THE CRISIS OF
BLACK POWER
PERSPECTIVES ON
Nationalism
Sexism and
CLASS

Saturday
January 25, 1992
9:30 AM – 4:30 PM

A DAY LONG CONFERENCE TAKING PLACE AT THE
CARTER G. WOODSON REGIONAL LIBRARY
9525 South Halsted / Chicago, Illinois

For further information: 312/881-6910

Sponsored by the CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY
City of Chicago
Richard M. Daley, Mayor
John B. Duff
Commissioner

Cindy Pritzker
President, Board of Directors
Hattie L. Power
Director

The Chicago Public Library
COMMITTED TO QUALITY LIBRARY SERVICE
THE CRISIS OF BLACK POWER CONFERENCE INTRODUCTION

Abdul Alkalimat, Twenty-first Century Books

SISTERS AND BROTHERS

COMRADES AND FRIENDS

WELCOME!

My name is Abdul Alkalimat and as a convener of this conference, along with Lou Turner I have the honor to welcome you to this our second Community Dialogue. We have been warmly received in this historical library setting, uniting the name of the foremost initiator of historical research on the Black experience, Dr. Carter G Woodson, with a sister who led the collecting and study of the Black experience for so many years here in Chicago, Sister Vivian Harsh. I would like you to join with me in recognizing our sponsors for this conference:

Emily Guss, Director of the Carter G Woodson Regional Library

Robert Miller, Curator, Vivian Harsh Collection

Michael Guss, Archivist, Vivian Harsh Collection

Today we are continuing a process that we initiated last October with our first community dialogue on the Crisis of Civil Rights. In these opening remarks I would like to discuss briefly two points:

1. What is the thinking behind these community dialogues?
2. How and why was the theme chosen for this our second community dialogue?

ON COMMUNITY DIALOGUES: The concept of a "community dialogue" is based on a summation of Black history and a commitment to rebuild the Black liberation movement. At every fundamental juncture in the history of this country several possible
roads to the future have been inherently encoded into the material contradictions of economic and social structures, usually both pointing forward and backward. Therefore since no historical direction is inevitable at any juncture, no one can predict the future without a complex set of contingencies.

In general at this time, in the midst of a fundamental crisis in which industrial capitalism is convulsively jerking about from what seems to be terminal contradictions, to be replaced by a new high tech configuration of an advanced capitalism, we can begin to see the extreme of barbarism as the possible backward motion. The main concern we have is the extent to which we can fight for a better life and at this critical juncture make a leap -- and we dare to say a revolutionary leap through socialist transformation. Our politics of resistance, the subjective factor, will emerge both spontaneously as mass struggle and as planned action by conscious forces. In both cases the political meaning of resistance is encoded in the collective action of the activists, and the structural result of their resistance (what we do, and what we accomplish).

In the 19th century when the objective economic forces were throwing the southern slave system more and more in antagonistic contradiction with the northern industrial system, an antagonism reflected in the corresponding fight to control the federal government, the two aspects of our politics of resistance rose to the occasion. On the one hand the slaves spontaneously began to rise up in rebellion (for example, 1822 Denmark Vesey near Charleston South Carolina, and 1831 Nat Turner in Southampton County, Virginia). On the other hand, in 1830 a meeting in Philadelphia chaired by Richard Allen began what we know as the National Negro convention movement. A movement of discussion and debate to deepen analysis and formulate policy to deal with slavery, how to help Black people escape slavery in the short run and in the long run how to destroy the slave system. On the one hand armed struggle, and on the other hand mass discussion and debate.

At the end of the 19th century, after the promise of the
emancipation had been stolen through the Hayes - Tilden betrayal in 1876-77, Black people were trapped in the grip of American Apartheid conditioned by the labor intensive sharecropping system that virtually re-enslaved us through legal peonage and illegal lynching. As the imperialist powers were maturing and finding themselves on the road to war because of their necessity to dominate the colonies of the third world and their desire to colonize each other, forces for national liberation (including Black people in the USA) began to formulate new politics of resistance. In response to the increasing attacks against Black people the spontaneous form of struggle has been called the race riot (1906 Atlanta, 10 Blacks, 2 whites killed; etc) On the other hand ideological discussion and debate took the form of the Negro Conferences of Tuskegee Institute (1880's) the National NegroBusiness League (Boston, 1900) both under the leadership of Booker T Washington; the Niagra Movement (1905) and the International Pan-African Conferences (1900 - 1945) under the leadership of W E B DuBois; and the UNIA (1914) under the leadership of Marcus Mosia Garvey. These organizational forms instituted a process for clarifying the ideas and practical programs for different ideological and political lines of march. The riots were collective forms of armed self defense, and the organizations and annual conferences were for discussion and debate.

