PEOPLES COLLEGE  1976-1977

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA
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PART I
BLACK STUDIES
Academic Excellence And Social Responsibility in BLACK STUDIES

A CONFERENCE CALL
February 24 - 25 - 26 - 1977

CENTER for BLACK STUDIES
University of California

SANTA BARBARA

(805) 961-3014
Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in BLACK STUDIES

This is a call to a conference on the standardization of curriculum in Black Studies. The conference will focus on the importance of consolidating the last decade of intellectual experimentation in Black Studies through developing a standardized core curriculum. This standardized curriculum will not only be a needed culmination of the last decade of our work but will also provide the basis for an effective defense against the current attempts to dismantle Black Studies programs.

Black Studies represented an important commitment in the 1960's. It was a commitment not only to study and understand the world in which Black people lived, but also to contribute to the struggle to change and improve that world. NOW is the time to renew this commitment, to develop and implement a program of action, to meet the new challenges of the mid 1970's and beyond.

JOIN US AT THE CONFERENCE!
For further information:
CENTER FOR BLACK STUDIES 3703 South Hall
University of California
Santa Barbara, CA 93106
(805) 961-3914

THURSDAY FRIDAY SATURDAY
February 24 · 25 · 26 · 1977

CENTER for BLACK STUDIES University of California
SANTA BARBARA
September 14, 1976

TO: Seminar, Center for Black Studies

RE: The Standardization of Curriculum in Black Studies

A. Social, Political and Economic Process

1. Black Studies is an emerging discipline
   (a) origin and innovation
   (b) experimentation
   (c) codification and standardization
   (d) institutionalization

2. Problems facing Black Studies
   (a) External
      1. Rise and fall of the Black liberation movement
      2. Fiscal crisis of the university
      3. Job crisis and vocational shifts
      4. Rise of women's movement and shift in funding priorities
   (b) Internal
      1. Supply and demand of faculty
      2. Generational crisis of Black scholars
      3. Rise and fall of student interest and action
      4. Academic versus service function

3. Development of Introduction to Afro-American Studies
   (a) Fisk University: Team approach in new Freshman
      Interdisciplinary Program
   (b) National Discussion: PCOI and Brown Book (1st Edition)
   (c) Green Book (2nd Edition)
   (d) Experimentation: e.g., University of Illinois (exam)
   (e) Further experimentation
   (f) 3rd Edition
4. Toward Standardization
   (a) Establish need
   (b) Collective input
   (c) Legitimation
   (d) Adoption

B. Content of Introduction to Afro-American Studies

1. "An extensive survey of major questions, concepts, and research,"
   (a) What is Afro-American Studies? - history and method
   (b) Development of the contemporary situation: pre-capitalist Africa, the development of capitalism in Europe, the African slave trade and slavery, and the social structure of Black people in the U. S.
   (c) Institutions: Church, school, politics, culture
   (d) Issues: role of women, nationalism, racism, Black liberation

2. "Extensive examination of several classics of Black social analysis." Classics can be seen in the same tradition as "The Great Books of the Western World," or the lists developed by graduate programs as basic readings in subfields. (See definition of classics on p. 46 of Introduction) In "Foundations of Black Social Thought," the classics focus on the modal experiences of Black people--what most Black people experienced at particular stages in history:
Reconstruction

DuBois, Black Reconstruction

Rural/Urban

Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation
Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis

Class Structure of Black People

Harris and Spero, The Black Worker

Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie

Autobiography

Washington, Up From Slavery

Autobiography of Malcolm X

3. Teaching Methodology
Dear Sisters and Brothers:

We are pleased to send you this letter and invite you to a very important event in Black Studies:

WHAT: A CONFERENCE ON ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF BLACK STUDIES

WHERE: University of California at Santa Barbara

WHEN: February 23, 24, 25, 1977

With this letter, we are sending you the tentative call to the conference which spells out our general basis for the conference, and what we aim to accomplish. Please send us your reactions to this call, and indicate whether you wish to be listed as a co-sponsor of it.

Also, we are trying to compile a current statistical profile on Black studies in California. Toward this end, we have prepared a short questionnaire. It would be very helpful if you found time to fill it out and return it to us along with the requested information on Black Studies.

This is the first in several communications that we plan leading up to the actual conference. However, we will be limiting the mailing list to those who show an interest by responding to this initial communication. Therefore we urge you to respond and join the growing ranks of those of us who are committed to having Black studies develop to a new high point, a standardized core curriculum that maintains academic excellence and social responsibility.

Yours for the realization of our goals,

The Center for Black Studies - UCSB

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PLEASE CLIP AND RETURN

- I have read the preliminary call and agree with the general basis for calling the conference.
- I agree to serve as a co-sponsor of the conference. You can use my name.
- I plan to attend the conference. Please keep my name on the mailing list.

Signed: ________________________________
School: ________________________________
Address: ________________________________
Dear Colleague:

This is a final reminder regarding an important event to be held February 24-26, 1977—a conference on ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM—sponsored by The Center for Black Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

If you have not already done so, please take a moment to review the earlier materials that have been sent as well as the pre-conference packet which is enclosed for your convenience. We are interested in having you or a representative attend the conference and share your experiences in the area of Black Studies. The main theme of the conference will be discussion and evaluation of Introduction to Afro-American Studies, a three-year-old effort to standardize a basic course in Black Studies. All conference participants will be receiving a copy of this text as our major working document for the sessions.

We hope you will not want to miss the opportunity to join in this important work. If you are unable to attend, however, we invite you to order your copy of Introduction to Afro-American Studies on the enclosed order form and consider it for use in your program.

We look forward to hearing your comments and soliciting your help in contributing toward the further development of a standardized curriculum in Black Studies.

For Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility,

For the Conference Coordinating Committee
The Center for Black Studies, South Hall Room 3703
University of California, Santa Barbara 93106
Dear Sisters and Brothers:

We are very pleased that you will be able to join us for the conference on "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies." The response to the conference has been very enthusiastic as you can see from the enclosed partial list of over 50 participating schools. Thus, we anticipate a productive conference.

Enclosed you will find information to facilitate your preparation for the conference as well as the pre-registration material. We believe that each of us will get out of the conference what we put into it. So we strongly urge you to carefully study the Conference Call and the enclosed documents, and come prepared to raise questions and share the lessons from your own experiences. Enclosed are:

1) "Educational Reform and Revolutionary Struggle: the Continuing Fight for Black Studies," a basic conference document that analyzes the history and current crisis of Black Studies and discusses Introduction to Afro-American Studies, a standardized course which will be the focus of conference discussion.

2) Conference Agenda (preliminary)

3) Pre-Registration Form, to be completed and returned immediately.

4) Transportation and Housing information. Make plane and hotel reservations as soon as possible.

5) Conference Poster and brochures.

In the first mailing you received we requested information on Black Studies on your campus. We thank those of you who have completed the survey and sent us additional information. If you have not responded with information on Black Studies, please do so at your earliest convenience. We want to present to the conference as complete a picture of the current status of Black Studies in California as possible. We need your help in this.

Again, we hope that you will study the conference materials, sum up your own experiences and questions, and come prepared for a serious and productive conference. We certainly look forward to seeing you.

FOR ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES,

The Conference Coordinating Committee
Center for Black Studies
UCSB
ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM
February 24-26, 1977

A PARTIAL LIST OF PARTICIPATING INSTITUTIONS:

American River College
Atlanta University
California State College, Sonoma
California Polytechnic
Pomona
San Luis Obispo
California State University
Chico
Dominquez Hills
Fresno
Fullerton
Hayward
Long Beach
Los Angeles
Northridge
Sacramento
San Diego

Chapman College
City College of San Francisco
College of Marin
College of San Mateo
Colorado State University
Compton College
Contra Costa College
DeAnza College
Diablo Valley College
Five College Consortium
U. of Mass. (Amherst)
Hampshire College
Smith College
Amherst College
Mt. Holyoke College
Foothill College
Humboldt State University
Loyola Marymount University
Los Angeles Harbor College

Los Angeles Mission College
Mt. San Antonio College
Ohlone College
State University of New York
(Old Westbury)
Pasadena City College
San Diego State University
San Jose State University
Santa Ana College
Santa Barbara City College
Santa Rosa Junior College
Seton Hall University (NJ)
South Seattle Community
Stanford University
University of California
Berkeley
Los Angeles
Riverside
San Diego
San Francisco
Santa Cruz
Santa Barbara
University of Illinois-
Chicago Circle

University of Pacific
University of Redlands
University of San Francisco
University of Southern
California

University of Utah
Washington State University
Wayne State University (Mich.)
Yuba College
This is a call to a conference on the standardization of curriculum in Black Studies. The conference will focus on the importance of consolidating the last decade of intellectual experimentation in Black Studies through developing a standardized core curriculum. This standardized curriculum will not only be a needed culmination of the last decade of our work but will also represent the most effective defense against the current attempts to dismantle Black Studies programs. The heart of the conference will be the discussion and evaluation of Introduction to Afro-American Studies, a three year old effort to develop a standardized introductory course. The course is now being used in colleges and universities in California, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York and Oklahoma and is a step in the process of standardization.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were periods of great struggle by the masses of Black people. The Black Liberation Movement was at high tide. It was in this context that Black Studies achieved wide popularity through the struggle of Black students and teachers fighting to make their curriculum relevant to the needs of Black people. No other struggle has had a more dramatic impact on Black people in higher education.

