

THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF BLACK YOUTH:

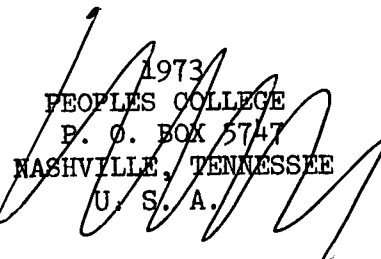
SIX ESSAYS

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THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF BLACK YOUTH

4. ASPECTS OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOR BLACK ~~STUDENTS~~ YOUTH


1973
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Facism can become the dominant political force in the U. S. A.. The government is becoming a police state, allowing genocidal murder of all revolutionary leadership (among countless other, Medgar Evers, Malik Shabazz, Martin Luther King, Fred Hampton, Ralph Featherstone, and George Jackson). Moreover, it is also clear that in educational institutions the reactionary forces have mobilized and are prepared to keep under surveillance and purge, all progressive teachers and students. This emergency requires Black people to make a new analysis in order to survive repression, to organize a successful movement for revolutionary change.

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

1. What educational alternatives are there for Black people in the USA today?
2. With these alternatives, what must be done by Black students in order to further the revolution rather than retard it?

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

CURRENT EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

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

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

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

PATTERNS OF U. S. A. EDUCATION FOR BLACK YOUTH

<u>Social Form</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Example</u>
1. Legitimate Institution	a. Church	a. National Baptist Convention
	b. School	b. Public School System
	c. Prison	c. Attica State Prison
	d. Military	d. United States Army
	e. Plant	e. Ford Motor Company
2. Mass Communications Associations	a. Popular Culture	a. Motown Productions
	b. Electronic Media	b. Television-Radio
	c. Community Centers	c. YWCA, Boys Club, etc.
	d. Youth Associations	d. Black P. Stone Nation
	e. Print Media	e. Jet Magazine
3. New Black Community Institutions	a. New Schools	
	1. Ideological Program	1. Peoples College
	2. Technical School	2. Malcolm X Liberation University
	b. Mass Media	
	1. Publishing	1. Peoples College Press
	2. Distribution	2. Timbuktu Bookstore

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

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

<u>Age group</u>	<u>% in School</u>
14-15	98.1
16-17	89.7
18-19	50.2
20-24	23.0
25-29	7.9
30-34	4.8

It is evident that school is the basic educational experience for Teenagers, as contrasted by an earlier influence of the church, and later influence of the military, prison, and plant.

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

1970 BLACK ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

TYPE OF COLLEGE			NUMBER	ENROLLMENT	% OF TOTAL
Traditional Black Institutions	Private	Senior	51	53,050	11.3%
	Private	Two-year	11	2,950	0.6
	Public	Senior	34	102,025	21.7
	Public	Two-year	4	1,975	0.4
TOTAL			100	160,000	34.0
Traditional White Institutions	Private	Senior	1,150	35,000	7.5
	Private	Two-year	250	2,000	0.4
	Public	Senior	400	2,000	26.0
	Public	Two-year	700	151,000	32.1
TOTAL			2,5000	310,000	66.0
<u>GRAND TOTAL</u>			2,6000	470,000	100.0%

*Includes all Black public schools like Malcom X College in Chicago.

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

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

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

1960 BLACK PRISON POPULATION

<u>AGE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Under 15	324
15-19	11,197
20-24	24,019
25-39	67,469
Total	133,249

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

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

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

BLACKS IN U. S. A. ARMED FORCES

	Officer	Enlisted	Total
Army	5,392 (3.4%)	143,926 (13.5%)	149,318 (12.1%)
Navy	511 (0.7)	30,425 (5.4)	30,936 (4.8)
Marine Corps	296 (1.3)	23,294 (11.2)	23,590 (10.2)
Air Force	<u>2,202 (1.7)</u>	<u>73,227 (11.7)</u>	<u>75,429 (10.0)</u>
total	8,401 (2.)	270,872 (11.1)	279,273 (9.8)

The Plant: The knowledge and skills required to hold most jobs available for Black Youth today are provided though "the Plant", on the job training. The major reason for this is the degree of control demanded by the corporation over who they train and for what, especially making sure that the surplus labor of the unemployed is not educated to the point of being self-conscious about their marketable labor. Working class education is tied directly to the company, and more often than not is focused on specific jobs. This requires periodic retraining programs, another mechanism of control whereby a portion of the work force is made obsolete by not allowing them to acquire the new skills necessary for the new jobs.

An intended result of this type of education is the discipline required to do productive work. So working class youth are given the basic discipline of revolutionary work in the process of being exploited by the industrial capitalists. The development of working class consciousness and discipline for Black youth is one of the most basic class to support for revolutionary change.

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

It is also important to focus-on the institutional forces at work on the different age groups. The importance of this becomes clear when it is realized that people in their early twenties are a generation who have experienced extreme institutional contact. This means that this age group has experienced the contradictions at the very point of maximum contact with the institutions. From the church and civil rights, to school and Black studies, to work and Black capitalism,

to prison and Attica, to military and Vietnam.

The total coverage of the public schools (and private colleges mainly supported with federal funds) means that we must understand Black Community mass education as supplementary for most young Black people. However, it is of primary importance for those people who stop going to school, either because they finish or they quit. This is about 70% of blacks 18-20. The main educational tools are records, radio-stations, cultural programs, bookstores and publishers. The existence of more than a radio station (and the 2 or 3 National Black television programs) is mainly in cities, particularly in the north with large Black populations.

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

With the development of Motown and Stax Recording companies, Black people have the capacity to produce records on a large scale, although their access to the market of Black consumers is still controlled by white agencies. So, it is with the community based cultural and political programs that we find the smallest area of direct white intervention. With these community programs the situation is more akin to neo-colonialism in that there is no direct control (like having a white news director of a radio station), but only economic control (like a white owner). Most community based programs have up til this point been existing on funds from white agencies (government, foundations, churches and businesses). Cultural community programs have easy access to most institutions (schools, prisons, churches) although political community programs are fairly limited to churches and local community facilities.

Singing and dancing is alright, but political analysis is often not allowed.

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

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

- (a) They have been born out of significant educational struggles and must be considered the next (second) generation of these struggles;
- (b) Hence, the programs seem to have the historical role of providing continuity from one phase of struggle to the next. While there are relatively few people currently involved in these programs, the participants are some of the most highly motivated people in the struggle. So an advance corps of cadre are likely to develop within these programs.
- (c) They have served as canldrons of ideological ferment, and will likely be the basis of new ideological formations working among the masses of people.
- (d) They are experimental programs without substantial resources or "legitimacy," and are the proof of self-reliance, the proof of Black people educating each other.

The new mass media had developed in anticipation of the current contraction of the publishing world away from the "Black titles. During the rise of Black studies every publishing house moved to get several Black authors, but now the trend has reversed. Books will once again go out of print. So, several publishing efforts have been developed. This has been a cultural development, in general but there are at least 4 political publishers. The key problem is distribution.

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

It is important to understand the whole range of activities that serve to educate Black Youth. And here, we use education to include all behavior based wholly or in part on providing knowledge and skills that will enable a person to survive (each a living observe codes of conduct, etc.). So, we have discussed three major types of educational experiences, (a) formal "legitimate" institutions, (b) mass communications and (c) programs of a new type.

The key to changing education from being oppressive (and based on needs to exploit labor at higher skill levels) to liberating is based on struggle. On the eve of the October, Revolution in 1917, Lenin clearly understood this:

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

2. THE EDUCATION OF MALCOLM

One of the ways this struggle for a liberating education can be seen is in the life of Malcolm. A previous generation of Black Youth has given Up From Slavery, the autobiography of Booker T. Washington, as a model. And we are currently being assaulted by romantic criminal or police "heroes." Therefore, it is imperative that we struggle to keep Malcolm's life in the forefront of analysis, and use his autobiography as a model for Black Youth. Malcolm embraced Booker T. and the gangster, but kept developing to a higher stage, a stage of struggle.

EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS AND THE LIFE OF MALIK SHABAZZ

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

*Number are Chapter references to the Autobiography of Malcolm X

(New York: Grove Press, 1965)

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

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

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

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz: This was the final period of his life. He moved away from the exclusivist religious orientation of the Nation of Islam to a more inclusive political ideology of Black Nationalism. In his words, "its time to put religion in the closet" and for All Black people to come together under the banner of Black Nationalism.

The life of Malik Shabazz moved from the legitimate institutions of USA society, to the creation of a political organization for all Black people-- The Organization of Afro-American Unity. We can view this as the dialectical movement from an alien institutional base to a negation of all so called legitimate institutions, finally moving to a higher level of synthesis by participation in the creating of a new institutional base with a new Black legitimacy.

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

3. WHAT MUST BE DONE BY BLACK STUDENTS

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

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

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

The methodology must include two sets of concepts:

1. THE UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE:

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

2. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMUNITY AND SELF

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

That protects us from the dangers of intellectual irrelevance, and mindless action, from loss of self as well as self-centeredness. The methodology must be dynamic and capable of constant use over and over as the situation of the world changes, and we move from place to place. It must be change oriented, and help us to deal with objective reality in terms of conflict and changes.

By focusing on the above two contradictions, it is possible to understand ideological development in a very clear way. And when one actually experiences it, it is clear that the development is not completely evolutionary but revolutionary as well. It demonstrates that sustained consistent activity in one stage leads to the next one and so on until another level is reached (quantitative change leads to qualitative change).

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

The four stages do not occur in a simple sequential order but often develop simultaneously.

STAGES OF IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT FOCUS OF STRUGGLE

Kind of Struggle	Theory (analysis)	BLACK COMMUNITY	SELF
		(1) <u>STAGE ONE</u> analyse concrete conditions of all educational alternatives with in geographical units of political work (institution, city, country, state, region)	(2) <u>STAGE TWO</u> A. Locate self in analysis of Existing Problems B. Project self in analysis of proposed solution
	Practice (Action)	(3) <u>STAGE THREE</u> Independent basic changes in individual levels of commitment and program work based on new analysis of concrete conditions	(4) <u>STAGE FOUR</u> Organize new educational programs in Black community to continue process of heinting the contradictions to promote basic strategies of change.

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

1. Rulling Class Publications:
 - a. Fortune (monthly)
 - b. Foreign Affairs (Quarterly)
 - c. New York Times (Daily, esp. Sunday)
 - d. Wall Street Journal (Daily)
2. Revolutionary Publications:
 - a. Tricontinental (Bi-Monthly)
 - b. Guardian (Weekly)
 - c. Monthly Review (Monthly)
3. Black Liberation
 - a. African World (Bi-Weekly)
 - b. Muhammad Speaks (weekly)

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

Superintendent of Documents
 Attn: "S. L." mail list
 Government Printing Office
 Washington, D. C. 20402
 U. S. A.

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

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

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

It is necessary (as it is enevitable) that the masses of Black rural and urban workers will develop class consciousness and become a conscious part of working class struggle. Two problems exist:

- (a) how to overcome racist attitudes and feelings among white workers?
- (b) how to transform the Black middle class (as much as possible into an ally of the Black masses?

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

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

Once you have focused in on the way things are, then you can project the way things must be, the way they ought to be. This means that you have clearly defined the objective interests of every group of Black people, and are choosing the objective interests of all your people to end exploitation, rather than the interests of one specific group of people and allow exploitation of others to continue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WE MUST SEIZE THE TIME.

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

These two exercises are indispensible in have an objective criteria to use in changing your life.

The use of time and money in ones life represents an objective approach to getting onesself together. A student must also examine the substance of his student life and implement specific changes there. Most schools present the

student with certain given alternatives, and allow the student to make choices. The basic academic choices involve a major, specific courses, and topics for term papers. Each choice is twofold: a) what are you going to choose? and b) what are you going to do with your choice? Both choices must reflect your new theoretical analysis of your people and yourself. Both choices must be maximized for struggle. You've got to choose your areas of study in a serious manner, then work hard so you can make a contribution to your people.

A major problem with the kind of work that Black students are engaged in is that it is impossible to get yourself together without dealing directly with reality. This is a combination of social practice and social research. Without social practice one cannot possibly understand the dynamics of life and struggle. Without social research a person will never know more than his own experiences, except what he gets vicariously through the experiences of others. And for both practice and research we must go directly to the action itself. We need a basic method for research on the world, not just research on writings that interpret the world. The student must become a scientist using the world as his laboratory.

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

In the physical space you have to live in (eat, sleep, study, etc.) you should consider the political content of all your senses, start picking up:

What do you see? What do you hear? What do you taste? What do you smell? What do you touch? You must examine all of these things and change them to the same set of priorities you are now using to reorganize your life. This is very important as support since the rest of your life will be encountering negative forces beyond your immediate control. Now I am not so much concerned about the Motown sound (popular Black music) as I am tape collection of important lectures and discussion for your study purposes. I am talking about basically healthy foods and not the excessive storing of expensive health food store items. In sum, your physical environment must have an high utility for what your life is going to be about.

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

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

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

only then will you be able to perform "acts that will serve as a mobilizing force and an example.

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

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

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

1. COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA: Every community ought to be informed of what is happening. Although most people get hold of major national news, frequently what is happening in the world as well as in the local

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

2. INFORMATION CENTER: The most common form of info-center is the bookstore. We need to have one in every community so that material that is published elsewhere can be distributed to the people from a regular location. In addition to the relevant newspapers, magazines, and journals the information center should have a section on Africans in the West (Afro-Americans), Africa, Revolution, and the Enemy. Again, the store ought to deal in the most inexpensive articles (editions of books) and attempt to keep the overhead costs to a minimum. All questions concerning this program should be made to TIMBUKTU, 887 Hunter Street, Atlanta, Ga.

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

4. SCHOOL: The creation of a school involves the highest form of participation because it not only involves several study groups, it is possible (and desirable) to think of a school as at least having the above three programs as parts of it. The last approach has a great many problems associated with it that requires another more lengthy analysis. All that we will say here is that Washington, D. C., Chicago, Greensboro and Nashville have

Black independent schools that deserve much study if such schools are to grow and develop. All questions concerning this area should be mailed to: Peoples College, P. O. Box 5747, Nashville Tennessee.

CONCLUDING NOTE

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

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

THE POLITICAL EDUCATION FOR BLACK YOUTH

2. IDEOLOGICAL DIALECTICS:

AN INTRODUCTION TO PAN AFRICANISM AND MARXISM

1973

PEOPLES COLLEGE

P. O. BOX 5747

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

U. S. A.

The decade of the 1970's will be full of bloodshed and terror, because the western industrial countries are in the hands of racist mad men whose greed and immorality has all humanity in danger. We will struggle against them or have their terror catch us unprepared. Our choices must be rational and deliberate because our next choice might be the one we go down over. That's precisely why we have to study the entire scene today as we move to build/consolidate our community thru struggle. We must grow strong so we can disarm this historical machine of terror, and turn history toward our ultimate goal, the liberation of man.

This article is focused on two major ideological movements PAN AFRICANISM AND MARXISM. Both of these concepts have been on the scene for the last 100 years or so, and Black people have had to deal with them in different ways at different times. However, we have never moved as a peoples movement to the highest level of ideological synthesis, never have we had the theory necessary for revolutionary struggle, and the organizational discipline to actually wage it. This article is written as a contribution to our movement toward that higher level.

Our approach will be to examine the components and contradictions of both ideological forces, and then survey the current ideological picture within that framework. After isolating the basic historical problems found within the current ideological makeup of our struggle, we will examine new alternatives based on both ideological choices. Our major concern is on the historical development of ideology for the African world revolution.

In a general sense, Pan Africanism is the belief that Africans share a common past, present and future. This general conception raises two questions: (a) who is an African?, and (b) what historical stages are commonly experienced by Africans. Both of these questions are important because most ideological contradictions are measured by answers to them.

The question of Pan African Identity includes four elements:

1. Race
2. Geography
3. Culture
4. Consciousness

All of these elements of African Identity can be associated with individuals, movements, and countries during different historical periods, although in this discussion. Our concern is with the modern period of the last century, been the most basic and controversial because European colonization has produced white racism in either the form of white superiority, or the myth of assimilation. However, Race has been a central concept in the ideological development of Edward Blyden, (1832-1912), Marcus Garvey, (1887-1940) and Elijah Muhammad, (1897-present).

The racial element has been the most basic and controversial of the four. This is because of the priority given it by the system of European colonization, which was maintained by white racism in either the overt form of white superiority-Black inferiority, or the unattainable myth of assimilation (meaning imitation of the white man). African ideologists have always developed conceptual defenses against this racism, as we can clearly see in the lives of Edward Blyden (1832-1912), Marcus Garvey (1887-1940), and Elijah Muhammad (1897 to present).

Blyden developed the notion that Africans were the rightful heirs of the African continent. He maintained there was a clear racial distinction of the white man ("Harsh, individualistic, competitive and combative") versus the Black man ("the softer aspects of human nature: cheerfulness, sympathy, willingness to serve"). Moreover, he held that there was a basic difference between the pure Black man, (who was an African) and the mulatto (who was mixed and not really an African). He advocated only pure Black people return to Africa.

Garvey, was as much a race theorist as Delaney; "I believe in racial purity, and in maintaining the standard of racial purity." He often derided mulattos who he held were always "seeking excuses to get out of the Negro race."

Mr. Muhammads position can best be described by the myth of Yakub, the story of ~~how~~ the white man was created. Yakub was a mad but brilliant ancient Black scientist. He disobeyed Black law and performed genetic experiments creating a bleached out man, a white man. This white man had an evil nature and was destined to live for only a certain time.

These three men (Blyden, Garvey, and Muhammad) have been giants of Black Nationalist thought in the last 100 years. However, it is precisely on the point of equating Black with African that a contradiction emerges. The major contradictions have been raised at different times about (a) North African Arabs (b) west coast people with old time contacts with ~~Asia~~ ^{EUROPE}, and (c) east coast people with long time contacts with Asia, and (d) Africans in the west who have suffered forced amalgamation/assimilation through rape in slavery. History has resulted in racial diversity rather than homogeneity ^{GENCITY} (purity), so the biggest problem facing racial theorists is how to identify who is an African.

The second ^element of Pan Africanism concerns geography, the question of land. The historical reality of African geography reveals successive stages in which increasingly larger units of territory are unified through a common political economy. Specific well known stages include the Sudanic Islamic states, the colonial empires and the currently developing regional unions of independent African states. However, it must be understood that this historical pattern has been generated through violent social disruption, and often has resulted in balkinization before moving to a higher level of unified political economy.

However, this general pattern is not all. We must continue to deal with the specific geographically based questions that have recurred during recent African history. (1) Is the northern boundary of Africa the Mediterranean sea or the Sahara desert? and (2) What is the boundary significance of the Atlantic Ocean since there are over 100 million Africans in the Americas? There are other questions that deal with internal boundary conflicts within Black Africa: ancestral tribal lands versus migratory tribes versus colonial empires versus colonial national integrity versus independent nation

states versus regional unification. The basic geographical question remains, "Where is Africa?"

Culture, the third element, is the most popular concept. There are countless men and movements who have developed Pan African cultural ideologies. But for our purposes here, we will focus on one ~~man~~ movement to portray the range of cultural contentions and contradictions: Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal, and the Negritude movement. For Senghor, Negritude is "the sum of the cultural values of the black world."

"According to Senghor, 'Negritude is the whole complex of vilized values...which characterize the Negro African World. All these values are essentially formed by intuitive reason...the sense of communion, the gift of myth-making, the gift of rhythm.'"

And these Black values have served three historical functions for Senghor: (1) as a defensive reaction to colonial assimilation, (2) as a basis for national independence, and (3) as a basis for nation building. Focusing on basic African traits like rhythm, imagination, and communalism, Senghor has developed a cultural philosophy that has served him as a colonial student in Paris, as head of an African country, and as theoretician for African development.

However, while the cultural philosophy of Senghor has been the most wide spread and accepted view, it has also been under attack from throughout the Pan African world. One critic points to the general contradiction of how it started as a "literary concept" and how it has been used as "a political mysticism." And the most far reaching critic has been Frantz Fanon, who argues that who ever is concerned about African culture must be concerned first with the conditions for the creation of that culture. These conditions must be based on historical reality, not myth. He wrote: "It is around the peoples struggles that African Negro culture takes on substance, and not around songs, poems, or folklore."

In sum, the contention of the Negritude position is that cultural facts are a viable basis for Pan African unity, particularly in the way they can be used to keep what is African distinct from what is European. The essential contradiction is found in how culture is understood to operate within historical change. Either culture exists independent of historical stages of development, or culture must be understood within history like everything else. This, I guess, is the difference between culture that is religious belief ^(SACRED) and culture of peoples everyday lives ^(SECULAR).

Lastly, the fourth element of Pan African ideology is consciousness. This last element is the most universal since it is not based on entirely what one is given at birth, (as is the case with racial traits, geographical residence, and cultural history) but is based on the analysis one has of the total African reality, past present and future. Dubois spoke to this when he reacted against the above contradictions:

Since then the concept of race has so changed and presented so much of contradiction that as I face Africa I ask myself: What is it? between us that constitutes a tie which I can feel better than I can explain? Africa is of course my fatherland. Yet neither my father nor my father's father ever saw Africa or cared overmuch for it. My mother's folk were closer and yet their direct connection, in culture and race became tenuous; still, my tie to Africa is strong. On this vast continent were born and lived a large portion of my direct ancestors going back a thousand years or more.

But one thing is sure and that is the fact that since the fifteenth century these ancestors of mine and their other ~~ancestors~~ ^{ancestors} have suffered a common disaster and have one long memory. The actual ties of heritage between the individuals of this group, vary with the ancestors that they have in common and many others: Europeans and Semites, perhaps Mongolians, certainly Indians. But the physical bond is least and the badge of color relatively unimportant save as a badge; the real essence of this kinship is its social heritage of slavery; the discrimination and insult; and this heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa, but extends through yellow Asia and into the South Seas. It is this unity that draws me to Africa.

But this position is also weakened by a major omission, if not contradiction. The key fact is not only that consciousness is the most universal element for Pan African unity, but must also involve something about the nature of that consciousness. In an essay written four years later, Dubois recognized this in his own development. He admits that it was only after he realized man was guided as much by irrationality as reason, and that society was governed by historical forces at work independent of

specific human decisions, that he was able to work out a methodological approach that would guide his consciousness as well as his acts so that he would always take into consideration the general historical pattern as well as the particular human difference. He obviously began to deal with the contradiction of methodology and analysis.

