who will make meaningful contributions to the fight against imperialism are people who have developed adequate theoretical skill grounded in a critical social analysis of the oppression of Black people and of US imperialism; are able to sum up the concrete conditions of a problem by discovering the logical pattern and main aspects of the problem; integrate this summation with established revolutionary theoretical principles, and creatively apply the lessons learned to contribute to solving the problems that Black people face and which exist for the entire society. Examples of this commitment include WEB DuBois, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, Malcolm X, and Oliver Cox.

Moreover, our theory must not only be rooted in a scientific approach to understanding the complex nature of US society, and the historical development of US imperialism, but also in a commitment to use such theory as a weapon in the struggle against imperialism. This includes refuting the theories of racial inferiority being put forward by professors in major US universities, the intellectual justifications for anti-people programs constituting "benign neglect", and the educational programs that slow down the intellectual advancements of the masses of people.

Therefore, we Black intellectuals must organize ourselves and forge unity around the historical condition of the people, and around the intellectual, moral, and political imperatives for our work:

WE DECLARE that a primary task of Black intellectuals today is to study the character and historical development of US imperialism, especially its impact on Black people, and to promote this study throughout schools, publications, conferences, and organizations;

WE DECLARE that the main objective of our study must be to expose the essence of imperialism and provide the intellectual tools necessary for combating every imperialist assault on the people;

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

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY AND HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS THROUGH STRUGGLE!!

Black Intellectuals and Black Liberation

Abdul Alkalimat

Excerpt From Speech at The Planning Conference of
The Pull The Covers Off Imperialism Project (January 1975)

Brothers and Sisters!

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

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

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

* * * *

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

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

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

We are proposing that we initiate a campaign to place imperialism on all of our agendas and use this concept as an organizing tool for all

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

Moreover, all of our programs must strive to sink deep roots in our repsective communities. This means we must turn our focus to our immediate surroundings and pull the covers off the local manifestations of imperialism. Black Studies in Detroit should have an auto concentration, in Greensboro a textile project, in New Orleans a petroleum, chemicals and shipping focus. After all, whatever are the dominant forces that shape the lives of Black people must be our concern.

Moreover, once we have developed some knowledge from our research then we should take it to Black people involved in this area and check its validity, its relevance, and its usefulness. The masses of people normally have more knowledge about what their lives are involved in than students do who study for four or more years about that same sector of society. What does that tell us? It tells us to open up the doors and let the wisdom of the masses of people come in. We have often been asked who teaches the teachers, or who grades the graders--well, for Black intellectuals the

answer is clear. The masses of Black people do! We must believe this and implement programs designed to facilitate it or we will undoubtedly fall into the swamp of run-of-the-mill academia and end up grading ourselves never knowing whether it makes any difference at all.

B. Courses. Now one major problem for us is the area of curriculum development. We have no model courses that reflect the basic theoretical concepts and concrete information all informed Black people should know about. We have popularized no list of classics of Black social analysis. We have no basic questions for which we as a rather cosmopolitan progressive group of Blacks can give substantially the same answer.

This has to stop. The textbook companies lure some of us to put out rather hum-drum readers and texts--or get their own staff to do it--and pretty much control what it is that people study. For a moment, think about the innovation of "general education" in higher education built around courses called Humanities 101, Western Civilization and Fine Arts. These courses were developed at the University of Chicago and Columbia, then popularized throughout the country. We have to take this situation into our own hands and develop at least a two-semester course presenting a basic approach to the scientific study of Black people. What a difference it would make if 20 or 50 or 100 schools were using substantially the same course as an Introduction to Afro American Studies. Indeed, why should the students at Atlanta University, Cornell, Wayne State, and Stanford be immersed in creativity while the masses of students in the community colleges and state schools generally struggle to make do. Are we saying that money controls it all? Or can we unite around this task, this pressing need for a relevant Black education focused on imperialism with the goal of freedom

and liberation?

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

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

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

Check out all research being done and put it to the test of our Declaration. Check its validity and relevance with the masses of people. Check its scientific character with other scientists committed to the liberation of Black people.

D. Publications. The main problem here is our intellectual productivity. But with the previous comments that aspect has been covered. Specifically on the journals several simple and well known points need to be made:

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

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

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

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

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

E. Organizations and Conferences. The key question here is that whenever Black people come together there are but two major questions--what is the past or present state of our exploitation and oppression? What moves have been, are, or can be made to fundamentally change that and lead to liberation and freedom? Moreover, each gathering should involve sharp debate over different points of view. Too long have we been hampered and held back by our liberal attitudes and the line of all unity and no struggle.

The symposium on imperialism at the last African Heritage Studies Association meeting in New York (April 1974) and the May 1974 African Liberation Support Committee conference in Washington, D.C., are outstanding examples of conferences that have reflected a correct approach and moved many of us to do more serious study, and advance our theoretical work to a much higher level.

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

This leads us to our last question:

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

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

But where there is repression there will be resistance. The spontaneous struggles of the masses go on everyday, throughout this country

in plants, schools, and communities. Small organizations of a new type are emerging, a new movement is taking shape.

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

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

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

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

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

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

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY! HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTION THROUGH

STRUGGLE TOWARDS VICTORY FOR OUR PEOPLE!

Dr. Carter G. Woodson, noted Black historian, set aside the second week of February in commemoration of the February 13th birthday of Frederick Douglass. Peoples College as a part of a national movement desires to actively continue Dr. Woodson's work, in a way consistent with the progress of our people:

FROM NEGRO TO

BLACK

WE HAVE REVOLUTIONIZED
OUR SELF AWARENESS AND
DEVELOPED A POSITIVE
IDENTITY OF SELF AFFIRMATION.

FROM HISTORY TO

LIBERATION

WE HAVE MOVED FROM USING
HISTORY FOR AWARENESS TO
USING KNOWLEDGE TO CON-
CRETELY PLAN AND STRUGGLE
FOR OUR LIBERATION.

FROM WEEK TO

MONTH

OUR COMMITMENT HAS GROWN
TILL WE SYMBOLICALLY HAVE
CHANGED FROM 1/52 OF OUR
TIME TO 1/12 OF OUR TIME.
WE MUST 'SEIZE THE TIME.'

For additional information write:




PEOPLES COLLEGE
P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tn. 37208


Black Liberation MONTH

Preparation for a
SPRING OFFENSIVE

which is:

 REVITALIZATION OF OUR
STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM
AND COLONIAL EXPLOITATION

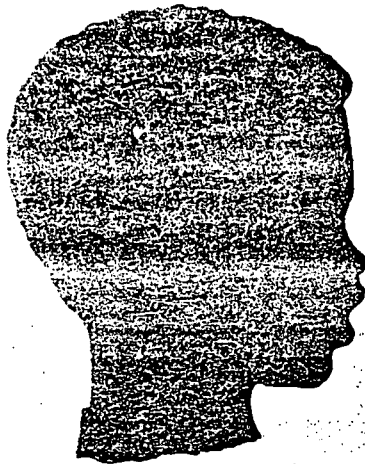
 SUPPORT FOR
POLITICAL PRISONERS

 SUPPORT FOR PEACE
WITH JUSTICE IN PALESTINE,
SOUTHERN AFRICA,
VIETNAM AND CHILE

 THE STUDY OF OUR PEOPLES
STRUGGLES

 THE CELEBRATIONS OF
OUR HEROES AND CULTURE

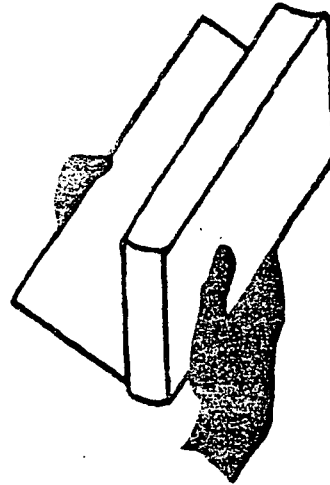
WHY
DO
WE
NEED
BLACK
LIBERATION
MONTH?



Brother Malcolm X gave a basic answer (June 28, 1964):
"When we send our children to school in this country they learn nothing about us other than that we used to be cotton-pickers. Every little child going to school thinks his grandfather was a cottonpicker. Why, your grandfather was Nat Turner; your grandfather was Toussaint L'Ouverture; your grandfather was Hannibal. Your grandfather was some of the greatest Black people who walked on this earth. It was your grandfathers hands who forged civilization and it was your grandmothers hands who rocked the cradle of civilization. But the textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country."

(Quiz? Do you know the great heroes mentioned by Malcolm? Nat Turner, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Hannibal)

RESPECT YOURSELF.



BY
KNOWING
YOUR
HISTORY.

- In 1970, the Tennessee General Assembly passed a law stating that all school districts should expose their students to Black history and the contributions of Black people to the U.S. and to the world.
- Understanding the history of Black people in Nashville, in the U.S., in Africa, in the Caribbean, in the world, is an important step in the pursuit of the full and correct knowledge that will help us in building selfrespect and a better society.

Suggested reading for
BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

THE CHOICE: *The issue of Black survival in America*

by SAMUEL F. YETTE

BLACK BOURGEOISIE

by E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

BLACK RAGE

by W.H. GRIER and P.M. COBBS

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY

by ERIC WILLIAMS

THE MYTH OF BLACK CAPITALISM

by EARL OFARI

THE NEGRO CHURCH IN AMERICA

by E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

AFRICA MUST UNITE

by KWAME NKRUMAH

HOW EUROPE UNDERDEVELOPED AFRICA

by WALTER RODNEY

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BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

FEBRUARY 1974

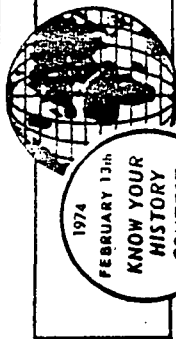
1 2

FREDERICK DOUGLASS FEBRUARY 13, 1817 - FEBRUARY 20, 1895

Frederick Douglass, a leader in the cause of negro emancipation, was born a slave in Maryland in 1817. Taught to read and write by the wife of one of his masters, more than 400 days escape to Canada and organized two negro regiments. After the war, Douglass served as Secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission. He became a keen student and eloquent speaker. He escaped slavery and settled in New Bedford, Mass., where he married and authored "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave". Its success forced him to flee to England. Heil where friends succeeded in purchasing his freedom.



| | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 1969 EDUARDO MONDRAÑE, PRESIDENT OF PRELIMO (MOZAMBIQUE) ASSASSINATED | 1822 LIBERIA FOUNDED 1913 ROSA PARKS, BLACK WORKER WHO SPARKED 1946 MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT BORN 1961 MPLA BEGINS ARMED ACTION IN ANGOLA | 1967 TANZANIA ANNOUNCES ARUSHI DECENTRATION 1968 DEMOCRATIZATION BEGINS IN ORANGEBURG, S.C. | 1961 "JAIL NO BAIL" CAMPAIGN BEGINS IN ROCK HILL, S.C. | 1926 NEGRO HISTORY WEEK FOUNDED BY CARTER G. WOODSON IN HONOR OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS | 1925 U.N.I.A. LEADER MARCUS GARVEY JAILED FOR "MAIL FRAUD" 1968 ORANGEBURG MASSACRE | 1956 AUTHERINE LUCY ATTENDS UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA |
| 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| | 1833 FIRST BLACK LIBRARY FOUNDED IN PHILADELPHIA | 1793 FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW PASSED 1909 NAACP FOUNDED IN NEW YORK 1973 BLACK SANITATION WORKERS STRIKE IN MEMPHIS, TN. | 1817 FREDERICK DOUGLASS BORN 1960 PATRICE LUMUMBA, CONGO LEADER ASSASSINATED 1964 FIRST PAIGG CONGRESS HELD IN GUINEA-BISSAU | 1760 RICHARD ALLEN, FOUNDER OF A.M.E. CHURCH BORN | 1962 AFRICANS DISRUPT U.N. PROCEEDINGS PROTESTING MURDER OF LUMUMBA | 1966 DEATH OF POET PAUL LAWRENCE DUNBAR |
| 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 |
| 1865 KU KLUX KLAN ORGANIZED IN PULASKI, TN. | 1965 GAMBIA GAINS INDEPENDENCE | 1919 FIRST DUBOIS PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS | 1895 DEATH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS | 1965 MALCOLM X (EL-HAJJ MALIK SHABAZZ) ASSASSINATED | 1892 COLORED NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE BUILDS PEOPLES PARTY | 1868 W.E.B. DUBOIS BORN 1960 SIT-IN IN CHATTANOOGA, TN. 1971 GUYANA NATIONALIZES BAUXITE |



SUN MON TUE WED THU FRI SAT

REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL PLANNING CONFERENCE
1975 Year to Pull The Covers Off Imperialism Project

BLACK INTELLECTUALS OPPOSE IMPERIALISM! PLAN YEAR LONG PROJECT!

A meeting of Black intellectuals--teachers, students, workers, journalists, professionals, movement activists from across the US.--have declared themselves firmly against US imperialism. They met at the National Planning Conference of the Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism Project at Fisk University, Nashville, Tn., January 10-12, 1975.

The conference unanimously adopted "A DECLARATION AGAINST IMPERIALISM" which stated: "The exposure and defeat of the revolting and shameless hypocrisy of US Imperialism in all its forms must be adopted as the main objective of the historical task of Black intellectuals." The Declaration emphasized this task "to prevent distortions, lies and deception by exposing US imperialism" in view of the upcoming USA Bicentennial Celebration. The Declaration Against Imperialism will be published, circulated, discussed, and endorsed by many organizations, publications, and individuals in the Black liberation movement.

Participants in the conference came from California, Georgia, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. Among the colleges and universities represented were Atlanta University, Cornell, Fisk, Meharry, North Carolina Central, North Carolina A&T, Northern Illinois University, Spelman, Stanford, State University of New York (Albany and Old Westbury) Tennessee State, and Wayne State University.

Conference participants represented many organizations: February First Movement, Black Economic Research Center, African Information Service, Association of Black Psychologists, African Heritage Studies Association, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, African Liberation Support Committee, A. Phillip Randolph Institute, African Association for Black Studies, and the Association for the Study of Behavioral Sciences. Journalists from The African World, The Black Scholar, the Review of Black Political Economy, National Black Network, and the St. Petersburg Times also attended the Conference.