The Black Studies movement in California has been a pace-setter for the entire nation. California is the leading state in the U. S. in higher education—more students (973,124 undergraduates in 1974) and more money spent on public education than any other state ($2.39 million in 1972-73). There are also more Black students in higher education in California than in any other state (38,664 in 1972). Understanding both the form and content of the struggle for Black Studies in California is a must for understanding the what and why of Black Studies in the U. S., and pushing the development of Black Studies to the next stage.
CRISIS! CUTBACKS! ATTACKS! Today, these are words which best describe the situation facing Black people in higher education in California (and throughout the country). The Bakke decision of the California Supreme Court is aimed at dismantling programs which seek to overcome the history of educational disadvantages heaped on Black people and Third World peoples. Passed recently by California voters, Proposition 4 prohibits the University from denying admission "on account of race, religion, ethnic heritage and sex" and can be used like the Bakke decision to dismantle equal opportunity programs. Under the guise of budget deficits and academic review, university and college administrations are moving decisively to dismantle Black Studies programs, cut back their funding, reduce financial aid and supportive services to Black students, and deny tenure and promotion to Black faculty and staff. At the same time, however, William Shookley and Arthur Jensen continue to enjoy privileged tenured status at Stanford and U.C. Berkeley as a base of operation to spread their blatantly racist views about the inherent genetic "intellectual deficit" of Black people.

The response to these attacks by many Black students has been the same as that which created Black Studies in the first place—STRUGGLE! There have been demonstrations at UC Santa Barbara, UCLA, California State University campuses at Fresno, Los Angeles, and San Jose, the Claremont Colleges and other colleges and universities.

In the face of these continuing attacks and the growing struggles against them, we in Black Studies must be as united and organized as our attacker. Inside our programs—individually and collectively—we need the strength that can come from having a common platform from which to launch our counter-attacks. Black Studies, during its earlier stage of experimentation, developed out of the particular context of each campus and therefore reflects the limitations of the political, demographic, intellectual, and financial resources of each campus. This is illustrated most clearly in the wide variety of courses offered in each program. As an emerging discipline, there has been little time to systematically organize existing knowledge of the Black experience which is necessary for the development of a sound and effective curriculum. This process of standardization—developing a broad intellectual consensus around a core curriculum—is how disciplines establish their intellectual credibility and lay claim to a permanent place in the university.
Now, there has been sufficient experience accumulated during the last decade of experimentation to enable us to consolidate Black Studies on a new level. Academically, a standardized curriculum will enable us to provide our students with a quality education about Black people, one that represents the best of our collective experimentation over the past ten years. Politically, a standardized curriculum which maintains academic excellence and social responsibility will provide the most effective base to build community support for Black Studies, and serve as the most effective foundation for defending our programs.

More concretely, a standardized curriculum in Black Studies will:

- Enable us to better coordinate and utilize our available resources;
- Allow graduates of community colleges to more easily transfer Black Studies credits to four-year institutions;
- Permit scarce library resources to be focused on building collections which service the needs of an expanding core curriculum in Black Studies;
- Assist in planning teacher training and recruitment based on specific curriculum needs;
- Lead to more efficient program administration because it can be based on long-term planning and budgeting with a clear view of where the program is headed.
- Encourage special cooperative efforts in research and producing text materials since many publishers are not now interested in meeting the need for quality text materials in Black Studies.

Only through such broad-based and cooperative efforts that could flow from developing and implementing a standardized curriculum in Black Studies can we expect to weather the present storm and guide Black Studies in carrying out its initial mandate.

To facilitate the discussion of these vital concerns, the Center for Black Studies at the University of California in Santa Barbara invites you to a conference on "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies: The Standardization of Curriculum."

Black Studies represented an important commitment in the 1960's. It was a commitment not only to study and understand the world in which Black people lived, but also to contribute to the struggle to change and improve that world. NOW is the time to renew this commitment, to develop and implement a program of action, to meet the new challenges of the mid 1970's and beyond.

JOIN US AT THE CONFERENCE!
CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Colleague:

We are undertaking this study of Black Studies in preparation for a conference on "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies." This conference will be held in Santa Barbara, California on February 23-25, 1977.

We have developed this questionnaire to compile a current statistical profile on Black Studies. We have tried to keep this questionnaire short. Please take the time and complete it and send us all available materials on your Black Studies program.

The following information would be especially helpful:

(1) The history of your program as described in the program brochure, bulletins, news articles;
(2) Course offerings and descriptions;
(3) Publications about the program (annual reports, evaluations, statistical summaries, etc.);
(4) Publications of the program (articles, monographs, books);

Please return the questionnaire and the supplementary materials as soon as possible to:

Conference Coordinating Committee
Center for Black Studies
3703 South Hall
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

We look forward to your cooperation and to seeing you at the Conference.
SURVEY OF BLACK STUDIES PROGRAMS

Name of Institution ____________________________ Name of Director ________________

Name of Program ____________________________ Date Program Began ________________

1. Please describe the main unit which coordinates Black Studies courses on your campus.
   
   ____ Autonomous department (or unit) with independent courses
   
   ____ Interdepartmental program or committee with cross-listed courses
   
   ____ Other. Please specify ____________________________

2. Please specify the academic or administrative division in which your program operates. (College of Letters and Sciences, Humanities Division, etc.)

__________________________________________

3. Specify all of the following which describe the sources of your program's funding.

   A. ____ Funding from annual university budget  C. ____ Foundation funding
   
   B. ____ Special university funding  D. ____ Government funding

4. Please answer these questions about the faculty in the area of Black Studies on your campus.

   A. ____ Total Number of faculty  C. ____ Tenured in Black Studies
   
   B. ____ Full-time in Black Studies  D. ____ Tenured in other departments

5. Please answer the following questions regarding your enrollment in Fall, 1976.

   A. ______ Total University enrollment
   
   B. ______ Total enrollment of Black Students
   
   C. ______ Number of students enrolled in Black Studies courses
   
   D. ______ Number of Black Studies majors
   
   E. ______ Number of Black Studies minors
   
   F. ______ Number of Black Studies courses
ON YOUR BASIC INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN BLACK STUDIES

1. What is the title of your course?

__________________________________________________________________________

2. How often is the course taught?

____ Every term

____ Every year

____ More often than the above

3. What is the average enrollment in the course?__________________________

IF YOU CAN SEND US A COURSE SYLLABUS, SKIP THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

4. What is (are) the basic text(s) for the course?
   A. 
   B. 
   C. 
   D. 

5. What form of evaluation is used? (e.g., objective tests, essay exams, papers)

6. What topics are covered in the course?
ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM
February 24-26, 1977

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Thursday February 24, 1977

3:00 PM Registration Holiday Inn

7:00 Keynote Address: St. Clair Drake, Professor Emeritus, Former Director, Afro-American Studies Program, Stanford University
(Physics Building, UCSB)

10:00 Hospitality Hour (Holiday Inn)

Friday February 25, 1977 Holiday Inn

8:00 AM Registration (all day)

9:00 Panel: Perspectives on Black Studies in California: Theory and Practice

12:00 PM Lunch

1:30 Panel: Introduction to Afro-American Studies and Standardizing Curriculum
(Summation of practice using this introductory course in California, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York and Tennessee. Discussion of plans for revision and further development.)

3:30 Small Group Discussions/Workshops

5:30 Dinner

7:30 Cultural Presentation

Speech: Black Studies and the Current State of the Black Liberation Movement

Responses...Discussion

10:00 Conference Social and Cultural Event

Saturday February 26, 1977 Physics Building, UCSB

9:00 AM Closing Session Conference Summation: Where Do We Go From Here?

12:00 Conference Adjourns
ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM
FEBRUARY 24-26, 1977
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

PREREGISTRATION FORM

Cost of Participation

NAME:________________________________________.

POSITION:____________________ INSTITUTION:____________________

ADDRESS:____________________________________________________

___ Conference Registration with meal---------- $16 per person
___ Conference Registration without meal---------- $10 per person
___ Student and unemployed with conference meal--$ 9 per person
___ Student and unemployed without meal---------- $ 3 per person
___ Total amount enclosed

I will arrive by____________________ (car, plane, etc.)

Date____________________ Time____________________

Flight #____________________

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: BLACK STUDIES CONFERENCE

---------------------------------------------------------------------

Please fill in the above form and return to us by February 11. Remember to check to see that you have mailed the requested material from your Black Studies program. We advise you to send in your room registration as soon as possible. If you plan to arrive after 6 p.m. on Thursday, February 24, please send payment with your room registration.

Your participation will make the conference successful.

Thanks!!

Conference Coordinating Committee
Center for Black Studies
South Hall Room 3703
University of California
Santa Barbara CA 93106
Transportation

1. Plane (Due to limited daily flights, you are urged to confirm your Saturday departures early.)
   
   A. United: San Francisco, $64.80; Los Angeles, $34.18; San Diego, $54.30; Sacramento, $75.10; also services Monterey, Visalia, Merced, Stockton, Modesto.
   
   B. Apollo: San Jose, $70.00.
   
   C. Golden West: Los Angeles, $44.40; Santa Ana, $56.40; Fullerton, $47.70; also services Oxnard, Ontario, Palmdale, Inyokern.
   
   D. Hughes Air West: Bakersfield, $43.00; San Francisco, $54.70.

2. Train
   
   Amtrak service north and south, including Los Angeles, $13.00; San Diego, $28.00; San Jose, $36.00; Oakland, $42.00; San Francisco, $45.00.