After the mechanical cotton picker (1944) finally ended the demand for massive amounts of unskilled field labor, while the industrial urbanized north continued to have a demand for semi-skilled industrial labor, the Black masses marched into the heart of the American empire and formed the modern Black community. In retrospect this was somewhat of a historical illusion as the promise of industrial freedom was realized for a few (The early migrants of the WWI and WWII eras) but denied their grandchildren. The regional differences of racist oppression in which the south lagged behind the north led to down home spontaneity exploding into the civil rights movement in the 1950s and then in the north it exploded into the urban insurrections in the 1960s that produced the slogan of Black power. Again the conference
form emerged as the context to debate the line of March of the Black liberation movement. Notable mention can be made of the Black Economic Development conference in Detroit and the subsequent "Conflict Crisis and Change" conferences associated with the L R B W. The Black Power Conferences, the Congress of African Peoples Conferences, United Front Conferences of the Black Panther Party (notable on Fascism and the US constitution), the annual conferences and debates of the ALSC, and the meetings of the National Black Political Assembly. The drum majors of this debate in the 1960's were Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

The first great debate was the Emancipation Debate: How can Black people escape from and/or end slavery. We traveled on the underground railroad and we fought every chance we got.

The second great debate was the Self-Determination Debate: How can the Black community organize itself and prosper under the racist conditions of industrial capitalism in the era of imperialism? Black community institutions were developed for the organization of social life, but economic development never escaped petty capitalist retail sales in the segregated Black ghetto. Many advocates of Afro American nationalism are stuck in this ideological paradigm, a dilemma requiring false consciousness and / or self serving opportunism.

The third debate is the Black Liberation Debate: How can Black people carry out the freedom struggle in the context of world revolution and socialist transformation. We continue this debate as we meet here today.

The community dialogue form of discussion and debate is an attempt to reclaim a form of ideological and political resistance firmly rooted in our own history. It is a democratic form in which all radical points of view have a right to be heard, and be criticized in open public forum. Our first goal is the legitimation of the process, the legitimacy of our own voices serving our own needs in the best way possible. Within this context our goal is to clarify and popularize the alternative visions of our problem and solutions to the problem. This is as far as we can go. The next step is the practical task of
committed forces putting ideas into practice, of demonstrating the relative merit of strategy and tactics.

We oppose the view that we've talked enough. It may come to that, but not yet in this current period. We've got new conditions that require new ideas — no old formulations that need dusting off can be utilized unless they pass the test of theoretical debate and practical struggle.

So we began our community dialogues on October 5, 1991 on the topic THE CRISIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS. This was at the high point of the Clarence Thomas hearings, racism, right wing politics and sexual harassment. Our community was buzzing with allot of people being suckered into the soap opera mode, but in serious discussion there were people on both side of that issue. In our conference, we had nine presentations during a day long session. I said then what seemed to be legitimate based on a mass community based consensus: "Black people continue to be the victims of various de facto forms of barbarism, even more terrible because the apparent democratic legalism of US freedom amounts to no more than the hypocritical smile on the blood drenched lips of a wolf taking an oath to support the lambs of the earth."

Lou Turner reminded us of the dangers of making the civil rights struggle THE main aspect of the struggle by quoting Mary Francis Berry: "The history of civil rights legislation is conservative, not radical. The whole purpose (is) to keep the debate off the streets and off the picket lines and move it to the courts in the interest of public peace."

We were exposed to clear and pointed indictments of Mayor Daley and Chicago's political misleadership, Chief Martin, and the pro-fascist tactics of Chicago police, and President Bush's Federal cutbacks.

What emerged as the center of contention was class and class struggle, both as it shapes the internal dynamics of the Black community as well as the overall fight for Black liberation. In this context different conceptions of class and class struggle lead to different analyses of the situation. The reformist view believes that class is how much money you make, or you occupation
and the amount of education required for the job. These economic facts are important and they reflect the organization and performance of the economy. However, the revolutionary point of view focuses on power and control—who is running the show. In this instance the class struggle is not simply only for jobs and income—both essential—but is for power and control of the entire ball game.