The National Planning Conference for the Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism opened with a session on "Black Intellectuals and the Black Liberation Movement: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives." Talks were given by St. Clair Drake of Stanford University and Abdul Aikalimat of Peoples College and Fisk University. The workshop speakers were Robert Allen of the Black Scholar on "National Liberation Movements", Ebon Dooley of Atlanta on "Socialism", and Ernie Mkalimoto of the University of Massachusetts on "Imperialism and Black People." Responding to the workshop presentations were S.E. Anderson of S.U.N.Y. (Old Westbury), Ron Bailey of Peoples College and Alex Willingham of Atlanta University. Workshop moderators included Ayanna of Local 19-A, DWA, Dorothy Stewart of Tennessee State University, and Lucius Outlaw of Fisk University.

Participants on the panel during the general discussion on the Declaration Against Imperialism dealing with how it could be strengthened and how it could become a general call to Black intellectuals to become active in study and struggle against imperialism were: James Turner of Cornell University and the African Heritage Studies Association, Shelby Smith and Malcolm Suber of Atlanta University, and Robert Newbu of Wayne State University. Robert Browne of the Review of Black Political Economy, Jerry Walker of the African World, and Robert Allen of Black Scholar spoke on the role of their publi-

cations in the Black liberation movement and how they could support the conference in their on-going work.

The final talk was given by Bill Epton of New York, who spoke on "The Role of the Black Intellectual in Struggle: An Activist's View." Epton summed up the lessons of 25 years of practical experience in the struggles, discussed the major political errors made by Black intellectuals, and how Black intellectuals should integrate with the masses to better serve the people in today's struggle against US imperialism.

The summing-up session was a spirited discussion of the National Planning Conference and practical steps to implement the general program of the YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM. As an immediate expression of the kind of concrete support that can be undertaken to expose how US imperialism is escalating its policies of exploitation and oppression around the world, the National Planning Conference adopted the following resolution in connection with the study topic "US Imperialism in Africa":

Proposed statement in support of Black Scholar Press Conference (11/13/75) demanding Congressional investigation of the Kissinger Memo on Southern Africa (NSSM39) published in December, 1974 Black Scholar)

We, the members of the National Planning Conference of the Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism Project, fully support the just demand for a full-scale Congressional investigation of NSSM39, and we urge the Congressional Black Caucus to take on its particular responsibility to determine to what extent US and UN sanctions have been violated by implementing options in this memo.

We believe that Option Two, reportedly adopted as policy by the US government in 1970, represents an increase in US economic and political support for undemocratic and racist regimes in Southern Africa, while at the same time, undermining the just struggle for democratic rights and self-determination by the Black populations of the region. We believe this insidious policy is abhorrent to Black Americans, to the American people in general, and to the international community.

We believe further that international developments since 1970 have led the US government to consider--and possibly implement--even more extreme measures to expand US political and economic exploitation in Africa, to the detriment of the majority population, the Black people of Africa.

Consequently, we join in calling upon all progressive individuals and organizations to take up this demand for a Congressional investigation of the NSSM39 and for a full exposure of present US policy in Africa.

1975 GENERAL PROGRAM
YEAR TO PULL THE COVERS OFF IMPERIALISM PROJECT

In the coming year we are committed to raising Black intellectual work to a new high. This must involve not only the 1.5 million included in the social strata of Black intellectuals (teachers, students, writers, professionals, etc.) but increasing numbers of working class people who rise above their miserable circumstance and struggle to achieve class consciousness based on scientific study. Our goal is to use scientific theory as a weapon in the struggle to liberate our people.

We hope the practical outcome of this conference involves several key areas of our work:

1. Development of model anti-imperialist study outlines (e.g. for use as college course outlines) in the area of:
 - A. Introduction to Black Studies
 - B. Political Economy of Black people
 - C. The Arts and Humanities of Black People
 - D. 20th Century Black liberation struggle
2. Support for the Declaration Against Imperialism
 - A. Reprinting and distributing it wherever and whenever possible;
 - B. Obtaining endorsements from organizations, publications and individuals;
 - C. Using it as the basis for planning programs and activities.
3. Reorientation of Our Work Style:
 - A. Research and dissertation topics related to imperialism and Black people;
 - B. Involvement in the Black liberation movement
 - C. Support for the struggles of working people, and national liberation struggles;
 - D. Support for the rising anti-imperialist student movement.

In addition, there are now organizing committees being formed to conclude plans for regional conferences in New York, Washington D.C., Atlanta, Detroit, and Northern California. These regional conferences are planned to bring together students, teachers, artists, writers, and political activists for serious consultation. Also, the Project will be presenting papers and distributing the Declaration at other conferences in Ohio, North Carolina, Tennessee, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, D.C., and Georgia. Interested persons should write for additional information.

The Declaration Against Imperialism is available in bulk for \$5.00 per 100 in an attractive brochure suitable for framing, posting, and distribution through organizational mailing lists. The conference proceedings will be published in the Black Scholar and African World newspaper and will be available soon in pamphlet form.

1975: The Year To Pull The Covers Off Imperialism

January 31, 1975

Brothers and Sisters:

The National Planning Conference for the Year to Pull the Covers Off Imperialism Project fully supported the development of study guides as another step in our overall efforts "to study the character and historical development of U.S. Imperialism, especially its impact on Black people, and to promote this study throughout schools, publications, conferences and organizations," (from the Declaration Against Imperialism; see February issue of Black Scholar). Five anti-imperialist study guides will be developed initially:

1. Introduction to Black Studies
2. Political Economy of Black People
3. Black Culture and Black Liberation
4. The 20th Century Black Liberation Movement
5. U.S. Imperialism in Africa.

To implement this decision, we are organizing to develop and circulate the five study guides for review and discussion by April 1, 1975. This important task will require the fullest cooperation of all of us who are committed to the "Declaration Against Imperialism" and to carrying out the mandates of the National Planning Conference. The following procedures have been initiated:

1. Immediately (no later than February 15) send copies of any study guides, course syllabi, reading lists, research papers, and anything else related to the five study guide topics to the National Coordinating Committee.
2. Contact colleagues in your department, in your school, and elsewhere and encourage them to forward the same material. This is a partial mailing to all areas so please circulate copies of this letter to people you know are interested.
3. If possible, prepare a draft of a study guide (see outline on other side) or prepare a statement outlining questions and concerns you think should be covered in any of the five anti-imperialist study guides for Black people (DEADLINE: 3/1/75)
4. All materials compiled will be the basis for a draft proposal for each study guide that will be reviewed and revised by a national editorial committee.
5. Beginning in April, all study guides will be widely disseminated through Black publications and discussed at several conferences to involve more people in improving the study guides and using them in planning courses and study groups during the remainder of 1975.

The National Planning Conference also stressed the need for regional conferences. Proposals for these conferences which have resulted from summations of the planning conference and further discussions with regional participants will soon be finalized and circulated.

We hope that all of us have moved to spread the word about the Year to Pull The Covers Off Imperialism and to use the "Declaration Against Imperialism" in our on-going work. Here, we have found it useful to have students read and discuss the Declaration and write short essays relating the Declaration to their own experiences and the courses they are studying. We look to hear of your efforts and to have your input on the study guides.

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS THROUGH STUDY AND HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS THROUGH STRUGGLE!

National Coordinating Committee
P.O. Box 5747 Nashville, Tn. 37208

PROSPECTUS FOR ANTI-IMPERIALIST STUDY GUIDES

Purpose: To serve as a model to be used for college courses and study groups.

- Topics:
1. Introduction to Black Studies
 2. Political Economy of Black People
 3. Black Culture and Black Liberation
 4. 20th Century Black Liberation Movement
 5. US Imperialism in Africa.

- Outline:
1. Title Page
 2. Purpose of study guide--to be written using the Declaration Against Imperialism as a framework
 3. Outline of Content
 - A. Main Topics (with suggested time allocation for each topic)
 - B. 2-3 paragraphs to serve as introduction and summation of each topic
 - C. Required readings for each topic (about 75-100 pages per week as a guide)
 4. Supplementary readings: for each topic 10-15 of the most important readings with 3-5 sentence annotations for each reading
 5. Sources of additional information: list of relevant publications information centers, etc., their addresses, prices, etc.

Example: A course called "Modern Culture and Black People" which has been successfully used at Fisk University for almost two years is available upon request. It is not complete in terms of the above and is being revised, but it is a useful beginning.

[illegible]

UNE DOLLAR

AMERICAN

INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

A COURSE OUTLINE - GUIDE FOR STUDY GROUPS

1975

INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

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6. Can the masses of Black people get "a piece of the American Pie" by "pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps"?
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10. What is the social role of Black art and culture?
11. What were the mass struggles of Afro-American people during the 1960's all about?

This is a preliminary draft of Introduction to Afro-American Studies. We welcome your criticisms toward improvement of this draft. The final course outline will be available July 1, 1975.

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This outline was developed by the National Committee of Correspondence of the Pull the Covers Off Imperialism (PCOI) Project. It is based on a course developed at Fisk University, 1973-75. This document is not to be quoted or reproduced (mimeographed, xeroxed, etc.) without first contacting the PCOI Project. This project is designed as a collective effort with central coordination and summation.

Additional copies are available from:

Peoples College Press
P.O. Box 5747
Nashville, Tn. 37208
U.S.A.

12. What are the basic ideas of nationalism?
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RESOURCES: PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

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 one's own ability to use the concepts to interpret the material studied). The key to learning is in using the beliefs one starts with to systematically criticize all new material. Only then can one really find out if the new knowledge is better, more accurate, and therefore must be believed in place of the old inadequate beliefs.

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 Hiepherson, et. al., Blacks in America: Bibliographical Essays, (1971)
- On The Rise of Black Studies
1. Black Scholar, special issue on "Black Education: The Future of Black Studies" (September, 1974); especially Allen, Pousaint, McClelland and Peoples College.
 2. Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies in Historical Perspective", Journal of Social Issues, (1973)

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3. Negro Digest, (Now Black World), "Toward the Black University", 3 special issues, (March 1968, 1969, 1970).
4. Joyce Ladner, The Death of White Sociology, (1973)
5. Armstead Robinson, Black Studies in the University, (1969).

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 describe the academic and the study group approach.

Academic Course

Purposes of the Course

1. To challenge every student to be a serious intellectual, (knowledgeable about her/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 explore the relevancy of various ideologies concerning the social oppression, political repression, and economic exploitation of Black people (past, present, and future).

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Requirements

1. Class attendance.
2. Take good class notes.
3. Reading required materials.
4. Full participation in class discussions.
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.
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.

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 discuss all material even if it seems to be unnecessary.

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 Craftmanship" in his book, Sociological Imagination, (1959)
4. North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), Research Methodology Guide, (1970)
5. Mao Tse-tung, Four Essays on Philosophy, especially "On Practice", "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From", and "On Contradiction".

PART 1. SURVEY OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

KEY CONCEPTS

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

REQUIRED READINGS

1. M.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: M. Allison Davis and Deep South", in Harvard Educational Review, (1974).

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 USA 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 to an approach which 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 Black liberation movement.

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 research.
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 a historical novel.
10. Richard Wright, "How Bigger Was Born" in Saturday Review; a novelist describes his sociological study of several Black people to develop the characters in his social protest novel.

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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 does in all social systems--develop 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.

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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.
3. L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, Colonialism: A Bibliographical Guide (1973); a useful bibliography by two racist white scholars at Stanford's Hoover Institute.
4. John S. Mbiti, African Religion and Philosophies (1971); deals mostly with traditional concepts and practices in societies which were neither Christian nor Muslim prior to the colonization of Africa.
5. B.O. Ogot 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. 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.
9. Joseph A. Tillinghast, The Negro in Africa and America, (1902, 1968); often cited as the best example of racist scholarship on this topic.
10. Galbraith Welch, Africa Before They Came (1965); a thorough and easily read survey of Africa preceding the invasion of colonial powers. Good documentation.

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 historical forces 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 throughout the world. The object of these global operations of capitalism was to secure profits, raw materials, and markets for finished products. Imperialism as a system of international exploitation still characterizes the 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 | Industrialization |
| Capitalism | Monopoly Capitalism |
| Exploitation | Political Economy |
| Feudalism | Technology |
| Imperialism | Urbanization |

REQUIRED READINGS

1. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Communist Manifesto, Part I
2. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Chapters 1-6.

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. Pierre Jalée, 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 Beginner's 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 U.S. 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.

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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 | Middle Passage |
| Commerce | Seasoning slaves |
| Freedman | Slave Codes |
| Industrial Revolution | Slave Revolts |
| Manumission | 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).

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SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Herbert Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts (1943); a good summary of the many revolts unheralded by slaves to protest exploitation and oppression.
2. Arna Bontemps, Great Slave Narratives (1969); a collection of three slave narratives, and often forgotten and valuable source for Black perspectives on slavery. Bontemps' introduction is a useful comment 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 scientists seeks to demonstrate that the white anti-slavery fighter "of all Americans has 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 giant of a survey of primary documents to establish the forces which led to the end of the US 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. Eugene Genovese, The Political Economy of Slavery (1965); a series of studies on various aspects of the economy and society of the slave South.
7. 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.
8. Herbert S. Klein, Slavery in the Americas, A Comparative Study of Cuba and Virginia (1967); maintains that instituted factors like the Catholic Church operated to make slavery less harsh and racist. "The dynamics of

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9. unopposed capitalism" and extreme racism influenced slavery in America.
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.

5. WHAT IS THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE USA? (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 Class | Proletariat Racism Role |
| Lumpen-proletariat Migration Petty Bourgeoisie (middle class) | Stratification Tenancy-Sharecropping |

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. James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle (1970); a collection of essays written by a former auto worker and political activist in Detroit.
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 the 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.

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. 500 corporations produce 75% of all the goods in the USA and collect 75% of all the profits. 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 of 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 | Economic Nationalism |
| Black Capitalism | Negro Business League |
| Buy Black | Project OMN |
| Cooperatives | Reparations |
| Double Duty Dollar | Self-help |

REQUIRED READING

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

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Ronald Bailey, Black Business Enterprise (1971): a comprehensive collection of readings on historical and current discussions of this aspect of Black economic development, including such topics as Black capitalism, economic separation versus integration, community economic development, etc.
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. Frank G. Davis, The Economics of Black Community Development, (1972); an attempt by a Black economist to develop a program for autonomous growth and development for Black communities in the framework of US monopoly capitalism.