3. Bus
   
   Greyhound service to all points; local bus service direct to UCSB.

4. Car
   
   Santa Barbara is located on Highway #101.

Housing (Room reservation cards enclosed; if you will arrive after 6 p.m., send payment with your reservation.)

1. Holiday Inn (main conference site)
   5650 Calle Real (Take FAIRVIEW EXIT on #101)
   Goleta
   (805) 964 6241
   Rates: $18, single; $21, double; $29, quad.

2. Motel Six (less than ¼ mile from Holiday Inn)
   5897 Calle Real (Take FAIRVIEW EXIT on #101)
   Goleta
   (805) 964 1812
   Rates: $8.95 single; $10.95 double; $13.95 triple, quad.

Arrival Instructions

If you arrive on
(1) Thursday before 6 p.m.—Go to Holiday Inn
(2) Thursday after 6 p.m.—Go to UCSB Physics Building (ask direction at gate)
(3) Friday-----------------Go to Holiday Inn

For transportation from airport, bus/train station, call 961-3915

**Car pool and bus service will be made available during conference.
1. Use this agenda to take notes, jot down questions, etc.

2. This is a working conference, so we encourage you to roll up your sleeves and get involved.
AGENDA OUTLINE

Thursday  2-24-77
3:00  Registration (Holiday Inn)
7:00  Conference Plenary (UCSB - Physics Building)
10:00  Hospitality Hour

Friday  2-25-77
8:00  Registration (all day - Holiday Inn)
9:00  Conference Panel (Holiday Inn)
12:00  Lunch  (Holiday Inn)
1:30  Conference Panel (Holiday Inn)
3:30  Conference Workshops (Holiday Inn)
5:30  Conference Banquet  (Holiday Inn)
7:00  Conference Plenary  (Second Baptist Church)
       26 E. Gutierrez-Santa Barbara)
10:00  Conference "Party"  House of Barbeque

Saturday  2-26-77
9:00  Conference Summation Panel (UCSB - Physics Building)
12:00  Conference Adjourns
Thursday, February 24, 1977-7:00 p.m., Physics Building, UCSB

Conference Charge: Gerald A. McWorter
Acting Director
Center for Black Studies, UCSB

Welcome Statements: Charles W. McKinney,
University: Registrar - UCSB

Chairperson of Board, Elliott Evans
UCSB Center for Black Studies
Santa Barbara Black Community Rev. L. Leander Wilkes

Keynote Address
St. Clair Drake, Professor Emeritus
Former Director, Afro-American
Studies, Stanford University

"ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL
RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES:
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES"

Responses
Ebon Dooley, Atlanta University
Bert Hammond,
S. E. Anderson, State University
of New York, Old Westbury
Friday, February 25, 1977  9:00 a.m.  Holiday Inn

Panel Topic: Perspectives on Black Studies in California:
Theory and Practice

Panelists: Carlene Young, San Jose State
Jim Robinson, Cal State-Long Beach
Pat Elmore, L. A. Harbor College
James King, U. C. Davis

Respondent Robert Newby, Wayne State University (Detroit)
Formerly at Stanford University
Friday, February 25, 1977  1:30 p.m.  Holiday Inn

Panel Topic:  Introduction to Afro-American Studies:  
The Theory and practice of curriculum standardization in Black Studies

Panelists:

(Schools where Introduction to Afro-American Studies has been used or taught by these panelists are in parenthesis).

Ronald Bailey, UC Santa Barbara  
(Fisk, Cornell, UC-Santa Barbara)

William Sales, Seton Hall University (NJ)  
(State University of New York, New Paltz)

Linda Williams, Chicago State  
(Cornell University, Chicago State)

Gregory Gaither, Student  
University of Illinois, Chicago Circle

Dallas Riley, Student  
UC - Santa Barbara

Gerald McWorter, UC - Santa Barbara  
(Fisk, U. of Ill.-Chicago Circle)
February 25, 1977 - 3:30 p.m. - Holiday Inn

Conference Workshop

1. THE LEGITIMATION-ARTICULATION CRISIS: TRANSFERRING COLLEGE CREDIT FOR BLACK STUDIES COURSES FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR YEAR COLLEGES

Arthur Scott, CSU-Hayward
Pat Elmore, L.A. Harbor
David Lawyer, Santa Barbara City College
Jim Robinson, CSU-Long Beach
2. STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT EXIST! BUILD STRENGTH THROUGH COOPERATION IN STRUGGLE!

Charles Allums, Contra Costa
Bert Hammond, Cal. Poly Pomona
  President, Calif. Black Faculty & Staff Association
Mark Ealy, U. of Pacific
  Executive Board, Member-at-Large, National Council of Black Studies
Otis Scott, CSU-Sacramento
  Executive Board, Western Region
  National Council of Black Studies
3. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Ronald Bailey, UC-Santa Barbara
Robert Newby, Wayne State University
William Edwards, UC-Santa Barbara
A. Yan Yansane, UC-Berkeley
Linda Williams, Chicago State U.
Ebon Dooley, Atlanta University
4. **INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE HUMANITIES**

Maryemma Graham, UC-Santa Barbara  
Eddie Meadows, San Diego State  
Elliott Evans, UC-Santa Barbara  
Gerard Pigeon, UC-Santa Barbara  
Geneva Smitherman, Wayne State University  
Willie Collins, UC-Santa Barbara
5. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND AFRICA

Gerald McWorter, UC-Santa Barbara
Skyne Uku, CSU-Long Beach
Ron Karenga, San Diego State
William Sales, Seton Hall U
Craig Howard, Univ. of Mass.
Thomas D. Boston, Atlanta University
February 25, 1977 - 7:00 p.m.

Conference Plenary: Black Studies and the Current State of the Black Liberation Movement

Main Speaker: Gerald A. McWorter
UC-Santa Barbara

Respondents: M. Ron Karenga
San Diego State

Bill Epton
New York City

Open Discussion: Conference Participants
February 26, 1977 - 9:00 - UCSB Physics Building

Panel Topic: Summation of Conference and "Where do we go from Here?"

Panelists: Pat Siever, L. A. Mission
           Thomas D. Boston, Atlanta University
           Mark Ealy, University of Pacific
           Jim Robinson, CSU-Long Beach
           Geneva Smitherman, Wayne State University (Detroit)

Discussion: Conference Participants
The Conference Coordinating Committee (CCC) has conducted two pre-conference planning sessions (held in Los Angeles and Berkeley) with small groups of people active in the field of Black Studies. These were very successful meetings because they brought forward the particular concerns of different types of programs and they enabled people to get a better grasp of the initial intention of the CCC. A major result of these meetings has been the addition of workshops that focus on the specific concerns raised during the planning sessions and enable maximum participation and involvement. We hope that you will prepare for the workshop you select by organizing material that sums up your concrete experience. Please come to the conference to share your experiences. The CCC hopes that these workshops will promote unity by revealing common concerns from a diverse set of backgrounds. These workshops are not geared to a set of experts, but are specifically geared for the fullest possible exchange among conference participants.

I. THE LEGITIMATION-ARTICULATION CRISIS: TRANSFERRING COLLEGE CREDIT FOR BLACK STUDIES COURSES FROM COMMUNITY COLLEGES TO FOUR YEAR COLLEGES

California has more community colleges and more Black community college students than any other state in the U.S. Most of these two-year colleges have Black Studies courses and many students transfer to four-year institutions. But, unfortunately, four-year institutions have often responded to two-year institutions as "junior partners" and not as full-fledged educational institutions with the same interest in academic excellence and social responsibility as others. For Black Studies programs and courses, this is compounded by racism in the society and in the university. How can standardization of courses increase the legitimacy of Black Studies at two-year and four-year institutions? Can standardization aid in the transfer of Black Studies credit between these institutions by creating a standard measure of course content and achievement? What are the responsibilities and capabilities of Black Studies programs at four-year institutions in cooperating with community colleges to increase the legitimacy and transferability of Black Studies courses?

II. STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT EXIST! BUILD STRENGTH THROUGH COOPERATION IN STRUGGLE!

Too often new Black organizations are formed before we are clear on what existing organizations are already doing. Often existing organizations are less than effective because they lack the maximum participation of concerned people who are committed to serious work. The aim of this conference is
not to build a new organization. But rather its aim is to address a particular concern--curriculum development and standardization--as one part of a problem that concerns us all. But we also must strengthen the organizations that exist, especially in light of the need for strong organizations that will struggle against current attacks against Black Studies programs. What are some of the Black Studies-related organizations in California and the U. S.? What are their activities and what efforts are being aimed at strengthening Black Studies through the standardization of curriculum? How can we build greater unity and strength in fighting the current attacks against Black Studies and Black people in higher education?

III. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

"Black people in the USA must develop a scientific approach to understanding and changing this society... In the final analysis, Afro-American Studies must serve the liberation struggle of Black people." Thus, the main focus of Introduction to Afro-American Studies is to study the historical development of modern (i.e., capitalist) society from the perspective of the social sciences: political economy, political science, sociology, and other disciplines. What makes the social sciences an effective point of departure in studying the Black experience? Does Introduction to Afro-American Studies represent a point of departure in seeing how different disciplines offer different perspectives on various aspects of the historical development of Black people? How are the social sciences presented in your introductory course and program? How can Introduction to Afro-American Studies be made more effective in this regard?