Our current topic therefore was mandated by the focus of the debate last October. We meet here today to raise fundamental questions concerning class, especially in relationship to race, nation, and gender: Who are we? Where are we going? How are we gonna get there?

As we organize ourselves to be part of the solution—our practice has to be transformed so that we don’t act like we’re part of the problem. I am proud to announce that of the 12 participants in this program 6 are women: 3 session chairs and 3 speakers. We have a long way to go, but it is essential to remind ourselves of whatever progress we make.

Again I welcome you to this day long session of serious discussion and debate. Please stay as long as you can, and join in the discussion. Finally, at 5:00 today you are all invited to a reception at 21st Century Books, 43rd and St Lawrence—between Cottage Grove and King Drive.

It is now my pleasure to introduce to you the chairperson of the first session, Sister Aysha. Thirty years of consistent struggle gives her the right to speak, and having known her my whole life I can vouch for her.
IDEOLOGY, BLACK MIDDLE CLASS LEADERSHIP, AND PROSPECTS FOR REBUILDING THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT ON A NEW FOUNDATION

Abdul Alkalimat

Brothers and Sisters,
Comrades and Friends,

It is a challenge to rise again to speak, as I do so to engage the questions people have raised during our first community dialogue as well as on a recent radio call in show. The main issue is the relevance of the concept class to the Black experience. The general point of contention has been whether there were class differences that were of fundamental importance. One position holds that all Black people are the same, more or less, because of their domination by racist white power. A different position holds that class differences are crucial, especially in this dynamic period of social transformation.

This is a critical discussion because it is here that all theoretical and philosophical reflections can be found in their most concentrated form. It is in a discussion of class and the class struggle that (save for the obscurantism of academic pedantry) the masses of people can test the validity of ideas (analysis and policy) to their practical experience. It is in this debate that we can pull the covers off hidden interests and begin to clarify what role people are playing in terms of social contradictions, who stands where on the issues, and with whom one shares common interests. This is particularly the case in this period of economic crisis.

What must be grasped is that our analysis most often encounters the ideological forms of the crisis and therefore we must struggle to overcome the contradiction of illusion versus reality. Nowhere is this more to the heart of the matter than when we seek to analyze the Black middle class. The great sociologist E. Franklin Frazier reminds us of this in naming the two
parts of his text *Black Bourgeoisie* – the first is called "The World of Reality" (a study of the social division labor and historical forms of wealth accumulation), and the second half "The World of Make Believe" (a study of ideology).

My intention in this brief paper is to address three points with special focus on the Black middle class:

1. Methodology
2. Historical experience
3. Progressive options

At the risk of simplification this is the skeleton of an argument, so I welcome the opportunity for further clarification. Overall, it is my goal to add my voice to those who want to rebuild the Black liberation movement. I say this because I believe it is necessary and it is possible. This paper is designed to put some definite ideas forward about why it is necessary and how it is possible.

1. PHILOSOPHY AND THE BLACK EXPERIENCE:
A key phrase in the basic framework for a materialist analysis of society is that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness." This is a fundamental point that sets materialism aside from idealism, and as such is profoundly democratic in its implications.

"Social life is essential practical. All mysteries which mislead theory into mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice." (7th thesis on Feuerbach) This is a philosophical point of view that cuts through the mumbo jumbo of the self appointed priests and cult leaders who argue that they have privileged access to knowledge, because this knowledge has been retained as secrets and is only accessible to them, hence their position of privilege in society.

Actually, what we experience is just as Marx put it. Everyone living and working in a society engages other people and the environment through their direct experience, and therefore

*Crisis of Black Power / Ideological Perspectives*
have allot to think about. As long as ideas flow from and/or can be tested on experience then whoever has access to that experience (directly or indirectly) can speak to the correctness and relevance of the ideas.

Furthermore, social progress is always based on the extent to which materialism is the philosophical orientation of the workers, scientists, and political leaders of a society. On the other hand, philosophical idealism is usually associated with a society which is not dynamic and maybe facing a period of decline in which the ruling privileged classes and their elites structure deference through ritual and submission to authority—the contradictory duality of the priest and the soldier.