5. 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.

6. 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.

7. 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.

8. 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.

9. Bennett Harrison, "Ghetto Economic Development: A Survey" Journal of Economic Literature, (March 1974); a very comprehensive and useful bibliographical survey of 217 references.
10. 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.

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

Black people can now participate in all aspects of American politics--as elected politicians and appointed officials on 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.

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KEY CONCEPTS

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Community Control | Political Repression |
| Electoral Politics | Political science |
| Fascism | Proportional Representation |
| Gerrymandering | Third party movements |
| Government | Voter Registration |
| (federal/state/local) | |

REQUIRED READINGS

1. Ralph Bunche, "The Negro in the Political Life of the U.S.," Journal of Negro Education (July, 1941), Robbs-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. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (1967); good reading for information on what the Black power struggle for political reform in the 1960's was all about.
3. Lenora 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 operated to disenfranchise Blacks in the South.

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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 available.
8. Ralph Hader Congress Project, Who Runs Congress? (1972); one of several reports by "Hader's Raiders" which presents evidence that big business controls the U.S. Congress. See also their report, The Closed Enterprise System (1972).
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 under which Black people were introduced into the United States and the historical

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cal 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 | Invisible Institution |
| Assimilation | Religious Denominations |
| Call and Response | Secularization |
| Gospel | Social cohesion |
| Institutional Church | Storefront |

REQUIRED READING

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

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. E. Wilbur Bock, "The Decline of the Negro Clergy: Changes in the Formal Religious Leadership in the U.S. in the Twentieth Century," Phylon, XXIX (Spring, 1968).
2. St. Clair Drake, The Redemption of Africa and Black Religion (1970); a wide-ranging and useful discussion of the historical role of religion and the church in the political struggle in the Black Diaspora (or Pan-African world).

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3. 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.
4. Charles S. Johnson (ed.), God Struck Me Dead, Religious Conversion Experiences and Autobiographies of Ex-Slaves (1945).
5. Robert S. Lecky and H. Elliott 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".
6. 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.
7. Gerald A. McMorter, "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.
8. Joseph R. Washington, The Politics of God: The Future of Black Churches (1967) and Black Religion: The Negro And Christianity in the U.S. (1964); descriptions of the shortcomings of both Black and white churches in the civil rights struggles and suggests programs for change, by a Black minister.
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.

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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 | Intelligence (I.Q.) Tests |
| Educational Philanthropy | Liberal Arts |
| Freedmans Bureau | School Desegregation |
| Industrial Education | "Separate-But-Equal" |
| | Talented Tenth |

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REQUIRED READINGS

John Sekora, "Murder Relentless and Impassive: The American Academic Community and the Negro College," Soundings

Tim Thomas, "The Student Movement at Southern University," Freedomsays, (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; 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. McMurter, 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 Crises 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 (NALA), 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.

10. WHAT IS THE SOCIAL ROLE OF BLACK ART AND CULTURE?
(BLACK CULTURE AND BLACK LIBERATION)

Black culture is an integral and essential component of the struggle for Black liberation. Culture is important because it grows from the physical and historical reality of a people, can play a key role in interpreting this reality, and is useful in the movement to change society in the interests of the masses of people. The poems, songs, stories, plays and novels of Black cultural artists during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920's and during the Depression of the 1930's were powerful Black voices for a positive Black identity and Black liberation. But the 1970's is only beginning to exhibit this much needed advance over the Black cultural work that characterized the 1920's and 30's. This lag can be traced in part to the failure of Black artists to scientifically study and understand the concrete experiences of the masses of Black people, and to portray these experiences and the causes of the problems facing Black people. Another important factor is the control of the mass media--television and radio, book, magazine and newspaper publishing, the recording industry--by the US ruling class. The control of US imperialism is strengthened by dominating and controlling the cultural expression and resistance of Black people (and other oppressed people) and by fostering racism and other divide-and-conquer schemes among the oppressed, preventing unity among the masses in struggle against a common exploiter. However, there are many contemporary examples of efforts to resist this domination.

KEY CONCEPTS

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Art | Harlem Renaissance |
| Assimilation | Jazz |
| Black Art Movement | Mass Culture |
| Cultural Aggression | Mass Media |
| Cultural Resistance | Values |

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REQUIRED READINGS

Atila Cabral, "Culture and National Liberation," in Return to the Source, (1973).
Richard Wright, "Blueprint for Negro Liberation," in John A. Williams and Charles Harris, Amistad I (1971).
Thomas Porter, "The Social Roots of Afro-American Music, 1950-1970," Freedomsays, (Third Quarter, 1971).

Putt 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.

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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.

11. 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 trace the development of the Black Panther Party.
3. James Forman, The Making of Black Revolutionaries (1972); an autobiographical account, this book is also a detailed 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 FEPC, (1957); a useful account of the first March on Washington.
5. Charles F. Kelllog, 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 Rudwick, 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. Arvahn E. Strickland, History of the Chicago Urban League (1966); a valuable study illustrating Urban League activities on a local level.

10. Mao Tse-lung, 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.

12. 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 solutions to the problems of Black people such as the creation of a Black business owning middle class (Black capi-

talism), 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.

KEY CONCEPTS

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Back-to-Africa Movements | Race |
| Nation | Self-Determination |
| National Liberation | Reactionary Nationalism |
| Hegeitude | Revolutionary Nationalism |
| Pan-Africanism | 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. John H. Bracey, Jr., August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, (ed.), Black Nationalism in America (1970); an anthology of nationalist writings from 1787-1969, with a good bibliography.
3. 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.
4. Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey (1925); the best work of the nationalist views of the Garvey movement.
5. Leot 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.
6. Martin Kilson and Adelaide Hill, Apogee of Africa: Afro-American Leaders and the Romance of Africa, (1971); a useful collection of writings by Black people which portray the historical development of opinion and sentiment toward Africa.
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 Bapetu 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.

13. 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 Contacts in the Modern World (1957).

31

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

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (1954); a traditional summation of liberal interpretation of empirical studies of prejudice.
2. 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.
3. John Hope Franklin, 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.
4. Thomas F. Gossett, Race: The History of An Idea in America (1965); a social intellectual history of racial theories in the US to World War II.
5. 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)

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7. Ashley Montagu, Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race (1965); the most comprehensive study of race and racial theories by an anthropologist.
 8. 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.
 9. *Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement," Harvard Educational Review, Harvard Educational Review (Winter, 1969).
 10. *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.

14. HOW IS THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT RELATED TO THE 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. by F. 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.
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 6th Pan African Congress," (July-August, 1974); "The Role of Women in the Revolution," (March, 1975).
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.
15. WHAT PROGRAM WILL LEAD TO FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL 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

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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 struggle, and socialist revolution--national liberation. Each program must be analyzed scientifically and judged on the basis of the historical experiences of Black people, the realities of the modern world, and the effectiveness of 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, (September, 1974).
 Operation Push, "An Economic Bill of Rights," Review of Black Political Economy, (Fall, 1972).
 Mark Smith, "A Response to Haki Madhubuti," Black Scholar, (January-February, 1975).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

1. African Liberation Support Committee Handbook of Struggle (1974); a document representing the statement of unity and view of Africa by an anti-imperialist support group.

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PART II: FOUNDATIONS OF BLACK SOCIAL THOUGHT

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 Street, 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 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. Eric Perkins, ed., Special 40-page section on "The League of Revolutionary Black Workers and the Coming of Revolution," in Radical America (March-April, 1971); the League was one of the first new revolutionary communist 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 experiences by Black people in the last 100 years. The purpose is to build on the survey (Part I) of topics with an indepth 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) re-presents a model of methodology and technique that serves to direct future investigation; (C) draws from the analysts 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) enables one to take an active role in struggle to liberate Black people and fundamentally change the nature of American society.

METHODOLOGY

The general methodology is the same as outlined in Part I. Where three topics are assigned below on Reconstruction and Social Class, 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 Bookstores--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. Index to Periodical Articles By and About Negroes, (Hattie Q. Brown Memorial Library, Central State University), annual.
3. James McPherson, Blacks in America: A Bibliographical Essay, (Doubleday, 1977).
4. Elizabeth Miller, The Negro in America: A Bibliography, (Harvard, 1970).
5. Harry A. Ploski, Afro-USA: A Reference Work on the Black Experience, (Bellwether, 1970).
6. Dorothy Porter, The Negro in the US, (Xerox Publications, 1969).

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D. Periodicals--Journals, magazines, and newspapers (especially back issues as well as current ones) should be included 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 two of the four topics 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.

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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 effective 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.

Rationale

M.E.R. Dubois, in the last chapter of Black Reconstruction, discusses what he has termed "The Propaganda of History." He states:

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"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 our 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.

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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.

WORK HARD! FURTHER THE ANALYSIS!

RECONSTRUCTION

A. Required Reading: W.E.B. Dubois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880 (New York, Atheneum, 1935).

B. Questions for Discussion and Research:

1. Were the economic factors, i.e., the production relations (class struggles) and production forces (technology, industrial growth, 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. Aerutheus A. Taylor, The Negro in Tennessee 1865-1880 (1941)
9. Allen M. Trelease, White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan - Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction (1971)
10. Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890 (1947)

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RURAL-URBAN LIFE

- A. Required reading: St Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City (Harcourt Bruce, 1945).
- Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (University of Chicago Press, 1934)
- B. Question 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?

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

RURAL

1. Walter F. White, Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch (1929, on lynching)
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. Ilyian Lewis, Blackways of Kent (1955)

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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 Country (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 Getto: 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 Nations 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)

SOCIAL CLASS

A. Required Readings:

1. Abram L. Harris and Sterling D. Spero, The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement, (1931).
2. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States (1957)

B. Questions for Discussion and Research:

1. Harris and Spero wrote "the obstacles which economic 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. what 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 De A. 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, ed., 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 (Spring, 1959).
7. Joseph A. Pierce, Negro Business and Business Education (1943).
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).

BLACK AUTOBIOGRAPHY

A. Required Readings:

1. Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, (1901).
2. Autobiography of Malcolm X, (1965).

B. 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, 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).

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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).

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 5747, Nashville, TN., 37208 USA)
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.

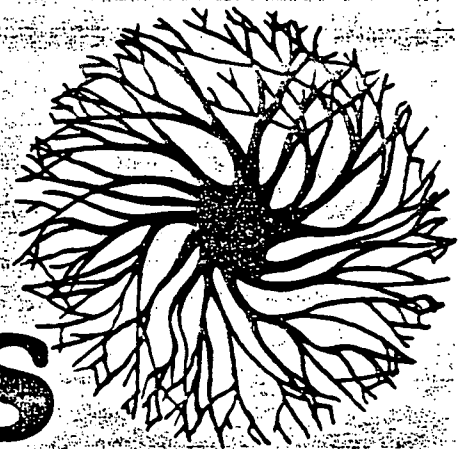
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6. JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY; a quarterly publication initiated by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1916.
7. MONTHLY REVIEW; a good source of commentary by radical social scientists, edited by political economists.
8. PEOPLES 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 5747, Nashville, In., 37208)
9. REVIEW OF BLACK POLITICAL ECONOMY; since 1970, one of the leading centers and journals 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, N.Y., 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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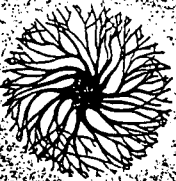
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PREFACE

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

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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. Amistead 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

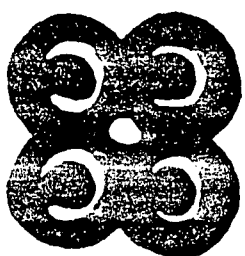
1. The study group should meet regularly, preferably once a week for 2-3 hours, and not be more than 15 people.
2. Each person should have access to the reading material (purchase or xerox), bring the required reading to the study session, and also have paper and pencil.
3. The group should have a consistent 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 Data | Intellectual/Student/Scholar |
| Empirical Research | Scientific Method |
| Historical Stages of Development | Society |
| Ideology | Socio-Economic Formation Theory |

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. Tillichast, 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 | Industrialization |
| Capitalism | Monopoly Capitalism |
| Exploitation | Political Economy |
| Feudalism | Technology |
| Imperialism | Urbanization |

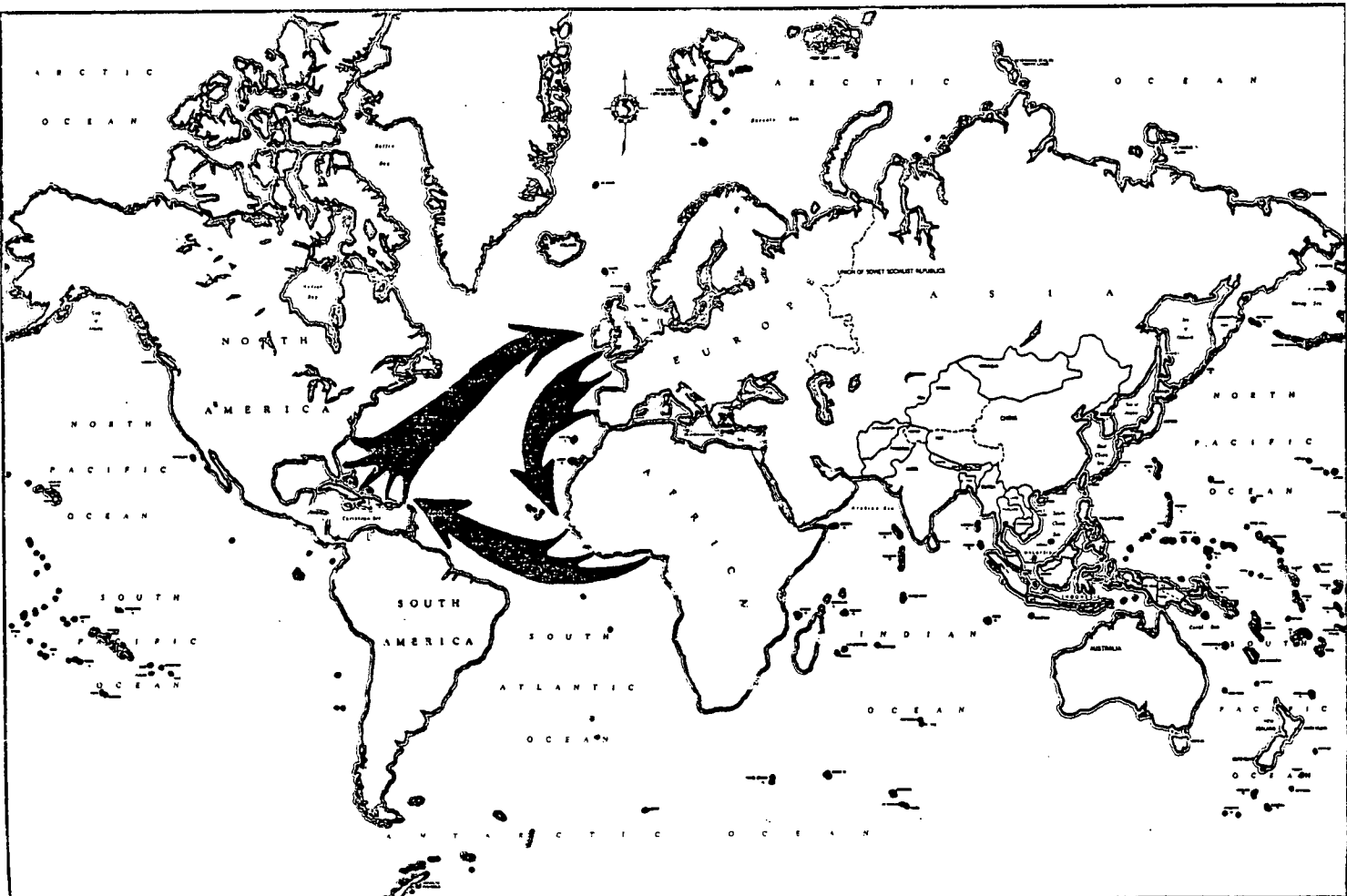
REQUIRED READINGS

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. Pierre 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 | Middle Passage |
| Commerce | Seasoning Slaves |
| Freedman | Slave Codes |
| Industrial Revolution | Slave Revolts |
| Manumission | Triangular Trade |