IV. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND THE HUMANITIES

Introduction to Afro-American Studies was initially designed as an interdisciplinary freshman social science course. One of its weakest points that has been repeatedly pointed out is its failure to include more from the humanities--literature, music, art, etc. There have been efforts to do this: listening to spirituals when discussing the church, reading poems, and reading novels that portray the Black experience during the key stages of the slave experience, the rural tenant-farmer experience, and urban proletariat(working class) experience. How can the humanities be used in close connection with social science to achieve an all-sided view of the full development and expression of the Black experience? What lessons emerge from your experiences on how the humanities can be more effectively presented in introductory Black Studies courses?
V. INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES AND AFRICA

Africa is significant in the consciousness of Black people. It is our ancestral continent. And, in the recent period, much of Africa has been waging a revolutionary struggle against various forms of racism and imperialism. Black people in the U. S. have also been fighting these same two oppressors. This common struggle against common problems is thus the most critical link with Africa and the African heritage of Afro-Americans. The rich history of Black people in this country and the common struggle against racism and imperialism should therefore occupy a central place in Black Studies because it is this that has the greatest bearing on our current and future situation. What is the place of Africa in Black Studies? What are the aspects of the African heritage of Black people that should be included in an introductory course on the Black experience in the United States? What are your experiences in developing and teaching courses which include a brief introduction to Africa and courses which seek to pursue more in-depth investigation and study?
ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM FEBRUARY 24-26, 1977

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

Name:__________________________________________

Position:_______________________________________

Institution or Organization:_______________________

Address:__________________________ Phone:_______________________

What organizations are you a member of?

Does your Black Studies program have an introductory course?_____ If so, what is the name of it?______________________________

Who teaches it?_____________________________________

Registration

Amount:_____Conference registration with meal----------$16

_____Conference registration without meal-------- 10

_____Student and unemployed with meal---------- 9

_____Student and unemployed without meal---------- 3

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: UC REGENTS
CONFERENCE SURVEY

Please answer this questionnaire. We will distribute the results during the conference on Friday.

1. Name the 5 most important Afro-American literary figures.

2. Name the 5 most important Afro-American social scientists.

3. Name the 5 most important Afro-American artists.
UNITED FRONT STRUGGLE: THE ONLY ROAD TO DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
AND QUALITY EDUCATION, THE ONLY ROAD TO SOCIALISM!

February, 1977

A paper presented to the Conference on Academic Excellence
and Social Responsibility in Black Studies

CENTER FOR BLACK STUDIES
University of California, Santa Barbara
U. S. A.
BROTHERS AND SISTERS! COMRADES IN STRUGGLE!

This is an important occasion because we are the heirs of a mighty and courageous history of struggle, and we must shoulder the responsibility of deepening and continuing the gains of this struggle. We have gathered together in this conference and have firmly taken hold of a major question—the fight for Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies. So it is quite fitting that we have a forum such as this, a forum that focuses on the relationship of our work and struggle in Black Studies, with the broader movement for basic and fundamental social change, indeed the liberation of humanity.

In order to make this link we have to sum up our history, sum up our victories and defeats, make clear lines of demarcation between genuine and sham views and acts, and clarify for ourselves the necessary process of struggle to achieve unity, defeat our enemy, and establish a kind of new society. The new society will affirm humanity and not negate the vast majority for the gain of a greedy few, will serve the people and not exploit them, will solve problems and not declare them unsolvable or table them with benign neglect. In a word, our fight is to destroy the capitalist system and build socialism. This is a major thesis of our presentation. Further, we believe this is our historical mission, for, as F. Fanon has put it, "Each generation has a mission, it can fulfill it or betray it."
We urge you to listen to our discussion, test it against your own concrete experience, test it with your general knowledge of this society and our history in it, then, formulate sharp and pointed questions. We are committed to a dynamic process in our search for the truth. Only through an open and lively exchange can we establish a basis for unity. As we will argue, the unity that we need is a broad unity, a unity that unites all the forces in this society who have no stake in maintaining things the way they are. This unity includes virtually 90% of the people in this country. So, we will take up four major topics in this presentation:

1. The social and historical identity of Black people.
2. Ideology and the Black liberation movement.
3. The role of Black studies.
4. Strategy and tactics for the road forward to democratic rights, quality education, in a word the fight for socialism.

IDENTITY

We are all products of the revolutionary motion of the 60s and as such have been shaped by a social-psychological revolt, the dialectical transformation of the previously pejorative "Black" to the "Black" of political and cultural self affirmation. Sure, it's possible to negate this transformation as being essentially cosmetic--African names, dashikis, corn rolls, etc.--but we think this would be a fundamental mistake
in epistemology. The mistake would be to limit knowledge of the world to what we perceive in the world. Our view is that while knowledge is rooted in perception, the essence of things is only uncovered with the tool of reason being applied to these perceptions so that appearance can be juxtaposed against material reality. There are illusions, mystifications, etc., that we must push aside. Further, the fruits of rational analysis would be useless conjecture unless one returns to concrete experience in actually testing our ideas. The key formula is experience (perception)--rational thought (analysis)--experience (practice). This is a constant, never-ending process.

So our very presence here is the practical refutation of the "cosmetic line." The fact is that even with much of the enthusiasm about the cultural-political symbolism declining --here we are. And we are still maintaining certain essential characteristics of the transformation in our identity.

How many of you even feel comfortable using the concept NEGRO? How many of you feel hesitant about using the word Black with other Black people, or with white people, for that matter?

We would like to briefly discuss--dimensions of this question. What are the social consequences of this transformation?
1. The revolt reflected a privileged minority affirming its common condition with the masses. Much like Fanon's summation of what happened to African intellectuals and literati there was a rejection of assimilationist identity—and an affirmation with the social and cultural history of the masses. And in fact there was a material basis for the struggle involved in doing this since there has been a correspondence of "color-class and status a la the cotton club—show your veins to get in a sorority at Fisk syndrome." When those who used to be called high yellow courageously and radically proclaimed themselves Black many people knew that this was a serious, far-reaching change.

2. The affirmative proclamation of Black was a dialectical reaction against white (as opposed to the ever so close to white connotations Negro had taken on) and was a spontaneous movement of conflict. This conflict had the function of destroying any myth of Black passivity, lack of collective identity, and unclarity about racism. It seems non-violence was associated with the Negro Revolt, while the urban insurrections were associated to a Black revolt.

3. It sent us in search of our ROOTS. From Stokely's fantasies about Nkrumah to Alex Haley's fiction-
documentary, to the concrete support for African liberation, Black people turned to Africa—well, the lead taken by the intellectuals found a firm basis among the masses, particularly when the liberation struggles intensified, got in the USA media and fired their solidarity.

Remember that all of this focuses on the identity rev of the 1960s in the realm of consciousness—particularly this is a middle-class awakening.

This is one aspect that must be viewed historically.

The culmination of the mass migrations of Black people from the south to the north by World War II was a transformation in the basic social structure of Black life. Black people had been raced through the centuries, had been ripped out of the south, the new homeland for a newly developing nation, and brought into the modern industrial factory and bureaucratic organizational structures, the very heart of the imperialist structure, to the very center of the objective area in which the most advanced form of class and national struggle was necessary. The impact of being changed from a very rural people to an urban, from individual producers on a little bit of land that you do or are trying to own to working collectively with a large number of people with materials and equipment that you don't own to make goods you don't own. The nature of exploitation appears to be different, has a different
phenomenal form, in the agricultural case the work appears to be with the market price for goods the point of exploitation, while in the factory case exploitation appears in the contract over the process of production, the price of labor power.

With this basic and fundamental transformation the middle class expanded—it increased and diversified. The minister, doctor, teacher, was soon joined by the small businesses, the social workers, media workers, and all sorts of other privileged positions—hours worked, clean jobs, good pay, status, authority, etc.

We maintain that while the phenomenal form (what it looked like) was a national identity crisis being resolved—had a class essence. It was a class thang!

We say this because the real content of Black life is contingent on basic economic and political questions. Moreover, any reference to the masses—and that's what saying Black means—has the essence of being about a sector of the working class in this country.

But as we've said, perception is the basis for but not the limit of knowledge.

This leads us to the question of ideology. Because differences over these questions must be clarified and understood as ideological.
The role of ideology is a key question. Ideology is the basic and most fundamental character of how we understand the world, how we view the world, how we organize the perceptions we have of what we experience. Ideology is the essential framework of our consciousness, the cauldron in which we digest and come to an understanding of our experiences.

So it follows from this that all of us are ideological. We're not all consciously ideological, but that's not the most basic point. The basic point is that all of us organize our thoughts into a point of view, not always in a logical and systematic fashion, but in the main a basic tendency is always dominant.

We can focus on 3 ideological considerations in reference to our concern for identity:

1. Reality: What (if any) are the distinctive characteristics of Black life in America? That is, what is the basis of the identity of Black people?

2. Change: What have been the pattern of differences (if any) in the Black experience in the USA since the Atlantic Slave Trade? That is, what has been the historical logic of the Black experience?

3. Knowledge: How do we acquire knowledge about the identity and historical logic of the Black experience?
The struggle over the identity of Black people is in essence the struggle between materialism and idealism. Social theorists have debated this question, but its philosophical essence has not been made clear. It will serve our interests of demonstrating the central role of our three basic ideological questions to briefly point to the 2 lines on 6 aspects of the question of identity.