This discussion of the four elements of Pan African ideology has revolved around the African continent as the center for African reality. It must be recognized that each of the four elements are equally present in our efforts to contribute to a Pan African ideology here in the west. In fact we can easily fit critical questions to each of the elements that reflect our particular historical concerns:

1. RACE: Who is an African? How important is hair texture? skin color? eye color? Shape of nose? size of lips?
2. GEOGRAPHY: Where, if at all, is our land base here in the west? What about the city? the south? the islands? south and central America?
3. CULTURE: What is Black culture? which religion? language? dress style? diet? symbols? rituals?
4. CONSCIOUSNESS: What is the Black analysis of the worlds past? present? and what future projections are there to be made and worked for?

All four elements are necessary parts of the African reality, although each one brings with it positive assertions as well negative contradictions. We are faced with the dialectical development of a Pan African ideology.

And for this development we need an analysis that deals with contradictions and historical change. So at this point we will shift to the second major ideological movement in this paper, Marxism. Marxism is a historically developing body of thought that began with Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895), and has been subsequently developing all over the world. We will approach this in two ways:

1. The social theory and historical practice of Marxism,
2. How this (#1) has related to African reality.

Marxism, as a method of analysis, includes three key components: (1) dialectics: "internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature...a past and a future...something dying away and something being born..." (2) materialism: "...the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion..." and (3) historical: this view holds that nothing is in isolation, but everything is in some way inter-dependent; "everything depends on the conditions, time and place,"

These three assumptions are drawn from the literature of physical science as well as the history of mankind in order to develop the basis for a science of society. They are put forth to oppose metaphysics, idealism, subjectivism, and mysticism. Essentially what is being said is that whatever is, must be knowable. And whatever is, changes to the rhythm of dialectical motion. The dialectical motion of man is knowable only through the systematic study of history.

By using the above methods of thought, Marx and Engels found that the most basic historical force in society was the way man produced the material things necessary for him to survive, i.e., food, clothing, and shelter. They called this the "mode of production." They analysed European history and found that there were five basic stages in the past, present, and future as determined by the mode of production: (1) primitive communal, (2) slave, (3) feudal, (4) capitalist, and (5) socialist. The first system was when everyone worked and collectively owned the means of production. However, life was always in poverty since ignorance and a low level of technology had people constantly fighting for their survival.

This was followed by slavery which developed when one group dominated another slavery means that the slave owner privately owns all the means of production, including life and death control over the slave. The feudal system is when the feudal lord owns everything (the land, etc.) but does not completely own the landless serfs. He can buy and sell the serf but not kill him as openly as with the slave, an example of this is share cropping. The capitalist system is where you have businessmen and workers and

can be called wage slavery. Capitalism means the creation of a proletariat class obliged to sell their labor to bourgeoisie class whose only purpose is profit, and must therefore cheat the laborers out of what they rightfully earn ("surplus value"). The last historical development in the means of production will be the socialist system in which "the goods produced are distributed according to the labor performed." Socialism is based on equivalent change, i.e., a man's income is based on what he produces not on how much he can bargain for.

~~On~~ Since they saw society as a class struggle, Marx and Engels directed their writing at the oppression of wage-slavery under capitalism, and the liberation of the working class proletariat under socialism. This was taken up throughout Europe as the dawning of scientific socialism to replace socialism thought based on idealism, romantic ideas, or rhetoric. This ~~was~~ socialism based on analysis that even an average worker could use to get his head together, and not some kind of magic that remained secrets to all but a few. This was a science based on the actual historical conditions that working class people face. How much money they make, why, and what they could do to improve their condition.

There are two critical questions that often point up contradictions within any specific marxists analysis:

1. What is the difference, if any, between the method of Marxian analysis and the substantive findings of a Marxist analysis?
2. What historical changes have occurred in the class interests of the European (white) working class?

These two questions are necessary since Marx did his empirical analysis on 19th century England and viewed history through the experience of Europe. As before, this statement does not negate the usefulness of Marxism in the world today it merely points to limitations that can be placed on most sterile dogmatic applications of Marxism.

Marx and Engels never saw their analysis developed through revolutionary action. The full realization of their analysis comes most notably with Lenin in the Soviet Union, Mao in China, and Castro in Cuba, even though they would not have predicted

this at all And these particular struggles were different based on the historical conditions of time and place: Here are a few of the similarities and differences:

COUNTRY	WHEN	WHERE	WHO	ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL
1. USSR	1917	urban	workers	central committee of party over the military leadership
2. China	1949	rural	peasants	central committee of party over the military leadership
3. Cuba	1959	rural	peasants	party leadership identical with the military leadership

The 1917 revolution in the Soviet Union established the Lenninist principles for a revolutionary vanguard communist party. This was a cadre organisation based on rigorous ideological training, and strict party discipline. The Soviet experience was based on the revolutionary cadres guiding urban insurrections with the central committee of the party having full authority over the military activity.

Mao tse-Tung directed the Chinese revolution in another way, and established the most widely influential organizational principles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Although the party still had authority over the military leadership, the thrust was now the rural peasant and not the urban worker. This was not revolution through agitation and explosion, but through what Mao called protracted warfare.

Fidel Castro and Che Guervara made a significant contribution to these principles. Fidel insisted that there be no separation of leadership into political and military. He insisted that they be combined into one, and took over complete control of the Cuban struggle in his headquarters in the mountains.

All of these examples were guided in one way or another by the scientific analysis of Marx and Engles. And each one added to the analysis based on the historical conditions of each specific struggle.

Now that we have dealt with the first question as to the theory and practice of Marxism in a general sense, how has all of this been developed to have a more direct relationship to the historical reality of Africa. On the theoretical level Lenin's analysis of ~~Imperialism~~ ~~has~~ influenced all subsequent analysis of colonized peoples. The importance of this work is to show that imperialism was the direct historical result of the monopoly state of capitalism, guided by the advantages Europe derived from colonial plunder. Previous bourgeois economists hold that it was simply an arbitrary decision by capitalists. Lenin showed that it was inevitable for them to attempt it, since the only way to settle the internal European crisis was war, particularly war resulting in colonial rule by European powers.

Lenin pointed out how imperialism, in helping to arrest the European capitalist contradiction of monopoly, frequently led to "opportunism in the working class movement. This means that European workers would cease being a revolutionary force for change as long as they shared in colonial plunder. In other words, the workers were no longer on the bottom, they too stood on the shoulders of colonized Asian, African, Latin American and African slaves in the United States. Lenin went on to point out that everyone who did not fight this working class opportunism as well as imperialism was a "sham and humbug." Lenin's analysis was very clear on the necessity of taking the entire world into consideration. This is the theoretical imperative of the imperialist stage of world history.

However, it is really when we examine the historical practice of Marxism in Africa that we can evaluate its impact. This historical practice can be either a full pledged Marxist-Leninist communist party or a party only guided by the principles of scientific socialism. The experience of African people within a communist party has been difficult, especially because the international has always given priority to the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Stalinist attack on all free voices within the communist world movement forced most Blacks out, especially those with a Pan African perspective. This can be traced notably in essays by Richard Wright, Aime Cesaire, and George Padmore.

The communist party, therefore, is negligible in the African world today. So, while the African struggle has chosen ~~not~~ to follow the strict authority of ^a the communist ~~international~~ ^{Party}, it has nevertheless embraced the principles of Marxism as a scientific basis for revolutionary socialist change. This can be easily seen in the most progressive African countries and national liberation movements.

GUINEA: Although he never went beyond high school, Ahmed Sekou Toure is a leading African Marxist theoretician who got his training in the trade union movement. He has declared that "without being communists, we believe that the analytical qualities of Marxism and the organization of the people are methods well suited for our country." And in the Black Scholar (November 1969) he declared "we have clearly adopted the analysis of Marx and Engels..." This position is also reflected in Guinea's international policy.

TANZANIA: Mwalimu Julius Nyereri is often cited as one who had rejected Marxism in favor of a socialism based solely on traditional culture. This is based on two basic misunderstandings:

1. that an indigenous cultural tradition is antithetical to Marxism; and 2. that traditional culture is capable of creating socialism in the modern world. Mwalimu Nyereri makes neither of these mistakes. In a speech in Cairo he said that a European coming to socialism through capitalism has taken a different path than the one he must take from a non-capitalist former colony. But he goes on to say that they have not much to learn from each other. And, at an international conference a member of the TANU central committee (the political party of Tanzania) declared that while TANU has chosen to by pass developing a decadent capitalist stage before constructing a socialist society, "Lenin's teachings are thoroughly studied at our institutions of higher learning."

It is also important to understand that several marxist oriented technicians went from Ghana to help tanzania (before and after the Ghana group in 1966), and are still serving there.

And on the second point above, Mwalimu Nyerere in an essay "Socialism and Rural Development" points out the two major shortcomings of socialism based on traditional African culture: a. the inferior role assigned women (rather than a full measure of equality); and b. poverty based on ignorance and a low value placed on science and technology. (Dig on this brothers and sisters and learn from the continent!!!)

And the National Liberation movements are equally committed to the use of Marxist principles in waging their struggles. This is particularly clear in Guinea-Bissau: PAIGC; Angola: NPLA; Azania (South Africa): ANC; and Namibia (Southwest Africa): SWAPO. This pattern can easily be ascertained by reading Sechaba, Africa and the World, Muhammad Speaks, The African Communist and The World Marxist Review. (If we're going to have thoughts about international issues, then we must have international sources of information.)

As we turn from the continent to the rest of the Pan African world, we must deal with the complexity of Latin America. Most of the Africans in the west are in Latin American, and it is there that most African culture remains intact, e.g., Yoruba in parts of Brazil and Cuba, where religious rituals, dances, and festivals are **all** observed. Haiti is rich in tradition, as is Jamaica, and Trinidad. However, the two most forward thinking countries in Latin American are both Marxist oriented (Cuba, Chile). The contradiction we face here is pan-Americanism versus Pan Africanism.

Now we can examine briefly the current ideological dialectic in the USA among African people. We will look at how each ideological position would explain the rise of both ideological choices:

1. The Pan African View: This view would include Stokely Carmichael's observation that "Pan Africanism is the highest form of Black Power. Moreover it would attempt to isolate major historical experiences that would set the conditions for further ideological development:

1 A	NATIONAL MOVEMENT	2 A Civil Rights	3 A Black Nationalism Black Power
2 2 B	INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM	2 B Vietnam War Assasination of King	3 B Impact of Malcolm and Nkrumah African Liberation Struggle
1 C	NEW IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT	2 C MARXISM	3 C Pan Africanism

So this view would have Marxism being the natural extension of civil rights movement, and Pan Africanism being the extension of Black nationalism.

2. The MARXIST View: This approach would focus on the class based interests of the major organizations and leaders. Also, this posititon could include the notion that the USA is a multi-national state (just like in the Soviet Union) in which every oppressed nation must be guaranteed the right of self determination. A Marxist would argue that since the vast majority of the Black community are working class people, Black people need a working class ideology. They would go on to arugue that while nationalism has its positive aspects, it is always likely to have middle class interests as its guiding force. They would charge that if Black capitalism and Pan Africanism are compatible (whether in Ghana today or Gary Indiana, Country Preacher Jesse Jackson or Congo Kinchassa President Mobutu) then Black people are getting a confidence game once again.

They would argue that if a movement is for the people, then it must be led by the people and not by "notable middle class leaders". And, it must be guided by ideas that will put the society in the hads of the people.

We have just attempted to describe the current dialectic motion of Pan African ideology in the world today. This has focused on the two choices of Pan Africanism and Marxism. Both of these positions speak to the needs of Black people, and both of them are to be fournd throughout the Pan African world.

SESSION ONE: INTRODUCTION TO SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

FISK SEMINAR ON MARXISM

FEBRUARY 12, 1973

OUTLINE OF INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of introduction Session
 - (a) Clarify task of seminar
 - (b) Survey of Historical and Dialectrical Materialism
2. Fisk Seminar on Marxism
 - (a) Faculty - Students
 - (b) Race - Class
 - (c) Petty-bourgeois vs Proletariat
 - (d) Role of Ed for oppressed people
 - (e) Readings for course - intensive
3. Historical develop of dialect and historical materialism
 - (a) Rise of Bourgeoisie
 - (b) Utopian Socialism
 - (c) Scientific Socialism

1. Dialectics

2. Materialism

3. Dialectical Materialism

4. Scientific Socialism

(a) Historical Materialism

(b) Political Economy

(c) Principles of Scientific Socialism

(d) Revolution

5. Socialist Revolution

(a) Soviet Union

(b) China

(c) Cuba

BASIC QUESTIONS

1. What is Dialectical Materialism?
2. What is Historical Materialism?
3. What is Scientific Socialism?
4. How has Scientific Socialism (Marxism) been tested since October 1917 revolution?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Required: (a) Engles, Anti Duhring, pp. 25-44
(b) Lenin, Karl Marx, pp. 1-46
2. Suggested: (a) Stalin, Historical and Dialectical Materialism
(b) Conforth, Materialism and the Dialectical Method

FISK SEMINAR ON MARXISM
FEBRUARY 12, 1973
INTRODUCTORY PRESENTATION BY ABDUL

The purpose of this introductory session is to more or less introduce the science of socialism or Marxism primarily by concentrating on historical developments of the philosophical ingredients of dialectical and historical materialism.

Now the Fisk seminar on Marxism. I just thought it would be important to double back on the poor job done last week to discuss the significance of this seminar because we have to be aware of our history and what our particular historical task in this seminar is. I want to point out a couple of things that are important. One is that this seminar represents an important experiment in overcoming the contradiction of faculty versus students. We're trying to have a seminar in which both faculty and students are more or less participating as equals. It is very important to keep this uppermost in our heads so that we don't backslide into the same contradiction so that this becomes another kind of session where faculty people dominate and students consume. Secondly, it's very important to recognize that we are in the midst of a Black middle-class school or petty-bourgeois school whose purpose is to train Black elites, Black professionals, Black comprador elites. People who are tied to the society at large but who play a managerial role in the Black community. But at the same time we're in the middle of this context we are studying the science of the working class. That is to say we are studying the ideology that working class people throughout the world are using to better clarify their understanding of their conditions and the nature of capitalism to move to bring about more justice and equality in the world. So it is very important for us to recognize that contradiction. The contradiction between our immediate social surroundings and what we are doing in this seminar. Thirdly, it is important that the historical period that we are in is one in which the Black community has accepted cultural nationalism as being legitimate, and that unity is based

upon a broad kind of cultural unity of fellow we-feeling that Black people have. But, while this is going on, and this is by and large dominated by the middle class and therefore is used as a cover for the extension of the policies of this country or the establishment of this country. At the same time we are investigating the possibility of the science which will guide the development of class consciousness among Black people. This class consciousness ^{would} ~~will~~ be based on a common economic position, a common position in this society and that consciousness is an alternative to and is really in contradiction with the consciousness of cultural nationalism which is a middle class phenomenon.

The fourth point is that we are investigat^{ing}~~ing~~ in this seminar the theoretical basis of struggle and all national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The dominant ideological force for liberation in the world today is the science of socialism. It is important for us to remember or keep in our minds that young people such as ourselves in every country in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are doing exactly what we are doing. That the dominant theoretical and ideological thrust in almost every major university in the third world centers around scientific socialism as opposed to the United States where, by and large, there is a conspiracy to ignore it or reject it as being viable without even seriously considering it.

The last point is that the method we are using is studying a small amount of material in a very intensive way. That another questionable approach is the piecemeal approach to studying the phenomenon of Marxism because of the way it developed. It will be clear as we get into this that the way Marxism developed was in the context of struggle against various tendencies that existed in the societies and the times that the founders and developers of the science actually confronted. That is, Marxism did not develop in an analytic ~~and~~ ideal way ~~but rather~~ where a treatise was written to cover all points but rather it was developed in the context of struggle. So that most of the work other than the major scientific works on

the nature of laws of capitalist development other than Capital and the three volumes of Theories of Surplus Value , by and large the works were polemics. That is to say, they were written against tendencies that were subversive to the interests of the working class. So that in reading Anti-Durhing not only must we think about the context in which this work was written but we also have to thing about the tendencies that it represented so that it could be Durhing at that point in time and it could be someone else in another point in time, like the time we live in now. We're talking about tendencies that did really exist and not figments of anyone's imagination. Those are the kinds of things we ought to review periodically to think about the significance of this seminar.

What we read for today's session was an essay by Lenin that was written for an encyclopedia which was an attempt to present the essence of Marxism and a chapter of Anti-Durhing which was an overview in a very concentrated summary. Later we will read things and deal with things in more length. So what I'm going to try to do is present something similar to the introduction to be very surveyish.

Fundamental to the science of dialectical and historical materialism is the notion that all social and intellectual activity is grounded in economic and social conditions. All ideas, all institutions are in some way related to the development of the fundamental economic and social order. In order to understand the rise of the science or in order to understand anybody's thought or any tendency we must first understand the nature of the historical conditions in which it developed. To examine any ideas without examining the social fabric of the society is to possibly miss the whole point. It's sort of like studying Greek philosophy without recognizing that it was a slave society and that the only way that Aristotle and Plato could walk around sort of contemplating various topics and believing that there was no immediate relationship to their environment was the fact that slaves were working and producing the surplus on which they lived so that they could do that. Otherwise they'd have had to been at work.

Now the fundamental historical development that we're interested in, although we'll double back and examine the basis for all historical development according to the science, is the rise of capitalism. Marx and Engles point to the rise of capitalism this way in the Communist Manifesto, "The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, the trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of production, and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, navigation and industry, an impulse never before known and thereby to the revolutionary elements in this tottering feudal society a rapid development." The rise of capitalism is part and parcel of a tremendous explosion, not only an explosion of exploration and an explosion of production but more importantly the development of technological innovation ~~and~~^{on} the basis of which those things were able to develop. This is really very important and I wanted to share the way Lilly, a historian of technology, characterizes this whole development. This is in light of the relationship of science to the developing economy. The point here is, what was it that spurred forth the technological innovation in the development of science? Earlier societies since the beginning of civilization had suffered from another division which paralleled that between the rulers and the ruled. The learned men were members of the ruling class ~~and~~ or their privileged servants and like them had little or no direct interest in production. We have noted a few partial exceptions like the Greek engineers and so forth. Science ~~or~~^{what} passed through it was therefore concerned with scholarly theories about the universe ~~and~~^{and} the things that are in it. But not with the improvement or even the understanding of productive processes. So when capitalists with their direct interest in production became wealthy and influential then scholars dependent upon their friendship or patronage were also forced to interest themselves, though not of course exclusively, in industrial and commercial matters. From this there rose a new intercourse between craftsman and scholar, ~~that~~^{the} craftsman learning the scholarly theory to help him in his endeavors and

the scholar in turn discovering that the craftsman's knowledge and practical methods could be a great aid in his learned investigations ^{of} the nature of things. Theory and practice were thus brought closer together than ever before. And what is this but science? A method of uniting theory and practice in such a way that each benefits the other. ^{it was} So with the rise of the merchant in having control over the intellectual that gave rise to the development of tremendous technological innovation. That is to say that the process of putting intellect to work in the market place was the principle catalyst to technological innovation. All of this technological innovation was the basis essentially of the death of one set of class formations or one kind of class society and the rise of another. Feudalism was a type of society in which the principle classes were the landlords or the owners of the land and the serfs. Now in this kind of arrangement the motion of society was very slow. That is to say the principle arena of activity was the state, serfs were bound to the land and the knights were bound in an aristocratic hierarchy or royalty and bound to God. So that the actual motion of production, the motion of innovation was very low. On the other hand, with the rise of towns and with the rise of marketplaces the demands of markets required constant innovation because people were competing with each other for business and hence forth profit. Now with the rise of this middle class in the cities there were two class contradictions that tended to dominate. One was the contradiction between the rising capitalists ~~class~~ in the cities and the feudal land lords, that is to say the dominate classes in these two modes of production. On the one hand the lords in feudalism ^{ism} and on the other the middle class or the rising bourgeoisie in capitalism. And on the other hand the serfs at the same time were being transformed from serfs bound to the land to workers who were being hired by the rising middle class to work for them in small scale production in the cities. So that the contradiction was both between capitalism and feudalism ^{ism} and the working class and the bourgeoisie. Because one of the patterns in the development of capitalism is that as you have the rise of the bourgeoisie then simultaneously with that you have ^{the} a rise

of the working class. So that in the transition from feudalism to capitalism we have these two contradictions at work.

The ideological thrust of how these two contradictions worked themselves out was the rise of reason as the principle tool that the bourgeoisie, the rising middle class, used to anchor itself throughout the entire superstructure of the society. Meaning struggling with religion, meaning the establishment of universities, meaning the development of science. All of these were essential to the rise of capitalism. Engels says, "Religion, natural science society, political institutions, everything was subjected to the most unsparing criticism. Everything must justify its existence before the judgement seat of reason or give up existence. Reason became the sole measure of everything. It was the time in which as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head. First in the sense that the human head and the principles arrived at ^{its} by thought claimed to be the basis of all human ^{its} action and association but by and by also in the wider sense that the reality which was in contradiction to the principles had in fact to be turned upside down. Every form of society and government, every old traditional notion then existing was flung into the lumber room as irrational. The world had ^{hitherto} allowed itself to be lead solely by prejudices. Everything in the past deserved only pity and contempt. Now for the first time appeared the light of day, the kingdom of reason. Henceforth, superstition, injustice, privilege, oppression, were to be superseded by eternal truth, eternal right, equality based on ~~the~~ nature and the inalienable rights of man.