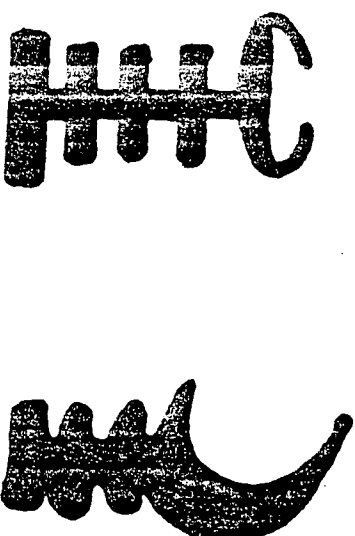
REQUIRED READINGS

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 (middle class) | Tenancy-Sharecropping |

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 BLACK CAPITAL CORPORATIONS

| RANK | COMPANY | SALES \$1000 |
|------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | Black & Veatch | 42,100,132 |
| 2 | Black & Veatch | 31,510,740 |
| 3 | Black & Veatch | 23,220,900 |
| 4 | Black & Veatch | 22,770,107 |
| 5 | Black & Veatch | 18,020,143 |
| 6 | Black & Veatch | 17,191,186 |
| 7 | Black & Veatch | 16,154,000 |
| 8 | Black & Veatch | 13,410,100 |
| 9 | Black & Veatch | 12,000,000 |
| 10 | Black & Veatch | 10,000,000 |
| 11 | Black & Veatch | 9,120,000 |
| 12 | Black & Veatch | 8,000,000 |
| 13 | Black & Veatch | 7,750,000 |
| 14 | Black & Veatch | 7,150,000 |
| 15 | Black & Veatch | 6,000,000 |
| 16 | Black & Veatch | 5,000,000 |
| 17 | Black & Veatch | 4,000,000 |
| 18 | Black & Veatch | 3,000,000 |
| 19 | Black & Veatch | 2,000,000 |
| 20 | Black & Veatch | 1,000,000 |

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 Economic Nationalism
Black Capitalism Negro Business League
Buy Black Project OWN
Cooperatives Reparations
Double Duty Dollar Self-Help

REQUIRED READING

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

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

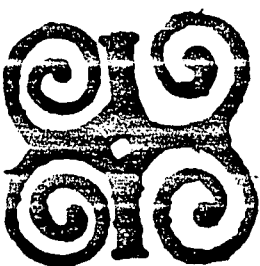
1. Ronald Bailey, (ed.), Black Business Enterprise, (1971);
a comprehensive collection of readings on historical and

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 institutions (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 | Political Repression |
| Electional Politics | Political Science |
| Fascism | Proportional Representation |
| Gerrymandering | Third Party Movements |
| Government | Voter Registration |
| (Federal/State/Local) | |

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. Stokely 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. Lennell 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 | Invisible Institution |
| Assimilation | Religious Denominations |
| Call and Response | Secularization |
| Gospel | Social Cohesion |
| Institutional Church | 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, (1902); 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 | Intelligence (I.Q.) Tests |
| Curriculum | Liberal Arts |
| Educational Philanthropy | School Desegregation |
| Freedmans Bureau | "Separate-But-Equal" |
| Industrial Education | Talented Tenth |

REQUIRED READINGS

John Sekora, "Murder Relentless and Impassive: The American

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

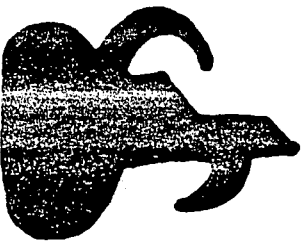
Tim Thomas, "The Student Movement At Southern University," Freedomways, (First Quarter, 1973).

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

10. 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 | |
|--|--------------|--------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| | Num-ber | Me-dian family in-come in 1973 | Num-ber | Me-dian family in-come in 1973 | Num-ber | Me-dian family in-come in 1973 |
| Total children | 63,542 | \$12,799 | 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 | Marriage/Divorce |
| Equal Pay for Equal Work | Matriarchy/Patriarchy |
| Family | Sexism |
| Feminism | Sex Roles |
| Male Chauvinism | 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: /ement:

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. Létuan, "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.

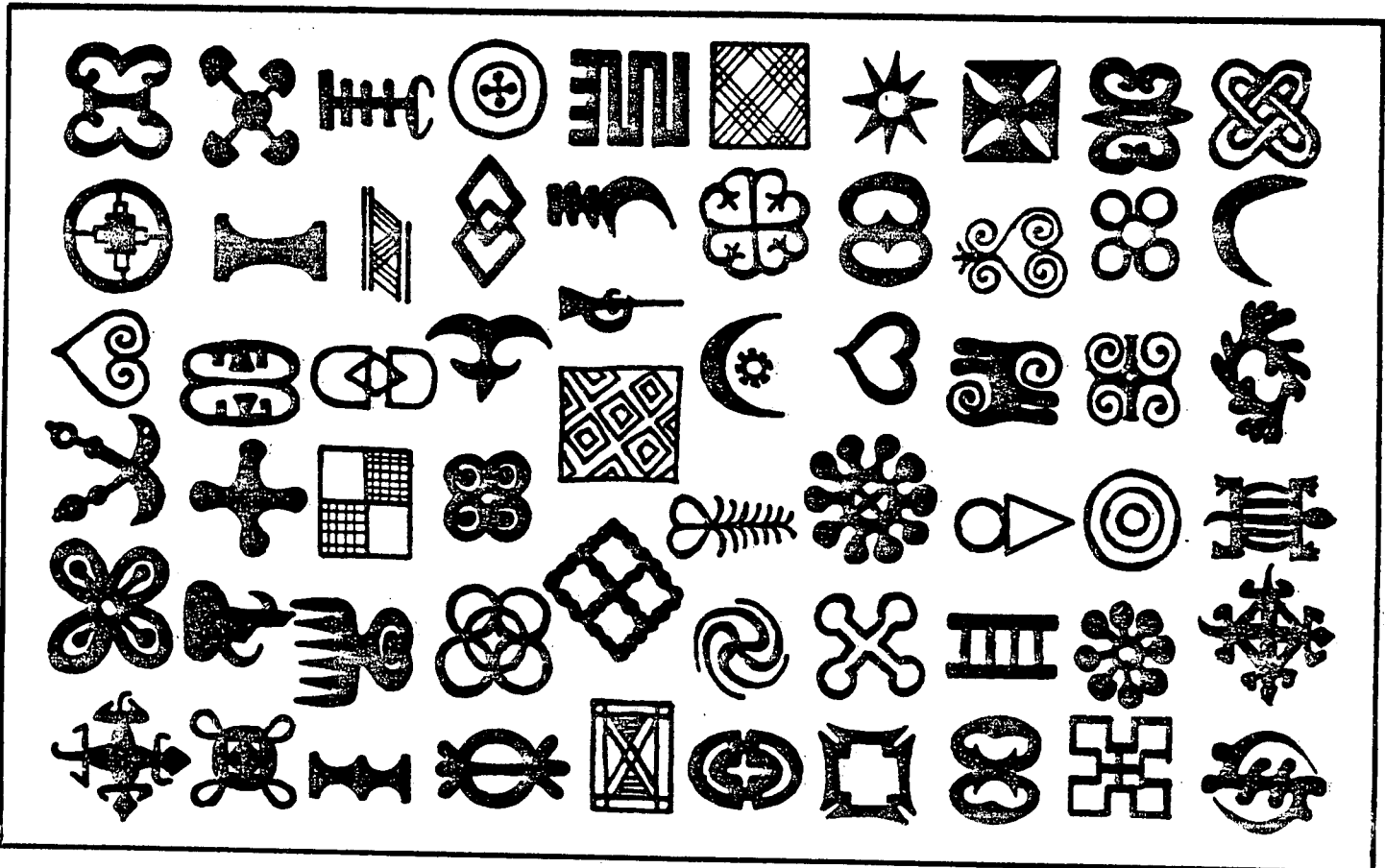
6. Joyce Ladner, Tomorrow's Tomorrow, (1971); a descriptive account of sex role socialization of young Black teenage women in a St. Louis housing project.

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 | Harlem Renaissance |
| Assimilation | Jazz |
| Black Art Movement | Mass Culture |
| Cultural Aggression | Mass Media |
| Cultural Resistance | Values |

REQUIRED READINGS

- Amílcar 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).

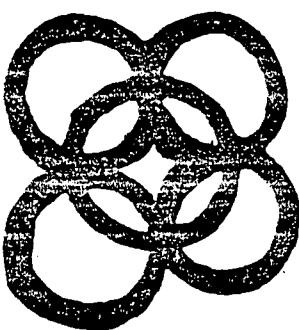
SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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 art 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 |
| Bougeois 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. Kelllog, MAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Negroes, (1967); an authoritative work on the first decade of the MAACP, (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 exist 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 | Race |
| Nation | Self-Determination |
| National Liberation | Reactionary Nationalism |
| Negritude | Revolutionary Nationalism |
| Pan-Africanism | 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

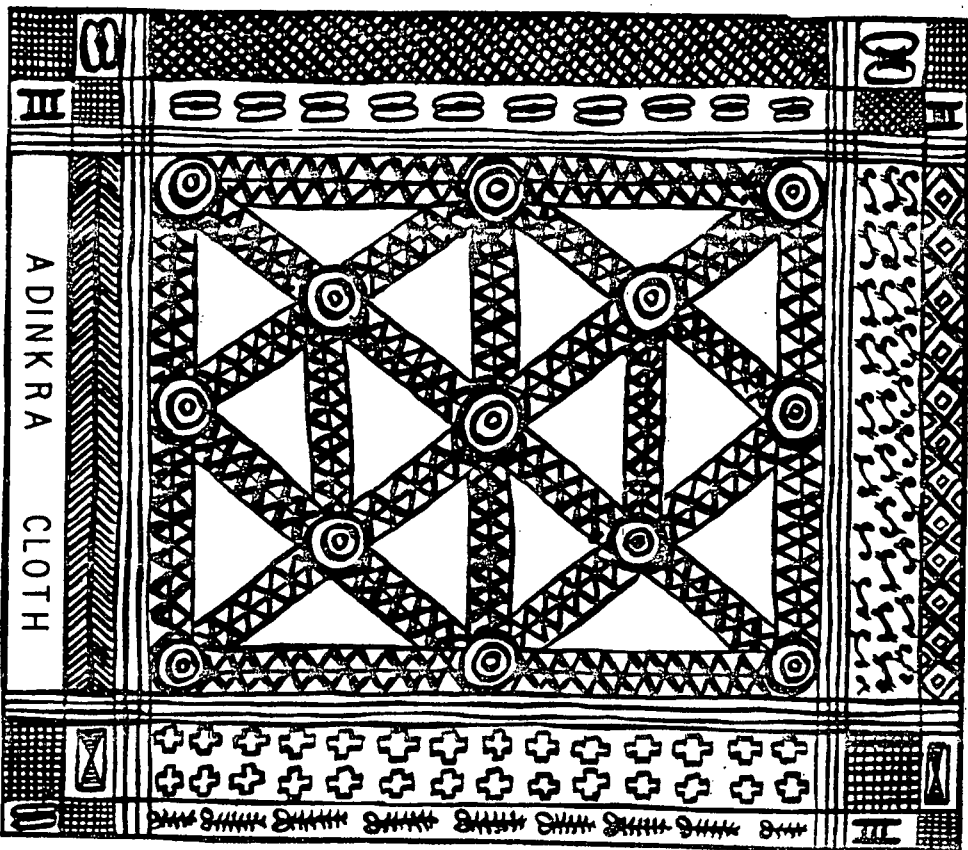
| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Anti-Imperialist Struggle | Militant |
| Armed Struggle | Race vs. Class Controversy |
| Black Liberation Movement | Reform |
| Coalition | Socialist Revolution |
| General Crisis of Imperialism | United Front |

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 Georgakas 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 context of the Black 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 Lynching).
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