A. What is the meaning of Race? This question is our point of departure because the development of a scientific view of race begins a period of modern materialism. One line of difference is the view that racial groups are equal sub-sets of the category of the human family while another view is that they are unequal sub-sets that can be ranked as a hierarchy. This later view has a modern history from Count de Gobineau to Shockley, et al. today. However, their view has also had considerable currency with liberals who are benevolently bending down to help those who can't do for themselves, and acting out a version of the "White Man's Burden" theme. This is nowhere made more clear than in an assumption of Robert Park, who felt that the Black "has always been interested rather in expression than in action; interested in life itself rather than in its reconstruction or reformation. The Negro is, by natural disposition,
neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East Indian; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His metier is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races."

The natural sciences (hereditary studies of genetically transmitted traits, etc.) and social sciences (historical analysis of society and social change) have yet to arrive at unity as effective today, with empirically tested and philosophically sound theory as effective today, with empirically tested and philosophically sound theory as that achieved by Frederic Engles in Anti-Duhring (1878) though contributions are being made in new fields such as evolutionary biology, socio-biology, and neuro-sociology.

B. What is the relationship of Afro-Americans to Africa?

This question has been the basis for a debate that has been developing since the Transatlantic Slave Trade. The metaphysical view argued by Robert Park, E. Franklin Frazier and others is that Afro-Americans in the USA lost their objective relation to Africa, and have their origin in the chattel slavery of the south. The opposing view of Melville Herskovits, and Lorenzo Turner maintained
that the slave trade brought Africans to the New World, and through a long historical process their identity has been transformed. But, in addition to these views, the current revival of Pan Africanism can easily supply examples of philosophically idealist views that add up to "We're an African people because we say we are!"

C. **What is the difference between Afro-Americans and White Americans?** This is the other side of question B. The struggle here is between the view that there is no substantial difference, and the view that there is a distinct culture. The liquidationist position was developed by Glazer and Moynihan when they wrote that "the Negro is only an American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect." The pathology position was developed by Gunnar Myrdal the Negro's entire life and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority...

On the other hand we have the view of Charles Vallentien, William Stewart, Harry Haywood, e. g., and others who maintain Afro-American people share
major elements of a common culture that makes the
Black experience unique from that of whites.

D. Do Black People in the US constitute a Nation?

Here we can contrast two opposite approaches, Harry
Haywood and Andrew Billingsly. Haywood bases his
'yes' on the scientific definition of a Nation
summed up by Stalin:

"A nation is a historically constituted,
stable community of people, formed on the basis of
a common language, territory, economic life, and
psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

Billingsly uses the idealist definition
Milton Gordon developed for the concept of Ethnic
group:

"An ethnic group, according to Gordon, is a
relatively large configuration of people with a
'shared feeling of peoplehood.'"

In our society, these groups are commonly bound by
our conceptions of race, religion, national origin
or some combinations of these factors. "Common to
the ethnic group," Gordon suggests,

in the social-psychological element of a
special sense of both ancestral and future-
oriented identification with the group. These
are my people, and will be the people of my
children and their children. With members of
other groups I may share political participation, occupational relationships, common civic enterprise, perhaps even an occasional warm friendship, but in a very special way, which history has decreed, I share a sense of indissoluble and intimate indentity with this group and not that group within the larger society and the world.

Our interest is in whether the formulation of a theoretical answer is materialist or idealist. In this case, it appears obvious that Haywood is a materialist and Billingsly an idealist.

E. What is the importance of Social classes and class conflict in the Black Community and for Blacks in the entire society? Here the issue has always been race unity vs class unity in which the ideological debate has hinged on two questions: Which concept is a concrete material force in society? And if both, then which is the dominant force?

The current struggle over this issue is being led by such "race theorists" as Chancellor Williams, Bobby Wright, Francis Cress Welsing, Carlos Moore and Haki Madhubuti. This constitutes a resurgence of 19th century thinking, although there is some effort to dress it up in scientific terms. Also, there is the reformist view that recognizes the existence of classes, but goes on to argue either the "noblesse
oblige" of the Black Bourgeoisie or the "A Class Mediation Theory of Petty Bourgeois Leadership."

The main opposing trend is the empirical work of Woodson, Charles Wesley, E. Franklin Frazier, DuBois, Cayton, A. Harris, Allison Davis, St. Clair Drake and many others. While there has not been a coherent theory of class struggle, the existence and development of classes has been extensively described. We have found the 1930s and 1940s to have been a high point of this work, with the possibility for a renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s.

F. What is the importance of attitudes in the Black Experience?

In other terms what is the relative importance of what men think over what they do? On a philosophical level the materialist view holds that man's being determines his consciousness, while the idealist view is opposite. The manifestation of this difference can be viewed as an index of how W.E.B. DuBois changed idealism to materialism: Earl Thorpe has commented that

Dr. DuBois studied and wrote history because he felt that to do so would help elevate the position of the Negro through reeducation of both Black and white Americans toward a greater respect for the nation's largest minority group.
Moreover, it would, he felt, inspire the latter to greater achievement. "The world was thinking wrong about race," he thought, because it did not know. The ultimate evil was stupidity. The cure for it was knowledge based on scientific investigation. Again he wrote that he held a "firm belief that race prejudice was based on wide-spread ignorance. My long-term remedy was truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert."

He later summed up his experiences and concluded that:

It was of course crazy for me to dream that America, in the dawn of the Twentieth Century, with Colonial Imperialism based on the suppression of colored folk, at its zenith, would encourage, much less adequately finance, such a program as a Negro college under Negro scholars. My faith in its success was based on the firm belief that race prejudice was based on widespread ignorance. My long-term remedy was Truth: carefully gathered scientific proof that neither color nor race determined the limits of a man's capacity or desert. I was not at the time sufficiently Freudian to understand how little human action is based on reason; nor did I know Karl Marx well enough to appreciate the economic foundations of human history.

The views of W. I. Thomas ("What man thinks is real, is real in its consequences") and William Graham Summer ("You
can't legislate morality, the mores must evolve at their own speed) are examples of the theoretical basis for the importance of social psychologists like Emory Bogardus, Gordon Alport, Kenneth Clark, Gary Marx and Thomas Pettigrew. Indeed, this is the seat of liberalism on how to solve "our Black problem" in the US today.

This discussion of identity has clearly demonstrated that there are 2 lines of ideological work that focus on the question of what makes the identity of Black people a reality.

On Change: The ideological analysis of how the Black experience has gone through changes is summed up in four concepts: Conservation, inclusion, cycle, and conflict.

Frazier indicated that Henry Hughes and George Fitzhugh, both 19th Century American Sociologists, "undertook to provide a philosophical justification of slavery." This has a contemporary philosophical manifestation in the "benign neglect" thesis of Moynihan. So a conservation position merely does what it takes to avoid and/or slow change down.

The inclusion thesis is made among others by Talcott Parsons. He contends that there are 3 stages to a process whereby Blacks become full citizens:

1. securing individual rights of property, religion, speech, association and assembly;

2. enfranchisement and group participation for collective goals;
3. security of life as established in areas of economics, health and education. Moreover, all this takes place in which in a "social system" balanced in a state of equilibrium in which the above change reflects "functional differentiation in an evolutionary process."

Andrew Billingsly, in his study *Black Families in White America*, adopts this contemporary version of liberal Aristotelian teleology hook, line, and sinker.

"Drawing on the theoretical works of Talcott Parsons, Milton Gordon, and others, we have urged that the Negro family be viewed as a social system imbedded within a network of both smaller and larger subsystems located both within the Negro community and in the wider society. We have described the Negro community as an ethnic subsociety created, maintained, and defined by both historical and contemporary social conditions, to which it responds and seeks to adopt."

"The discussion has drawn supportive and illustrative data from a variety of sources...It is infused throughout with our own values and commitment to a democratic and pluralistic society, and our view that such a society works best if it has the substantial, sustained, active, and relatively equal participation of all its major ethnic groups in all its major institutions."
The third position is best represented by Park's Race Relations cycle: Contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. Park regarded this theory as a substantive, necessary, law of historical development.

"The race relations cycle...is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate reverse it."

Although long under its influence, Frazier was able to learn from his empirical studies and conclude:

In referring to stages or phases in the race relations cycle, it is not my intention to suggest that these stages represent a chronological order in the development of race relations. Since these different stages in the race relations cycle may exist simultaneously, they represent logical steps in a systematic sociological analysis of the subject. My analysis of the subject. My analysis will take account of the dynamic factors demographic, economic, political, and social--which would rule out any notion of a unilinear evolutionary process.

This points up the forth view that it is only through conflict. However, one addition factor here is the nature of this conflict. In this regard Myrdal attacks his own straw man distortion of Marxism and establishes "everything is everything" thesis:
As we look upon the problem of dynamic social causation, this approach is unrealistic and narrow. We do not, of course, deny that the conditions under which Negroes are allowed to earn a living are tremendously important for their welfare. But these conditions are closely interrelated to all other conditions of Negro life. When studying the variegated causes of discrimination in the labor market, it is indeed difficult to perceive what precisely is meant by "the economic factor..." In an interdependent system of dynamic causation there is no "primary cause" but everything is cause to everything else.

But a more correct presentation of the "Marxist-Leninist view" is made by Mao-Tse-Tung:

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class...

"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and U. S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U. S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of White working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for..."
Therefore, the theory of dialectics focuses on
the recognition of the contradictory, mutually
exclusive opposite tendencies in all phenomena
and processes of nature...This alone furnishes the
key to the leaps, to the break in continuity, to
the transformation into the opposite, to the destruction
of the old and emergence of the new...