What I'm going to try to do now is to talk about how reason was actually applied in various ways to bring about the development of scientific socialism. The point that I was trying to make about the rise of the bourgeoisie is that feudalism, the ^{ism} motion of feudalism was very slow. The principle change came about with the development of markets and towns. With the development of markets and towns there developed a new kind of surplus. By surplus we're talking about the accumulation of wealth. The accumulation of wealth in the cities was then put to use to further the development of capitalism which

meant that people were paid to invent things or rewarded because that was the objective need. The superstructure of society, meaning the institutions of the society were funded to serve this development. It's the same as saying that under contemporary conditions when the United States needed scientists behind Sputnik, it changed its priorities and began funding the education to produce that. So that it's the same kind of phenomenon that we're talking about. The fundamental hang-up was that in feudalism there was an ascribed ideological order meaning religion and superstition were givens. And everything was subservient to that. However, with the rise of the conditions for capitalism there had to be a way that the bonds of the church, the bonds of superstition were broken. The reason, or to put it another way, concentrating on the power of human intellect as opposed to the wishful projections of people in like religion and so forth, became the order of the day. And this question is then what did this produce? With the development of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalism there was the basis for class conflict in the capitalist sense. Now as the conditions of capitalism developed there were people for the most part who shared in an aristocratic tradition and we'll mention some of these people who actually were utopian socialists. But people who in response to the problems of capitalism, to the sufferings of capitalism, to the exploitation of the masses of the people projected alternatives to capitalism. And these alternatives however, were based upon the ideal of justice and were based upon essentially the imaginations of the individuals and were not connected to the concrete basis of how people were being exploited and how people could then fight against their exploitation. But rather these utopias were ideal societies and because they were projected by people whose class basis essentially was petty-bourgeois they were not at the point of developing a class consciousness or being concerned about the historical development of the working class. But rather the utopias were solutions in which everybody in the society could somehow participate and reach some equitable social order. So you see were ^{not} talking about socialism

that served the historical needs of the working class, projected as an ideal type of society in which everybody could live. Now there are many utopias beginning with the utopia by Moore and in every country in Europe and I'm sure everywhere with the same phenomenon there were people who projected ideal societies. I might just make a footnote to the whole talk and say that we're severely hampered by two things. One is that the history of the human thought has pretty much come to us as the history of thought in the West. If you're reading Russian texts for the first time, at least for me and my reading, you begin to read about the historical development of science and of ideological development in the Soviet Union. If you read any Chinese material you begin to discover that lo and behold there were people in China who were about inventing things as well. And I venture to say that if we were to study the historical development of thought in Africa and the historical development of people in this country we would find parallel developments. The problem however, is that is something that hasn't been done to the extent that we would have ready access to it. By and large, the studies that I know about have been studies of the metaphysical and idealist aspects of African philosophy which turns out to be African religions. We're operating, in other words, ^{with} in the ~~xxxxxx~~ confines of discussing this within a European context. Although it would be most appropriate ~~for~~, at some point, ^{for us to} talk about the development of world thought to talk about not only as it appeared in Europe but the different ways it appeared all over the world.

There are three utopian socialists that played an important role as precursors to Karl Marx and Engels. The first one I want to discuss is Saint Simon. Simon begins his arguments by denying the existence of a Golden Age or a period when there was a certain equilibrium in the society, in man's past. And contends that only ~~through~~ through the reorganization of society that any kind of equitable order will be developed. His position is very critical of capitalism in which few people in the society exploit the masses. Simon contends that ~~xxxx~~ capitalism is not an eternal society that is going to be in existence forever but that it is a transient society and that following

capitalism will be a society in which everybody being equal will unite in order to confront and control nature for the universal good. His program of socialism was based upon the notion of people working according to their ability and being paid according to their work. He went on to say that if there was no class exploitation in the society then science would be ~~freed~~ freed and be able to make a greater impact on the development of a better life, science and technology. In order to accomplish this, Simon was against private property and for public ownership. He felt that the state, while currently an agent of coercion and control had to become merely an institution that would have the principle responsibility of simply directing the activities of the people in society. As opposed to being essentially an agent of coercion and control, it would become a facilitating agency for coordinating activities of equals. Simon believed that philosophy was the major intellectual enterprise and that social action essentially can be deduced from philosophy. In this sense, he was an idealist. (Searcy: Pardon me, would you repeat that.) He believed that philosophy was the major and most important intellectual enterprise and that social action, social reform would be deduced, in other words, from a rational and intellectual enterprise. Now Simon is important because he represents the beginning of two different traditions. Simon lived at a very important time because he spans the time of the French Revolution and afterwards, the reaction that set in afterwards. So that there ^{are} really two different tendencies in his thought. The first tendency, the revolutionary tendency is the tendency that made an impact on Marx and Marxism. The reactionary tendency became clearly crystallized in one of his students, August Kant who textbooks commonly refer to as the father of sociology who believed that sociology was like philosophy and only the heaviest people in the world could do that and they should become the philosopher kings in the society and everybody else ought to work for them. Following from August Kant was Emile Durkheim. So we have two different traditions there, one the radical tradition which results ⁱⁿ or leads to Marx and the other is the conservative tradition which essentially is elitist and ultimately reinforces capitalism rather than

challenge it.

The second utopian socialist who was also influenced by Simon was Francois Marie Charles Fourier. He criticized capitalism and his position was that labor rather than a tool of capitalist exploitation should in fact be pleasurable as a necessary social act. He was concerned about capitalism being a position where labor was a shitty thing to do and the hippest thing would be to get as far away from work as possible which is what he saw as being the result of capitalist exploitation and was the need to organize a society which essentially allowed for labor being a pleasurable act. And he saw this coming in terms of the psychological oppression of individuals or what ^{later} Marx would relate as or analyze as alienation and talked about trying to overcome the difference between the town and the country, that those were major concerns. Fourier goes on to actually attempt to put into practice his thinking. And he develops what he called the phalanxes. Now phalanx was to be somewhere between 500 to 2,000 people, in the middle of which there would be a huge ~~apart-~~ apartment building called the phalanx _____. Each phalanx had individual groups and under each group there was a team. These groups were work groups. In other words, a group would have a particular project like say taking care of the apple orchard and a series, that's the smallest groups, would take care of specific groves. And that's the way the whole project would be organized. He also built into it however, the notion that capitalists as well as workers could participate. Further, he built in the notion that the surplus would not entirely be absorbed in the interest of the collective but rather could be, in some way, appropriated on the basis of talent, or on the basis of the quality of one's contribution. So the formula that he developed was the basis of everything produced beyond what it cost to run the phalanx, $5/12$ of that, or what we might call profit, would go to labor, $4/12$ would go to capital, and $3/12$ would go to talent. That was like his formula for how the surplus created or the profit created would be distributed. He actually was given an estate at Versailles and attempted to implement this. ~~And~~ After a couple of years it failed. ~~and~~ He then came to the United States, Horace Greeley and a ^{and}

number of people in the United States were very influenced by his thinking and were very favorably impressed. However, the third utopian socialist is the man who made the greatest impact upon the United States, Robert Owen. Again being very much caught^{up} in the importance of reason, in freeing man from superstition and he believed that reason, becoming enlightened, becoming trained, educated would automatically turn people off to capitalism because it obviously was a very oppressive and very negative social system. He philosophical believes that the goal of life is happiness, that because man is a product of his environment it was important to organize a society in which wealth could be created and in which everyone could participate in sharing the wealth because poverty bred negative character types. And that as a part of this education was a fundamental and important institutional service that the society ought to provide. And lastly, as a major economic interest he brought in the whole question of guaranteed employment. He felt that a society as a principle labor policy ought to have guaranteed employment and set about campaigning throughout both England and the United States for this. Campaigning against child labor laws, full employment leagues and all kinds of things. His notion had to do with villages of unity and cooperation. These villages were to have about 1,000 to 15,500 acres of land and accommodate between 500 and 2,000 persons who were^{to} engaged both in agriculture and manufacturing. They were to live in large buildings and quadrangles built in the form of a square situated in the center of each community and containing common dormitories, dining rooms, libraries, reading rooms and schools. Attractive gardens and playgrounds would be located within and ^{with} throughout the quadrangle and ^{laundries}, factories, and farm buildings would be built beyond the outside garden. Each family would live in a separate apartment and it would have entire charge of its children until three years of age. The latter would then be given over to the community to be educated. After that the parents would be permitted to see their offspring at meal times and other proper intervals. There would be within each community a large variety of occupations chiefly agricultural and partly manufacturing and the latest and best machinery would be used through-

out. ^{All except} ~~Only~~ the children would be compelled ^{to work} at some useful task and each community would be supervised by a qualified technician. This is a man who is active at the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries and I'm reading these things because later when we talk about what a commune is like in China or what a collective farm is like in the Soviet Union you get some idea that people have been concerned with this form of organizing a society for a long time and it isn't something that just happened. Incidentally, Robert Owen was the man who actually tried to set up New Harmony as one of these utopian communities and that is why when you go to Antioch and you see that Antioch is a college in which the town is very progressive. In part, this can be traced back to the Robert Owen experiment in setting up a utopian community. Incidentally, this man had tremendous following in the United States and this is important for us. So these three people, the important thing about utopian socialists is while they were raising the question of criticizing capitalism they did not provide any concrete way that people could understand how they could get from where they were to something like that other than the very middle-class way of Robert Owen taking out of his pocket \$3,000 and trying an experiment. Or Fourier being given an estate at Versailles. Or Floyd McKissack being given \$14 million by the federal government to do his thing in Soul City, North Carolina. Or Charles "crook" Evers being up under the Kennedys. That is to say, the notion of some ideal community being funded by the ruling class to provide an alternative to the system that maintains the ruling class. That is the whole contradiction in that. So, as Engels says, "To all these socialisms is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice and needs only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And an absolute truth is independent, (this is now talking about the utopias), of time, space and the historical development of man. It is a mere accident when and where it is discovered. With all this, absolute truth, reason, and discovery are different with the founder of each different school. And as each one special kind of absolute truth, reason, and justice is again conditioned

by his subjective understanding, his conditions of experience, the measure of his knowledge and his intellectual training, there is no other ending possible in this conflict of absolute truth, then they shall be mutually exclusive one of the other. Hence, from this nothing can come but a kind of eclectic, average socialism which, as a matter of fact, has up to the present time dominated the minds of most of the socialist workers in France and England. Hence, a mishmash allowing of the most manifold shades of opinion. A mishmash of less striking critical statements, seconomic theories, pictures of ~~the~~ future societies by the founders of different sects. A mishmash which is the more easily brewed the more definate sharp edges of the individual constituents are rubbed down in the stream of debate like rounded pebbles in a brook. To make a science of socialism it has first to be placed upon a real basis." In other words, these dudes were projecting ideal notions of a society that had to do with no concrete relevance to what was actually happening. Rather it had to do more with the esthetic of the ~~idea~~ idea. Consequently, if we were to examine the distinction between Owen and Saint Simon what Engels just said we would come up with a mishmash. There would be no way we could determine which was accurate and which was workable and which wasn't.

In order to talk about what Engels calls the real basis of socialism we talk about the development of dialectical materialism. What we talked about then is the utopian socialists. Now we're going to talk about the scientific socialists. We talked about examples of the utopian socialists and now we're going to talk about the historical development of the scientific socialists because after all, it is this that constitutes the bulk of the course. So I'm going to talk about the historical development of this.

Now the essential positions or intellectual alternatives as viewed by the science that we're studying have been contained in various systems or philosophical positions since the time of the Greeks. In fact, we can point out that materialism begins in Greek Philosophy in any case with the very beginning of the pre-Socratic philosophers. who is frequently referred to as the beginner of western philosophy begins with a shocking statement that all reality is fundamentally made of water, that is, a material substance. So that is the first materialist. , another early philosophical position that held that

matter was composed of small little particles which were an early historical version of what later we know now as being the atom or some fundamental small irreducible substance of which matter is composed. So, the notion that reality was material is something that had its origins or at least a beginning in Greek philosophy. Also in Greek philosophy we have the opposite of that, that is, idealism. (Footnote. We are not talking about someone who is and idealist, we're not talking about ideals. Rather, we're talking about the notion that reality is primarily non-material or reality is primarily an idea, or something other than material. And Plato held that the idea that

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which is the idea. And that, idealism represents the major alternative to materialism.

Dialectics, the notion that reality is not one but that reality is constantly changing is also a philosophical belief that had a reflection in Greek philosophy. These philosophical positions do begin very early. But what we're concerned about primarily is not an examination of the total historical development but rather the immediate historical development that led into historical and dialectical materialism. Although, as a footnote to talking about the Greeks you can read Nkurmah's Consciencism and in that book he talks about the societal relevance or the societal basis of , for example and talks about the difference between the priests who control the society, the ruling class who control the society and

who developed the notion that reality was material and hence was a revolutionary because he threatened the whole structure of the control of the ruling class because they were the priests and they were the ones who controlled religion. So, just as a footnote, that reference you can check out to talk about the societal relevance of philosophy among the Greeks.

Now, the new dialectic, not the dialectics of Herr or some earlier Greek or later philosopher, but the new dialectics develops as the essential ingredient of the new scientific method that was able to provide a tool for the breaking down of nature and studying the component parts of nature. And while this was a tremendous positive development also it led to a negative development or it led to what can be called the metaphysical fallacy in a sense that it was an examination of nature and breaking down nature to the extent that it lost the focus of all the parts of nature being related one to the other. So that the positive development leads to its opposite. That is to say that the use of dialectics leads to its opposite.

(Lucius - Date what you're referring to as the new scientific method.) I'm really talking about ~~how~~ it crystallizes in the 19th century but it begins in the 18th century, and I'm going to deal with it.

Probably the most revolutionary scientific discovery that changed man's relationship to nature, which is part of what we're talking about, is the work of Charles Darwin. Because Darwin demonstrates the unity of all life. It was a fundamental and important contribution. Again, the question of the role of religion as a deterrent to the development of scientific knowledge. Because that was the fundamental struggle and that was the threat that Darwin represented. Another important contribution was the contribution of Emanuel Kant, the German philosopher. A very strange individual, but nevertheless made an important contribution. His contribution to this was the attempt to prove that creation was a physical phenomenon and not a metaphysical, in terms of other worldly, phenomenon. And attempted to take the two notions of 1) the eternal nature of the universe and 2) the notion that the universe developed out of the concentration of gasses so that it was the physical development, that is gasses merged then matter as we know it formed. His attempt was to try to take these two seemingly opposite notions and put them together which had in it the kernel of what he later developed as his understanding of a dialectical process. However, for the most part I think we can just simply say that Kant was an idealist who made a contribution in the sense that he tried to overcome certain contradictions but his main thrust was as an idealist because ultimately his resolution was to talk about things being transcendental and he talks about things in themselves, that is to say talks about the essence of things which pretty much leaves the realm of sense perceptions and scientific investigation.

Following Kant, the most important representative of German philosophy is Hegel. Engels notes, "This new German philosophy culminated in the Hegelian system. In this system, and hereing is its great merit for the first time the whold world, natural, historical, intellectual is represented as a process. That is, as in constant motion, change, transformation, and development. And the attempt is made to trace out the internal connection that makes a continuous hold for all this movement and development. From this point of view, the history of mankind no longer appeared as a wild world of senseless deeds and violence all equally condemnable at the judgement seat of mature philosophic reason and which are best forgotten as quickly as possible but as the process of evolution of man himself. It was not the

task of the intellectual to follow the gradual march of this process through all of its devious ways and to trace the inner loft running through all its apparently accidental phenomenon. Remember, Bill, last time you said everybody can't be that smart? The importance of the development of dialectics and dialectical materialism is that it is possible for the university, say, to be bound together by a common philosophical position, as opposed to the university essentially representing the anarchy of bourgeois thought where there are no unifying principles. I mean I just need mention for example when economists can't talk to sociologists and sociologists can't talk to historians. That obviously represents a certain amount of anarchy as opposed to in other countries, for example, that have a social condition of having to talk to each other and can't afford to walk around in little worlds where they only talk to themselves. Everybody talks to everybody else like in Dar es Salaam or in Moscow or Peking.

The question of Hegelian logic is important because that represents Hegel's most immediate contribution to the development of the science. Because as with Kant, Hegel remains a hopeless idealist. Hopeless in the sense that there's no getting around it, that's what he was and throughout as he said what is rational is real and what is real is rational. So that in one sense, while Hegel attempts to see the underlying principle of the development of everything in human history, at the same time Hegel had within his head a rational scheme, a rational design, that he always say working itself out. So that as long as he was concerned with working out an abstract reality, a theoretical reality, all of reality could be very neat and fit in very clear categories. These categories can best be viewed as the development of a thesis, an antithesis, and a synthesis. The development of a proposition turns into its opposite with the development of its opposite and then the synthesis of these two opposing forces in the creation of a new and different and higher reality. Hegel devised his logic, his dialectics, on the basis of three levels of human intellectual activity. Common sense, science and philosophy, in that order of importance. Common sense revolved around what Hegel called the doctrine of being. The two principle dialectical triads involved here are being, that is that which is perceivable to one's senses, and non-being. The resolution of that contradiction being becoming, the act of something coming into being. Also, he talked about the contradiction of quantity and quality on that level of common sense. Science involves what Hegel called the doctrine of essence and here on a higher abstract level he's talking about the contradic-

tion of existence and essence. And then the highest level in talking about ~~THEY ARE THE~~ philosophy or the doctrine or the notion, we move from idea as thesis, nature as antithesis, and spirit as the synthesis. In other words, Hegel begins in the real world and heads out.

In his understanding of human history Hegel viewed the state as being the most perfect manifestation of the spirit. Hence, Hegel's philosophical beliefs could be viewed as the philosophical basis for a tremendous patriotism because if you believe that the unfolding of the world represents the unfolding of the spirit and at the same time you believe that the state represents the embodiment of the spirit you can pretty much count on loyalty from that person because after all that's the nature of reality. Now Hegel is important because he brings back into the picture and establishes a thoroughgoing application of dialectical principles. And because dialectics involves constant change as opposed to other philosophical metaphysical systems within which change is not a necessary ingredient, young people were influenced by Hegel as the radicals of the day. Although the full implications of the Hegel dialectic, because of its idealist character, pretty much ends up as less than a radical tradition. In summary then, the contradiction between metaphysics and dialectics comes down this way. And I'm going to just now refer to the summary that is presented in the history of the Soviet Union Bolshevik written under Stalin's direction and a small chapter in here which is called "Historical and Dialectical Materialism" by Joseph Stalin. "The metaphysical approach is that reality is essentially an accidental conglomerate of whatever is made up of matter. And the dialectical approach is that all of matter is an organically interconnected whole. Secondly, the metaphysical approach is that this conglomerate of things is essentially motionless or at rest. Or on the other hand it could be in motion at a certain pace by then that motion exists independent of change. On the other hand, the dialectical approach is that matter is continuous, is constantly in motion and is constantly changing. The metaphysical notion of change is essentially one of growth, that is, quantitative development. Things change, you grow older by adding one year on the next, mountains developed by a grain of sand piling up. The dialectical approach is that quantitative change leads to qualitative change. Or at a certain point in the growth of something there is a qualitative leap and a new substance is created. Lastly, the metaphysical understanding is that the forces or the conglomeration of things essentially exists in a harmonious relationship with each other. The dialectical application is that these forces by their very nature are in contradiction with

each other or more importantly, any substance within it contains contradictions and those contradictions are the fundamental basis of change and development of everything as opposed to things being harmonious. (Debbie - Would you restate the contradiction between the metaphysical conception of rest or motion independent of change versus the dialectical conception.) The metaphysical notion is that ~~things are constantly in change~~ matter is essentially at rest or is immobile, static. The dialectical notion is that things are constantly in change by their very character, by definition things are constantly in change and that is a universal quality. (Debbie - Continuously rather than at the same pace?) Yes, in other words, the uneven would just be constant. By saying a state of rest, if you say everything is moving at the same pace and maintaining its relationship to everything else that really is another way of saying everything is at rest. Because everything is in motion, then you have to deal with movement as a relative phenomenon. (Debbie - I was really dealing with the word constant as opposed to continuous.)

(Remy - I would like to make one comment in terms of what you said about Hegel. You said he was a lost idealist. Abdul - A hopeless idealist. Remy - But then you compare him with Kant. One thing you didn't mention is that while he was arguing that the state was the embodiment of reality and therefore worked for the benefit of all he was beginning to recognize that sometimes the state can become oppressive and then work against the people. And that's when at that time he moved to criticize the German monarchy because they were colonial oppressors. Debbie = But when he came to the modern Prussian state he stopped, did he not?)

The four points that I mentioned to you represent historically the sum of the development of dialectics although we can talk about the different positions that exist now in terms of the primacy of one characteristic vs. another. For example, Mao Tse-Tung holds that fundamental in the four contradictions that we pointed out that Stalin summarized, the most important of those is the notion of contradiction in things and that represents the fundamental basis of dialectics although in the Soviet Union they have a different notion of dialectics. But those four things are the principle characteristics that are talked about in both Anti-Durhing and Lenin's analysis of Materialism and

Empirocriticism.

That represents one tradition or one input. There's another, and that is materialism. What we're talking about here in terms of materialism is essentially the rise of scientific thinking. What really was referred to before that was the point that Lucius raised. Now the rise of scientific thinking is the struggle against idealism. And in this sense were talking about the struggle of the hegemony of religion over a society. Again we're caught by the limitations of talking about historical tradition but the one that I'm familiar with and certainly one that the classics talk about is the rise of materialism in England. And here we're talking about men like Francis Bacon, Hobbs, and Locke. All of whom were essentially materialists who added various contributions to the development of a modern scientific approach. Francis Bacon's major contribution being the concentration on the method of induction as a scientific method. (Lucius - What is the classification of Locke, Berkely and Hume as being materialists? How is that any different from classing them as empiricists?) Well, actually we're talking about two different kinds of people. On the one hand, Hobbs and Locke for example talk about essentially their epistemology or theory of knowledge and really its the same thing that is to say, that reality exists apart from me and that knowledge is a question of my sense perceptions of that and then it is reflected in thought. On the contrary, Berkely and Hume were not materialists, on the hand were idealist, that is to say they denied the existence of matter. I mean so much so that there are stories about them that are really incredible. This cat's standing there arguing with somebody, I forget who this was, but he was arguing with somebody about whether or not this thing existed or whether in fact it simply was a representation of something I have in my head and when I turn around like this the thing doesnt exist anymore. And so the dude started kicking it and said hey man, it exists. So he says, no. that's because you see it, not because I do. You see so here are two different people

and the materialist understanding of why they are two different people is that essentially with the rise of capitalism in England the rising capitalist class made a deal with the aristocracy . So consequently you had the movement toward materialism which was an advance and then the British philosophy backslid into subjective idealism which meant that the ruling feudal class still maintained a role and continues to maintain a role today. That's why you have a king and queen in England and you don't in any other countries. So that er're talking about Barkely and Hume representing some backsliding into some previous philosophical position. Essentially these others represent materialists in their fundamental understanding of what is real. But the man who made the greatest contribution as a materialist through dialectical materialism was a German, Ludwig Fuerbach. Fuerbach began his career as an Hegelian. He describes his intellectual development as moving from God to man. Essentially moving from the ideal which is concerned with spirit, to what he called the philosophical anthropology. Or a study of all social and historical reality through a study of man and through a study of man's relationship with nature. As he put it, man is what he eats. That is what he said to the people that believed man is what God wants him to be and he countered with man is what he eats. So you see that Mr. Muhammed exists in a very important tradition. Fuerbach's aim was to challenge again the hegemony of the church and traditional religious devotion, ^{to} challenge this and to redirect efforts into social reform and cultural development. But as he challenged this ~~the~~ idealism and he challenged not only the Hegelian approach but the religious system of his day, he slipped into a metaphysical materialism because in rejecting Hegel he rejected the dialectical principles as well. So that we have a reaction to the importance of Hegel and to materialism but at the same time it was not the historical development of reality but rather the acceptance of material reality as opposed to the dialectical of idealism.