Perhaps the most important part of the methodology is this: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world differently, the point is, to change it." (the 8th Thesis on Feuerbach) This completes the dialectic, from practical experience to theoretical knowledge, and then from knowledge to a historical force for social change. (practice to theory, theory to practice, the endless cycle of existence at this stage of our development.) However, one note of caution. The actual dialectic is not mechanical in that historical moments in which change is possible does not mean that change is inevitable, at least not in the short run. There fore, the action of conscious forces who utilize a materialist epistemology are a necessary critical factor in charting a course away from barbarism toward socialist transformation.

In sum, the broad forces of history are always the masses of people who spontaneously concentrate their ideas into mass action. And up to the stage of advanced capitalism this was adequate. But as we approach the 21st century the technological factors and the complexity of society require organized conscious forces if the action is to be decisive. Only broad mass movements with the capacity to combat and defeat the dominance of ruling class ideology, will replace the philosophical idealism underlying mass consciousness with historical materialism. Obviously this is the ideological dimension of the struggle,
something that has to be carried out now under capitalism in crisis and will have to be continued for generation to come under socialism. This is the historical function of a cultural revolution, and every society will have to have many.

2. HISTORICAL DIALECTICS OF BLACK MIDDLE CLASS LEADERSHIP:

Let us now turn to the issue of the Black middle class. I would like to declare myself both a beneficiary and victim of this class. But it is not a personalized argument I'd like to make.

My sense is that class is a historical category — not so much as a constantly varying status category or market position (occupational prestige, educational attainment or income) — the consistent principle of class organization is a common relationship to ownership of the means of production and ideological formulations that translate or reflect this economic position into culture, consciousness, and politics. The Black middle class strata is a combination of decreasing numbers of self employed farmers and business people, and increasing numbers of the new professionals (usually working for a state agency. My intention is to argue that the Black middle class has made a great historical contribution to the Black struggle and they have maintained and developed the radical Black ideological tradition within their historical context but that history has passed them by as the strategic source for criticism and vision.

During slavery the Black middle class was a primarily northern urban based group of merchants and professionals. They were insecure and unstable, facing constant danger from the threat of being forced into slavery. There was a total consensus that slavery should be ended, although their leadership reflected a diversity of overlapping methodologies to do it: Frederick Douglass represented the approach of mass education and persuasion of those in power, while Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth chose the illegal direct action of the underground railroad, while still others chose armed struggle like the slave revolts, the John Brown raid, or joining the Union Army.
For the next century a transformation took place that produced a dialectical tension within the Black middle class. We know this as the great self determination debate personified by the exchanges between Marcus Garvey, Booker T Washington, W E B DuBois. These three men represented different material conditions, different sectors of the Black middle class; Booker T Washington was the expression of the Black middle class as an incipient capitalist class within a segregated community. Within the South, based on the politics of fascism during the sharecropping days, the middle class dominated Black social institutions and frequently enjoyed some level of relative material comfort. However, economically they could not amass sufficient wealth to industrialize and provide the basis for community (or national) development. DuBois was representative of those Blacks outside of the south, those in direct lineage from the abolitionists, those who were militantly in favor of realizing the promise of entering the mainstream of American life. Garvey represented the colonized nations of the African Diaspora, and linked the Washington position to an international pan-african movement.

Ideological divisions were sharp and deep in this debate. If we understand the logic of each position in relation to its respective material base, then each becomes a rational position. However, the dialectic of racism and democracy has more often than not forced people into one camp or the other, and from that position attack all other positions. To the extent that a subsistence agrarian economy was sufficient, or that economic self-reliance was a viable option, the Booker T Washington forces made a strong point. But World War II and its related technological and demographical changes cut the base out from this position. To the extent that the racist politics of an ascending US imperialism were repressive people would get backed into the Washington camp. On the other hand, conservatism would be replaced with a more radical posture when mass support was needed for survival or career advancement.