On Knowledge

A more scientific approach to the study of Black
people blossomed in the 1930s. Before that the struggle
raged between arm-chair a priori type racialist theories
and empirical studies of description mainly by Black
scholars such as George Washington Williams (1849-1941),
W. E. B. DuBois (1868-1963) and Carter G. Woodson (1875-
1950). And today, there are three main deviations:
Black Experiencialism, Black Spiritualism, and pragmatism.

The first theory of knowledge is the view that it is
necessary to be Black to understand. Here the error is to
equate one's subjective experience with scientific knowledge,
and end up in the camp of idealism. Another position, however,
is equally false: e.g., the selection of Gunnar Myrdal, a
Swedish social scientist by the Carnegie corporation to
undertake a $300,000 study of Black people in 1944
(equivalent to about $1,000,000 in 1976) because no Black or
White social scientist from the USA could be as "objective,"
or Robert Merton's contention that knowledge is universally
accessible based on one's use of the scientific method. The dynamics of racism and class interests do in fact predispose one to take a partisan stand, and it is precisely this partisanship that reveals one's philosophical position.

Secondly, there is the resurgence of 19th Century racial theory that holds that the eternal spiritual wisdom known to our ancient African forefathers is accessible to us if we have faith, live in harmony with nature in our eating, sleeping, and health habits, and reject a materialist view of the world. This is the view of such groups as Nation of Islam, Institute of Positive Education, etc. This is a blatantly anti-scientific line.

Last, the most popular view is pragmatism. This is the line that whatever works is correct. This is not so much a coherent theory as a rationalization for eclectic opportunism. Scientific theory is not judged on the basis of being correct or not, but is only more or less useful based on the "goodness of fit" principle of the particular concepts and propositions being used with a specific body of data. Here the possibility of scientific theory, and hence a dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, is ruled out.

III

What we have tried to make clear is that the basic questions of philosophy have been and are now essential to
our understanding the Black experience. One shortcoming of the above analysis is that it only points out that philosophical differences exist but does not explain why by linking them with their roots in the material social world. However, it is precisely this type of shortcoming that leads us to the final section of this paper, a work agenda for philosophical analysis of the Black experience.

As might be surmised from the above, my general point of departure is a critical comment by E. Franklin Frazier:

"We have no philosophers or thinkers who command the respect of the intellectual community at large. I am not talking about the few teachers of philosophy who have read Hegel or Kant or James and memorized their thoughts. I am talking about men who have reflected upon the fundamental problems which have always concerned philosophers such as the nature of human knowledge and the meaning or lack of meaning of human existence.

"We have no philosophers who have dealt with these and other problems from the standpoint of the Negro's unique experience in this world. I am not talking
We have pointed to ideological differences—not a solution. Let's first get a view of our area, Black Studies!

Our focus will be on students, as it should be the main force in Black Studies.

1. Current Situation of Students: There has been a significant change in the student sector of the Black community during the last 60 years. This change reflects basic changes in the structure of the Black community. In 1916 the Office of Education reported 2,132 students at 31 Black colleges. The significance of this group can be easily seen when one recognizes that the census reported in 1910 30.4% of Black people as illiterate, 90% living in the south and 60% of Black men employed in agriculture. By 1940, the number of students had increased to 58,000 at 118 Black colleges. This increase followed the mass migrations to the cities and the industrial north. In 1940, 34% of Black people had moved to central cities, but still "over 3/4 of all Blacks lived in the south, close to 2/3 lived in rural areas there, and just under half were still engaged in agriculture." By 1964 there were about 200,000 Black college students, and over triple this ten years later—today. By 1969 the U. S. Census reported that 55% of Blacks lived in central cities, about half lived in the north and only 4% remained employed in agriculture.
In sum, the increase in the number of Black college students reflects fundamental changes in U. S. society and Black people's situation in it. The demand for Black students must be understood as a sub category of the demand for Black labor, merely more skilled labor. Combining the mechanization of agriculture with the blood-thirsty industrialization of the war economy monopoly capitalism created the demand for Black students in the interest of the Bourgeoisie.

This demand, however, was not based on only one need, but has changed historically with the needs of monopoly capitalism. Private schools were set up in the 1850s and 1860s to serve the task of producing a Black petty bourgeois elite, particularly in the fields of education, religion, social work, law, medicine, and business. In 1900, of all Black college graduates 37% were teachers, 11% were ministers, 4% were doctors, and 3% were lawyers, and only 1.4% were engaged in farming. This was the "Talented Tenth" DuBois spoke of. While these schools were the only avenue for higher education at one time, they now account for only 12% of all Black students. Integration (beginning in the 1950s with a few isolated cases then and before) has resulted in 8% of all Black students being enrolled at previously all-white private schools.
Another group of schools began to be set up in the 1890s as a result of the second Morrill Act of Congress that set up the land-grant college system to decentralize technological innovation and training to aid U. S. agricultural production. This was also the heyday of Booker T. Washington's vocational education philosophy. By 1940, while 22.3% of Black college students were still majoring in Education, now 23% were also majoring in Agriculture, Industrial Arts, and Home Economics. But the situation changed after the war, and by 1955-56, over 2/3 of graduates from the publicly controlled Black colleges were graduating with degrees in Education. Another change is reflected in the late 1960s with education falling to 50% in 1967 and social sciences (social work) rising to 17% and business to 9%. At the present time 22% of Black students go to public Black schools, and 26% go to public previously all white ones.

The newest educational form is the urban community and junior college. While previously for the city dweller there was no nearly universal education beyond high school the junior college was created due to advances in skill requirements for the job market. The para-professional, clerical and technical jobs needed more than high school trained persons, reflecting both the inadequacy of the high school and the special skills needed for the job. While these schools actually began after WWI, it wasn't until the late 1960s that
they boomed. Furthermore, the boom for all students resulted in 18% of the total U. S. students being enrolled in them, and it resulted in 32% of all Black students being enrolled in them.

Now, so far we have examined the aggregate growth of Black students, and the development of 3 types of educational institutions. We have summed up the form of education but only touched on its essence. Its essence is based on the national oppression and class exploitation of the masses of Black people. On the one hand, higher education has served the need of monopoly capital to have Black managers (overseers) for the Black community to administer Black institutions, public agencies, and serve as role models for Black youth to emulate. On the other hand, higher education serves to prepare Black youth for more skilled working class jobs in order to accelerate production and increase their exploitation.

In discussing these class destinations of Black students we must directly raise the question of what class students are in. The concept class is based on one's relationship to the means of production. In the capitalist mode of production, the Bourgeoisie owns the means of production and the Proletariat's relation to them is based on the need to sell their labor power for wages in order to survive. Students are members of the intellegensia, a strata that has no direct
role in production, but nevertheless serves one class or another. But students, on the whole, are a social group within the intellectual strata that are consumers of education rather than producers of knowledge. So, (1) students have a concrete class origin—for the most part working class: "37.4% of students at Black land-grant colleges come from families making less than $4,000 a year. In general, a student going to a southern school, be it private or public, now comes from homes where the medium income is $3,900...(and)...only 17% of all Black college students come from families over $10,000." And, (2) the class destination of students is either the Black petty bourgeois service professional or managerial set, or the skilled working class clerical set. (3) While in school, Black students are a social group in transition within the intellectual strata consuming education while preparing to play a role in the society. (This, of course, does not take into consideration the students who work while going to school, and work during the summer.)

This class essence of Black higher education is a function of the dynamic antagonistic clash of classes struggling in a battle to the death. And with the crisis of imperialism intensifying in this period of inflation, overproduction, unemployment, trade wars, and government corruption crises throughout nearly all capitalist countries,
the class life of Black students has been radically changed. The U. S. Labor Dept. admitted that the unemployment rate of Black workers reached 11.7% in November, 1974, and it was reportedly as high as 30-40% in some big cities. So the class origin (parents) of Black students is under attack. This also is an attack on the class destination of Black students (future jobs) since job offers are no longer easily picked up in the traditional professional fields and the working class is facing unemployment. Yeah, it's possible to get a B.A. and be unemployed, seasonally employed, underemployed, or only part-time employed. Moreover, the current institutional home of Black students is under attack as well. Federal funds to higher education are being cut back, endowments are being plundered, faculty/student ratios are increasing by cutting the faculty and increasing student enrollments, Afro-American Studies programs are being cut, tuition fees are being raised, and tolerance for all forms of political radicalism is rapidly diminishing. The material conditions of Black students are in a definite crisis.

The situation is excellent!

The situation is excellent because where there is oppression and exploitation there will be resistance. The future is bright because it is in our hands, the masses of people, the proletariat. We are the future. But the road
ahead is not going to be an easy road to travel. It is going to be torturous, it is going to necessitate flexibility and require endurance—but the February First Movement is going to spark the might and force of our student vanguard, is going to raise high the banner of struggle for our people, and take its place on the battle field against our enemies. We will unite the many to win still greater victories.

One reason I have confidence in you is that you are a part of the historical motion of Black youth; we have had many high tides of Black student struggle in the past, so we can have full confidence in our future! So let's review some of these periods of struggle to learn the lessons of the victories and defeats of the past.

The Black studies movement is a result of these basic changes and the resultant demands by working class Blacks and acquiescence by middle class Blacks.

Our main task is ideological. The question is what—which of the Z.

We have an answer!