(Question - Slipped into what?) Metaphysical materialism, that is to say, all of the qualities that we talked about the spirit but rather talking about

material reality as the primary reality. In sum, materialism then is that the world is material, that matter is primary and that matter is the source of all sensations, ideas, and consciousness and as Engels says, "The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature, is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy. The answer which the philosophers give to this question split them into two great camps. those who assert the primacy of spirit comprised the camp of idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary belonged to the various schools of materialism." And lastly, materialism holds that the world and all of its laws are knowable.. That is to say that the fundamental philosophical belief that spurs science on to discover more and more about the world consequently man is able more and more to harness the forces of nature.

These two traditions of dialectics and materialism immediately in the form of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ of the dialectics of Hegel and the materialism of Fuerbach lead to the synthesis that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels made in the creation of dialectical materialism. Throughout this whole process, again this points to what Lou was talking about in terms of the 18th & 19th century development of science, we're talking also about a period when geology, physics, chemistry, botany, all these sciences were coming into being and were being developed. Also the basic inventions and scientific discoveries were being made. The three that are talked about by Engels and Marx as being fundamentally important, in terms of actual scientific discovery in addition to the notion of Kant that later was tested mathmetically and then actually when they got a ~~microscope~~ microscope they looked out there and discovered those gasses were really there but then obviously there have been other scientific discoveries that I'm certainly not aware of that we'll see in the next session as to whether or not it reflects the laws of dialectical development. But the scientific discoveries of 1) the concentration of and transformation of energy, that energy as a fundamental way that matter is trans-

formed is always in existence, that its constantly being transformed in a dialectical way. And secondly, that the theory of cellular tissue, that life is composed of cells then provides a new understanding and a new basis for scientific analysis of all life leading to the notion that cells are being destroyed and cells are being created simultaneously as long as for example an animal is alive, that being a dual process. And then, of course, Darwin's theory of evolution. The philosophical position of dialectical materialism then relates to the political phenomenon, and the historical phenomenon to historical materialism, that is, the application of dialectical materialism to the understanding of human society. Historical materialism consists of 1) the struggle of classes, 2) the struggle to produce things and, 3) the struggle to create new knowledge. (Repeat, please.) That change occurs in three ways, 1) change is brought about by class struggle, 2) change is ~~xxxx~~ brought about by the transformation of nature in creating something new, production, raw materials transformed into a product, and scientific experiment, that is, scientific study of something which brings about a change in man's understanding of the world. Marx characterizes the basis of historical change this way, "Technology," writes Marx, "discloses man's mode of dealing with nature. The immediate process of production by which he sustains his life and thereby also lays bear the mode of formation of social relation and of the mental conceptions that grow from them." What he's saying here is that the fundamental basis of change in human society has to do with ^{now} man's mode of dealing with nature changes, that that is the fundamental key. And an examination of human history, and again we're caught up with the problem of having to generalize on the basis of ^a limited amount of information that we have available to us and that if for example, we had thorough historical studies of all parts of the world perhaps it would be more complete to talk about just how the world developed. But suffice it just to say that this is the broad outline that has generally been accepted

as being correct. Although all societies according to historical materialism are not developed at the same rate and certainly not always moving forward. That is, it is possible to move forward and to retrogress as well, as we know by the struggles of Black people in this country, we haven't always moved forward.

Now, ^{let me} just give a quick little diagram since we're running out of time here of technology on the one hand and social relations on the other. These are the two ingredients that can help us in a very cursory way to understand what historical materialism comes up with. Historical materialism holds that society has developed in stages. The most fundamental change occurs in the technology from one stage to the next. However, it is only when this technology is changed in the means of production, that is how man deals with nature, it is only when this is translated into social relations that you have the full development of an historical epoch. But an historical epoch is contingent upon the development of new technology. Initially the primitive society was characterized by the use of those implements that were just found in nature. That is to say, technology was what man found in nature, so a stick, a club, or a stone or what have you, and that food was collective and found. But as these things were used it was the development, the use of fire, the use of the bow and arrow, and the domestication of animals, that these three things provided the basis for societal growth. Because obviously if you had a tool where you could shoot an animal at a far distance you didn't have to run him down and knock him in the head with a rock, and likewise you could domesticate animals and eat regularly and not have to eat like an animal that has to go out hunting for prey, that you provide the basis for a new kind of society. That is to say, you provide the basis for a larger collective living and the social relations that exist at this time are based upon a primitive sort of communism. That is to say, the ownership of the things the tribe or clan or group has, the ownership is collective and not individual. That is, private property didn't exist. This is the stage called primitive communalism.

As man developed his technology and was able to produce more and more, and consequently produce a surplus, what you do then is produce the basis for having or being able to hire somebody else to work. When everything you create is from hand to mouth you can hardly hire someone else. (Question - Searcy What was the social relationship in primitive communalism?) I said primitive communism where there was generally speaking equality and

and there was collective ownership of the means of production. Now, to go on further, the division of labor that existed was a natural division of labor. That is to say, that rather than essentially being antagonistic it was essentially cooperative. That is to say, the division of labor was based on sex roles, age, generational differences and then ultimately developed into a patriarchal structure of the clan. Although this is the dominant historical experience there have been, as I said, exceptions to this. And that obviously is the task of historical analysis to actually talk about how it developed in different societies in different ways. So the important thing here is that it was equality and the division of labor that did exist was based on natural differences. We saw a film that Remy brought in two years ago of a tribe of people in Namibia which showed the hunt of a giraffe and these dudes had clubs and were out running down the giraffe and this is precisely what we're talking about. Everybody participated, everybody had a working relationship and it took several days or over a week to catch the giraffe and kill it and by the time they did that people were pretty hungry. The point is that they had primitive communalism but they had nothing. That is to say, they had to share everything because they had nothing to begin with. They were living hand to mouth close to nature just like an animal. So that that was the basis for the unity.

Now, as the surplus is developed and this surplus is in part based on the moving from stone to metal tool and to the full development of agriculture. ^{So now we have not only the domestication of animals but you have agriculture,} You have the basis for permanent as opposed to migratory communities. This provided the basis for, as I said, a surplus and that surplus provides the basis for making somebody work for you. That is to say, the development of slave relations, the relationship of slavemaster and slave. Now, during this period when we talk about slaves, we're talking about the total ownership of somebody but we're talking about it again in a period when the level of technology was very low. Also, we're talking about a situation where slaves were initially foreigners or people from outside the group and were often incorporated into the life of the society. We know, for example, that in Greek society it was frequent that African slaves were actually intellectuals in court, the people who taught people how to read and write, and were philosophers. We also know that Aesop's fables, for example, were a result of Africans who were in Greece and Aesop is really a ~~generalization~~ generalized person of a whole lot of story tellers who were essentially African philosophers.

Abdul- The slave owner is then he is transformed into the feutile lover. Central relationship is to land. This developes from the manufacturing to the use of machinery and the developement of large scales manufacturing what we know have industries as industrial productions. This as we indicated moved from feutillism to capitalism and the lower is transformed into the bougeoire and served to the publitarian. Now that the publitarian is not bound to land because we are talking now about the fundamental of the corrupt to this society not being land but being technology. So that man is freed from the land but he remains bounded to capital. That is to submit to the capitalist and so is labor power being able to severe.

Daryoush - I have a question is there general practice in societies or just for your personal reasons.

Abdul- Thats what I am saying I think that the dominum experience that I am talking about here which has been summarized in the classical literature assignments in Socialism is the European experience and I think one of the interesting things is to explore and how it actually develope in other places.

Remy - The article in your mind was that enough has presented by that in order that we can talk about a general devilmment of mankind. What I am saying at the same time you have been used as an exemplification.

Daryoush - No Anselme thats not I am asking I am not asking that in every country.

Abdul - Well I think the important things here is the principal of what constitutes an historical period and what constitutes an historical change. And it is obviously the case for example in North Africa we have had the developement of a commerical class basic on trad groups at a much earlier period that the developement of pre-captialist society in other places you have a different role that the National environment place that we have talked about the world of water in Asia and in North Africa where water is very valuable commodity.

Daryoush - Why

Abdul - The principal thing to this is to go through this book. As a fundamental basis for that. Fundamental basis of what you are talking bout is the basic understanding for what are the fundamental basis of principāl and concepts so that we can talki about how various societies have developed so that what you are suggesting is very appropriate.

Remy -

Abdul - Anseleme the point is for example that every country has a history written or point as materialism. Consequently different societies and people have a remarkably different patterns of developement. And I think thats what Daryoush is talking about.

Deborah - I think at least in terms of my statement that often the period between the developement society and feutile is never efficient because of the fundamental changes in technology bring about. Sometimes I think that change is simply to liberate on the quanitive differences of technology.

Abdul - Two things that has to be mentioned that I was going to get to later one is that these things go down not in any everyday but in revolutions. On the basis of wars on the basis of rising conflict of various classes. In one thing to remember just to talk feutiletheseithings ismsomewhat to abstract them out of the actual substance of History thats one point. The second point is that technology the fundamental aspect of technology is the question of energy. As to say where man is essential operated alike a beast like a horse. Where man can horness the horse of energy in effect be something else than a beast of burden thats the principla of us for technology. In other words when you go to a society that has essentially a feutile enlightenment of Etheopia what you see is people walking around carrying hughe loads on their heads where as on the other hand the captialist society sits back and press a botton and hightralick lift moves things up and people get in a truck and drive off all these things represent a question of reserving energy and using other forms of energy other than machinical energy of your joints. You can trace the history for right now there energy crisis this is capitalism based on the essentially anchored way of capitalist production that is the sloppy resource, of the world We are now talking about an energy crisis in this country well that is a false arguement because thate is enough raw material right now in this country to go on pass the year 2,000 its not like a crisis. We have to talk about natural gas because that is a crisis within capitalism because they are talking about how much profit before they can get before they can dig in the ground before we can get light or drive cars but it is a question wheather or not we are going to be forced to do that in an intelligent way or com up with aenew form of energy.

Outlaw - There is no substance to the arguement of to energies resources that are used at various rates of consumption by people in the world.

Adbul - No thereisnoquestionaboutthat. That is to say the plant does have an infamate supply of everything but what I am talking about is bougeoire notions we talk about a population explotation and the population in Asia. But then if you contrast China with India whether the two social systems there areafamousepeople are starving people there are people sleeping in the gutter people are starving in India on the other hand everybody in China eats now this doesn't deny the fact that the Chinese have a policy of family planning the question is how many people can livein this room on the other hand under capitalism people starve in their fanom while at the same time there are rulers enjoying the goodies of the earth and masses of people are starving and many people havehhealth aare food and everything else.

Deborah - I don't want to get into the discussion I really don't I just wanted to get some clarification of technology in the society baring in mind that the whole social relationship under a society causes a tremendous amount of class conflict of slave revolt but still I want to know was the technology of the society merely a quantativerorawashtherenanydifferences

Abdul- The sophisticated developmenttoof metal. There is a differnce in making a metal tool that it is for making a metal instrument. That is the ability to make alowes that is taking different kind of metal putting them together to make stronger.

Outlaw - Industrialization

Deborah - Right

Adbul - Industrialization occurs at the end of feutilism we are talking about what provided the basis for feutilism

Deborah - Exactly, so you are saying the qualitative development in the previously areas of production and agricultural is there a distinct difference of feudalism

Abdul - There are two important things that I mentioned one is the development of agricultural and the other the use of metals. But it is also possible to apply it in a different way the creation of developing a new machine is a qualitative development in the physical technology that's available.

Daryoush - Yes, because that seems to be making a change.

EVERYBODY STARTS TALKING AT ONCE

Abdul- Excuse me we have to have one conversation because time is running out.

Remy - What are the material basis? in previously we talked about idealism and I think that's a question then is a basic difference between the two is the fact that idealism you have an increasing centralization and occupation of land in the head of smaller population while in slavery you still have a large population which is identified as a unit in that a slave was incorporated into a family unit now with increasing concentration. into a smaller group like the you will find that it was certain of being as independent family but as a castle. Castle becomes the central unit of socialism While before it was what we call the factor of

Abdul - The reason why that is very difficult to go into is because again we are forced to deal with the questions of universal generalizations vs. particular historical analysis and in some sense we have opened Pandora box for those of us that have knowledge of one or more societies as oppose to if everybody read what we were discussing today then it might be possible to hold your questions until it becomes irrelevant for everybody else in the room. Does everybody get the point I am making.

Outlaw - I get the point but I don't think it should be closed off.

Abdul - Let me make the point again.

Outlaw - I understand the point but I just don't agree with it. I am simply saying that kind of Pandora's box is constantly be the less part of the process.

Abdul - And if we don't hold it down we are not going to accomplish shit.

Outlaw - Well that depends on what you want to accomplish.

Abdul - We have a common frame of reference on page 25-44 and this book right here.

Outlaw - Abdul we aren't getting 25-44 in here.

Abdul - What do you mean everything that I have been talking about is what Anglo referred to.

Outlaw - What you are getting to is a much wider question.

Abdul - That's because the nature of the questions which Anglo himself deals with later on. So the question is shall we wait until we all have a common frame of reference to arrive at a much understanding of what's in the book or shall we discuss it now since there are uneven development in this room that some people would become static observers as oppose to participants that all people are not understanding what's going on that's all I am saying

Outlaw - Why should we read the book the unevenness is not going to be a problem.

Abdul - But its a better chance of handling the discussion when everybody has read the same material. I don't know how else to proceed.

Outlaw - But I am saying that more is going to be drawn into a discussion than whats in Pandora what I am saying that the whole issue involved paddles the government.

Abdul - Thats dealt with in the book ~~did everybody read the same material~~ how else should I deal with this.

Outlaw - All I am saying in terms of the whole issue the book is not going to be sufficient in the whole overview of all the possible interpretation Pandora developement in terms of the questions coming up.

Deborah - All I am referring to is

Outlaw - I am saying that of procedure of questions

Searcy - On the question of procedure the only ligetamate procedure would be that obviously what we can say that we all have developed at least some if not all of these historical in our society rather than the entire world. Now the particular gave risk to one form or one particular form of one type of motion. OProductionlas oppose to another in a certain period of time is not jarmaine to get in it is not jarmaine to getting into the introduction to the text. Although it is definately jarmaine to our general over-all understanding of historical and dialectal materialism its certainly not necessary for us to introducing the text to people in this matter. When this is not a course on anthropology the history and development of people in the world. If we can say if we can say that we can view the developement of these social sysemts in other points of time in other parts of the world we can see then now they have given rise to other parts of the world then we can go on. I think we can all say that. So I think we need to march on.

Outlaw - The text itself though can be equavèlent ~~It think that is the point~~ is a whether or not

Abdul - What we are doing is we are stüding Marxism as presented in the anti-doing thats what we are doing and unless we proceed in some order then what we are doing is saying that we don't want to deal with the science as it presents itself rather we want to deal with whatever we being to this you understand what I am saying whether or not anybody has read origins of the family problem in the state or whether someone has read dialects of nature is not jarmaine right now unless the point is to what was said and what was said was not whether or not historicalism is applies in alot of particular cases follows the same pattern of developement. That is an important question and its an interesting question but it is not what we are talking about now. It will be later.

Daryoush - I think its an important question because this question has been opened in 9 - 24 this question is important

Abdul - O. K. let me ask you this.

Daryoush - You said it was not important

Abdul - No, No, I didn't say it wasn't important in the history of development in Science.

Daryoush - But its all the same thing.

Abdul - But well the question that Angeles is talking about is what is the basis of historical materialism and thats the point I am trying to make. What is the basis of historical materialism? What makes a society move from one stage or another thats the point that is discussed here and the question is does it develop on the wishes of God or does it develop on technology and the social relations that exist.

Daryoush - These are things that we have to deal with. But just from this general thing we are just dealing with a specific pattern it isn't a general thing.

Abdul - Well what do we do Daryoush? What do you suggest that we do.

Daryoush - I am just saying that we have to deal with the general

Abdul Thats where we are limited by the right now so what do you suggest that we do.

Outlaw - By calling open questions an open issue.

Turner - What we are dealing with in a sense whether scientific socialism is universal equalivent.

Abdul - We are not dealing with that at all.

Turner - It might not be what we are dealing with but what I am saying

Abdul - Bill, the whole point is not that the confusion you are raising a question with the context of certain assumptions. Right, we are talking about the assumptions is whether or not history has its basis that is not a question that solved here.

Daryoush - Up to that point everything is more or less.

Abdul - But thats not generally agreed here

Daryoush - No I didn't

Abdul - Daryoush you are agreeing with but everybody here doesn't agree with that. O. K. and thats what we are talking about. Thats a different situation isn't it or isn't it. Let me ask you this question if you were sitting in a room and its not clear that everyone accepts a scientific frame work. Now what do you think and this is an introductory course. Whats the appropriate way to proceed?

Daryoush - You would produce it in a scientific way

Abdul - Oh I see

Daryoush - By saying thats so

Abdul - What did I say, you want me to play tape back I said we are limited by virtue of having information thats coming from a European experience and we are going to talk about how the stage of historical development has been summarized by Marxism and Angles and however that most societies follow this same general pattern not in the same way not always forward sometimes back and sometimes some societies without going through one stage.

Daryoush - Thats right.

Abdul - The O.K. thats my general way of providing for your question. Which is not jarmaine to what we are talking about now if you want to talk about that now then the discussion will be between you and Remy and other people in here but other people will be left out of it. Now what is my resposiblity to try to get through this general talk did you read the pages?

Daryoush - No not in this class.

Abdul - Then you should be cool and read the pages and see what we are talking about.

Daryoush - You have something against me

Abdul - No see you don't understand to make a statement like that you don't understand just like Bill didn't understand because he thought you were argueing against scientific socialism you understand.

Turner - No what I was saying essentially is the the

Abdul - That's what you just said Bill

Turner - No, Abdul you didn't let me finish I was saying that particular applicability of scientific socialism.

Abdul - Whether or not scientific socialism was applicable to every society. Thats what you said.

Outlaw - No thats not what he is saying.

Abdul - I don't give a damn but everybody her don't believe that. You understand what I am saying

Daryoush - Just because you are dealing with a specific point.

Jocelyn - No, thats not why they don't believe it

Outlaw - Why don't you just go on and we will deal with this later.

Abdul - Well, you see the problem here is let me make a confession the problem is that we have opened up so many things that the essential question of two world views that I hoped we wouldn't began to discuss is not going to be discussed thats obvious I think everybody ought to note that. I hate to say but this whole presentation has been a failure because what happened rather than bringing a sharp clarity of views rather than began the obvious confussion of views maybe the next time we can arrive at some understanding but see the question is whether or not we can deal with our dialectics since everybody has not dealt with that before or what is materialism what is dialectical materialism? what is historical materialism? I am talking about that in advance but never the less in a introductory way.

Everybody that have been exposed to this just need to flash back to when you were being introduced to it and try to raise those questions in your head and try to deal with other people in the room. Thats what I am trying to get at but the fact that we have an uneven developement its going to be a certain comic relief and escape from a direct convertation.

Daryoush - I wasn't against you I was wanting some more points and comments.

Debbie - I would like to make a suggestion

Abdul - I would just say read the assignment and deal with the assignment.

Daryoush - Sure

Abdul - O-kay next time read the assignment because you did not read the assignment this time therefore its wrong from the get.

Daryoush - Nobody told me

Outlaw - Can we settle the ~~procedure of question and reach this after class.~~

Abdul - I think that we talked about the first class thats assumed but if somebody didn't read then they are automatically out of order.

Outlaw - Well ~~lets deal with Debbie's question~~

Debbie - I would suggest that in fact I am interested in dealing with these kind of points then it is stated at the beginning if we come back and deal with this later.

Outlaw - You ~~mean if we are finished~~

Debbie - If you are finished

Abdul - What did you say Debbie?

Debbie - I was not sure if you were finsihed I was suggesting that we take a break and come back and discuss the questions.

Abdul - Let me go on now the historical materialism then is the scientific understanding of historical developement of the society and as I indicated in the analysis of European societies certainly is the general stages of developement. In the context of Angles study and Marxsn study ~~particularly~~ Angles the developement of new knowledge about the historical developement of society particularly people in the United States meaning the study of tribes of Indians or native Americans to learn more about the pre-slavery developement of human society they were able to observe that there was no class conflict so in Angles developement the new historical knowledge constantly change their understanding of the stages of developement in obviously since then new historical research has finally developed historical material. Now important that represents one important contribution in Marxs: up untill this time if it had been no systmatic analysis of human history like that. Like the way that is developed with historical materialism. Now the second rate concerns Marxs and Angles the analysis of capital society. Here we have a continuation of the developement of political economy. With the rise of industry after the developement of merchant capital that is trades commercial capital. A new science developed science that has a particular concern the understanding of market production and exchange. And this new political economy was represented by Adam Smith and David Ricardo developed some of the rooted developement of scientific socialism however many of these we abituary inclusions of their work and not central to their work. But to Marxs there were two fundamental questions in terms of their political economy. One was what is the basis of capital exportation.

Second what are the laws of capital development. Simply put capitalism represents the private ownership of capital by the few with the mass having to sell their labor power. Capital is of a particular kind in that capitalism reproduces itself and grows.

That's its basic character. The process of growth, the process of the creation of value is based on labor or Marx's economy is based on labor theory of value. That is to say the worth of anything is determined as opposed to any other thing of how much value is in it how much labor is contained in the object. In a very simple way say that exploitation in Marx's economic involves around concept surplus capital which narrows in to two ways to understand. The amount of time a working puts in working one way, one part of that time is called necessary time or that time it takes the worker to produce value to sustain himself so if it takes 6 hours in a day to sustain yourself however that is not the amount of time workers work you work longer than that so that all the wealth you create beyond that six hours then is appropriate by the capitalist and that time you put in beyond 6 hours is the surplus time and it's the creation of surplus value. The other important point here is there are two kinds of capitalism.

One is constant capitalism and the other is variable capitalism. That is to say a capitalist has two types of capital constant capital which remains constant throughout the production which means machinery raw materials etc. it is constant in the sense that its value is transferred from one point of production to the other it's consistent throughout the production process what is variable it is labor it is the manipulation of variable capital that produces greater amount of surplus value that is to say you can work people longer and make people produce more. The basis of capital exploitation centers around surplus value and we will get into that in more detail later. Second, in terms of capitalist is the road of development basically the following of things can be summarized as being what Marx and Engels and later Lenin developed. One is that fundamental capitalism is the constant change and the constant revolutionary change of technology that fundamental to capitalism because the technology is what allow for the greater creation of wealth. So that this is the first mode of production the first society first stage where it is absolutely essential the constantly developed technology. Along with this you have an increased concentration of wealth this is to say the development of monopoly. Also as a part of this you have the increased socialization of labor that is to say more and more people work in direct relationship to each other in the creation of products in production process. So you have larger companies and more and more people working in factories and more citary industries more and more people who work in abstractive industries so that you have in creation of an automobile from the time the first Ford was created up until now there are many many more people in other parts of the world involved in the creation of automobiles today than there were 40 years ago so that the socialization of labor that's what that represent also you have fewer people in control of the automobile industry that represents the concentration of wealth.