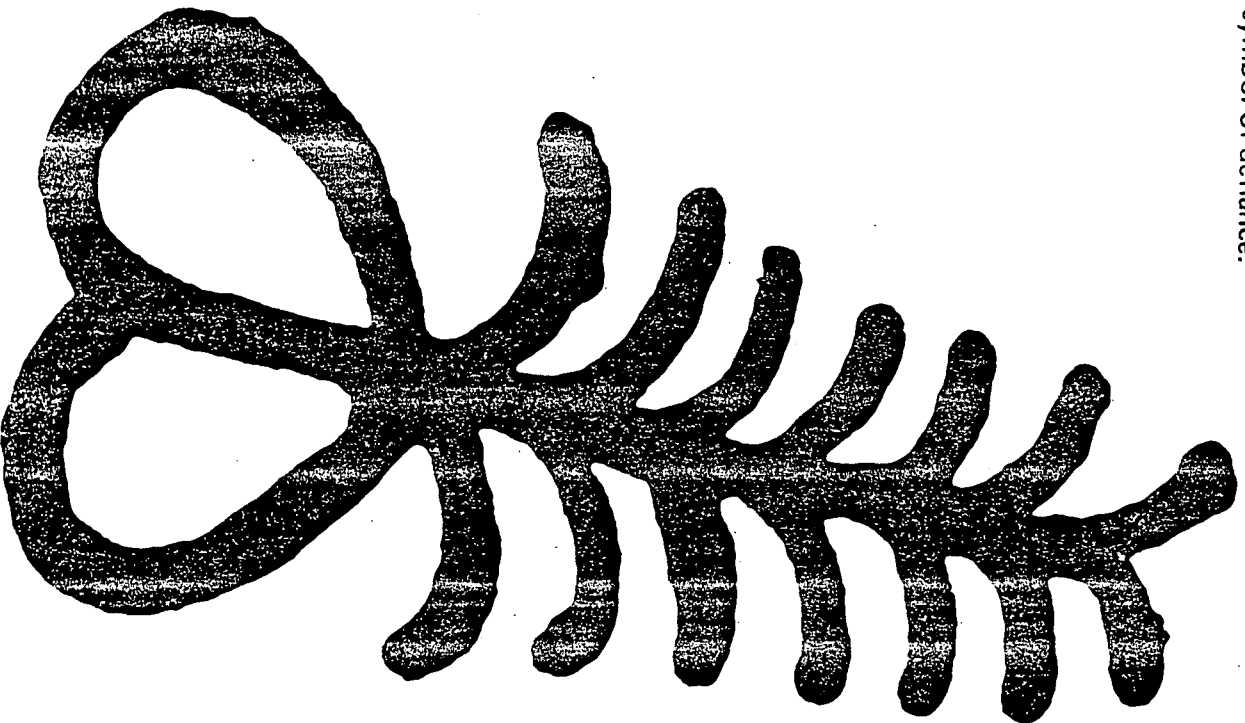
1. W.E.B. DuBois, The Negro Artisan, (1902).
2. Phillip S. Foner, Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973, (1974).
3. Herbert R. Garfinkel, When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC, (1959).

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, (1927).

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. 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 firm).
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 administering 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).

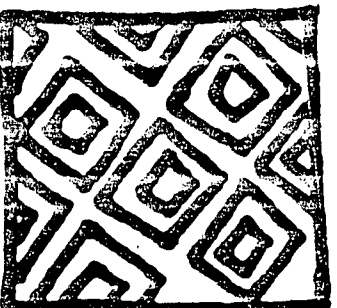
QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

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)

SOURCES FOR AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES
(Write each for up to date catalogue and prices.)

TRICONTINENTAL FILM CENTER
P.O. Box 4430, Berkeley, CA, 94704
244 West 27th St., New York, NY, 10001

IMPACT FILMS
144 Bleeker Street
New York, N.Y. 10012

NEW YORKER FILMS
43 West 61st Street
New York, NY, 10023

AUDIO BRANDON FILMS
8400 Brookfield Ave.,
Brookfield, IL 60513

THIRD WORLD NEWSREEL
26 West 20th Street
New York, NY, 10011

AFRICAN WORLD RESOURCE CENTER (Films)
P.O. Box 2413
Washington, D.C., 20013

PAREDON RECORDS
P.O. Box 889
Brooklyn, NY, 11212

FOLKWAYS RECORDS
701 7th Avenue
New York, New York 10036

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CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL OF BLACK STUDIES

ISSUE TITLE: "STANDARDIZING AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES CURRICULA"

As follow up to the publication of Introduction to Afro-American Studies (Peoples College Press, 1975), a special issue of the Journal of Black Studies will focus on standardizing Afro-American Studies curricula. This is another step in continuing the widespread collective discussion among Black scholars on ways to strengthen our work in this important area. A standardized curriculum used widely across the U.S. will increase our capacity to better serve Black students and respond to the mounting attacks against Black Studies. As an active person in Black Studies, WE NEED YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS GROWING DISCUSSION.

The special issue will consist of theoretical articles and statements on the question of standardization, using Introduction to Afro-American Studies as one possible model. Contributions will be made by Black scholars who are specialists in library science, higher education administration, the humanities and the social sciences. Most important, however, is your contribution as one of several from around the country. Your statement should cover the following points.

- (1) What is your view of the need to standardize Afro-American Studies curricula?
- (2) How does Introduction to Afro-American Studies, as one approach to standardization, compare with other courses and curriculum development efforts?
- (3) Is Introduction to Afro-American Studies useful for your particular program and work--as an introductory or core course outline, as a course reference as a general handbook for majors and minors, etc.?

All statements must be limited to 5 pages (typed, double-spaced) and mailed by March 1, 1976 to:

Peoples College Press
P.O. Box 7696
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Please inform us if you will participate in this effort. Your participation will provide the basis for future cooperation in strengthening our work in Afro-American Studies.

In the spirit of service to Black people,
Peoples College Press



Peoples College Press

P.O. BOX 7696 • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680 • USA

March, 1976

Dear Colleague:

You received an invitation to contribute to a special issue of the *Journal of Black Studies* on the issue of "Standardizing a Curriculum for Afro-American Studies." We received your acceptance but we have not received your written work.

We are requesting an immediate response - we have received some, but we want your work in this. Check the following newspaper clip and ask yourself if you should respond.

Question minority studies

Grinnell College in Iowa, which was among the first white academic institutions to establish a black admissions program, has tossed overboard the policy. The faculty acted after receiving advice from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and being told of a court decision upsetting a similar system at the University of California.

Under the Grinnell system, a Black Admissions Board was set up to make decisions on applications from marginal black applicants. The faculty voted a few days ago to "disestablish" the board, which consisted of a part-time black admissions official and two black faculty members. As a result, all black candidates will be judged on the same basis as whites.

The trend today in many universities is against special admission procedures for racial minority students. Faculty deans frown on the emphasis given to black studies courses. They are dropping such departments on two grounds: no funds to sustain them and not enough student interest to justify the continuity of an unnecessary financial expenditure. The irony of the whole experiment is that black students themselves have dropped out of the black studies courses.

We'll be looking for your response within a week.

For our people, we thank you.

Peoples College

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS, HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS.

Chicago Defender - Feb. 23, 1976

National Endowment for the Humanities
Division of Education Programs
Education Projects Program
Summary Form

H- _____

Cornell University

Name of the institution or organization Africana Studies and Research Center
State in which the institution or organization is located New York
Name of proposed project director Ronald Bailey, Assistant Professor
Title of proposed project Curriculum Development and Institutional Cooperation in Afro-American Studies
Proposed time frame From: November, 1976 To: December, 1978
1. Amount requested from NEH for the first year \$95,619
Amount requested from NEH for the second year 93,656
Total amount requested from NEH 189,275
Total amount of cost-sharing 21% (48,702)

Text of summary (You may use this space only.) (See pp. 6-7 of attached instructions.)

Purpose: The project will develop an introductory undergraduate course and text material in Afro-American Studies.

Approach: The course will be inter-disciplinary, drawing on the perspectives and methodology of the humanities and the social sciences. It will consist of sixteen learning modules covering such themes as the history and method of Afro-American Studies, an historical overview of the Black experience from Africa to the present, and issues facing the Black community in the context of the modern world.

Activities: Course materials will be completed during the first six months by the project staff and consultants. After evaluation and revision, a summer institute will be conducted to train a group of college teachers who will implement the course in Fall, 1977. Consortia of institutions in three state and/or local areas will be organized to implement the course and survey supplementary resources in Afro-American Studies in their areas.

Participants: Four faculty members and a doctoral student as staff coordinator will operate at Cornell University. Professors from Stanford University (California), University of Illinois (Chicago Circle), and Wayne State University (Michigan) will co-operate in developing the course and in teaching the curriculum developed.

Evaluation: Professional organizations in Afro-American Studies will be asked to appoint a panel to evaluate the materials developed. The summer institute and the curriculum committees of several universities which have agreed to teach the introductory course will also evaluate the course.

Dissemination: Presentations have already been made to several professional conferences and a forthcoming special issue of a national journal will focus on the outline of the proposed course. Follow-up presentations have been tentatively arranged to report on the materials developed. Dissemination of 1,000 copies of the final product and the supplementary guides is planned.

Institutional Commitment: Cornell University's 20% share of costs parallels a similar commitment from host institutions for the local consortia (2nd year). At the project's end, Cornell and other institutions will incorporate the course materials.

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

1. Purpose

The purpose of this project is to further develop, test, and disseminate an undergraduate introductory course and text material in Afro-American Studies. This course would be suitable for adoption as a standardized course on a national level. The project will also encourage and organize local cooperative efforts among institutions of higher education and other institutions (libraries, museums, research centers, etc.) to evaluate and implement the curriculum developed and to compile additional guides to supplementary resources in Afro-American Studies for the local area in which they operate.

This project is an aspect of on-going efforts to strengthen the contribution that programs and courses in Afro-American Studies can make to higher education. This is being accomplished primarily through systematically reviewing and evaluative existing curricula and developing new curriculum models that provide a sound intellectual basis for sustaining the innovations that Black Studies has introduced into the educational process. The standardized curriculum proposed herein is the core of effective scholarship and intellectual work in Afro-American Studies. The project will directly improve the quality of the learning opportunities available to students. It will have additional impact in structuring a more efficient context in which Afro-American Studies operates. A standardized introductory course and model curriculum will enable the more effective utilization of available resources by facilitating long-range programming and planning.

Office of the Director
Center for Black Studies
Santa Barbara, California 93106

September 14, 1976

TO: Seminar, Center for Black Studies

RE: The Standardization of Curriculum in Black Studies

A. Social, Political and Economic Process

1. Black Studies is an emerging discipline

- (a) origin and innovation
- (b) experimentation
- (c) codification and standardization
- (d) institutionalization

2. Problems facing Black Studies

(a) External

- 1. Rise and fall of the Black liberation movement
- 2. Fiscal crisis of the university
- 3. Job crisis and vocational shifts
- 4. Rise of women's movement and shift in funding priorities

(b) Internal

- 1. Supply and demand of faculty
- 2. Generational crisis of Black scholars
- 3. Rise and fall of student interest and action
- 4. Academic versus service function

3. Development of Introduction to Afro-American Studies

- (a) Fisk University: Team approach in new Freshman Interdisciplinary Program
- (b) National Discussion: PCOI and Brown Book (1st Edition)
- (c) Green Book (2nd Edition)
- (d) Experimentation: e.g., University of Illinois (exam)
- (e) Further experimentation
- (f) 3rd Edition

4. Toward Standardization

- (a) Establish need
- (b) Collective input
- (c) Legitimation
- (d) Adoption

B. Content of Introduction to Afro-American Studies

1. "An extensive survey of major questions, concepts, and research,"
 - (a) What is Afro-American Studies? - history and method
 - (b) Development of the contemporary situation pre-capitalist Africa, the development of capitalism in Europe, the African slave trade and slavery, and the social structure of Black people in the U. S.
 - (c) Institutions: Church, school, politics, culture
 - (d) Issues: role of women, nationalism, racism, Black liberation
2. "Extensive examination of several classics of Black social analysis." Classics can be seen in the same tradition as "The Great Books of the Western World," or the lists

developed by graduate programs as basic readings in subfields. (See definition of classics on p. 46 of Introduction). In "Foundations of Black Social Thought," the classics focus on the modal experiences of Black people--what most Black people experienced at particular stages in history:

Reconstruction

DuBois, Black Reconstruction

Rural/Urban

Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation

Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis

Class Structure of Black People

Harris and Spero, The Black Worker

Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie

Autobiography

Washington, Up From Slavery

Autobiography of Malcolm X

3. Teaching Methodology

11/30/76

NOTES ON THE PC ANALYSIS OF BLACK STUDIES

1. Introduction
2. General historical development
 - a. enrollment
 - b. institutional development
 - c. intellectual development: schools of thought, individuals
3. Current Phases of Development
 - a. Civil rights: the negation of the negation
 - b. nationalism and a new dialectic
 - c. innovation: the turbulent origins of Black Studies
 - d. Experimentation: changing structures and processes
 - e. the current crisis
4. Black Studies in California
 - a. Material sketch of Calif (demography, and pol econ)
 - b. enrollment and faculty trends
 - c. higher education
 - d. forms of programs
 - e. intellectual content of programs
 - f. summation: what are the main contradictions, and prin. one
5. Towards a Fighting Solution to a Key Problem
 - a. The necessary conditions for a solution
 - b. INTRO
 - c. Unity with third world and movement groups (unions, etc)
 - d. organization and the masses
 - e. summation of experience
6. Appendix
 - a. tables of data
 - b. annotated bibliography

CONFERENCE CALL

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY: THE SURVIVAL OF BLACK STUDIES

The late 1960s and early 1970s was a period of great struggles by the masses of Black people. The Black liberation movement was at a high point. It was in this context that Black Studies achieved wide popularity through the struggle of Black students and teachers fighting to make their curriculum relevant to the needs of Black people. No other struggle has has such lasting impact on Black people in higher education.

Black Studies has undergone two stages in its development since the late 1960s. The initial demands for the creation of courses and the establishment of programs signalled the state of innovation. Few schools in the U.S. with Black students enrolled escaped the just demands that the Black experience be included as a permanent addition to the curriculum. The second stage of experimentation began as the movement gained broad support and many of its demands were met. A wide variety of courses, programs, and other arrangements aimed at carrying out the initial goals projected by the innovators were initiated.

California is the leading state in the U.S. in higher education--more students, and more money spent than any other state. There are also more Black students in higher education in California than in any other state. It is understandable, therefore, that the Black Studies movement in California was and is a pace-setter in Black Studies for the entire nation over the last decade. Understanding both the form and content of the struggle for Black Studies in the U.S., and pushing the development of Black Studies to the next stage.