Our answer is based on our need to change the world. To hell with understanding if it is limited to some ideas in my head.

In a word, Struggle!

We want to discuss United Front Struggle.
Can you imagine a nationalist and a Marxist fighting against a common enemy while summing up the struggle to test their ideas based on practice?

If people are genuine, honest, committed and hard working, then we have a chance. We don't say get up on each other. If we get too close we might fall out, but United Front strategy is key.

What is this? A United Front represents many different forces fighting the same enemy, unity of action. It is as strong and effective as the unity of the forces involved based on ideology, organization, politics and action. Therefore we fight for unity on these four fronts.

The first two concerns are politics and action, with action being most important. Who is the enemy? What you gonna do about it?

Then within some organized context the ideological struggle can be waged.

**ALSC**
1. action and politics
2. organization and struggle
   - error → idealism → dogmatism

**Black Studies**
1. action and politics
2. organization
3. ideology
SELECTED WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY
IN BLACK STUDIES

PREPARED FOR CONFERENCE
ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
IN BLACK STUDIES: THE STANDARDIZATION OF CURRICULUM
FEBRUARY 24-26, 1977
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

CENTER FOR BLACK STUDIES
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Educational Reform and Revolutionary Struggle:
The Continuing Fight for Black Studies

Center for Black Studies
University of California
Santa Barbara, California

Discussion Paper for the Conference on
"Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility
In Black Studies: The Standardization of Curriculum"
February 24-26-, 1977

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE:
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EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE:  
THE CONTINUING FIGHT FOR BLACK STUDIES

The historical development of Black Studies and its struggle for survival must remain at the center of any discussion of Black people in higher education. While almost one million Blacks are engaged in post-secondary school education, and oppression and exploitation continue to exist for nearly all Black people, Black Studies remains a battle front for justice and equality, an arena in which to link the fight for reforms with the fight for revolution. It is in this context that this article presents a summary analysis of an on-going research and development project on Black Studies initially undertaken by Peoples College in 1970.¹

In this article we will focus on two basic questions:

1. What is the historical origin and development of Black Studies and the nature of the crisis facing Black Studies today?
2. How can Black Studies survive and meet its dual objectives of academic excellence and social responsibility?

The Historical Origin and Development of Black Studies

Our general summary is that Black Studies has gone through three stages of development. The stages of this national trend are:

a. Innovation: the social incidents that challenged the status quo and initiated the process of bringing Black Studies into being:

b. Experimentation: the theoretical and practical struggle to set and achieve initial goals, and the setting of new goals based on concrete experience.
c. Crisis of Development: the intensification of attacks against Black Studies that seriously challenge its continued existence.

Innovation: The initial thrust for Black Studies was a turbulent experience, one that continued the unexpected outbursts of rebellion and resistance that characterized the 1960s. The Middle 60s was a high tide of resistance for the Black liberation movement; militancy was a common posture. A key act was the brutal slaying of Martin Luther King in the Spring of 1968, because it unleashed an outburst of violence in 110 cities, resulting in 39 deaths, over 2,500 injuries, over 14,000 arrests, and over 2,600 fires. The U. S. government repressed this spontaneous action with 45,000 National Guardsmen and 21,000 Federal Troops.²

The key social force in this spontaneous violence were those young, working class Black people who were being kept out of productive jobs, and kept out of institutions that they felt could help them improve their lives. For these young people, the only real options seemed to be jail or the armed services. But after this thrust of spontaneous violence (1963-1967), a large sector of this youth population was coopted into higher education, purportedly "to civilize the natives and quell the unrest."

According to government statistics, Black college enrollment increased to 370,000. This represents an increase over the previous year of 88,000, 11 times the increase of 1966 over 1965. But things didn't work out for this scheme of bourgeoisification, i.e., the muting of working class militancy with the petty bourgeois privilege
of the college campus and the subsequent benefits from a white
collar job. This plan backfired and these students became a
militant social force inside the university by disrupting the
normal state of affairs (meaning racism, elitism, and other forms
of reaction); they demanded Black Studies by any means necessary.

This is how one discussion sums up what happened. Note how
similar this is to the above description of what happened after
King was murdered:

...The early programs clearly and simply signified a
yielding to student pressure, threats and violence;
in 1968-69, according to one estimate, 43 institutions
experienced fires, 80 experienced wrecking of buildings
or breaking of furnishings, 45 experienced personal
injuries, at least 24 officials were held captive, and
at least 8 people were killed. 3

In a very concrete sense we can conclude from the data that it
was this militant struggle inside the university that forced the
initial change, the essence of this first stage of innovation. For
example, one study of 2 year colleges reports this data on course
offerings: 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Colleges Offering Black Studies Courses</th>
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Experimentation: The rapid increase in courses and programs
brought with it a broad pattern of experimentation regarding all
aspects of Black Studies. Nick Aaron Ford reports in Black Studies:

"For the 200 programs upon which this study is based, approximately
200 objectives are listed with enough variation in wording to be
considered different." Moreover, about 75% of these programs were interdisciplinary and, for the most part, characterized by a hodge-podge of faculty interests and backgrounds, shaped by the history of racist scholarly neglect and discrimination in faculty hiring practices.

To anyone vaguely familiar with Black Studies programs over the last 9 years, an obvious conclusion is that there has emerged no established pattern of intellectual content, administrative organization, or standard of academic excellence and social responsibility for faculty and students. Moreover, when the militant students who fought for and won Black Studies left the campus, or were bought off, the fire of the initial thrust began to dwindle. One ex-student sums it up this way: "When we left, Black Studies lost its political cutting edge. It was taken over by either poverty pimp-type hustlers, or straight traditional academic types. Either way, that's not what we fought for."

However, this period of experimentation has by no means been a total loss, although this has often been the assessment of both the ultra-conservatives (e.g., Bayard Rustin, Martin Kilson, etc.) and the ultra-left student anarchists (e.g., many of the student activists who founded Student Organization for Black Unity, SOBU). The material basis for this position is their common middle class outlook. Both groups negate the objective reality of the rapid increase in Black participation in higher education. The conservatives openly declare their allegiance to elitism, while the "infantile leftists," failing to grasp the relationship of
reform to revolution, negate the militant fight for the democratic right to quality higher education.

Out of this period of every flower blooming, however, there is now beginning to emerge a clear direction forward. The current task at hand is to clarify lessons learned, divide the good from the bad, consolidate gains won by uniting with all progressive forces, determine new goals, and continue to fight for change.

_Crisis of Development_: When we speak of crisis in this context, we refer to two levels of analysis: (A) The deepening of the crisis of U. S. capitalism, and (B) the specific features of how this crisis impacts on higher education. The crisis of capitalism has sharpened and, coupled with the winds of revolutionary national struggle blowing throughout the third world, there is a major realignment of forces on the world scene. The threat of an unjust war to reenergize the imperialist systems of the two super-powers - one old and dying and the other young and growing - is a menace to all of the world's people.

Here in the USA the attacks on working people, Black people and all oppressed nationalities are growing sharper every day. The carrot of Kennedy-Johnson has been replaced by the stick of Nixon-Ford-Rockefeller. This fascist-prone regime, wildly striving to maintain the rule of the USA imperialist class, went beyond the existing ruling class consensus and faltered on the corruptions of Watergate and the CIA-FBI debacle. But the resulting revelations and exposé spoke more to questions of form than of essence. Now
we have the old con game with Carter, the white country preacher with a grin, trotted out with the verbal rap of an F. D. R. and similar bandaid solutions. For example, with war preparations underway, Carter appoints a non-violent preacher to be the mouthpiece of the ruling class in the United Nations. And with over 8 million workers unemployed, he proposes a so-called job program for fewer than a million of them at a less than adequate wage.

The economic picture is bleak indeed. The Gross National Product declined in 1974, 1975 and much of 1976, housing starts have been down, and the basic industry continues to operate at less than capacity. And, similar to the Great Depression, large numbers of bankruptcies have occurred, including the billion-dollar W.T. Grant Company and eleven large banks - this during 1976 alone!

Now, does this mean that the fat cats, the corporate ruling class, are taking the loss? NO! In manufacturing, from 1974 to the first half of 1976 there was a 5.5% decrease in the number of production workers, but during this same period profits went up 72.9% to $63.8 billion. This means that more and more profit is being squeezed out of fewer and fewer workers. This attack on working people continues with the real value of income (measured in 1967 dollars) declining nearly 2% between 1974 and 1975. In straight inflation terms, the Consumer Price Index went up 11% in 1974, and over 9% in 1975.

The crisis goes deeper as we all see and live it in our communities every day. Corporate profits are protected by governmental policies of massive cutbacks in social services - hospitals and libraries are closing in nearly every major city,
public transportation is being cut back, and public health programs are deteriorating. There have also been major cutbacks in the area of education. According to the Chronicle of Higher Education (May 17, 1976), corporate gifts to colleges and universities declined by 3.5% in 1975 and gifts from leading foundations declined from $12.1 billion in 1974 to $2.01 billion. The Ford Foundation reduced its expenditures by $81 million. Their aim is to maintain shrinking profits. Moreover, the costs of one year of education for each four-year student went up 42% in the past 10 years - from $2167 to $3070.

The net result of this deepening crisis for Blacks in higher education is alarming, and those of us in this area of work must seize upon it as a call to arms. Consider these reversals:

**Increased Dropout Rate:** Because of the cutback in support services—which have never been well financed and organized—the drop-out rate among Black students will increase. Only 40.9% of the number of Blacks who entered as freshmen in 1971 were enrolled as seniors by 1974. This compares with 55.8% for white freshmen, so the crisis is really an attack on the masses of everybody.