And the constant change of technology is obvious in terms of the way cars are now and what they use to be all this represents the heightening of class contradiction and the contradiction of capitalism is between on one hand the increased socialization of labor on the other hand ownership by the few there are more people engaging in production that have fewer people controlling. Secondly another important aspect of development is constant sickening process of depression, obsession and as a part of sickening flow where society grows and develops then slips and falls is the maintenance of a poverty class or as Marx put it maintenance of a reserved army workers that you keep people unemployed so that you can control the flow of money to the working class. Part in person with this are wars. Wars are basic to capitalism and expansion is basic to capitalism but it is fundamentally the development of class contradiction within capitalism that leads in the fall of capitalism in the raise of socialism.

Those three things that I mentioned were socialization labor and concentration of wealth and constant concentration of technology. Scientific socialism is more a critique of

capitalism in the writings of Marx and Engels then it is a summarization of socialist experience of course as we well know the closest thing that Marx got to socialism was Paris Commune which lasted for 90 days in 1871 when workers took over Paris for 90 days this was the closest Marx got to a socialist revolution consequently his analysis was critique but what he did come up with which was best stated in the critique of the Gotha program. The Gotha Program was a party that was put forward that Marx wrote a of in writing a critique began to develop in a very basic way what was a notion that a society was. If anybody says that Marx never talked about home communism would be what they really call on is for Marx to be an idealist since communism society didn't exist being a scientist he would hardly talk about one rather what he did as a scientist was criticized capitalist society of what existed. Marx well in that in that sense as well as in that sense obviously not an idealist.

Jocelyn - Could that same thing apply to when he talked about the racial contradictions within a society?

Abdul - Yes and no I think that one thing about that is that to them the history of the development of Marx and Engels they actually change their views that is one point they felt that capitalism while a very explorative system was never the less a better than system of lower level development so that if capitalism were to be excoriated from one country to another it would be a positive thing this was their theoretical concern this is what they believed but then when they began to examine what actually happened in North Africa and in India and China they took the position that while capitalism was being an advance form was never the less a brutish explorative form and they began to see what actually happened so in that sense.

While possible to find a problem that's negative about the third world in Marx and Engels it's also later to find them making criticism even more hard at this time against the expansion of capitalism rather than against people that they felt were uncivilized or something like that which meant they carried the prejudice of a society in the time that they lived. But talking about the rise of national liberation and the concern for racism in the world I think that this is partly the case partly people of the third world was not strong and are articulating in a world sense also providing technology and so on but we weren't doing that so consequently they weren't sensitive to that. But I think that some of the argument that Marx or Engels was a racist should have to be subjected to that kind of analysis one of their historical developments has to be one what were third views two what were the prevailing views of the society that they existed in three at what point did National Liberation or press people around the world come central to the development in the world of socialism as I will indicate how that happened a little later.

The things they did say was one the recognition that the economic order was the material basis of all societies that the fundamental notion and secondly that socialism represented the complete socialism of production not the co-optation of labor but the socialization of the entire productive process. Thirdly that the society will have to be controlled by the proletariat that is to say that the working class is the dominant class of socialism and in this sense they talk about the dictatorship of the proletariat meaning socialism just as like practically they meant socialism of the bourgeoisie by that means the bourgeoisie runs it. And they run both parties in this country they run everything there are no important institutions in this society controlled by anything than the leading class so that they have the dictatorship just as in socialism the same could be true with the working class and that there once there was a dictatorship then science could raise and become much more significant and actually solve the problem of humanity as appose to providing the solutions for protection of the moving class or the increase wealth of the moving class and so forth.

Under socialism there would be the unity of theoretical practice that schools, science everywhere where there was study would be in direct relationship to the capitalism consideration of society and in this sense there would be the development of the unity of cities and

and the agricultural rural areas and there would be unity of industry and agricultural as we know under capitalism there is a growing contradiction between the town and the country Where the town is a concentration of wealth of cultural concentration of all material things technology so on and there is a tremendous gap between industry and agricultural oppose example to tich tiching the experimental area in China where in the middle of this hugh oil field at the same time are growing all kinds of crops right around the oil field there is this tense union of industry and agricultural. Where ever there is industry everything else dies oil and snakes etc.

And last the important thing under socialism you have a planned society as oppose to invisible anthery of Smith or any of the other mmedafical notions. Anartical notions where societies plan activities. under socialism wou

Cheryl - Under socialism wouldn't a proletarian dictatorship be inclined here?

Abdul - Yes, the thing about that is let me get to that in a mintue thats a very good point. Now in order to bring about socialism and more importantly than the discussion of what communism would be like question of how society is going to move from being on capitalism or socialism which raises the question of the issue. We should recognize the Marxism is a partasen science. But its also important to recognize that all science is parson.

Then since that the sciences that developed at the beginning of the rise of capitalism was a science that was put to the service of capitalism these were capitlist and of these people I mentioned believe in who believed in private property believed that capit- alism was the best system that existed talked about the masses of people as the Raval these were aristocrat people that could shit - on the common man. On the other hand Marxism is a science that is devoted to the service of the working class so that you have a struggle of two groups of people on one hand the bougeoire that had its science developed when it was coming into being and now Marxism use itself as a science of working class to it is committed to historical change.

Secondly that historical change as a specifically revolution has its basic class struggle the two aspects of class struggle that ring out as being essentially important the class struggle represents a conflict of the objective interest of class formation specifically : the bougeoire and the polatarian the bougeoire who appropriate surplus value based upon the explortation of the workers and the working class. Also as a part of this class struggle is the developement of class conscïencerwhïch means the working class becomes conscience of itself and begins to act in its own interest that is to say as a class acting over against the bougeoire but it is important to recognize that the objective interest are there regardless of where the class conscience is thatoforexample in the United States in certain industries there are more strafe than other industries. There is one group of workers that ought to be more progressive than another.

While this might be related to the differencecobjectiveconditionsitheefactliss regardless of class conscience of the workers, they exist objectively in contradiction with the bougeoire. It is that objective basis that leads to the developement of class conscience now also class struggle most be view as politcal struggle because revolutions are not some simple transformation of the society where simitanously all kinds of different things change that happens however fundamental importance of a Marxism approach is how theyworking class manage and how theybring about this change. however that brings us to three questions (1) the role of the state (2) the role of the party (3) the question of a dictatorship of the role of proletarian.

Simply put what the state is in the communist manifesto the state is referred to as a executive committee that serves the interest and serves the needs of a ruling class. Also the state represents legitamate organized violence that is to say that the state is the agency that legitimately uses violence in this society in the interest of the ruling class.

Since the capitalist state maintain armies and political police to maintain its rule in the interest of the ruling class so the working class must have a tool to fight its interest therefore the working class needs a revolutionary party. This party serves the interest of the working class in fighting to cease state power the principal task of the party is to cease state power. The party seeks to cease state power in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat which means the rule of the working class. In establishing itself in the society that is the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat creates new conditions in this society as Angles point out the first act of the state is fundamentally its last important act. That is the change of property being private to being public.

Because ultimately the motion is established that brings about all the other basic changes in the society to move toward a classless society. The fundamental decision the make private property public then is also a result in a process of the state withering away. But don't confuse there are two states we are talking about the capitalist state and the socialist state according to Lenin and we will read that the State of Revolution will be the last book that we will read. It deals with revolution.

Abdul - Now in a very general sense that's the survey of historical and dialectual materialism that is scientific socialism.. I just want to mention a few quick points about social revolution which represents how all of this has been tested in the real world. Because we are not just talking about some ideas or some conjecture we are talking about something that can be actually tested by examining human history since 1917, represents the first break through in the history of the world in the creation of a socialist country. The importance then of the Soviet Union can be examined in two ways essentially one is that the theoretical development in the Soviet Union represents Marxism in the Era of imperialism the actual experience of the Soviet Union represents the rapid development of industrialization and as Lenin put it the electrification again Debbie talking about power Lenin just again to mention how important the question of power and energy to the development same as true with Cuba in the recent relations with the Soviet Union the principal tendency to the economic agreement has been energy and power.

The Soviet Union represents both a tremendous rapid industrialization because after we are talking about a country that was semi-feudal in 1917 and a short period of less than 50 years it develops as a country with economic power that rivals the U. S. so in that short period of time the new ideology in the new social relations represents that kind of development and we can examine the Soviet Union as a test of whether or not under Socialism science advances more rapidly or if Social relations develop. Although in our recent study of the Soviet Union we discovered that the Soviet Union also represents an example of something else and that is something very basic and dialectual and that is nothing changes evenly and nothing continues to progress for a period of time something progress for a period of time they can also regress so there has been many statements made late since 1956 in the rise of Khrushchev and in that period 56, - 72-73 that the Soviet Union has slipped back into a new form of capitalism but then that leads to another period of study. In China we have a further development let me add that the national question rises in importance here is that after the development since this is a world science after the development of the October revolution immediately the Molotov party did two things one it moved to establish its control and its development the same time it moved to help revolution all around the world. For the most part they were not successful because they had mixed experiences the fact is that the national question that is the question of oppressed national groups and national and minorities.

These two questions was raised to promtent in the developement of scientific socialism. After the developement of the October revolution and the development of the internation China in 1949 represents the second break through here we are talking about the developement of one the concept of attractive dpeoplewarsoasoto mass mobilization of people in the Soviet Union and the expiereence was the small number of workers in the cities and the revolution had spread throughtthe country side and China is the opposite that is the principal developement while there were certainly much activities in the cities and on the country side and people of the and the communist party developed notions of to attract people wars. Second new role discovered for the patentiery and this is in contrast with the theoreticall position of the Bolshavics after the developement of the Urban and industrial revolutionary struggle. Lastly we have to point to the developement of dialectic by and the way in which millions and millions of people have been able to grasp science and has been able to apply it those are under the principal developements a little later.

In terms of Cuba since 1959 has a revolutionary been developed there and there its the same question that is still an open question but the result are fantastic and that is our society that changes the power by essentially a small number of people can mobilize the masses of people in the country to actually revolutionize the means of production and social labor in Cuba there was not protracted peoples war but war was very few years that had resulted in the peace of government essentially advocated the presence of cutting out.

Debbie - What was that called what was the technology of Cuba that yourdescribed.

Searcy - What do you mean could you be more specific with that.

Debbie - In terms that it is different like China are there in Marxs revolution.

Abdul - Actually the Cubans there is a lot to be written about that but they talked about in this particular concept of Gorilla warfare but thats in distinction to the liberated areas in China but thathas to do with strategy and tac tics of revolutionary of struggle and not the actual question of revolutionary struggle the question of when they Fidel arrived in Havanna the point is there was a small period of time there were a few people who were engaged in the revolution there were very few communist. The communist party was against the revolution to began with when they ceased power there were few number of dudes that would have the whole country suddenly all the middle class were against they had constant anti-revolution activity constant subversion it was luck the United States wereagainstitthem.

Searcy - Fortunately

Abdul - Right its fortunate thats the key thing there not even trying to mobilize the masses of people since thats the experiment now in Chila we have the last experiment that I would like to mention because there you have the first attempt at electrical change that resulted in socialism and is an open question whether or not the many diverse groups that involve in Arlendise government can maintain control there is a lot of different views on that but the fact is to remains in power and it remains the one socialist experiment that has been the result of an electoral change we thank you for your patience.

Turner - The presentation in respect to how the fundamental changes of a society come from the technological ream and that when they stood over in the ream of social relations that were their impact in terms of how what you said is that society developes in stages and changes start in new technology and is only transformed over into socialization are we looking at changes at a certain period we talking about the domastication of animals of food the developement organizations for a new kind of human society this technology king of thing I am saying we do not have to be important to give at least a side committ.

to the kind of coterminous relationship between changes and social relations and changes in technological relations that and changes in technological relations that is to say it is not a chicken egg crushing I am getting at. But at one level the way you put in out there gives up the idea the implication that there is a chicken egg kind of thing such that technology then rather than technology and society and then see what I am saying.

Debbie - Define coterminous

Turner - Coterminate is having to do with things at the same time just like the guy was saying as was saying in this book here that we can't look at reality in isolation from other aspects of reality. I am suggesting that for example maybe this would hold tradition that I am coming out of in terms of Western education isn't it possible that social relations can sometimes determine technological changes just as technological changes can determine social relations.

Abdul - Yea, I think that may have been stated to mechanical I think the word would be dialectical than coterminous

Turner - O. K. you are right.

Abdul - We tested it and we found out that it would be semi-capitalist society. Where you don't have technology certainly not in other towns where foreign capital is mass like in China and in a few places most colonize is in the main cities and abstracting industries meaning the mines there are railroads running up through the mines to the sea they got a big dock and ships that cut out with the ore that it is possible for a party to develop class conscious of workers to meet the revolutionary struggle and actually come into power with the socialist policy but with a lot of the countries still existing under the conditions of feudalism. I think that for example this was true with who essentially had a reformist approach, but later when he developed the socialist approach and the 60's was opposed to the 70's that at that point he still had for example he still had the difference between civil law and trivial law that in terms of super-structure he still had people working with handicraft industries as oppose to higher level of production so you are absolutely right and think there is a dialectical relationship.

Turner - Yes, because I guess what I was getting at was in terms of later date technological development often time come after the time comes after the fact technology is developed in response to certain social dynamics that is to say when the capitalist witness certain social relation formulating or lets talk about the development of the ghettos and the growth of certain relationships then we on the other hand see development of technological innovation set to deal with a certain social relations rather than the social relations growing out of problems.

Abdul - Let me say something here one problem is the difference between how technology contributes to the development of another stage of the development in a society verses the growth and change of technology with in a capitalist society those are two different things because under capitalism then you have another momentum that is you have constant development of technology that is by definition that is capitalism needs that consequently a certain amount of money goes into R & D right research and development every corporation has it as a basic that is where did technology come from where did scientific discovery come from it comes from the government meaning the department of defense funds because they need it or big business does now however all of this is based on a certain surplus because if you didn't produce a certain surplus you could pay a theoretical Physics to sit in the laboratory of IBM. If IBM didn't make enough profits to say them to make a greater profit later.

Outlaw - If that kind of developement is condition upon a capitalist organization how do you account for these parable kinds of developement in terms of arrange of expectation of developement that is not captialistic in a socialistic country you certainly have the kind of fantastic advanced.

Abdul - Tight, the only difference there is you have an advance ideology which allocates what capital there is to what will most ultimately produce the most wealth where in the capitalist society.

Outlaw - There is no ideology that determines the allocation.

Abdul - Yea, it does profit.

Outlaw - O. K. now once you have made that kind of identification between the situation of capitalism situation of socialism then what happens to the sceamer and the distinction you tried to make on the basis of how technology in terms of social relations in capitalist race in another capitalist country.

Abdul - One important distinction the existance of the world socialist community because there is no country just as all capitalist countries that are tied together or all countries is not under socialism are some way tied to capitalism are in someway tied to both. But you see every since the Soviet Union since the 1970 revolution all other socialist revolutions had been helped and aided by the Soviet Union so no country has to develope in isolation form the Soviet Union for example the history of China tremendous age from China and the Soviet Union to North Veitnam. North Vietnam couldn't do that in the same way of just defeated the U. S. they did that because there was tremendous response from the socialist countries. You see that the developement of science and technology is to the Chinese I mean suddenly as soon as the revolution was successfull and the Chinese needed it man the Soviet Union was sending Physicist technicians of course they pulled then all out anyway they sent them all the same thing is true in Vietnam Soviet, technicians, Cuban technicians traning people developing technology thats the difference.

Outlaw - All thats true Abdul but I am not sure you are getting to the part of the question I was raising that is you were making a distinction how technology functions between social relations are two different kinds of science.

Abdul - The surplus that is developed in capitalism on the basis of explortation of labor provides with a developement of research institutes on the other hand in socialism there is no explortation of labor that results in the surplus its aide from the other Socialist country that provides that.

Outlaw - All I am saying is that you are dealing with identical situation I am not sure the meaning for the station is except on that level.

Abdul - Except the explortation of labor

Outlaw - What I am saying is Abdul you were argueing the relationship between technology and social relations okay that they were different in a capitalist verses socialist countries however in the fundamental of saying that that process is identical we are saying is what is the difference on that level how the technology is generated or technological knowledge is generated when on case is based on the question from one point to another that point is cool but I thought you were .

Abdul I really don't understand what you are saying.

Searcy - I would like a discussion to go along with more or less than Abdul saying anything or Lucious saying anything that its what Angles said and certain people disagree

agree in the room but its what Angles said if we keep that in mind then we can be more objective so that we want have the same kind of thing we had last week.

Turner - What does Angles say ?

Remy - What we are indirectly dealing with is what is the real nature of capitalism I think there is a question that Marxism sees capitalism as what we call is bad thing in total is that when we talk about capitalism ~~MMarxism said its is a bad maybe~~ in Marx's and Angles are criticized capitalism because of the social problem it creates and they advocated in the in the rise of socialism emerging out of the structure created by capitalism.

they would be able to free the people from the land and creating the work has been socialized in also the use of technology all of these things Marx's and Angles has a very positive aspect capitalism at the same time the acknowledge

in terms of the technology and that was a very important copy of capitalism in fact Marx's tells you that increase will create a potential for human welfare but it is a private version of technology.

Outlaw - Can I ask a question? What was that whole committ based on why did you give that particular committ.

Remy - Because you were concern on what the difference made you agree that capitalism and socialism in terms in the way it is used.

Outlaw - No, you misunderstood what I was getting at all together.

Debbie - I think what I heard you saying is Abdul pointed out of two differnt types of approach of technology he talked about in the discussion technology leading to a different set of social relationship a differnet period what you were referring to was simply how within the historical period could capitalism how was technology utilized differently than in social societies.

Outlaw - No, that's not what I was getting at.

Abdul - Would you restate what you were saying

Outlaw - Yea, I was trying to get at what Abdul was saying is that I was trying to get at Bill raised the question of whether or not the presentation of technology and its influence upon social relations or universe perhaps statically put Abdul said yes I put that too machinacally the nature of that relationship is dialectical having said that it was something that he had said when he said once you recognize the dialectical relation between technology and social relation that generated a question in me essentially that they difference between technology and social relations and socialist vs. capitalist didn't co-enside with having said that the nature of the relationship was dialectical and that was something I was trying to get out that why I asked Anselme what he was trying to get at I think he misunderstood totally of what I was trying to get out I was not trying to respond to whether or not there was a declaration of badness in capitalism but to understand how far he was applying something in the way of both things functioning as one.

Abdul - To me that the fundamental answer is that you see what happens in surplus value because in socialism the same is true and that is to say there is a value aspect from the production process by the state the difference is that under capitalism surplus value is appropriated by the capitalist and we are invested by the capitalist into research in development which produces technology on the other hand that for private property that's why R N D is there. On the other hand you have the state appropriating the surplus in socialism investing it for the common good there you have the difference.

Bill- I think that what Marxism in his words referred to is the rationality of capitalism would that be implicable here? In terms that it has irrational character in irrationality where they intend to develop a research institute of Proctor and Gamble which create new improved Tide which built into the whole objective thing of then creating a felt need in the people that you need this new improved Tide.

Abdul - More importantly something irrational would be if you examine the pattern that's taken out every year United States pattern all you will discover that of technological development far exceeds the rate of exposure of that technology for the public good and what that means is a large corporation goes around buying up patterns from people so they can maintain the production of commodities that their producing then based on their own schedule in terms of increasing their profit they introduce technological change now that irrational when a few people control technology and keep it so that the masses are starving and suffering and dying from disease and stuff. But there simply releasing the stuff to get more money that would be a good example of its rationality in a sense.

Bill - Don't let not steam automobile for example on the market now in a sense of knowing the machine would put a lot of people out of business. While there are already patterns for a pot type of machines.

Abdul - There are many other ways of talking about rational terms of surplus in terms of waste.

Bull- I think it was Mocoosh who said in an essay on revolution in terms that those needs become biological to us and we begin to relate to the oppressive apparatus which proletariat claim to appear. We become to need these things so badly that we can't live without a car.

Searcy - Marx actually says technology does expand the basic need of a society that expand a potential hate that is needed in under developed Latin America for example is different than what's needed for highly technologized industrial proletariat in another society!

Abdul - I have a question that I think is suitable for this material it is also central to maintain in connection with our discussion on Thursday I wonder if people deals with the question of the outlook because what is fundamental to this whole science in question of in word metaphysics idealism these are the dialectical materialism the discussion on last week in terms of religion and in terms of primacy of spirit versus the primacy matter and so on I think that what we read speaks directly to what we are talking about I think at this point reviewed it we should go back to that discussion and hear a response to it and I am particularly interested in Lucious, Cheryl and Bill.

Outlaw - Let me get into that by starting by rising a quote that I think is essential to that issue in another kind of way and that its going to be a quoted issue the whole question as the use of concepts as a ground or foundation of concept primacy. Those kinds of concepts I think they are going to be palamatic in a sense for example if you take the kind of collation by dialect of materialism the change fulness of nature.

Nature's relationship that generates a change as a problem and a danger of ratification wherein one would take the ground ratify it.

Abdul - You should break that down.

Outlaw - For example if we are talking about buying of historical materialism and changefulness of things and that changefulness of things generated out of contradiction on one hand. Second if we look at what is essential a process in such fashion that would isolate the elements of the process and talk about them such that technology becomes a ground of social relations and it would seem to me that it would be a fundamental environment the central notion of changefulness and how changes generate mainly. That we close off the dynamic and that gets to be a dangerous kind of think in terms of the whole position of dialectical materialism and that gets to the heart of hope which I think that Bill was getting at which would have to be kept at a different level which gets into the question of world views if there is one world view let me back-up and start it this way the essential problem I have is how you handled the concept of medi-physics or how the concept of medi-physics handled historically within the context of the development of dialectical materialism such that what that concept covers the arrange of that concept is so narrow.

Abdul - dialectical materialism?

Outlaw - Yes the dialectical materialism is a characterization of medi-physics is fairly narrow in terms of other ways of understanding the concept.

Abdul - Which are

Outlaw - Which in its widest usage that the concept of medi-physics simply refers to the process and attempt to something that is refine to what is basic and what is most real or what the basis of reality is but that process or attempt is the medi-physics. What medi-physics is about so that by that kind of interpretation dialectical materialism in this case medi-physics is something relevated to be idealistic as the idealist.

Abdul - No on the contrary

Outlaw - No everything in terms of what you presented dialectical materialism as being idealism I think in a number of cases is clearly ineverable or racial and the two are not the same.