By the 1950's the leading role of the struggle was in the
hands of the DuBois forces, but all major social institutions in
the segregated Black community were more fundamentally associated
with the Washington tradition, especially the Black church. The
significance of Martin Luther King is that from deep within the
Black church, the National Baptist Convention, he emerged as a
national leader in the DuBois tradition, the last great example of "the talented tenth." He sided with the forward thinking
forces of the East Coast against the traditional authoritarian
conservative dominance of J H Jackson based here in Chicago.
King is the great synthesis of the Black middle class, their best
and their last. And I might add that this great political con-
nection was engineered by Jesse Jackson, wooing Clay Evans (then
a rising star in Baptist leadership) into the King camp.

Another synthesis of the Washington and DuBois tradi-
tions, nationalism and the democratic struggles, was Malcolm X, only he emerged from the depths of the working class and the
prisons. The dialectic of leadership was not longer in the hands
of the middle class, because now a Black proletarian voice was
being heard. Malcolm X has greater strategic value than King
because he intensified the Black liberation debate from within
the radical Black tradition as cultivated by the militant Black
working class. Reformers are not particularly attracted to
Malcolm X, but he does draw all of the militants, radicals, and
revolutionaries.

This is the main link the Black liberation debate of the
1960's has to the new generation of youth in the 1990's. Malcolm
X spoke from outside of legitimate society: what he demanded the
society wouldn't give, and was resentful of having to hear it
from as Malcolm called himself "a field Negro." And most Black
middle-class leaders wouldn't take up the issues either. Now,
with the masses of Black workers and youth thrown out of work,
threatened with homelessness, AIDS and the drug culture of chemi-
cal and military urban guerrilla warfare, the society cant.
3. PROGRESSIVE OPTIONS

In stating once again the historical periodization of the
radical Black tradition my intention has been to provide a map

Crisis of Black Power / Ideological Perspectives 12
for the basic ideological positions that get interpreted through the current social context. One of the great ideological pitfalls for our movement has been sectarianism and dogmatism. Too many times groups have walled themselves off and/or worshiped books. The critical juncture for Black middle class radicals has always been taking up the people's cause in open forum for discussion and debate. Each debate has taken place within specific historical conditions and has had goals relative to those conditions. Our current debate has to learn from those that preceded us but today is a new situation and we have to do some serious and creative thinking on our own, the responsibility is ours.

In the 27 years since they assassinated Malcolm X the polarization in the social and economic life of the country has been reflected in the political and ideological spheres. The post 1960's US has been dominated by a right wing that has grown and become more aggressive. Beginning with the Nixon administration Black conservatives have been nurtured, and at times elevated to the status of ideological star such as in the cases of Thomas Sowell, Shelby Steel, or Clarence Thomas. Their most fundamental point of consensus is opposition to government intervention in solving social problems, although that is the fundamental tactic that has worked in the last 200 years.

These conservatives are outside of the radical Black tradition, and therefore are the worst case not the best case. They accept the social darwinist principle of the survival of the fittest as defined by class position. Since we are arguing a position to support the working class there is no unity possible with these arguments of the new Black conservatives.

However, I would like to spend my remaining time outlining one of the main focal points of theoretical debate among middle-class intellectuals in Black studies. This has been the greatest concentration of ideological reflection by the Black middle class. My argument is that since one of our greatest needs is the rebirth of the great Black liberation debate then it is important to discuss the extent to which the correct theoretical debates in Black studies can contribute.

Crisis of Black Power / Ideological Perspectives 13
This is the third wave of Black studies scholars. The founders were usually militant activists. This group took a high casualty rate. The second wave became bureaucrats who set goals in terms of institutional security and advancement. This third wave has a unique focus on theory and criticism being currently nurtured through five main international discussions and networks being built.

A. AFROCENTRICITY: This is the most popular Black studies concept, and as a school of thought it is gaining credibility in academic curricular discussions from the elementary level through doctoral programs. The basic argument is that Eurocentrism has lied and alienated Black people, and therefore the record must be set straight. Furthermore educational change for Black people requires an "African centered" curriculum that begins with ancient Egypt and discusses the connections of Black people over the last several thousand years.

The first aspect of this equates Afrocentricity with the phrase "a Black perspective." This is the basis for the popular success of the concept.