The history of Black Studies in California illustrate this. The San Francisco State College struggle in 1968-69 saw the unity of Black students and the Third World Liberation Front in leading a campus-wide strike of many students support the demands for an autonomous Black Studies department. In Southern California, the struggle between the Black Panthers and the US organization focussed on the control of the Black Studies program at UCLA and it has recently been revealed that this struggle was infiltrated by paid agent-provocateurs as part of the general political repression that was launched against the Black liberation movement. As a community college, Merritt College's Afro-American Studies Program came to symbolize the dynamic interaction between learning to struggle and struggling to learn that characterized the rise of Black Studies.

CRISIS!! CUTBACKS!! ATTACKS!! Today, these war words which best describe the situation facing Black people in higher education in California (and throughout the country). The Bakke decision of the California courts is a death blow aimed at programs which seek to overcome the education disadvantages heaped on Black people and Third World peoples in the past years. Under the guise of budget deficits and academic review, university and college administrations are moving decisively to dismantle Black Studies programs, cut back their funding, reduce financial aid and supportive services to Black students, and deny tenure and promotion to Black faculty and staff. Overt political repression is increasing: college officials at Los Angeles Trade Technical College have admitted using electronic surveillance to spy on Black Students. At the same time, however, William Shockley and Arthur Jensen continue to enjoy privileged tenured status at Stanford and ^{U.C.} Berkeley as a base of operations to spread their blatantly racist views about the inherent genetic "intellectual deficit" of Black people.

The response to these attacks by many Black students has been the same as that which created Black Studies in the first place--STRUGGLE! As the Los Angeles Times recently reported: "The feeling that Black and ethnic studies

programs born of minority student demands in the late 1960s for "relevant" college curriculums--are being nit-picked into extinction has led to demonstrations at UC Santa Barbara, UCLA, California State University campuses at Fresno, Los Angeles, and San Jose and the Claremont Colleges. The articles goes on to portray the views of many Black students, faculty, and staff regarding the attacks. "Charged with leading the attack are fiscally-minded, traditionally-oriented administrators who...never wanted the programs in the first place and who now are using such devices as the scarcity of dollars to slowly do away with them."

In the face of these attacks and the growing struggles against them, we have suddenly realized that we in Black Studies are not as united and organized as our attackers. Inside our programs--individually and collectively--we lack the strenght that can come from having a common platform from which to launch our counter attacks. Black Studies, during the stage of experimentation, developed out of the particular context of its own campus and therefore reflects the limitations of the physical, spiritual, intellectual, and financial resources of each campus. This is illustrated most clearly in the endless variety of courses offered in each program. As an emerging discipline, there has been little time to systematically organize existing knowledge of the Black experience and to implement extensive research efforts to fill the gaps, both of which are necessary for the development of a sound and effective curriculum. This process of standardization--developing a broad intellectual consensus around what should be taught as a core curriculum is how most emerging disciplines have had to establish their credibility and fight to secure its place in the university.

Thus, our failure as Black Studies personnel to develop a standardized and widely adopted core curriculum, because of the newness of our discipline, is understandable. But in the context of today's attacks and cutbacks, it is a luxury that we can not afford and will not be allowed us in the future.

In short, a broad-based standardized curriculum around which we can all unite is

the most effective base from which we can launch a new movement of academic excellence and social responsibility in Black Studies. Through this movement we can rekindle much needed community support and more effectively fight against the forces which seek to destroy our programs.

A standardized curriculum in Black Studies will enable us to better coordinate and utilize the few resources than we can struggle to maintain. Graduates of community colleges can more easily transfer credits to four year institutions if courses were standardized and their content and level could be ascertained. Scarce library resources can be focussed on building collections which serviced the needs of an expanding core curriculum in Black Studies. Teacher training and recruitment can be planned to filled specified curriculum needs. Program administration can be made more efficient because it can be based on long-term planning and budgeting with a clear view of where the program is headed. Special cooperative efforts in research and producing text materials can be developed since many publishers are not now as interested in meeting the need for quality text materials in Black Studies. Only through such broad-based and cooperative efforts that would flow from developing and implementing a standardized curriculum in Black Studies can we expect to weather the present storm and guide Black Studies in carrying out its initial mandate.

To facilitate the discussion of these vital concerns, the Center for Black Studies at the University of California in Santa Barbara invites you to a conference on "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility: The Survival of Black Studies." The conference will focus mainly on: (1) the analysis of Black Studies programs in California in the context of the national picture over the last decade; (2) the summation of the experiences of a representative sample of Black Studies programs in California--colleges and universities, public and private, four-year and community colleges. (3) Summation of experiences with various courses current-

ly in use nationally and in California as first steps in the process of standardizing the curriculum in Afro-American Studies.

Black Studies represented an important commitment in the 1960s. It intended not just to study and understand the world in which Black people lived but sought to contribute to the struggle to change and improve that world. NOW is the time to renew this commitment and to develop and implement a program of action to meet the new challenges of the mid 1970s and beyond.

JOIN US AT THE CONFERENCE!

CONFERENCE AGENDA

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES

FEBRUARY 24-26, 1977

1. Use this agenda to take notes, jot down questions, etc.
2. This is a working conference, so we encourage you to roll up your sleeves and get involved.

AGENDA OUTLINE

Thursday 2-24-77

- 3:00 Registration (Holiday Inn)
- 7:00 Conference Plenary (UCSB - Physics Building)
- 10:00 Hospitality Hour

Friday 2-25-77

- 8:00 Registration (all day - Holiday Inn)
- 9:00 Conference Panel (Holiday Inn)
- 12:00 Lunch (Holiday Inn)
- 1:30 Conference Panel (Holiday Inn)
- 3:30 Conference Workshops (Holiday Inn)
- 5:30 Conference Banquet (Holiday Inn)
- 7:00 Conference Plenary (Second Baptist Church)
26 E. Gutierrez-Santa Barbara)
- 10:00 Conference "Party" House of Barbeque

Saturday 2-26-77

- 9:00 Conference Summation Panel (UCSB - Physics Building)
- 12:00 Conference Adjourns

Thursday, February 24, 1977 - 7:00 p.m., Physics Building, U.C.S.B.

| | |
|--|--|
| Conference Charge: | Gerald A. McWorter Acting Director Center for Black Studies, U.C.S.B. |
| <u>Welcome Statements:</u> University: | Charles W. McKinney, Registrar - U.C.S.B. |
| Chairperson of Board, U.C.S.B. Center for Black Studies | Elliott Evans |
| Santa Barbara Black Community | Rev. L. Leander Wilkes |
| <u>Keynote Address:</u> | St. Clair Drake, Professor Emeritus Former Director, Afro-American Studies, Stanford University "ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES" |
| <u>Responses:</u> | Ebon Dooley, Atlanta University Bert Hammond, S. E. Anderson, State University of New York, Old Westbury |

Friday, February 25, 1977 9:00 a.m. Holiday Inn

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <u>Panel Topic:</u> | Perspectives on Black Studies in California: Theory and Practice |
| Panelists: | Carlene Young, San Jose State Jim Robinson, Cal State-Long Beach Pat Elmore, L. A. Harbor College James King, U. C. Davis |
| <u>Respondent:</u> | Robert Newby, Wayne State University (Detroit) Formerly at Stanford University |

Friday, February 25, 1977 1:30 p.m. Holiday Inn

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Panel Topic: | <u>Introduction to Afro-American Studies:</u> The Theory and practice of curriculum standardization in Black Studies |
|--------------|--|

Friday, February 25, 1977

continued

Panelists:

(Schools where Introduction to Afro-American Studies has been used or taught by these panelists are in parenthesis).

Ronald Bailey, U.C. Santa Barbara
(Fisk, Cornell, U.C.-Santa Barbara)

William Sales, Seton Hall University
(N.J.) (State University, Chicago State)

Linda Williams, Chicago State
(Cornell University, Chicago State)

Gregory Gaither, Student
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Dallas Riley, Student
U.C.-Santa Barbara

Gerald McWorter, U.C.-Santa Barbara
(Fisk, University of Illinois-Chicago Circle)

February 25, 1977

3:30 p.m.

Holiday Inn

Conference Workshop

1. THE LEGITIMATION-ARTICULATION CRISIS: TRANSFERRING COLLEGE CREDIT FOR BLACK STUDIES COURSES FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR YEAR COLLEGES

Arthur Scott, C.S.U.-Hayward
Pat Elmore, L.A. Harbor
David Lawyer, Santa Barbara City College
Jim Robinson, C.S.U.-Long Beach

2. STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT EXIST! BUILDE STRENGTH THROUGH COOPERATION IN STRUGGLE!

Charles Allums, Contra Costa
Bert Hammond, Cal. Poly Pomona
President, Calif. Black Faculty &
Staff Association
Mark Ealy, U. of Pacific
Executive Board, Member-at-Large,
National Council of Black Studies
Otis Scott, C.S.U.-Sacramento
Executive Board, Western Region
National Council of Black Studies

3. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Ronald Bailey, U.C.-Santa Barbara
Robert Newby, Wayne State University
William Edwards, U.C.-Santa Barbara
A. Yan Yansane, U.C.-Berkeley
Linda Williams, Chicago State University
Ebon Dooley, Atlanta University

4. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE HUMANITIES

Maryemma Graham, U.C.-Santa Barbara
Eddie Meadows, San Diego State
Elliott Evans, U.C.-Santa Barbara
Gerard Pigeon, U.C.-Santa Barbara
Geneva Smitherman, Wayne State University
Willie Collins, U.C.-Santa Barbara

5. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND AFRICA

Gerald McWorter, U.C.-Santa Barbara
Skyne Uku, C.S.U.-Long Beach
Ron Karenga, San Diego State
William Sales, Seton Hall University
Craig Howard, University of Massachusetts
Thomas D. Boston, Atlanta University

February, 25, 1977 7:00 p.m.

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Conference Plenary: | Black Studies and the Current State of the Black Liberation Movement |
| Main Speaker: | Gerald McWorter U.C.-Santa Barbara |
| Respondents: | M. Ron Karenga San Diego State |
| Open Discussion: | Conference Participants |

February 26, 1977 9:00 a.m. U.C.S.B. Physics Building

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Panel Topic: | Summation of Conference and "Where do we go from Here?" |
|--------------|--|

February 26, 1977

continued

Panelists:

Pat Siever, L. A. Mission
Thomas D. Boston, Atlanta University
Mark Ealy, University of Pacific
Jim Robinson, C.S.U.-Long Beach
Geneva Smitherman, Wayne State
University (Detroit)

Discussion:

Conference Participants

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM
FEBRUARY 24-26, 1977
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

C O N F E R E N C E W O R K S H O P S

The Conference Coordinating Committee (CCC) has conducted two pre-conference planning sessions (held in Los Angeles and Berkeley) with small groups of people active in the field of Black Studies. These were very successful meetings because they brought forward the particular concerns of different types of programs and they enabled people to get a better grasp of the initial intention of the CCC. A major result of these meetings has been the addition of workshops that focus on the specific concerns raised during the planning sessions and enable maximum participation and involvement. We hope that you will prepare for the workshop you select by organizing material that sums up your concrete experience. Please come to the conference to share your experiences. The CCC hopes that these workshops will promote unity by revealing common concerns from a diverse set of backgrounds. These workshops are not geared to a set of experts, but are specifically geared for the fullest possible exchange among conference participants.

I. THE LEGITIMATION-ARTICULATION CRISIS: TRANSFERRING COLLEGE CREDIT FOR BLACK STUDIES COURSES FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR YEAR COLLEGES

California has more community colleges and more Black community college students than any other state in the U. S. Most of these two-year colleges have Black Studies courses and many students transfer to four-year institutions. But, unfortunately, four-year institutions have often responded to two-year institutions as "junior partners" and not as full-fledged educational institutions with the same interest in academic excellence and social responsibility as others. For Black Studies programs and courses, this is compounded by racism in the society and in the university. How can standardization of courses increase the legitimacy of Black Studies at two-year and four-year institutions? Can standardization aid in the transfer of Black Studies credit between these institutions by creating a standard measure of course content and achievement? What are the responsibilities and capabilities of Black Studies programs at four-year institutions in cooperating with community colleges to increase the legitimacy and transferability of Black Studies courses?

II. STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT EXIST! BUILD STRENGTH THROUGH COOPERATION IN STRUGGLE!

Too often new Black organizations are formed before we are clear on what existing organizations are already doing. Often existing organizations are less than effective because they lack the maximum participation of concerned people who are committed to serious work. The aim of this conference is

not to build a new organization. But rather its aim is to address a particular concern--curriculum development and standardization--as one part of a problem that concerns us all. But we also must strengthen the organizations that exist, especially in light of the need for strong organizations that will struggle against current attacks against Black Studies programs. What are some of the Black Studies-related organizations in California and the U. S.? What are their activities and what efforts are being aimed at strengthening Black Studies through the standardization of curriculum? How can we build greater unity and strength in fighting the current attacks against Black Studies and Black people in higher education?

III. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

"Black people in the USA must develop a scientific approach to understanding and changing this society... In the final analysis, Afro-American Studies must serve the liberation struggle of Black people." Thus, the main focus of Introduction to Afro-American Studies is to study the historical development of modern (i.e., capitalist) society from the perspective of the social sciences: political economy, political science, sociology, and other disciplines. What makes the social sciences an effective point of departure in studying the Black experience? Does Introduction to Afro-American Studies represent a point of departure in seeing how different disciplines offer different perspectives on various aspects of the historical development of Black people? How are the social sciences presented in your introductory course and program? How can Introduction to Afro-American Studies be made more effective in this regard?

IV. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE HUMANITIES

Introduction to Afro-American Studies was initially designed as an interdisciplinary freshman social science course. One of its weakest points that has been repeatedly pointed out is its failure to include more from the humanities--literature, music, art, etc. There have been efforts to do this: listening to spirituals when discussing the church, reading poems, and reading novels that portray the Black experience during the key stages of the slave experience, the rural tenant-farmer experience, and urban proletariat (working class) experience. How can the humanities be used in close connection with social science to achieve an all-sided view of the full development and expression of the Black experience? What lessons emerge from your experiences on how the humanities can be more effectively presented in introductory Black Studies courses?

V. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND AFRICA

Africa is significant in the consciousness of Black people. It is our ancestral continent. And, in the recent period, much of Africa has been waging a revolutionary struggle against various forms of racism and imperialism. Black people in the U. S. have also been fighting these same two oppressors. This common struggle against common problems is thus the most critical link with Africa and the African heritage of Afro-Americans. The rich history of Black people in this country and the common struggle against racism and imperialism should therefore occupy a central place in Black Studies because it is this that has the greatest bearing on our current and future situation. What is the place of Africa in Black Studies? What are the aspects of the African heritage of Black people that should be included in an introductory course on the Black experience in the United States? What are your experiences in developing and teaching courses which include a brief introduction to Africa and courses which seek to pursue more in-depth investigation and study?

CONFERENCE SURVEY

Please answer this questionnaire. We will distribute the results during the conference on Friday.

1. Name the 5 most important Afro-American literary figures.

2. Name the 5 most important Afro-American social scientists.

3. Name the 5 most important Afro-American artists.

SURVEY OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

Name of Institution _____ Name of Director _____

Name of Program _____ Date Program Began _____

1. Please describe the main unit which coordinates Black Studies courses on your campus.

_____ Autonomous department (or unit) with independent courses

_____ Interdepartmental program or committee with cross-listed courses

_____ Other. Please specify _____

2. Please specify the academic or administrative division in which your program operates. (College of Letters and Sciences, Humanities Division, etc.)

3. Specify all of the following which describe the sources of your program's funding.

A. _____ Funding from annual university budget C. _____ Foundation funding

B. _____ Special university funding D. _____ Government funding

4. Please answer these questions about the faculty in the area of Black Studies on your campus.

A. _____ Total Number of Faculty C. _____ Tenured in Black Studies

B. _____ Full-time in Black Studies D. _____ Tenured in other departments

5. Please answer the following questions regarding your enrollment in Fall, 1976.

A. _____ Total University enrollment

B. _____ Total enrollment of Black Students

C. _____ Number of students enrolled in Black Studies courses

D. _____ Number of Black Studies majors

E. _____ Number of Black Studies minors

F. _____ Number of Black Studies courses

ON YOUR BASIC INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN BLACK STUDIES

1. What is the title of your course?

2. How often is the course taught?

_____ Every terms

_____ Every year

_____ More often than the above

3. What is the average enrollment in the course? _____

IF YOU CAN SEND US A COURSE SYLLABUS, SKIP THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

4. What is (are) the basic text (s) for the course?

A.

B.

C.

D.

5. What form of evaluation is used? (e.g., objective tests, essay exams, papers)

6. What topics are covered in the course?

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM

February 24-26, 1977

A PARTIAL LIST OF PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS

| | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| American River College | Los Angeles Mission College |
| Atlanta University | Mt. San Antonio College |
| California State College, Sonoma | Ohlone College |
| California Polytechnic Pomona | State University of New York (Old Westbury) |
| San Luis Obispo | Pasadena City College |
| California State University | San Diego State University |
| Chico | San Jose State University |
| Dominguez Hills | Santa Ana College |
| Fresno | Santa Barbara City College |
| Fullerton | Santa Rosa Junior College |
| Hayward | Seton Hall University (NJ) |
| Long Beach | South Seattle Community |
| Los Angeles | Stanford University |
| Northridge | University of California |
| Sacramento | Berkeley |
| San Diego | Los Angeles |
| Chapman College | Riverside |
| City College of San Francisco | San Diego |
| College of Marin | San Francisco |
| College of San Mateo | Santa Cruz |
| Colorado State University | Santa Barbara |
| Compton College | University of Illinois- Chicago Circle |
| Contra Costa College | University of Pacific |
| DeAnza College | University of Redlands |
| Diablo Valley College | University of San Francisco |
| Five College Consortium | University of Southern California |
| U. of Mass. (Amherst) | University of Utah |
| Hampshire College | Washington State University |
| Smith College | Wayne State University (Mich.) |
| Amherst College | Yuba College |
| Mt. Holyoke College | |
| Foothill College | |
| Humboldt State University | |
| Loyola Marymount University | |
| Los Angeles Harbor College | |

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM

February 24-26, 1977

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Thursday February 24, 1977

3:00 PM Registration Holiday Inn

7:00 Keynote Address: St. Clair Drake, Professor Emeritus
Former Director, Afro-American Studies
Program, Stanford University
(Physics Building,
UCSB)

10:00 Hospitality Hour
(Holiday Inn)

Friday February 25, 1977 Holiday Inn

8:00 AM Registration (all day)

9:00 Panel: Perspectives on Black Studies in California:
Theory and Practice

12:00 PM Lunch

1:30 Panel: Introduction to Afro-American Studies and
Standardizing Curriculum

(Summation of practice using this introductory
course in California, Georgia, Illinois,
Massachusetts, New York and Tennessee.
Discussion of plans for revision and further
development.)

3:30 Small Group Discussions/Workshops

5:30 Dinner

7:30 Cultural Presentation

Speech: Black Studies and the Current State of the
Black Liberation Movement

Responses...Discussion

10:00 Conference Social and Cultural Event

Saturday February 26, 1977

Physics Building, UCSB

9:00 AM Closing Session

Conference Summation:
Where Do We Go From Here?

12:00 Conference Adjourns

ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM

February 24-26, 1977

Dear Colleague:

This is a final reminder regarding an important event to be held February 24-26, 1977--a conference on ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM--sponsored by The Center for Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

If you have not already done so, please take a moment to review the earlier materials that have been sent as well as the pre-conference packet which is enclosed for your convenience. We are interested in having you or a representative attend the conference and share your experiences in the area of Black Studies. The main theme of the conference will be discussion and evaluation of Introduction to Afro-American Studies, a three year old effort to standardize a basic course in Black Studies. All conference participants will be receiving a copy of this text as our major working document for the sessions.

We hope you will not want to miss the opportunity to join in this important work. If you are unable to attend, however, we invite you to order your copy of Introduction to Afro-American Studies on the enclosed order form and consider it for use in your program.

We look forward to hearing your comments and solicit your help in contributing toward the further development of a standardized curriculum in Black Studies.

For Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility,

For the Conference Coordinating Committee
The Center for Black Studies, South Hall Room 3703
University of California, Santa Barbara 93106

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE:
THE CONTINUING FIGHT FOR BLACK STUDIES

Discussion Paper for the Conference on
"ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM"

February 24-26, 1977

and presented at
The First Annual Conference of
The National Council on Black Studies
"Black Studies Mobilization for Survival"
Ohio State University
February 16-19, 1977

The Center for Black Studies
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

(805) 961-3915

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE:

THE CONTINUING FIGHT FOR BLACK STUDIES

The historical development of Black Studies and its struggle for survival must remain at the center of any discussion of Black people in higher education. While almost one million Blacks are engaged in post-secondary school education, and oppression and exploitation continue to exist for nearly all Black people, Black Studies remains a battle front for justice and equality, an arena in which to link the fight for reforms with the fight for revolution. It is in this context that this article presents a summary analysis of an on-going research and development project on Black Studies initially undertaken by Peoples College in 1970.¹

In this article we will focus on two basic questions:

1. What is the historical origin and development of Black Studies and the nature of the crisis facing Black Studies today?
2. How can Black Studies survive and meet its dual objectives of academic excellence and social responsibility?

The Historical Origin and Development of Black Studies

Our general summary is that Black Studies has gone through three stages of development. The stages of this national trend are:

- a. Innovation: the social incidents that challenged the status quo and initiated the process of bringing Black Studies into being:
- b. Experimentation: the theoretical and practical struggle to set and achieve initial goals, and the setting of new goals based on concrete experience.

- c. Crisis of Development: the intensification of attacks against Black Studies that seriously challenge its continued existence.

Innovation: The initial thrust for Black Studies was a turbulent experience, one that continued the unexpected outbursts of rebellion and resistance that characterized the 1960s. The Middle 60s was a high tide of resistance for the Black liberation movement; militancy was a common posture. A key act was the brutal slaying of Martin Luther King in the Spring of 1968, because it unleashed an outburst of violence in 110 cities, resulting in 39 deaths, over 2,500 injuries, over 14,000 arrests, and over 2,600 fires. The U. S. government repressed this spontaneous action with 45,000 National Guardsmen and 21,000 Federal Troops.²

The key social force in this spontaneous violence were those young, working class Black people who were being kept out of productive jobs, and kept out of institutions that they felt could help them improve their lives. For these young people, the only real options seemed to be jail or the armed services. But after this thrust of spontaneous violence (1963-1967), a large sector of this youth population was coopted into higher education, purportedly "to civilize the natives and quell the unrest." According to government statistics, Black college enrollment increased to 370,000. This represents an increase over the previous year of 88,000, 11 times the increase of 1966 over 1965. But things didn't work out for this scheme of bourgeoisification, i.e., the muting of working class militancy with the petty bourgeois privilege

of the college campus and the subsequent benefits from a white collar job. This plan backfired and these students became a militant social force inside the university by disrupting the normal state of affairs (meaning racism, elitism, and other forms of reaction); they demanded Black Studies by any means necessary.

This is how one discussion sums up what happened. Note how similar this is to the above description of what happened after King was murdered:

...The early programs clearly and simply signified a yielding to student pressure, threats and violence; in 1968-69, according to one estimate, 43 institutions experienced fires, 80 experienced wrecking of buildings or breaking of furnishings, 45 experienced personal injuries, at least 24 officials were held captive, and at least 8 people were killed.³

In a very concrete sense we can conclude from the data that it was this militant struggle inside the university that forced the initial change, the essence of this first stage of innovation. For example, one study of 2 year colleges reports this data on course offerings:⁴

Community Colleges Offering Black Studies Courses

| | |
|----------------|-----|
| 1966 or before | 23 |
| 1967-68 | 24 |
| 1968-69 | 100 |
| 1969-70 | 92 |

Experimentation: The rapid increase in courses and programs brought with it a broad pattern of experimentation regarding all aspects of Black Studies. Nick Aaron Ford reports in Black Studies: "For the 200 programs upon which this study is based, approximately 200 objectives are listed with enough variation in wording to be

considered different." Moreover, about 75% of these programs were interdisciplinary and, for the most part, characterized by a hodge-podge of faculty interests and backgrounds, shaped by the history of racist scholarly neglect and discrimination in faculty hiring practices.

To anyone vaguely familiar with Black Studies programs over the last 9 years, an obvious conclusion is that there has emerged no established pattern of intellectual content, administrative organization, or standard of academic excellence and social responsibility for faculty and students. Moreover, when the militant students who fought for and won Black Studies left the campus, or were bought off, the fire of the initial thrust began to dwindle. One ex-student sums it up this way: "When we left, Black Studies lost its political cutting edge. It was taken over by either poverty pimp-type hustlers, or straight traditional academic types. Either way, that's not what we fought for."

However, this period of experimentation has by no means been a total loss, although this has often been the assessment of both the ultra-conservatives (e.g., Bayard Rustin, Martin Kilson, etc.) and the ultra-left student anarchists (e.g., many of the student activists who founded Student Organization for Black Unity, SOBU). The material basis for this position is their common middle class outlook. Both groups negate the objective reality of the rapid increase in Black participation in higher education. The conservatives openly declare their allegiance to elitism, while the "infantile leftists," failing to grasp the relationship of

reform to revolution, negate the militant fight for the democratic right to quality higher education.

Out of this period of every flower blooming, however, there is now beginning to emerge a clear direction forward. The current task at hand is to clarify lessons learned, divide the good from the bad, consolidate gains won by uniting with all progressive forces, determine new goals, and continue to fight for change.

Crisis of Development: When we speak of crisis in this context, we refer to two levels of analysis: (A) The deepening of the crisis of U. S. capitalism, and (B) the specific features of how this crisis impacts on higher education. The crisis of capitalism has sharpened and, coupled with the winds of revolutionary national struggle blowing throughout the third world, there is a major realignment of forces on the world scene. The threat of an unjust war to reenergize the imperialist systems of the two super-powers - one old and dying and the other young and growing - is a menace to all of the world's people.

Here in the USA the attacks on working people, Black people and all oppressed nationalities are growing sharper every day. The carrot of Kennedy-Johnson has been replaced by the stick of Nixon-Ford-Rockefeller. This fascist-prone regime, wildly striving to maintain the rule of the USA imperialist class, went beyond the existing ruling class consensus and faltered on the corruptions of Watergate and the CIA-FBI debacle. But the resulting revelations and exposé spoke more to questions of form than of essence. Now

we have the old con game with Carter, the white country preacher with a grin, trotted out with the verbal rap of an F. D. R. and similar bandaid solutions. For example, with war preparations underway, Carter appoints a non-violent preacher to be the mouthpiece of the ruling class in the United Nations. And with over 8 million workers unemployed, he proposes a so-called job program for fewer than a million of them at a less than adequate wage.

The economic picture is bleak indeed. The Gross National Product declined in 1974, 1975 and much of 1976, housing starts have been down, and the basic industry continues to operate at less than capacity. And, similar to the Great Depression, large numbers of bankruptcies have occurred, including the billion-dollar W.T. Grant Company and eleven large banks - this during 1976 alone!

Now, does this mean that the fat cats, the corporate ruling class, are taking the loss? NO! In manufacturing, from 1974 to the first half of 1976 there was a 5.5% decrease in the number of production workers, but during this same period profits went up 72.9% to \$63.8 billion. This means that more and more profit is being squeezed out of fewer and fewer workers. This attack on working people continues with the real value of income (measured in 1967 dollars) declining nearly 2% between 1974 and 1975. In straight inflation terms, the Consumer Price Index went up 11% in 1974, and over 9% in 1975.

The crisis goes deeper as we all see and live it in our communities every day. Corporate profits are protected by governmental policies of massive cutbacks in social services - hospitals and libraries are closing in nearly every major city,

public transportation is being cut back, and public health programs are deteriorating. There have also been major cutbacks in the area of education. According to the Chronicle of Higher Education (May 17, 1976), corporate gifts to colleges and universities declined by 3.5% in 1975 and gifts from leading foundations declined from \$12.1 billion in 1974 to \$2.01 billion. The Ford Foundation reduced its expenditures by \$81 million. Their aim is to maintain shrinking profits. Moreover, the costs of one year of education for each four-year student went up 42% in the past 10 years - from \$2167 to \$3070.