Turner - What is racinal?

Outlaw - For example lets take the statement that Abdul put it from Haywood that the real is racial and the racial is real as an idealist statement and fundamentally of and racilist in terms of classsifaction of people in terms of their historical terms A racialist believes that reality can be known by vertue of human reason that it is racianal but one can know what basic reality is.

Abdul - What did Counts say what the basic reality was?

Outlaw - What Counts said was on the basis of what we already know. That is a minimum of a thing in its self but we could not know what it was in regards but only on the basis of some purly abstract generation through a foundation but it was his way of accounting for how we know that these things are in the world.

Abdul - O-kay the things that Counts have an essance thing of themselves have an essance in them.

Outlaw- Hunt says we can not know what things themselves are.

Abdul - You can't know what a newman is

Outlaw - Right

Abdul - The Newman is different from a minimum you can know a phananum but you can't know a new mant. The established concept essence things that is unknowable.

Outlaw - What I am pointing out at the way you set it up don't apply but we can not know of essence.

Abdul - On the concept we can not know o.k. the other question is that according to Counts what is the character of God. Where does God fit into this.

Outlaw - In terms of what

Abdul - In terms of his understanding in terms of his Philosophical writing.

Outlaw - What writings

Abdul - All of his writings

Outlaw - Now if he takes some particular reason God does not

Abdul - Well let me ask you this is Counts a religious man? Did he believe in God and did God fit into his understanding of what was real?

Outlaw - In certain ways yes and in certain ways no.

Abudul - But it is question the answer is yes or no the answer is yes so Counts believed in God and Count ways you can't know the essence of things. What you are saying is Counts is not an idealistic.

Outlaw - Right

Turner - Why did he believe in God?

Outlaw - Let me back up to what I was saying

Abdul - God is the ultimate ground of being if you can't know things of themselves in the ultimate basis of all these what you can't know is God. He is not I don't know how would you characterize him.

Outlaw- First if you take the major work of Counts for particular reason you don't take find God figuring in that way. So what I am saying you got to take works and petty and ask that kind of question in relationship to that until historical develop it.

Abdul - Did Counts believe in God from the jump?

Outlaw - What I am saying Abdul take a particular reason and find God in there as a fundamental foundation.

Daryoush - Just a minute I have a question what does make a person idealist what is the criteria for an idealist?

Turner - An idealist?

Daryoush - Yes

Abdul - In the sense that we are talking about

Outlaw - Well you know Abdul has given you that.

Daryoush I think in Marxism when we were talking about a person that was an idealist We are saying that he is not looking at the world as objective as he should as to know how important the world is objective here. Second he looks at the world objectively as dealing with the world with the dialectical method. Is it that something is missing according to Marxism.

Debbie- I would have to disagree with you simply because we pointed out Hagel dealt with the world dialectically.

Daryoush - But he didn't look at it objectively.

Debbie - He didn't look at it as patence no wait a minute maybe I misunderstood I understood you to say an idealist.

Daryoush - No looking at compotents we have to look at both sides.

Abdul - I don't see we are talking about two different points but not to leave this point question is how do we understand the developement of an medi-physical approach besides the dialectical approach thats the question at issue.

Outlaw - Yea, but

Abdul - And I am suggesting that Counts was an idealist.

Outlaw - And I am suggesting in respond to that the problem that we want to be understood I think there are other ways os setting it up but to set it up on the basis between dialectical materialism versis a medi-physician can be set up different in the sense that dialectical materialism too can be viewed as medi-physical as a nature of reality and thatscan be included in the same pattern.

Abdul - Let me say that it is acknowledge that if for example we say that medi-physics historical at least the way the bougeois historians physiologist has put it medi-physics contain several like sub-areas rightffor example on antalegy represents the study of being right what is real. In thissense these are certainly are anthological consumptions which are proven out in scientific experiment which is something that makes a difference between materialism which can be subjective to scientific experiment and Xounts notion can not by definition because he says nomimum are unknowable therefore you can't prove something is unknowable but you can prove whether are not there is a relationship between technology and social relation.

Outlaw - O. K. I'll go with that but thats a refinement of the position in a sense that you have shifted to now is a refine position such that you define as medi-physical that which cannot be proven one way of handling it.

Abdul - O. K. you will agree that Counts in that sense is an idealist thats what we are talking about right.

Outlaw - Idealist medi-physics fight, because he certainly clears medi-physics.

Abdul - Well at the same time Counts also represents. The important thing about Counts he is an idealist also important is that Counts attempts to use dialectical reasoning only

The way he does it is so involved with. See what Counts has done is he has developed this tremendous system of categories Count talks about various kind of logic and various kind of reasoning a tremendously indicate system of logic and of thinking and he does talk about the trans-indental dialectic he does use the word dialectic and he does talk about dialectical reasoning in some way it certainly has developed as in Hagel but it seems to me the important thing that he is an idealist but he did attempt a resolution of that conflicts and he begins talking about the resolution of it in terms of the religious consideration and then he does it.

Outlaw- That's what I meant in terms that there is much room for the basis in terms of thinkers.

Abdul- I don't think there is a meaning in this sense that he said nomimum he said things I can't really know what this is now that's the basic.

Outlaw - But he also says the foundation of all knowing is imperical which clearly ^{then} make him a materialist.

Searcy - Make him contradictory a least.

Outlaw - Both materialist and idealist we find but that clearly makes them both then both if you take isolated statements.

Searcy - Here is what I would like to interject here and that is first of all although both terms dialectical and materialism and medi-physical idealism is related to one another. However, the classical notion is that idealism is contrasted to materialism and medi-physics in sontrasted to dialectics. I am not trying to get to barked down in it or start a debate to get a deeper clarity of would be to read conforce volumes you know in which the concepts are explicated and fully explains so that the notion that Marxs explanation of an idealist what is a medi-physician is not narrow but in fact very board and in fact explains begins to explain all the differnces that comes under idealism and all the different tendences that can be grouped under medi-physics. You know which could give us a more understanding of that and I think

Abdul - Let me say that we don't thave to wait for court we are going to deal with at great legth you know so what we are doing is again like last time we were establish- ing the fundamental questions that we will be able to test like for example it seems to me one of the important things that everybody ought to do now is we have at least objectified the discussion of what is an idealist by talking about Counts now every body need to go and check to see Who Emanuel Counts was and to decide and if this come up again we can bring that new information. So we can really test this.

Daryoush- What I am trying to say in this text book written by Jackson talking about idealism. Should have Xerox one copy for you its a very old book about 40 years.

Abdul - Why don't you bring the full citation and maybe we can try to get it.

Daryoush - Alright I will bring it next time

Abdul O.K. Cheryll let me ask you a question in response to Angles how did you read our discussion blast week and what you read Angles was saying.

Cheryl - What Daryoush was saying

Abdul - Well whatever you saw was the major question that we raised and whether or not you felt Angles dealt with.

Cheryl - Well I see that as far as dialectical materialism is concerned man is his own God and he is a God like being so that history would be of mans own making so that God would have to be dependent of this universe. If that makes sense.

Searcy - What did you say does that make sense.

Cheryl - I said if that makes sense I guess thats the question that you would have to solve.

Outlaw - I think you were asking in the way you were saying and the way you put it.

Cheryl - Is that right Abdul?

Abdul - Well I am sitting here trying to think about it the question of how you put it I would have put it that way so I have got to get into what you are saying let me here you say more. Maybe some one else would like to discuss the business about God and man and history if you say it again.

Cheryl - Well o.k. I think of the medi-physics wouldn't God be the center God will always be ideal but dialectally man would be the creator of his own history or he would -e God like so he would have to relate to God so as far as history it would be of mans own creation and he wouldn't have to conform to God.

Searcy - If we could take that a step further then the logic of what you are saying there is not God.

Cheryl - No what I am saying is what Angles is saying

Searcy - But then thats what Angles is saying right.

Cheryl - Right

Searcy - Then the question then is what meaning does that have for you ranging from if you believe that if you do or don't they explanation for one or the other.

Cheryl - Well I don't believe it however in regard to socialism I think how it could be effective in that way because I think.

SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR BLACK LIBERATION

BY

ABDUL ALKALIMAT

Our search for understanding through social analysis is conditioned by how we resolve several long standing controversies, not the least of which is the relationship between ideology and science. In the case of Africans captured in the West, particularly in the United States of America, this has all too often been resolved by black intellectuals acquiescing to a white social science. This has meant swallowing the most favorable white positions without piercing through to the implicit ideological assumptions really used to guide history with white interests. Many black social scientists seemingly have not really known the extent to which science is inevitable a handservant to ideology, a tool for people to shape, if not create, reality. This is an attempt to clarify how the ideology-science controversy might be dealt in a new way, a way serving black interests in our struggle for liberation.

There are two questions that we shall attempt to clarify and begin to resolve:

1. What is the necessary connection between ideology and social analysis for the Black Liberation Struggle?
2. How can black people begin to construct revolutionary thought based on an analysis that leads to a commitment to struggle for liberation.

Social Science involves two levels of analysis, empirical and theoretical. One level deals with organizing a set of systematically collected indicators of what's happening (like answers to a set of questions), while the other is an attempt to develop propositions explaining as wide a range of empirical relationships as is possible. An ideology incorporates these two components of social science under two aspects peculiar to its own makeup.

Ideology involves the prophetic vision of an ought as well as the action orientation of a moral commitment to serve. Thus, ideology combines an interpretation of the world with a moral commitment to change it.

Consider for a moment the notion of social class as a dynamic historical concept that reflects both the fundamental structure of society as well as the basic components of conflict and change. One's class position has a total relationship to power and its function, specifically the ownership and control of the economy. The concept, social class, in the United States is a sterile classificatory term used to merely suggest a hierarchical ordering of individuals by some social measure like education, income, or occupation. Marxism is often ruled out as a political ideology, whereas science is at best used for classification. But upon further examination, it becomes clear that what appears to be science in the United States is at best a set of sophisticated tools used in the interests of a quite developed and comprehensive set of ideological beliefs.

Given this distinction, one can easily see that most of our analysis has served a white ideology, while black ideologies have lacked the support of a systematic social analysis. This observation is supported by Harold Cruse as he develops a critical history of contemporary black culture:

...the black American as part of an ethnic group has no definite social theory relative to his status, presence, or impact on American society.... Coming at a moment of racial crisis in America, there has been no school of social theory prepared in advance for black power that could channel the concept along the lines of positive, radical, and constructive social change.

White social science has dealt with black people on the basis of two theoretical models, one based on attitudes, the other on behavior. The attitudinal approach focuses on prejudice, the use of generalizations prejudging a group of people or institutions in guiding actions toward them. The behavioral approach is based on discrimination, differential treatment of people who belong to certain identifiable groups. Empirical research in the last 50 years has produced data that on the lowest level of theory can be organized under one of these two concepts. And this covers most of what passes for social analysis of race problems in the United States.

But these two approaches are really two different profiles of the same face, the hideous face of white racism. If one were to examine the social analysis of race before the empirical studies at the University of Chicago (Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Louis Wirth, etc.), one would find more honest theoretical discussions expressed the world of white racism. Empirical research has resulted in progress toward having access to more incidents of social reality, but has also resulted in the falsification of our understanding. The challenge of organizing vast amount of social data under manageable theory has resulted in low level theory like the concepts of prejudice and discrimination. We have been looking at the trees and ignoring the essential nature of the forest.

The fact is that black people have been oppressed by a system unified on the basis of white racism. Racism is a concept that speaks to the total system, the essential nature of the social order as perceived by black people. While the concepts prejudice and discrimination, are helpful on an analytical level of theory because they are so easily operationalized and quantified, racism is the more appropriate theoretical description of the problem precisely because it captures the qualitative character of the oppression.

It's only recently (since Malcolm and the Kerner Commission Report on Civil Disorders) that the concept of racism has become fashionable, and that our understanding of the problem has escaped the static descriptive theory of prejudice and discrimination. But now the challenge is to go deeper and probe the source of racism as a function of colonial Imperialism

Another important aspect of this set of two theoretical models (prejudice and discrimination) is the underlying ideological assumptions. Both prejudice and discrimination are normally conceived as continuous dynamic phenomena. Once one is able to discover strong correlations between indicators of prejudice and/or discrimination and other social data, it is possible to devise programs to structure reality as one wishes. So the most positive white approach has increasingly been strengthened because even social science supports certain programs for solutions to racial problems. For example, if educational achievement is a strong inverse correlate of prejudice (as one gets more racially integrated quality education, one gets less prejudiced), then it follows that placing a strong investment in education is a good integrationist policy. But those black people of the hip world know that everything is everything, and that the whole is not the sum of the relationships between its parts.

Take Robert Park as an example of the white liberal position. He used a sociological frame of reference including five major concepts --contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. His work was based on the optimal outcome of assimilation whereby the black man would be totally transformed from an African into an American, just another cat walkin and workin. Moreover, he held that black nationalism (or what he called race consciousness) might well be a true expression of what some black people believed, but that assimilation was an inevitable out-come. His position was clearly stated:

Now that Negroes are free and have become race, if not class, conscious, they are in a position to state their case in more articulate fashion. However, the authors of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution have provided them with a ready made ideology.

Now this was a white dude trying to trick us into diggin' what some slave owners developed about us (remember that they counted us as three-fifths of a man).

Robert Park was the man most responsible in the social sciences for developing a liberal white game to run on black people. He and his colleagues at the University of Chicago were more responsible than any other graduate school for training black social scientists; perhaps their most important student was E. Franklin Frazier, a brother who was strong enough to collect a lot of important data but fell victim to theory based on the racist, white liberal ideology. However, he wasn't totally a pawn of Park's theory he was able to state in 1962 that:

In view of the Negro's history, the Negro intellectual and artist had a special opportunity and special responsibility: The process by which the Negroes were captured and enslaved in the United States stripped them of their African culture and destroyed their personality. Under the slavery regime and for nearly a century since emancipation everything in American society has stamped the Negro as subhuman, as a member of an inferior race that had not achieved even the first steps in civilization.

There is no parallel in human history where a people have been subjected to similar mutilation of body and soul. Even the Christian religion was given them in a form only degrade them. The African intellectual recognizes what colonialism has done to the African and he sets as his first task the mental, moral, and spiritual rehabilitation of the African.

But the American Negro intellectual, seduced by dreams of final assimilation, has never regarded this as his primary task.

Assuming the challenge laid forth by Brother Frazier is indeed a primary task of black intellectuals today. We must develop a social theory consistent with a revolutionary black ideology so that what we

know that which makes us really see/experience the future/past. As the Bird-Coletrane revolution has redefined spirit-emotion, we must set ourselves to the task of totally redefining our mind-action. As an initial move toward this, we will now attempt to survey a basic set of concepts used in white social science (and quite familiar to all of us), and present an alternative conceptual scheme for social analysis based on a Revolutionary Pan-African Nationalist ideology.

CHART ON FOLLOWING PAGE

Social science has constructed a set of terms to explain black people and their experiences and, for the most part, these terms have suffered from being based on sterile analytical theory that attempts to classify social reality and not explain its essential nature. Perhaps the best illustration of this begins with the word-concept Negro. This term had practically no currency until 1880 when a group of middle class black people rejected the terms African and colored; among them were Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Horace Mann Bond quotes DuBois as saying "It was a short word; it was a strong word; I knew that it had been debased, but I thought it could be resuscitated, and given dignity!" However, when we test the word to see what it does or doesn't do, we find out how denigrating and freakish it makes people who use it to describe themselves.

What a people call themselves has meaning because it links them to their ancestors and refers to their role in human history. The only ancestors linked to the word Negro are people who were slaves to white people. Negroes were told they had no past and had never made significant contributions to human civilization.

TERMS OF WHITE SOCIAL SCIENCE	TERMS OF BLACK SOCIAL SCIENCE
Negro (non-white)	African (black)
Segregation	Colonization
Tokenism	Neo-Colonialism
Integration	Liberation
Equality	Freedom
Assimilation	Africanization

We were that the Egyptians were white, and that only by having white blood could a black person develop enough to be somebody and make a contribution. In sum, the only people identifying themselves with the term Negro are people who have suffered the racist oppression of the white West. The Negro is held to be a creation of the West since slavery was supposed to have completely separated us from Africa, making all that we are what they have made us be. (See Arnold Toynbee, Gunnar Myrdal, William Faulkner, and Daniel P. Moynihan for illustrations of the above).

Consistent with the term Negro is the use of segregation as the major concept to describe the U.S.A. race problem. Segregation means to keep separate, something that everybody believes in and disagrees with. Not many folks these days are against sexual segregation of public bath rooms, but most homes have communal toilets. Most sensible people agree that the segregationist laws applied to voting on the basis of age should be changed, but not so drastically as to include absolutely everyone regardless of age. Etc. The point is that when black folks have used this term we have meant something entirely different from the denotative meaning of the term. And rightly so, since our essential problem is not the result of being kept separate from white people (whether they do it, or we do it).

Following the term segregation is the concept integration. It's only logical that if the problem is segregation the two alternative solutions are integration or annihilation. The white liberal line is that by integration black people with white people everything will work itself out. We have even been militant about this and declared that desegregation (essentially meaning the removal of segregationist barriers) was insufficient, as is the tokenism involved in allowing a very few blacks in where previously all blacks have been excluded.

All of this is in large part based on the goal of equality, a near synonym for integration that means having the same life chances as white people. White people have been the standard for all of our goals, since the problem was that they kept us from them and what they had going for themselves.

Underlying the goals of integration and equality is the same belief expressed by Robert Park: "The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contracts, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible." Assimilation is the ultimate form of progress in the white liberal analysis, a process that more accurately should be called "anglo-conformity." Since the values and norms of white people are those served by the social coercion of institutions in this society, it is inevitable that if any changing is going to happen it will be all those people different from white folks becoming more like them. Even E. Franklin Frazier warned black people of this eventual outcome when he wrote:

In the final analysis, complete racial desegregation would mean the dissolution of the social organizations of the Negro community as Negroes are integrated as individuals into the institutional life of American society.

The theoretical orientation reflected in these terms is white and Negro. Black is not beautiful nor is it designed to survive. This is a theoretical orientation designed to wipe us out and convince us that our eventual disappearance from the scene is an inevitable outcome in the flow of human history. What we need is a theory of survival. Our understanding of the world must take full account of our past and propel us into the future with glorious possibilities. Let us listen to the prophetic voice of the Mystic Onedaruth (who was called John Coltrane) sing African and get on with the work of constructing a social theory giving

us the power and strategy to struggle toward capturing that spirit and bringing such a new revolutionary Africa into human history. As listed in the right column in the chart, we will now present a set of concepts more consistent with a black frame of reference. Instead of using the terms Negro and non-white to describe who we are (as does the U.S.A.'s secular Bible, the census), a black social science would refer to us as black people, as African peoples. Black is preferable to non-white because it is positive and distinct, rather than negative and based on white as the standard. However, the more significant name for black people is African. We should use African because it is our best link with our ancestors. It describes a continent in the world within which our forefathers built glorious civilizations and maintained high standards of black cultural values. And as African ties us to a positive past, so it foretells of our future.

The major arguments against using the concepts African include the following: (1) while we are "descendents" of African peoples, we are American Negroes because we were born here. Brother Malik Shabazz used to answer "If a cat gave birth in an oven, she wouldn't have biscuits, she'd have kittens." (2) Robert Park and E. Franklin Frazier (and others) have demonstrated that slavery and the Middle Passage removed all of African culture from our way of life, and on the plantations of the Antebellum South, we became Americans the best way we could.

The most obvious refutation of this is our music, our dancing, and the way most of us look. In addition, consider these facts: (1) Lorenzo Turner has found an overwhelming number of African words and syntax patterns in our speech, as well as moving fraudulent white scholars who denied this by simply indicating that they had no knowledge of African languages;

(2) Africans were brought to this country as recently alone this for his own family by uncovering a wealth of factual information to be presented in a full length book as well as a feature movie); and (3) our basic religious beliefs and practices have never really changed (same of the middle class mimicking of white folks), and so we have strong attachments to astrology charms, emotional communion with the spiritual world, and an unshakable belief in the Gods (something white people have never really had integrated into their culture successfully).

So we are African peoples, black folks. Therefore, we can understand quite readily that the real problem is not our being segregated from white people in the West; the problem is our being in the West in the first place (and most regrettable of all, the U.S.A.) It follows, then, that the problem is Colonization. This concept of colonialism has definite meaning as a dynamic historical concept. It refers to the interaction of two whole communities of people by which one community attempts to colonize the other and make it subordinate. The concept refers to the oppressive group as colonizers, and the oppressed as the colonized. It implies that a society with this set of communities is bound together by coercion, and is in conflict under normal conditions. And the term suggests a history of before, during and after itself. Colonization is a total attempt at subordination, involving a people's values, beliefs, rituals, norms, institutions, myths, and its history.

Decolonization is a concept referring to attempts by the colonized to sound a total rejection of being colonized, a negation of the colonial oppressors and everything they have created resulting in colonial dependency. Since self-hate is instilled into the colonized, love of self is an important part of decolonization. In the U.S.A., black had always been negative until we were able to make it acceptable to black people; now "Black is Beautiful, and it's so beautiful to be black."

Colonization made us distrust one another and only support white people. Now we are self-oriented and concerned about the internal development of our own community. Where once we went to get culture and good food, we now respect it because we know where we live. Soul is not only what's happening, but where it's happening as well.

The process of decolonization is more toward liberation, that process of becoming independent and completely positive about one's self and one's community. It also involves social structures, enabling the black community complete control over its destiny though all political, economic, and social institutions. Liberation is, however, necessarily conceived as a worldwide process. If the forces of racism are to be defeated, then it must be so everywhere, if it is to be so anywhere. Wherever you go to visit black brothers and sisters, you will find traces of concerns like Western white governments, Coca-Cola, Chase Manhattan Bank, United Fruit Company, the oil companies, and General Motors. These are institutional manifestations of white imperialistic colonial forces that must be contained and rendered helpless if we are to achieve liberation and self-determination.

The forces of oppression use several sophisticated schemes of subversion against us as we move toward liberation. Colonialism in its most illusory form is neo-colonialism, either the partial but not total control of the black community by black people (i.e., having a black government but continued white control of the economy: Gary, Indiana or post-Nkrumah Ghana) or the use of Negroes to represent the covert interests of whites. Concerning African countries, Nkrumah writes:

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus, its political policy, is directed from outside.

Within this framework of analysis, it is easy to see that programs like "Black Capitalism" are neo-colonialist tricks, because black people have no real capital of their own; besides, America has developed past small, entrepreneur capitalism into corporate, monopolistic capitalism. For example, Citizens Trust Bank, one of the oldest black banks in the country and located in affluent Atlanta, was forced to seek a loan from a major white bank in order to construct a new building.