On the other hand the orientation to Egypt is more problematic, not as a field of investigation because there is a profound importance to the three basic questions being raised about race and culture: the origin of society and civilization, the issue of historical continuity, and the issue of historical change. The problem is one of idealism versus materialism, the terms on which we study Egypt and the lessons we seek to learn from this ancient past toward better being able to deal with the historical circumstances in which we live. As of yet we have not had class struggle placed at the heart of the new Egyptology emerging out of the Afrocentricity perspective, but we have had suggestions that race conflict explains why Egypt fell. Furthermore, the historical periodization of Egypt is explained in terms of dynastic succession without understanding the political economy of water and the formation of a strong state. Finally, we have yet to clarify why the internal life of Egypt opened the
door for invasion and conquest. A materialist perspective always examines the external condition for change and the internal basis of change.

In brief the remaining theoretical foci includes the following:

1. Black liberation theology: This theoretical activity includes a rereading of the Bible based on the historical struggles of Black people for liberation. And on this basis it advances new ethical principles that mandates resistance, God helps those who fight back.

2. Black feminist thought: This is a major development by which Black women are rethinking their historical experiences and contributions to the overall struggle. This has required the painful but necessary ideological struggle to deal with the fight against racism in feminist circles and the fight against sexism in Black contexts. One of the most exciting new developments in recent times has been the national ad campaign in which a network of Black women responded to the vicious assault against Black women that took place during the Clarence Thomas hearing, sort of sexual harassment in the mass media. Appropriately this was done by a group called African American Women in Defense of themselves.

3. Literary Criticism: The motion of the 1960's was to create a literature of and for the masses in revolt. Since then the literary critics have sought to identify and reconstruct a Black literary tradition based on paradigmatic texts. This has focused on redefining the literary canon. Here the danger is the mistake of taking up the great literary texts out of their context, especially out of their relationship to the great debates.

These 4 aspects of Black Studies theory are major fronts of intellectual struggle. Each represents a fight for access to and control of institutional resources in higher education. Furthermore these theoretical concerns are at the heart of the debate over the multicultural curriculum of inclusion for elementary and secondary education.

At this juncture the tradition is glaringly incomplete —
the issue of socialism as a theoretical focus on classes and the class struggle. For most of the 20th century this focus has been based on a logical analysis and events in other parts of the world. However, at this time class polarization is redefining social relations making it necessary to activate this perspective so that our theory fits historical developments. The class contradictions are defining the politics of struggle — more and more people are fighting to survive and hold on to what they have. If Black studies intellectuals remain unconnected to this emerging class struggle they are likely to remain engaged merely in a discourse of enlightenment for middle class elites. However, with a hook up great progress can be made.

In this brief paper on ideological perspectives I have focused on 3 points:
1. Materialist approach to analysis
2. Dialectics of the radical Black traditions — Three Great Debates
3. Crisis of Ideological debate in Black studies and the challenge of class defection.

In sum, yes I still believe that the strategic leadership of the Black middle class is over as a class — increasingly when it acts for itself it will be against us. However, with the rebirth and development of radical Black theory, especially socialism, the door is open for them to acquire new politics based on class defection.

_Crisis of Black Power / Ideological Perspectives_ 16
On Historical Materialism and Ideology

...In the Social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or -- this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms -- with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into fetters. Then begins the era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure. In studying such transformations it is always necessary to distinguish between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, artistic or philosophic -- in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as one does not judge an individual by what he thinks about himself, so one cannot judge such a period of transformation by its consciousness, but, on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the conflict existing between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society. Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation.

(quoted from Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HISTORICAL PERIODIZATION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE</th>
<th>RADICAL IDEOLOGICAL TRADITION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FORMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE</strong></td>
<td><strong>RADICAL IDEOLOGICAL TRADITION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FORMS OF FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL CHANGE</strong></td>
<td><strong>GREAT DEBATES OF BLACK RADICALISM</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADITIONAL AFRICA</td>
<td>1. Religion/Black liberation theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLANTIC SLAVERY TRADE</td>
<td>James Cone <em>For My People</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLAVERY</td>
<td>2. PanAfricanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMANCIPATION</td>
<td>A.M. Babu <em>African Socialism or a Socialist Africa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL TENANCY</td>
<td>3. Nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIGRATION</td>
<td>Vincent Franklin <em>Black Self Determination</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN INDUSTRY</td>
<td>4. Feminism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRISIS</td>
<td>Pat Hill Collins <em>Black Feminist Thought</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Future? Socialism or Barbarism</td>
<td>5. Socialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cedrick Robinson <em>Black Marxism</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebuild the Radical Black Tradition through Community Dialogue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>