The net result of this deepening crisis for Blacks in higher education is alarming, and those of us in this area of work must seize upon it as a call to arms. Consider these reversals:

Increased Dropout Rate: Because of the cutback in support services--which have never been well financed and organized--the drop-out rate among Black students will increase. Only 40.9% of the number of Blacks who entered as freshmen in 1971 were enrolled as seniors by 1974. This compares with 55.8% for white freshmen, so the crisis is really an attack on the masses of everybody.

Decline in Enrollment: The percentage of Blacks entering as first year students declined in 1973 for the first time in years. Since a peak increase of 30% in the number of Blacks among all students in college, the increase was only 7% between 1971 and 1972, and declined by 6% between 1972 and 1973. Since the big increase in 1971, the rate of increase has slowed considerably: there was only a 0.6% increase between 1971 and 1973, and between 1971 and 1974, a 20% increase. This compares

with a 65% increase between 1969 and 1974 and a 110% increase between 1964 and 1969. Many institutions have recently revised entrance requirements, reduced financial aid, and raised tuition which will further restrict enrollment.

Reversal of Affirmative Action: The courts have become the focal point for the counter-attack of the ruling class to reverse the gains that Black people won through militant struggle. Three major court cases--in Washington (Defunis), New York (Alevy), and California (Pakke)--have all involved charges of "reverse discrimination" by white students who were denied admission to professional schools. In each case, Blacks and other minority students who had lower scores on biased "objective" tests were admitted in efforts to overcome past discrimination, increase the access of oppressed nationalities to medical education, and improve the quality of health care available in minority communities. The future ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Bakke case from California will have a major impact on overturning the legal basis for affirmative action--in education and on jobs--which was established after the mass struggles of the late 60s and early 70s.

Black Studies: Study and Struggle

We have pointed to a history of struggle for Black Studies and the increasing attacks against it. Essentially we have been discussing the democratic rights of Black people and our task is to raise up a program for the continued survival of Black Studies. We hinge our view on the dual concepts of study and struggle. Moreover, we base our theoretical view on concrete

experience, a history that results in a fighting spirit and not the whimpering of a weak, insecure, newly-arrived Black professional class. Our view is that it is precisely in the face of this deepening crisis that it is possible to mount an offensive, however small at first, that will eventually link together the vast majority of Black Studies faculty and students in a fight for substantial and fundamental change. While this article will not address the entire program we are developing, its main objective is to clarify and describe one vital aspect of what is necessary.

One of the major problems facing Black Studies is the intellectual content of its programs, courses, and research. We hold the view that it is now more essential than ever to build unity around a theoretical analysis of the Afro-American experience in the United States. Further, we have developed and published a seventy-page booklet, Introduction to Afro-American Studies, a major step in the direction of standardizing our curriculum (available for \$1.50 from Peoples College, P. O. Box 7696, Chicago, IL 60680).

A struggle for unity must be waged in a specific social context for specific historical reasons. The case of Black Studies fits this. We propose that individuals and programs take up Introduction to Afro-American Studies as a tool around which to unite, and with which to take up the struggle to protect and develop Black Studies. We claim the legacy of the demands and aspirations of thousands of Black students who set this in motion. We challenge you to take this model and struggle for unity.

Introduction to Afro-American Studies is designed as the basic course for Black Studies. There are 5 objectives:

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).

This clarifies the essence of the emphasis on "study."

The course also encourages activity, struggle. The preface boldly states this position:

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!

This course has had a varied history and is the collective product of scholars and activists from all parts of the country.

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.

The course was initially developed for an interdisciplinary social science freshman course called "Modern Culture and Black People" at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, 1973-74. Over 100 students, randomly selected from the entering first year students, wrote a weekly 2-4 page paper for one semester and four 6-10 page papers for one semester. Our completion rate for papers was over 85%. There was a reaction against the amount of work - students complained, circulated a petition in protest, and solicited faculty support. But we persisted, and in the end their productivity far surpassed all expectations.

Further, the course has been used in one fashion or another at over 15 universities, including Cornell University, University of California, Atlanta Junior College, University of Illinois, Thornton Community College, Wayne State University, State University of New York, and a five-College consortium in

Massachusetts - University of Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke College, Amherst College, Hampshire College, and Smith College.

The first part of the course is divided into topics covering 16 important aspects of the Afro-American experience with each topic presented as a popular question. The table of contents lists these topics:

PART I. SURVEY OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. What is Afro-American Studies? | 2 |
| 2. How did Africa develop before the Europeans came? | 4 |
| 3. How do we define the modern period of history? | 6 |
| 4. What was the triple character of African Slavery? | 3 |
| 5. What is the social structure of Afro-American people? | 12 |
| 6. Can the masses of Black people get "a piece of the American Pie" by "pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps?" | 15 |
| 7. What kind of political power do Black people have in the USA? | 18 |
| 8. Why has religion been so strong in the Black community? | 20 |
| 9. Has education worked for Black people? | 22 |
| 10. What are the problems faced by Black women? | 27 |
| 11. What is the social role of Black art and culture? | 31 |
| 12. What were the mass struggles of Afro-American people during the 1960's all about? | 34 |
| 13. What are the basic ideas of nationalism? | 36 |
| 14. What is the historical development of the ideology of racism? | 38 |
| 15. How is the Black liberation movement related to national liberation struggles in the third world? | 40 |
| 16. What program will lead to fundamental improvement in the social and economic conditions of the masses of Black people? | 42 |

Each of these topics of summed up in a few paragraphs, and followed by ten related concepts, required readings, and ten

supplementary readings. This unit on the Black church illustrates how each topic is presented:

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 | Invisible Institution |
| Assimilation | Religious Denominations |
| Call and Response | Secularization |
| Gospel | Social Cohesion |
| Institutional Church | Storefront |

REQUIRED READING

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

(The ten supplementary readings are here omitted.)

The second part of Introduction is based on an intensive analysis of what we consider cla-sics of Black Social Analysis that take up critical issues and constitute the "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.

For this second part, we have selected the following topics and texts:

1. On the Reconstruction Era and the Struggle for Democracy, 1860-1880.
W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880.
2. On the Changing Social Forms of the Black Experience from Rural to Urban Life.
Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation.
St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City.
3. On the Class Structure of Black People - Proletariat, Petty Bourgeoisie, and Bourgeoisie.
Abram L. Harris and Sterling D. Spero. The Black Worker: The Negro and the Labor Movement.
E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States.
4. On the Changing Character of Black Leadership - Booker T. Washington and Malcolm X.
Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery.
Autobiography of Malcolm X.

This is an overview of what we think is a solid point of departure for unity in the process of standardization.

Introduction to Afro-American Studies is a sound basis of unity

because it speaks to many of the problems we collectively face today in the same way in which the struggle to create Black Studies addressed our common problems at an earlier period.

The availability of a standardized introductory course addresses many basic problems: course development and reorganization, planning library acquisitions, faculty recruitment and development, the establishment of research priorities, and the transfer of credit from community colleges to four-year institutions. Further, Introduction to Afro-American Studies is a sound basis of unity because it is the product of a united effort. It is on this foundation that we hope to build.

Conclusion

This course that we have just described reflects both the results of several years of work and a process that we anticipate will be at the center of our work in Black Studies for the next few years. Introduction to Afro-American Studies is now in its third revised edition, and we are preparing to undertake a fourth revision. This is based on inputs received from the various people and programs that have used it, and who are committed to making it a better course. At the present time there are five general concerns that will be included in this current process of revision:

- a. there is a need for a glossary of terms in order to equip the student with a working vocabulary and definitions;
- b. there is a need for the more systematic inclusion of material from the area of humanities, art, and literature;
- c. there is a need for a series of slide lectures and audio tapes to accompany the course materials so that interest can be sustained and the experience made more immediate;

- d. there is a need for a teacher's guide and for standardized examination materials in order to evaluate the impact of the course on a national level;
- e. there is a need for an edited textbook which includes a collection of the best available discussion of the topics covered in Introduction to Afro-American Studies.

Of course, there will be many more considerations that must be taken into account.

We are committed to the value of criticism and work hard to solicit feedback. We recognize that this is not the normal academic style, but it is a necessary aspect of the historical development of Black Studies and one that we think must be maintained and further developed. YOU are the basis of the future, especially as you join with projects such as this to continue the fight for progress, academic excellence and social responsibility. We are calling for mass participation in Introduction to Afro-American Studies and we will work with everyone who accepts this challenge.

NOTES

¹Peoples College is an organization that has been active in several aspects of the Black Liberation Movement since 1970, most notably Black Studies, support for African Liberation Movements, and the development of the United Front Against Imperialism in the USA. After a period of re-organization it is now actively working on theoretical issues of Black liberation and the class struggle. Further information can be obtained by writing Peoples College, P. O. Box 7696, Chicago, IL 60680, USA.

²Keesing's Research Report 4, p. 262.

³Ernest Van Der Haag and Alan Reynolds, "Black Studies Revisited," in George Roche, et. a., The Balancing Act (1974), p. 116.

⁴John Lombardi, Black Studies in the Community College (ERIC Clearinghouse, 1971), p. 3.

This paper is a brief abstract of a longer monograph. Additional citations and an extensive bibliography on Black Studies can be obtained by writing Peoples College.

A PROPOSAL TO CREATE A NATIONAL COMMISSION
ON INTRODUCTORY CURRICULUM IN BLACK STUDIES
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR BLACK STUDIES

BACKGROUND: Black Studies is as significant and widespread as any innovation in higher education in the United States in the last several decades. Responding to the racism and elitism which characterize higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many Black people --community residents, students, and teachers--demanded the increased admission of Black people into these institutions. Black college enrollment increased 188.1% between 1960 and 1970. This set the stage for the subsequent demand that the Black experience be included more accurately and more comprehensively in the college curriculum.

The result of these demands and often necessarily militant protests was Black Studies and programs in almost every institution of higher education in the U.S.--in both two-year and four-year institutions. Black Studies was institutionalized as a relatively permanent base for offering a "relevant" education experience focused on Black people, one which would embody both academic excellence and a sense of social responsibility to help solve the many problems faced by Black people.

This period of innovation was followed by a period of widespread experimentation. A study of college catalogues or any similar look at the past ten years will indicate that

there was no single conception but rather a number of broad conceptions of what the mission of Black Studies was and the most effective path to accomplish this mission. As a result, this period of experimentation has yielded very rich experiences which can be the foundation for our future work if we are deliberate about learning from what we have already done.

Now Black Studies faces a new period: a crisis of development. This crisis is fundamentally a reflection of the general economic and political crisis facing U.S. society. The general impact on education has resulted in the cutback of federal, state, and local funding and a reduction of corporate support through foundations. For Black people, the impact of these cutbacks and the general crisis which often hits us first and hardest (the parallel to the last hired, first fired situation facing Black workers). In addition, we are threatened with attacks like the Bakke decision, which will overturn affirmative action provisions which have been pivotal in the recent period of increased access to opportunities for higher education. Concretely, all of this is already being felt in an increased dropout rate for Black students and a decline in enrollment (resulting also from "revised" admissions policies).

The response that is growing among Black people (and among others who are similarly affected) is the same response

which gave rise to increased admissions of Blacks and Black Studies in the first place: STRUGGLE! In the final analysis, this mass struggle has been the source of the most important and beneficial changes experienced by Black people. At the same time, however, those of us in Black Studies must address a major concern that is internal to our discipline: the intellectual content of Black Studies programs, courses, and research. In this period of crisis it is more essential than ever that we assess our ten years of experience, and build the broadest consensus possible around where we go from here.

This document proposes a program of action by which the National Council for Black Studies, as the leading professional organization in the field, can begin to address one important aspect of this overall question: the improvement and standardization of introductory curriculum in Afro-American Studies.

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INTRODUCTORY CURRICULUM IN BLACK STUDIES

Purpose: This Commission of the National Council of Black Studies will undertake the task of identifying, through broad-based discussion with those active in the field and through additional investigation and research, the existing activity and specific needs regarding introductory curriculum. It will recommend the appropriate general strategies and specific tactics for meeting these needs.

Rationale: The introductory curriculum should be the core of Black Studies as it is in any academic discipline. It provides the core intellectual content and introduces key intellectual figures, issues, and problems of the discipline. It services those who will major in Black Studies and those who seek to broaden their intellectual horizons through taking Black Studies as general education courses (many of whom might pursue a Black Studies concentration if the introductory course is effective). Widely-adopted introductory courses would facilitate the legitimation of Black Studies, course development and organization, planning library acquisitions, faculty recruitment and development, establishment of research priorities, and the transfer of course credit from community colleges to four-year institutions or course articulation. It is imperative, therefore, that our best foot be put forward in our introductory courses. Therefore, while any of the above

issues could be taken up with great benefit, and all of them must be studied in the near future, the work of this Commission is focused entirely on the issue of introductory curriculum in Black Studies with a set agenda and a firm timetable as one small contribution to the overall strengthening of the discipline.

General Objectives: The Commission will develop a program of activity that seeks to accomplish the following:

(1) Initiate broad-based discussion regarding introductory curriculum in Black Studies and the importance of developing a general intellectual consensus on this issue toward the development of standardized course offerings. The issues of the legitimation of Black Studies, curriculum continuity, the articulation of community college and four-year college courses will be the main focus of these discussions;

(2) Conduct regional and/or local workshops to more fully explore these issues with larger numbers of interested people;

(3) Develop a format to evaluate introductory curriculum in Black Studies and to implement this evaluation;

(4) To report on the work of the Commission, including its recommendations at the annual conference of the NCBS, to make special reports at meetings of the executive board, and to report of other professional organizations with an interest in this area;

Timetable:

1977

| | |
|----------|--|
| Sept-Dec | Conduct discussions and Commission meetings to assess the state of the art and general concerns regarding Black Studies introductory curriculum |
| Jan | Circulate a preliminary statement from the Commission summarizing the above discussion and proposing the specific program for Commission work |
| Feb | Conduct a workshop at the annual conference based on the above document |
| Mar-Dec | Implementation of the Program of Action finalized after the discussions at the Feb. conference |
| Jul | Interim report at the annual board meeting of NCBS; assessment, evaluation, and revisions of program of action |
| Jan | Circulate a draft of the final commission report |
| Feb | Discussion of Final Report at Annual Conference; adoption |
| Mar | Publication of Final Report; general circulation; implementation of procedure to follow up on Commission's recommendations; dissolving of Commission |