Fanon speaks to this case through his analysis of Algeria: "True liberation is not that pseudo-independence in which . . . (there is) an economy dominated by the colonial past. Liberation is the total destruction of the colonial system. . . ."To accept the idea of black capitalism is to accept the position of being a ward of the white man, a highly prized servant who is content with crumbs from the mildewed cake of whites rather than being about the business of baking a fresh black one with a black recipe to satisfy black appetites.

Of course, a major question is whether any reforms can occur that would not be neo-colonialistic. But this is a question that can only be answered once we have a clear set of goals in mind that will begin to give form to our liberation. Our essential goal must be one of Freedom from white people and their oppressive, dying system, and not equality with them. There can be no freedom in the present system; it must undergo fundamental changes or be replaced entirely. The only way for it to be changed is to have a new constitutional convention and reconstruct the basic political documents serving as the basis of the social order.

We must have a new constitution, a new flag, new symbols, new songs, a new economy, a new way of relating to the rest of the world, a new commitment for peace and justice everywhere. The new society must be hip in the hippest sense of that beautiful word. We must be an answer to Frantz Fanon when he calls:

Come, then, comrades; it would be as well to decide at once to change our ways. We must shake off the heavy darkness in which we were plunged, and leave it behind. The new day which is at hand must find us firm, prudent, and resolute . . . we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.

And if anybody gets in our way trying to impede the marching progress of human history, to quote a brother, "we must strike them dead before God gets the word."

But if in our freedom we are responsible to ourselves and really move to "set afoot a new man," then we must begin to conceptualize what kind of positive action will give real meaning to our freedom. Inasmuch as we acknowledge that we are Africans in the Americas who have suffered the tortures of colonization, then it is appropriate that once free we will re-orient ourselves to who we really are (and have always been).

Africanization is essentially the same for black people in the United States of America just as it applies equally as a vision of our tomorrow for all African peoples colonized on the continent of Africa, or wherever we have wandered or been taken. The basis for our social, political, and economic systems can better be found among our people rather than among those who have used their systems to oppress if not annihilate.

While this has been simply an exploratory attempt at clarifying two alternative and opposing sets of concepts, it is still quite possible to summarize some of the major differences between the two perspectives.

First, the conceptual approach of white social science is only useful on

the analytical level of classification since for each term the social content must be specified. The concepts presented for a black social science clearly suggest a specific socio-political content to be understood as the race problem. Moreover, a second difference is that the white conceptual orientation is quite local to the U.S.A., whereas the concepts for a black social science are related to an international analysis of African peoples they are found. The model of colonialism is one which has currency among our brothers and sisters throughout the world, though up until now, we have at best thought of it as an analogue. Our understanding must be couched in concepts on the same level as the problems we attempt to understand.

The last major difference deals with models of society and notions concerning social change. The conceptual framework presented as white social science reflects an equilibrium model of society based on evolutionary change. All things happen in due course as the society evolves to a higher level based on more universalistic rational standards of operation. The concepts of a black social science reflect a conflict model of society bound together by coercion and changed by revolution. To put this in more pointed terms, the white concepts are based on the myth of salvation for the jailer, while the black concepts more directly speak to the reality of getting black folks out of the jail.

At the beginning of this discussion, we attempted to raise two general questions pointing the way toward a black theory of revolution. This is important because we need a revolutionary ideology that reflects the utility of a black social analysis, the inevitable correctness of African prophecy of black gods creating a new man and the immortality of a revolutionary commitment to kill and die for the liberation of all black people.

In other words, we need to get this shit on, and for that we need a revolutionary script for the terrible black drama of historical forces that we're about to rain down.

THE WHEN OF IT IS NOW:

ART AND REVOLUTION FOR THE BLACK MAN

BY

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1973

This paper is a position on the role of art in the midsts of a colonial war of national liberation. This must be viewed as a peoples re-birth, because a new culture can only result from the toil of the peoples work, and the work of a colonized people is national liberation. We consider the question of art essential because in our struggle it has too often been attacked and dismissed, or exaggerated into sect elitism. We need scientific analysis that provides theoretical guidelines for action, a total process all inclusive of a peoples life, including intellectuals and artists.

This article will deal with two major aspects of cultural decolonialization:

- (1) How does Art contribute to the liberation struggle of a colonized people?
- (2) How does a colonized people generate a post-colonial revolutionary culture?

As a colonized people (Africans captured and colonized in the west) we have suffered the total perversion of our culture -- especially our art. In its most meaningful sense art includes every activity people engage in when it is raised to the highest level of execution. Art involves definitions of good (Beauty) in as many forms as are available to the senses and imagination of a people. It is the highest expression of a peoples culture. Since colonialism moves to subordinate and totally control a group, the perversion of a peoples art is a major key to the total subversion of the peoples culture.

Traditional African Tribal Art has been dealt with in the typical two-faced manner common to colonialism. The material artifacts have ended up in the colonial capitals (Berlin, Paris, London, New York) providing the opportunity for white art to imitate its genius (Picasso, Modigliani, etc.). On the other hand Africans were tortured until they swore allegiance to the white western cultural gods (or were killed), thus setting in motion the suicidal urge of two forms of culture for the colonized: (1) The native Bourgeoise who aped white ways and served whites as aides in colonial rule (house niggers), (2) The uncivilized natives who were forced to become existential camellions of white culture (pork, Jesus, and bad liquor). But for most of the colonized, both of these opposites were internalized and set to war against each other permanently maining the individual colonized personality.

So we can see quite clearly the real impact of colonization is enforced when this double negative is internalized and functions to control a native culture- the assinationist drive **vs. Suicidal** excapism in the face of existential despair. We were so messed up we policed ourselves (dig the attacks on Nat Turner, DuBois, Martin, and Malcolm). Note that most so called "Negro" crime occurs in the segregated Black Community. And the Black middle class embraces the beasts oppressive ways championing Black capitalism to exploit Black people using colonial segregation for monopoly markets (dig the Baptist church treasury, Negro Insurance companies, and Ebony).

We must understand that colonialization means disease, poison, and death, and a colonized people are the walking dead. Amos Mor is the truth when he calls us to first understand death, then life.

The important question is how to treat the illness of colonialism, how to decolonized the colonized culture of captive Africans(Black culture in the United States). Fanon describes three historical stages for the Black artist-intellectual:

- (1) establishing proof of a peoples capacity to assimilate;
- (2) establishing the rich heritage of traditional culture; and
- (3) establishing the cultural values of the peoples colonial war of liberation. The struggle of Black people in the United States of America has been characterized by the first two alternatives. And these are the alternatives that have both betrayed the true realities of our people and the truths necessary to escape the colonial mark of oppression.

The first stage was characteristic of the 1920's Harlem renaissance in which the major thrust was to demonstrate that Blacks could deal all artistic forms. This was carried to a higher level during the WPA [1940's in which art was tied to the social conditions of the masses in the cities. These two periods make ^{AN} historical stage, the first period more petty bourgeoisie, the other being more proletariat.

Traditional culture has been present as an influence among us Blacks but only in the recent period has it gained such a dominant influence. Traditional Africa has become a significant reference for cultural nationalists. It is

a useful first stage because it is the negation of a negation (assimilation) based on a historial analysis. Cultural nationalism helps African people regain their identity vis-a-vis the alien Europeans (white people). However, it is important that two dangers are avoided: (a) that we take precaution not to re-tribalize Black people in the west, and (b) that we give people the identity of a positive future of life and not resign folks to reliving a dead past. Whether it is fraternities and sororities, different islamic groups, or teen (some say gang) nations, the problem is that we might be really talking about social, religious, or warrior tribes that are emerging to wage the same intense fratricide that is plaguing the African continent. Also, the only traditional culture is an ancestral tribal one; the all African culture is only to be found in the future. All of Africa has never been united, and so it must be, for only then will we have a culture that is really Pan-African.

The peoples war of colonial liberation is the only other alternative, one that we are undertaking at this very moment in history. As Malik Shabazz (Malcolm X) said so clearly, the Black revolution must be about land (all of it) and it will be bloody. Our colonial war of liberation will be about gettin down in a very funky way. All of the people will participate in it if we are to have a nation, and it is only thru this struggle by all of the people that we will survive. Struggle is the only way that colonize people can ^{CLEANSE} ~~themselves~~ themselves and move toward the day of a New Man. This is the inevitable

course of history that Nrumah learned from the Ghana experience, one that Black people in the west had better wake up to as soon as possible.

We will be concerned with art and culture as reconstructed through struggle, specifically revolutionary national liberation struggle. So while our model focuses on those traditionally called artist, we shun the term artist because of its bourgeoisie elitist connotation. The term "liberator" rather than actor comes from the National Black Theater Workshop in Harlem. It is far more fitting for the real job at hand. So we will use the term Cultural liberator to indicate those people who seize hold of cultural activities to move toward the struggle for national liberation.

The model presented here is based on two different dimensions: (a) whether the activity is primarily theoretical or practical; and (b) whether the activity is within a dominant or secondary geographical arena. The first dimension contrasts the formulation of verifiable truths for our people with efforts to bring about their verification among the people. This means that the theoretical stage always implies a practical test of the theories. The second dimension focuses on structural organization within the colonial context, and contrasts the building of local bases of power with the national struggle for liberation and decolonialization.

The model contains four basic stages that develop from a lower level to a higher level.

MODEL OF STAGES FOR CULTURAL LIBERATORS

		SUBSTANCE	
		THEORY	PRACTICE
FORM	LOCAL	1 CADRE FORMATION	2 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
	NATIONAL	4 CULTURAL REVOLUTION	3 NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

(1) CADRE FORMATION: This stage involves a small group of people (The size being subject to the activities of the group) that develops and maintains intimate involvement with each other. The cadre is the most important unit for the cultural liberator second only to his blood family (if not identical with or inclusive of the family). This is the first arena for cultural innovation, for the cultural liberator must serve his people by reconstructing his own life according to struggle against oppression. The essence of the cadre of cultural liberators is individual group interdependence, each member being fully capable of making a total statement, though reaching full realization when moving collectively with all other members.

(2) COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: This stage involves one or more cadres in the mobilization of people within a given area, e.g. a neighborhood or community. Some of the well known attempts, have included, community cultural Centers (Atlanta Center For Black Art, Afro-Arts Thertre in Chicago), Community Theatre groups (Concept East in Detroit, or Lafayette Theatre in Harlem), community information centers (Timbuktu Market of New Africa in Atlanta, Nashville and Riverside and community schools (Learning house in Atlanta, Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, North Carolina). The essential move is to engage the community in the activity to the point where the program is self-supporting, meaning staffed and funded by the community itself.

(3) NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE: The struggle for National liberation is primarily a struggle to liberate an oppressed Black nation whose essential character is as an exploited working class.

As long as this struggle is led by the middle class it will be sold out to the highest bidder and turned against the people. Even though we have been brain washed against the masses, they are the true makers of history. So, all must be geared for their use. "Moreover" we can't urge a successful struggle unless we form a united front of all groups, led by the Black working class. All educators, ministers, artists, and other middle class types must follow the objective interests of the working class if we are to have a revolution.

(4) CULTURAL REVOLUTION: This revolution can only grow out of revolutionary power. We must see a connection between real and apparent truth. Apparent truth is subjective, emotional and myth while what is real is objective, political, and historical. So it is with culture. The day to day experiences of all the people is the truth of history, not what an "elitë" feels about his own perceptions of that experience. We must understand that art must raise up millions and more and not simply draw an art lovers sect together. If art is to reflect and create for the peoples culture, then it must naturally flow within the everyday experiences of the people. We must therefore help start the motion for the people to rise up and change the structure of their everyday life. Only then can we have a real cultural revolution. We must define work as we are to define soul, we must know agricultural machinery if we are to know musical instruments, we must know architectural drawing if we know how to paint. Sekou Toure says: "To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people.

ART

(AESTHETICS)

SPIRITUAL
VALUES

EXISTENTIAL
NORMS

SELF-CONCEPT

SELF-CONDUCT

WE
(COLLECTIVE)

STRUGGLE

DECOLONIZATION

LIBERATION

REVOLUTION

CULTURE

CADRE
FORMATION

COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATION

NATIONAL
LIBERATION
STRUGGLE

CULTURAL
REVOLUTION

And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves."

Now that we have the basic four stages in mind we can look at the process of how it flows together and works. How can we get it on? The formation of a cadre involves a small number of people isolating and resolving as many contradictions as possible.

The logic of Black identity is:

(accept personal self)	I am Black	I am Black
(accept collective self)	Black is Beautiful	Black is African
(afirm self)	I am Beautiful	I am African

This is the internal preparation. And as Carolyn Rodgers aptly put it "Ultimately ^{ONE'S} ~~his~~ life-style is his point of view." So our self-development must involve changing our lives in the way we relate to people, where we go, how we utilize time, etc. All art must be verified by the everyday life of the one who creates it, then it has validity in stage one and is the work of a cultural liberator.

The members of the cadre must work together like "fingers on a hand" must always move within the same ideological framework. There can be no grand standing we must all play defense and offense, (note our sometime inclinations in atheletics to the ^{CONTRARY} ~~the~~). The "great man" theory of history is an elitist lie. Our only hope is thorough concerted efforts grounded in cohesive units of liberators moving toward revolution. This is the first test of a revolutionary: honesty, trust, respect, self-lessness, and SECRECY.

A cadre can be formed to do one or more of three things: (1.) form a study group for systematic analysis of issues and problems; (2.) form an expressive group to create concrete expressions of how each member views the world, e.g. a writers workshop or drama workshop for use as forums for group therapy from colonized Negro to Revolutionary African; and (3.) as a more advanced activity, the cadre can assign each member to an external activity (like a certain job or membership in a certain organization) to secure more information to be analysed for the growth of the cadres potential action. The cadre must always know that in pulling together a few, it is preparing for the many to unite and rise up.

Once the cadre has reached a common identity and analysis it is possible to begin to program. The danger to avoid here is that even if everyone knows himself and his people as African (common identity) and views the structure of societies and history with a common analysis, it is necessary to program on the level of everyones real committeement so that when the deal goes down everyone can be fully accounted for. (i.e., there must be organizational account ability)

As the flow chart indicates, one stage is linked to the next stage. So the development of one or more cadre groups in a given area, leads to community organization through the transformation of idenity and conduct. This is a very difficult process to clarify since it has been formulated in-correctly on so many occasions. The cadre of cultural liberators must understand that they serve the people. A

cadre must avoid three major problems; (1) self interest (2) subjective sentiment and (3) reactionary nationalism.

No matter what the cadre thinks by itself, what the people think is more important. As Mao would say; the artist must first understand the people, then serve the people who would make the revolution for all the people. A cadre must have collective interest.

A second danger reflects ones disposition toward action. If one is blindly tied to the passing moment of the present it is possible to get trapped into subjective views based on sentiment. This is contrasted with the cultural liberator who bases his activities on objective strategy which takes into account the realities of our peoples struggle. So the cadre never makes decisions based on personal friendship, social cliques, family ties, or tribal loyalties--rather the cadre moves as the objective analysis dictates, never once flinching from disciplined revolutionary work.

Reactionary nationalism, as the third danger, is the nation of salvation for the few; consider Chang Kai Shek on the small island of Formosa, in contrast with Chairman Mao and the Peoples Republic of China, or General Ky versus Uncle Ho, or Puppet Busia versus President Nkrumah. One is reaction the other, revolution.

There are three basic forms of action community organization. The first is for the cadre to develop a cultural base. This will be of value only as it serves the people. The level of consciousness among the people reflects objective history. It is the job of a cultural center to diffuse the cadres knowledge, morality, and purpose throughout

the community. This can be a center, an agency, a school, a school, a store, etc. There must be concrete programs to meet the peoples physical needs as an alternative to what a colonized person is forced to do. Secondly, the cadre of cultural liberators must seek out other cadres functioning in different areas--most importantly, political cadres and pull together a broad based communitiy organization addressing itself to all of the peoples reality. This includes doing something about the problems, getting physical about struggle by fully participating with the people. Cadres operating in the same community must link up, or betray the interest of unity for sect and self.

The third form of action is dispatching cadre members to infiltrate existing institutions, organizations, groups, etc. These liberators will be like invisible drops of poison well placed in the veins and arteries of the colonial monster. When the action begins to kill the beast it will be possible for the cultural liberators to manage all aspects of the community, even to the point of total replacement of leadership on all levels of community decision making. The struggle must have ears and eyes everywhere. We must come to know the ways and habits of this system if we are to have our revolution; we must do our homework on them as they have done us. Our ethics are based on revolutionary utility; nothing but our revolutionary liberation struggle serves as the basis of right and wrong. The writers must become journalists, the poets must sing from the juke boxes, the actors must be politicians, the musicians must play in churches and schools. We must do the jobs that get our message to the people.

Note that the arrows indicate a back and forth flow. This signifies the validation of a cadres foundation in the context of community mobilization. But, we must always remember, that historical truth is finally what the collective experiences, so the revolutionary truth is based on the people, not the cadre.

The level of action possible on the community level should be measured in concrete terms and not left to symbolic goals. We must not merely be concerned with how "bad" our music is; we must move to transform all of the "sounds" in the community according to the direction toward revolution. We must make images to help the community see its reality more clearly. Every work of art must be programed on the community level, so that its essence, is absorbed into the living reality of those who will make the revolution, and not an elitist group of "patrons or sponsors".

When we think of a national liberation struggle we must know that we are millions strong in potential, then work to reach the multitude. First we must use the experience gained from the local community, so our analysis must be objective. During the second stage it will be possible to understand the class nature of different groups as a basis for action:

1. People who work
2. People on welfare
3. People who go to school
4. People who are middle class workers
5. People who are middle class professional and businessmen
6. People who hustle

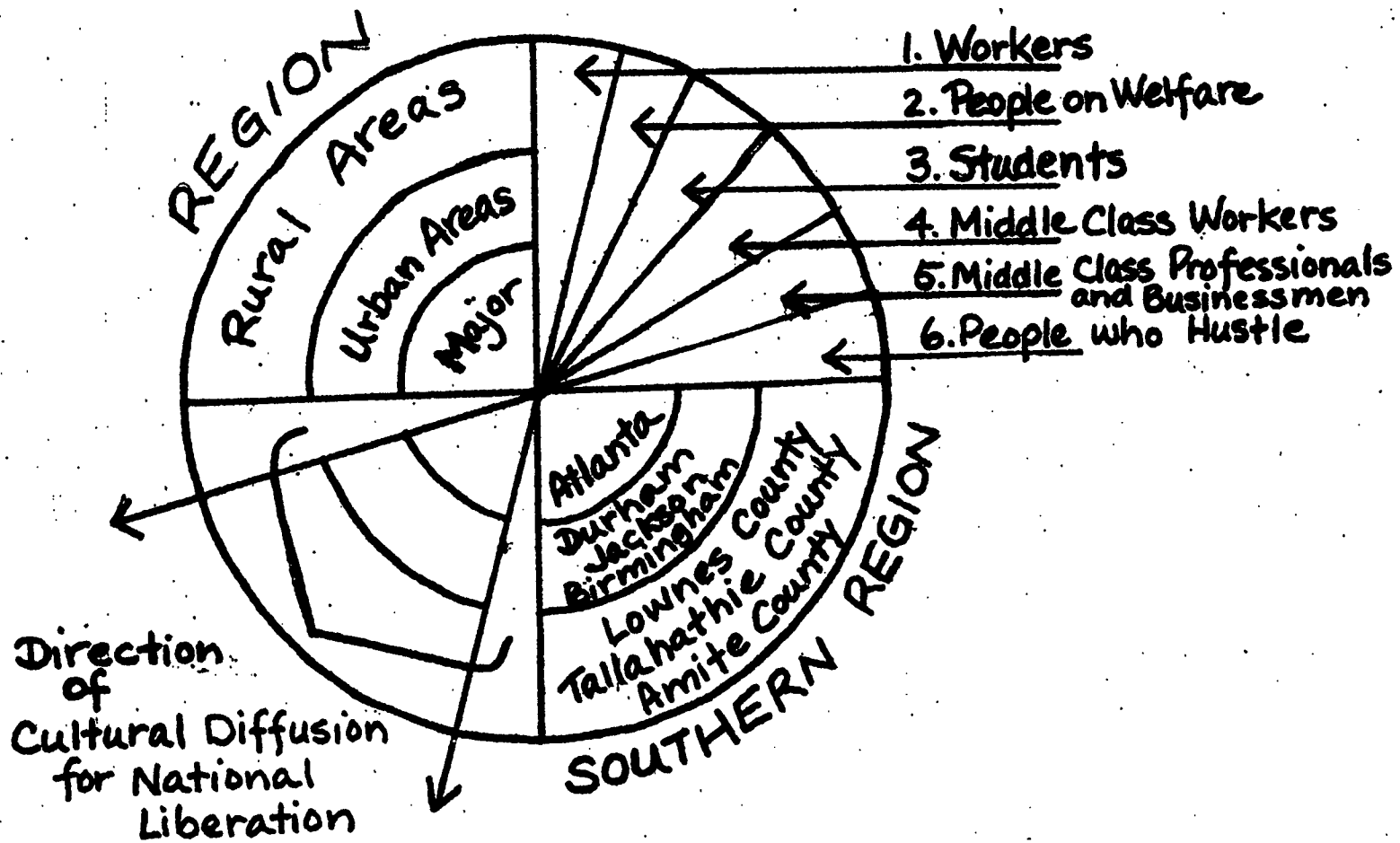
These groups have been formed by the historical forces of oppression and EXPLOITATION, capitalism and near fascist police

forces. The basic force is the Black worker, he is the hero of our struggle. Art for the Black working class is really art for those who must make the revolution.

Next is necessary to think in terms of geographical area and structural organization, i.e., regional areas and urban-rural organization. We must begin to diffuse the new cultural explosion to all of the people--especially those who will be most inclined to become totally committed to and involved in the struggle. Once the cadre has spent time pulling together, it then diffuses throughout the community. Once the community begins to pull together, the cadres in the area must begin to leave the community (or send others) and diffuse themselves to other cities and rural areas. The regional area must have a network of communities actively pulling themselves together. The cultural liberator goes to the people, and this means moving once a job has been taken over by local people. The cultural liberator must organize to have revolutionary units in every community, in every region, throughout the land.

Regional priorities must include a communications link-up, a skills bank, and constant travel between communities. When one major breakthrough is made then the entire region rallies to consolidate the gain. An example of how this is not happening is Gary Indiana. Mayor Hatcher is a reform politician who can at best be viewed as a buffer force against colonial oppression. Cadres ought to be infiltrating every aspect of Gary getting the revolutionary message out.

Model of Structural Components for National Liberation Organization



The goal would be to use the current mayoral administration as cover to more easily organize cadre's and not necessarily to re-elect politicians. We want it all to come down and not just one of us to be up in it.

Our struggle for national liberation is only revolutionarily if it is totally rejects colonialism and champions the thrust toward a new humanity. The revolutionary struggle gives birth to the culture of revolution. All activities change in the heat of struggle just as different metals change when subjected to certain levels of heat. Revolution is chemical. All values and practices must change. Revolution changes what you do, when, what you'll wear, and what is beautiful. Everyones work will change Revolution is change.

Once the work day in the life of a newly liberated nation is done, then all the people will turn to new cultural expressions of themselves. People will dance to new music and wear colors that will make the sun proud. Buildings will celebrate with shapes and colors the families and work they represent and house. The schools will never close and health care will be a persons right. This while some are actively moving to join others in their front on the continental colonial war of liberation. The African struggle is a struggle to liberate the African continent so that a new continental nation uniting all African peoples can emerge. We must always keep in mind the protracted war with the west to free the continent is a major priority for all African revolutionaries.

This is a model for the liberation function of Black art and cultural decolonization. It is presented to all who would be cultural liberators as a blueprint for how to get this shit on. The when of it is now!!

LANGUAGE AND THE STRUGGLE

FOR BLACK LIBERATION

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PEOPLES COLLEGE

AND

AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

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1973

Black people throughout the world have common problems for which must be found common solutions. And one of these problems concerns language. Language is an ideological concern for two basic reasons: (1) the results of European domination have Black people unable to communicate with each other, tied to the education of European "mother countries", and (2) the rise of African independence and liberation movements requires the liberation of language so that a new revolutionary consciousness can freely be absorbed through common languages. Most Black people are bound to language in a reactionary way. We are in a language prison.

Some people are still holding on to the 3-R notion (readin, rightin', rithmetic) of text book English, while others join with liberal anthropologists by labeling us with either non-standard English or some romantic sounding term meaning pidgin, patois, or creole. There are those of us who misunderstand cultural history and social change to the extent of believing a new language will come from a poet's pen. Or we can count many who would have us either recreate the language barriers of ancestral Africa, or choose one African National language from among the most progressive African countries. For the most part these efforts have resulted in confusion, whether intentionally misleading or not.

The only solution to this dilemma is to probe our language problem, devise a strategy to deal with it and move to implement a solution. The unity of theoretical analysis and practical application is essential. This paper is presented as a policy position on Black language liberation.

In order to deal with the specific language problems Black people face it is essential to have some degree of conceptual clarity about the types of language functions that exist, so that we can focus on these basic necessities rather than secondary issues. There are three basic languages for Black people

- (1) Language of Black peoples communication (colonized)
- (2) Language of the European ruling class (colonizer)
- (3) Language of revolutionary movement

We must consider the importance of each, though not to the point of distorting any one of the three.

1. It is clear that Black people have always needed to communicate with each other, sometimes with the conscious survival need to exclude white people and sometimes not. Our language problems begin with the slave middle passage, and involve many different African languages as well as the European language of the colonizer. One simply had to adapt in order to communicate.

Moreover it is possible to trace the historical patterns of adaptation of Black people in the Caribbean Islands, South American and North America. Examples of Yourba (spoken in Oriente, Cuba), distinct types are Gulla (a language retaining many Tribal words intact) Creole in Louisiana, or Hip on the South Side of Chicago.

So the language of the people is the language of Black culture. Somehow the sum total of all Black communication represents the diversity of Black Culture. Culture is the actual experience of the people, not what we want that experience to be. We must understand what the different languages of Black communications are, then find out how they developed and how they function. Only then can we decide what to approve of and support, and what to attack and destroy.

2. It is also clear that Black people all over the world have been colonized and for the most part have been forced to deal with European languages. The languages of Europe have represented colonial domination for Black Societies. This includes most radio and T.V. government and educational programs, and most libraries and newspapers. Most of the knowledge concerning our daily lives (from the police to the school to the store) is contained in European languages. These are languages of colonized Black society.

3. Last it is important to understand the third language the language of revolutionary movement. This is based on one of two related alternatives. One is whatever language is spoken by the then existing progressive revolutionary forces, while the other is whatever is most appropriate for the scientific understanding necessary of the liberation struggle. Languages for scientific analysis are often the same as those for revolutionary forces because revolutionary countries organize their research activities for revolutionary ends.

LANGUAGE TYPE	SELECTED COUNTRIES WITH BLACK POPULATIONS		
	GUINEA-BISSAU	MARTINIQUE	UNITED STATES
1. Language of Culture (religion and tribe)	Ballante, Fula Mandjake, Mandingo Arabic	Creole	English
2. Language of Society (colonial and independent)	Portuguese	French	English
3. Language of Revolution (Pan Africanism, and Science).	French, English	English Spanish	Spanish French

In the above table three countries are used as examples to illustrate how different languages are used. Each country represents a different combination of the three types of languages. Guinea-Bissau, located between Senegal and Guinea on the West coast of Africa, has a population almost one million people. Although there are more than 15 different tribes in the country the major ones are Balantes, Mandjaks, Fulahs, and Mandingos. About 70% of the population practices Animist religion, while the other 30% are Islamic, because the Portugese colonial administration was based on a very limited practice of assimilation, and failed to encourage any economic development, the people of Guinea has been kept in a tribal situation. There are only five major towns, in which all of the Portuguese live. A handful of Africans speak creole, while the vast majority speak (but do not read) tribal languages.

It is important to note that the beginning of the national liberation struggle was based on a few Black students in Portugal who petitioned the University of Lisbon in 1948 to set up an African Studies Center so they could study their history and learn the language of their people. Among them was Amilcar Cabral, who is now the Secretary General of the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). The basic languages then are Portugese for colonial society and the tribal ones, (for tribal culture) with as much use of creole as is possible. However it is obvious that when PAIGC began to train cadres for armed struggle and decided to set up a school in conakry, Guinea, and an office in Senegal that French was necessary language for revolutionary ends. Also, when cadres had to be sent to Socialist Europe and China for special training French has more use than Portuguese as a means of communication. (We must also note that while Angola and Mozambique are also struggling against the Portugal, Guinea Bissau is a long way from either of them, so Portuguese has little revolutionary utility).

English is also important. This is true because of the recent escalation of USA military aid to Portugal through the NATO organization. The PAIGC must be able to analyze the activities of this imperial power, as well as communicate with English speaking revolutionary forces in the USA, and on the Continent. All languages are at work because they are all necessary.

For further analysis of this see the following publications:

1. Amilcar Cabral, The Struggle in Guinea
2. Basil Davidson, The Liberation of Guinea (Penguin Books, 1969)
3. Gerard Chaliand Armed Struggle in Africa: With the Guerrillas in "Portuguese" Guinea, (Monthly Review Press, 1969)
4. Amilcar Cabral, Revolution in Guinea: Selected Texts (Monthly Review Press, 1969)

Martinique is an island of the Antilles half way between Puerto Rico and Trinidad. Although the Carib Indians were swift enough to keep Columbus off their island when he tried to land in 1502, the French finally got over and colonized the island in 1635. Today there are about 250,000 people on the island with the assimilationist French policy making it an actual political subdivision of France. This means that the people are presently facing a better life only by becoming as French as possible. Fanon has written that "The Negro of the Antilles will be proportionately whiter -- that is, he will come closer to being a real human being--in direct relation to his mastery of the French language." This is the dictate of colonialism.

"The Middle class in the Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of Martinique are taught to scorn the dialect. One avoids Creolisms. Some families completely forbid the use of Creole, and mothers ridicule their children for speaking it. But on the other hand: "In any group of young men in the Antilles, the one who expresses himself well, who has mastered the language is inordinately feared; keep an eye on that one, he is almost white. In France one says, "He talks like a book" In Martinique, "He talks like a white man."

The situation even gets more complicated when Fanon writes of how the Sengalese would try and learn the Creole of Martinique because on the whole the Islanders were more "white" and had more French status to offer.

This is interesting because it is a situation within which the search for identity can not easily call upon traditional culture. The tribal languages are simply not intact. The fact is that today Black linguists in the islands are challenging the view that creole is a bastard child of Europe, tracing the structure and sounds of creole back to the trading centers of West Africa. Also they contend that their Creole is an example of but one of the historical stages in the development of any language, and therefore deserves the status of any useable language, of the world.

The use of English and Spanish as the Languages of Revolution and Science should be obvious and clear since most of the Caribbean and the Americas use these languages. No country can be so close to a major imperialist power and refuse to exploit their oppressors language as a tool of their own liberation. Nor can a country be so near a revolutionary country like Cuba (and hopefully Chile) and not move to utilize Spanish.

Frantz Fanon, Black Skin White Masks, see Chapt. 1
"The Negro and Language"

The position of Black people in the United States is one of almost total colonization. While in the official US Census Black people are 12% of the total population (approximately 25 million Black people), an intelligent Black estimate might reasonably go as high as twice that many. This places Africans in the United States next to Nigeria as the second largest colonial national grouping of African People. But as far as literacy in the colonial language is concerned the Census estimate of well over 90% places Black people in the U. S. well out in front of any other Black national group. The fact is that Black people in the U. S. speak English.

We must take note however, that there are recognizable dialects based on social class, region, and occupational life style. This is no different than any nation of people who have had a varied set of experiences. The more education a Black man gets the better he uses English. The same is true for living in the city versus living in the country, having a job versus running the street, association with white people versus doing a totally Black thing. Black people in this country have been cut off from tribal languages, and must communicate in English (although at times we can use it in secret ways that seem to defy translation).

There are at least three reasons why Black people in the U. S. have tried to adopt an alternative to the English language. 1. Passing: The impact of U. S. A. colonial brutality sometimes resulted in Blacks trying to escape their Blackness by assuming another identity. The most frequent example of this is choosing to speak Spanish and choosing a Mexican, or Puerto Rican identity. 2. Religion: There is a major connection in Black history between assuming an African or Eastern identity and the religion of Islam. So, resulting from different organizations at different periods of history, there have been and are people who are using Arabic both as a religious language as well as a potential alternative for English generally. 3. Politico-Cultural Communication: And last, there has been a trend to search for an African language which has a high usage among African people and is also associated with a progressive political movement. This has been the case with Ki-Swahili. Every since the recent resurgence of Pan Africanism and cultural nationalism particularly as manifested in the call for Black studies, Tanzania has been the model for those who would have Ki-Swahili be our national Black language.

For the most part, all three of the above alternatives are grounded in cultural notions about the utility of language changes. However, since there is no significant difference between the Black mans cultural language by birth in the U. S. A. and the language of north American society (Black and White), the real question is

whether there is any development toward a revolutionary language, The best that can be said is that several are possible, but, only a very few vanguard Black radicals have started. One possibility is connected with Cuba. Blacks have been involved with the Cuban revolution from the beginning, and more recently through the Black Panther Party, the Venceremos Brigades, and as a haven for political refugees. Cuba has made Spanish a living revolutionary alternative for Black People in the United States. In addition it is necessary to note that the struggle of the Chicano people of California and the Puerto Ricans of the East and Midwest have brought the Spanish speaking communities right here in the United States forward to join the revolutionary struggle of national minorities to overthrow the Racist Imperialist government of the United States.

A second revolutionary alternative is French. Three of the most important places for Black revolutionary activity where the French language is spoken are Montreal Canada, and the countries of Guinea and Congo-Brazaville. The north American center of Black activity for French speaking Black people (Haiti, Martinique, and Africa) revolves around university centers in Montreal. (This is enough, although it is important to mention the potential revolutionary conflict between the semi-colonized French Canadians and their English countryman who rule with the help of England and the United States. Guinea and Congo-Brazaville are the French speaking centers of revolution in Black Africa (not to mention Algeria in North Africa).

These three national examples provide us with a typology of Black language patterns. The key to the typology is the community basis of the language. And as indicated, this can be either traditional tribes or a colonized people. Although it is not always as obvious, a third factor is the relative connections ones language provides with revolutionary movements. This typology, as suggested in the above table, is illustrative of a language continuum and not a set of discrete types. The table is intended to isolate and abstract the key components of language functions and not to minimize

the complex reality of human systems of communications.

These three basic types of languages can be further organized into two basic functional categories. These two categories are the most basic distinction that can be made and must be understood as historically dynamic categories rather than mere static niches into which any language might fall. Languages change their functions just like everything else that is apart of human history, (And remember, even those things that don't seem to change are given different meanings when other changes give rise to a new historical consciousness among the people). The two new categories are:

1. Language of Identity: the basic process of establishing how we think, how we perceive the world, and how we communicate in the most natural way (especially in primary group situations like the family, and friendship groups).
2. Language of Utility: this is a basic category for all language uses that meet concrete needs, enabling one to transcend his language identity and successfully carry on programmatic activity in any area of life.

We can reexamine the above national examples by analysing the language patterns using these two new categories. The amazing reality for Black people as we begin to live out the 20th Century is that most of us are still in the language prison of traditional tribes or at best some stage of using Creole. Exceptions to this are found in cases where colonization has been most effective, middle class city people on the continent of African and the islands, and most Black people in the United States. But the languages of traditional culture still shape the basic identity of most Black people in the world today. However this is not the only view of the matter.

Given the legacy of colonialism, over ninety per cent of the population of Africa is subject to one of three colonial languages as officially used by a government and/or by the popular communications media and in the schools:

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES FOR PEOPLE OF AFRICA

English.....	58%
French	31%
Portuguese	6%
Total.....	95%

It is also important to take a close look at a map of the African continent and examine the locations of colonial language influences. There is land subject to French language usage stretching from Guinea to Algeria to Tanzania. (Guinea, Mali, Algeria, Niger, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo).

The key question is how to devise a way to simplify the language diversity of Black people in the world, as well as the full accounting of any costs that such a practice might involve. The Black language of identity must speak to the realities of Black life today as well as take into account the changing world. We are approaching the dawning of 21st century man and must not look to the past for more than inspiration. We must examine the ways in which we have gotten from the past to the present and turn all of the experiences into positives by manipulating historical events in order to bring as many people as possible into the next century as capable and powerful as possible.

The Black language of utility must speak to the needs of science and revolution. We must ask ourselves what languages will be most useful in the context of world revolution, specifically the fronts of revolutionary struggle in African world. Malcolm clearly dealt with these questions in his autobiography: "Aside from the basic African dialects, I would try to learn Chinese, because it looks as if Chinese will be the most powerful political language of the future. And already I have begun studying Arabic, which is going to be the most powerful spiritual in language of the future."

This point of view that Malcolm takes is personal and reflective, particularly when we consider that it is reported on next to the last page of the autobiography. The major importance we ascribe to it here is to demonstrate that Malcolm was concerned about the functional uses of language for Black people.

There are two levels of struggle for a Black Revolutionary. One level is the grassroots struggle of getting involved with the people. Perhaps the best example of when this was not accomplished, and a large part of it was the language barrier, was Che Guerrah in Bolivia. He failed to connect with the Indian peasants and was

vulnerable to attack. The opposite of this is in Guinea-Bissau where the leaders of the PAIGC in preparing for the struggle studied the traditional tribal languages of the various tribes in Guinea-Bissau so they would be able to flow among the people like a fish in water.

The other level is on the international scene. This consists of written documents (newsletters, articles, books, posters, letters, etc.) and conversation (meetings, conferences, travel, etc.). This is where lots of revolutionaries interact, representing national liberation organizations if not the socialist countries supporting them; and since Black people in the world get exposed to more than one colonial language, Black people from the United States are the most backward when it comes to international communication. We are language bound.

The "language of Identity" problem is different for our brothers on the African continent than for the rest of us in the West. Africa is still divided by some 800 languages and dialects (falling in four or five major linguistic families) and we have been united under colonial creole or European tongues. This is something we must turn into a positive for us and not mistakenly turn from it as a negative and run backwards toward traditional Africa. It is also important to realize that colonial nationalism is a fact of the 20th century. And this means that the task of studying tribal language is for the most part left to the revolutionary cadres within the same national area, or at least region. International revolutionary interaction is necessarily a diplomatic action, just like the form of interaction between the imperialists. The message is "go among the people closest to you who share most with you and forge the revolution." Also prepare yourself to interact with revolutionaries doing the same thing wherever they most naturally fit around the world. And for the first task one must turn to the language of the people, and for the second task one must turn to the languages of international dialogue.

One might safely say that only when the Language of identity and the language of revolutionary utility are the same thing do you really have the beginning of a world society of revolutionary socialist countries.

The key function of a Language of Identity is to create a national means of communication and shape a national personality. It is obvious then that the struggle on the African continent has as a first step the consolidation of language differences within the political contexts of struggle. For the most part this means colonial nations (resulting from the Berlin conference of 1894-1895 at which time the continent was divided up between European powers), although this can mean regions or at least contiguous nations (e.g., the use of Ki-Swahili in the East African community of Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya). In the West this is not so great a problem as the impact of colonial languages or the creation of creole has in fact provides a national language of identity. (Exception to this include the Indian dialects of South and Central America, the Youruba communities of Cuba and Brazil, and the Gullah language Sea Islands off Georgia and the Carolinas).

When we turn to the Language of Utility we must first establish a framework by specifying the political priorities of a particular liberation struggle. (An interesting example of this in Europe would be Albania, which is a European Islamic Marxist country with connections to China rather than the Soviet Union. Their language of revolutionary utility would be Chinese because of their political priorities, rather than Russian because of their proximity to Soviet Union). The case of Guinea Bissau would point to French because of the assistance given by President Kekou in neighboring Guinea. Martinique would turn to English for a connection in the United States, or Spanish for a connection in Cuba (or even Puerto Rico). And Black people in the U.S.A. would turn to French or Spanish as noted above.

Never lose sight of this principle: Revolution is based on human struggle against human oppression; and a revolutionary will be successful only when he is able to understand what objective human realities will aid that struggle rather than indulge himself

in subjective choices that neglect the objective condition of his people and their possibilities. It is this principle that turns our attention now to the programatic question of what to do based on this analysis.

PROGRAMATIC NOTES:

1. Language of Identity: The major note here is that we will move forward in a direct proportion to how many Black people are liberated from language barriers. The program would be similar to that used in Tanzania, China, and Cuba. Revolutionary students must go furthest away from their "natural" intellectual centers in big cities and large universities and return to the small town, and communities like SNCC did in the 1960's. It is now time to return home and begin the serious systematic work of building our peoples consciousness with ideological tools, perhaps the most important of which are language concepts and methods of thought. We must change the rhythm of revolution away from adventuristic confrontations, and simply leave the urban police forces with no revolutionaries to shoot at while we go to the people most exploited (the working class) and build revolutionary cadres into an army of liberation freedom fighters. The first task is ideology (language concepts and methods of thought). The rest will follow.

While among the people, it is important to keep a balanced view of ones work. While it is necessary to generate in the peoples consciousness an awareness and identification with Africa, it is also necessary to prepare them for the actual stages of struggle most likely to emerge. And for this Spanish is a far more functional choice than a traditional tribal tongue, as well as French. Moreover, if they are to read the works of African writers, the vast majority write in the major colonial languages anyway.

2. Language of Utility: As noted above, programatic notes for this section must follow the political priorities of a particular national situation. Without presuming to speak for the immediate program of any revolutionary party (which will obviously vary from Spanish in California, New York, and Florida; French in Louisiana, Detroit, etc)

it is possible to note the general tasks that must be carried on by revolutionary intellectuals. The task of the revolutionary intellectual is to seize reality and make it comprehensible to those who will use the knowledge in the revolutionary interest of Black people.

A. Involvement in Colonial Language Communities: It is imperative at this stage of history for cadres of Black intellectuals to take up residence in all major centers of the world in order to test an analysis of our struggle in the context of another body of knowledge, in the context of another people. Isolationism is a thing of the past. We must have people in every major captiol of the world and in all captials or university cities of Black countries. And once there, our revolutionary intellectual cadres must be able to use the language of the locale with as much facility as it takes to function for the revolution. This means be fluent in the language. We must not be forced into this by having abroad only those who had to flee the U.S. government. We must move to preserve our mobility and be able to come in and out of the U. S. when we want to, at least as long as we can do it. We must become a force in world thought.

B. Monitor Checks on Colonial Language Information Systems: We must wake up to the fact that a few colonial languages dominate information in the world today. We must be able to tune into this and keep a running check in things. How many Black people in the United States have read the original texts of Frantz Fanon, Sekou Toure, Che Guevarra, Patrice Lumumba, Ben Bella, Modibo Keita, and scores more. These texts are in French and Spanish as are the periodicals that come from Africa, Latin American and Europe. We are limited to what appears in English, and have to have systematic translations going on to meet this need of getting through this language barrier. And once we turn from the popular sources of information we become a drag on every Black liberation movement or country because if they are to communicate with Black people in the United States they must translate their work into English. Unfortunately this cannot happen for all material so government publications frequently remain foreign

to us, as well as local newspapers from around the world. We must wait for the oppressor or a socialist country (or a press like Monthly Review for Fanon, or Pathfinder for Che) to translate the works for us, and then we must be satisfied with their translation because we don't know any better.

Black people ought to have monthly digests of pertinent news flowing through colonial language systems so we can build an international consciousness among our people, as well as be warned when the trend changes either for us or against us.

C. Liberation of Colonial Archival Materials: Among the tasks for the serious Black scholar in any area is the liberation of information buried in the colonial archival collections of European libraries. We need scholars who use German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Greek, Latin, and the other Black investigators will know where to go to get the information. Next we need to begin selectively translating those works which are central in terms of objective information, colonial policy, or Black writing. We must also prepare the way for reclaiming anything that is still of value for Black people. Serious scholars must prepare the way for someone to steal back anything of value for Black liberation.

SUMMARY

This paper has developed several basic elements of the struggle for Black language liberation. This is an ideological struggle for the tools of revolution. If we take the wrong turn we can end up in a new form of oppression rather than continue forward stronger than ever before. Language is a tool for thought and communication, a tool that will either unify people or separate them, a tool that will reveal secrets to the people or one that will trick the people and protect secrets. We must move toward Black language liberation just as we have dealt with the liberation just as we have dealt with the liberation of Black as a color, and the liberation of Black curly-kinky hair.

We have shown how languages function in two basic ways:

1. Language of Identity
2. Language of Utility

These basic language functions characterize with languages of culture, languages of society, and languages of science and revolution. All of these are present among every national group of people and must be understood in order to have a basis for a revolutionary program of language liberation.

In the most basic programmatic terms, any Black person who wants maximize the revolutionary utility of language must first deal with the above analysis and then choose (a) language (b) for Study. Most of us will turn to French and Spanish for now. Only the very few will choose another language, and make sense. And if a revolutionary does not make sense in light of the objective needs of his people, then he is not a revolutionary but a reactionary standing in the way of the people.