**Decline in Enrollment:** The percentage of Blacks entering as first year students declined in 1973 for the first time in years. Since a peak increase of 30% in the number of Blacks among all students in college, the increase was only 7% between 1971 and 1972, and declined by 6% between 1972 and 1973. Since the big increase in 1971, the rate of increase has slowed considerably: there was only a 0.6% increase between 1971 and 1973, and between 1971 and 1974, a 20% increase. This compares
with a 65% increase between 1969 and 1974 and a 110% increase between 1964 and 1969. Many institutions have recently revised entrance requirements, reduced financial aid, and raised tuition which will further restrict enrollment.

Reversal of Affirmative Action: The courts have become the focal point for the counter-attack of the ruling class to reverse the gains that Black people won through militant struggle. Three major court cases—in Washington (Defunis), New York (Alevy), and California (Bakke)—have all involved charges of "reverse discrimination" by white students who were denied admission to professional schools. In each case, Blacks and other minority students who had lower scores on biased "objective" tests were admitted in efforts to overcome past discrimination, increase the access of oppressed nationalities to medical education, and improve the quality of health care available in minority communities. The future ruling of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Bakke case from California will have a major impact on overturning the legal basis for affirmative action—in education and on jobs—which was established after the mass struggles of the late 60s and early 70s.

Black Studies: Study and Struggle

We have pointed to a history of struggle for Black Studies and the increasing attacks against it. Essentially we have been discussing the democratic rights of Black people and our task is to raise up a program for the continued survival of Black Studies. We hinge our view on the dual concepts of study and struggle. Moreover, we base our theoretical view on concrete
experience, a history that results in a fighting spirit and not the whimpering of a weak, insecure, newly-arrived Black professional class. Our view is that it is precisely in the face of this deepening crisis that it is possible to mount an offensive, however small at first, that will eventually link together the vast majority of Black Studies faculty and students in a fight for substantial and fundamental change. While this article will not address the entire program we are developing, its main objective is to clarify and describe one vital aspect of what is necessary.

One of the major problems facing Black Studies is the intellectual content of its programs, courses, and research. We hold the view that it is now more essential than ever to build unity around a theoretical analysis of the Afro-American experience in the United States. Further, we have developed and published a seventy-page booklet, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies*, a major step in the direction of standardizing our curriculum (available for $1.50 from Peoples College, P. O. Box 7696, Chicago, IL 60680).

A struggle for unity must be waged in a specific social context for specific historical reasons. The case of Black Studies fits this. We propose that individuals and programs take up *Introduction to Afro-American Studies* as a tool around which to unite, and with which to take up the struggle to protect and develop Black Studies. We claim the legacy of the demands and aspirations of thousands of Black students who set this in motion. We challenge you to take this model and struggle for unity.
Introduction to Afro-American Studies is designed as the basic course for Black Studies. There are 5 objectives:

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

2. To study the development of modern society and culture, and the role Black people have played in it.

3. To investigate and discuss the historical origins and development of the Afro-American people in the USA today.

4. To systematically examine the development, basis, and make-up of several important social institutions in the Black community.

5. To evaluate the relevancy of various ideologies concerning the social oppression, political repression, and economic exploitation of Black people (past, present, and future).

This clarifies the essence of the emphasis on study.

The course also encourages activity, struggle. The preface boldly states this position:

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

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

The course was initially developed for an interdisciplinary social science freshman course called "Modern Culture and Black People" at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, 1973-74. Over 100 students, randomly selected from the entering first year students, wrote a weekly 2-4 page paper for one semester and four 6-10 page papers for one semester. Our completion rate for papers was over 85%. There was a reaction against the amount of work - students complained, circulated a petition in protest, and solicited faculty support. But we persisted, and in the end their productivity far surpassed all expectations.

Further, the course has been used in one fashion or another at over 15 universities, including Cornell University, University of California, Atlanta Junior College, University of Illinois, Thornton Community College, Wayne State University, State University of New York, and a five-college consortium in
Massachusetts - University of Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke College, Amherst College, Hampshire College, and Smith College.

The first part of the course is divided into topics covering 16 important aspects of the Afro-American experience with each topic presented as a popular question. The table of contents lists these topics:

**PART I. SURVEY OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**

1. What is Afro-American Studies? .......................... 2
2. How did Africa develop before the Europeans came? ... 4
3. How do we define the modern period of history? ....... 6
4. What was the triple character of African Slavery? .... 9
5. What is the social structure of Afro-American people? 12
6. Can the masses of Black people get "a piece of the American Pie" by "pulling ourselves up by our own bootstraps?" ........................................ 15
7. What kind of political power do Black people have in the USA? .................................................. 18
8. Why has religion been so strong in the Black community? .... 20
9. Has education worked for Black people? ............... 22
10. What are the problems faced by Black women? ...... 27
11. What is the social role of Black art and culture? .... 31
12. What were the mass struggles of Afro-American people during the 1960's all about? ..................... 34
13. What are the basic ideas of nationalism? .............. 36
14. What is the historical development of the ideology of racism? ................................................... 38
15. How is the Black liberation movement related to national liberation struggles in the third world? ..... 40
16. What program will lead to fundamental improvement in the social and economic conditions of the masses of Black people? ........................................ 42

Each of these topics of summed up in a few paragraphs, and followed by ten related concepts, required readings, and ten
supplementary readings. This unit on the Black church illustrates how each topic is presented:

8. WHY HAS RELIGION BEEN SO STRONG IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY?
   (CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION)

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

KEY CONCEPTS

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<th>Invisible Institution</th>
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<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>Religious Denominations</td>
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<td>Call and Response</td>
<td>Secularization</td>
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<td>Gospel</td>
<td>Social Cohesion</td>
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<td>Institutional Church</td>
<td>Storefront</td>
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REQUIRED READING


(The ten supplementary readings are here omitted.)

The second part of Introduction is based on an intensive analysis of what we consider classics of Black Social Analysis that take up critical issues and constitute the "Foundations of Black Social Thought:"

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

For this second part, we have selected the following topics and texts:


2. On the Changing Social Forms of the Black Experience from Rural to Urban Life.
   Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation.
   St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City.

3. On the Class Structure of Black People - Proletariat, Petty Bourgeoisie, and Bourgeoisie.
   E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States.

   Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery.
   Autobiography of Malcolm X.

This is an overview of what we think is a solid point of departure for unity in the process of standardization.

Introduction to Afro-American Studies is a sound basis of unity.
because it speaks to many of the problems we collectively face today in the same way in which the struggle to create Black Studies addressed our common problems at an earlier period. The availability of a standardized introductory course addresses many basic problems: course development and reorganization, planning library acquisitions, faculty recruitment and development, the establishment of research priorities, and the transfer of credit from community colleges to four-year institutions. Further, Introduction to Afro-American Studies is a sound basis of unity because it is the product of a united effort. It is on this foundation that we hope to build.

Conclusion

This course that we have just described reflects both the results of several years of work and a process that we anticipate will be at the center of our work in Black Studies for the next few years. Introduction to Afro-American Studies is now in its third revised edition, and we are preparing to undertake a fourth revision. This is based on inputs received from the various people and programs that have used it, and who are committed to making it a better course. At the present time there are five general concerns that will be included in this current process of revision:

a. there is a need for a glossary of terms in order to equip the student with a working vocabulary and definitions;

b. there is a need for the more systematic inclusion of material from the area of humanities, art, and literature;

c. there is a need for a series of slide lectures and audio tapes to accompany the course materials so that interest can be sustained and the experience made more immediate;
there is a need for a teacher's guide and for standardized examination materials in order to evaluate the impact of the course on a national level;

e. there is a need for an edited textbook which includes a collection of the best available discussion of the topics covered in Introduction to Afro-American Studies.

Of course, there will be many more considerations that must be taken into account.

We are committed to the value of criticism and work hard to solicit feedback. We recognize that this is not the normal academic style, but it is a necessary aspect of the historical development of Black Studies and one that we think must be maintained and further developed. YOU are the basis of the future, especially as you join with projects such as this to continue the fight for progress, academic excellence and social responsibility. We are calling for mass participation in Introduction to Afro-American Studies and we will work with everyone who accepts this challenge.

NOTES

1Peoples College is an organization that has been active in several aspects of the Black Liberation Movement since 1970, most notably Black Studies, support for African Liberation Movements, and the development of the United Front Against Imperialism in the USA. After a period of re-organization it is now actively working on theoretical issues of Black liberation and the class struggle. Further information can be obtained by writing Peoples College, P. O. Box 7696, Chicago, IL 60680, USA.

2Keesing's Research Report 4, p. 262.


This paper is a brief abstract of a longer monograph. Additional citations and an extensive bibliography on Black Studies can be obtained by writing Peoples College.
THE POLITICS OF BLACK LIBERATION:
NATIONALISM, PAN AFRICANISM OR MARXISM?

(A Report on the 9th Annual Conference
of the African Heritage Studies Association)
Detroit, Michigan, April 22, 1977

by
Peoples College

(Peoples College is a revolutionary collective nearly
10 years old. Its main concern has been theoretical
analysis of class struggle and Black liberation. Peoples
College has been involved in concrete struggles, especially
the historical development of support for African liberation
and in the organization of Black workers, students,
and intellectuals.)
THE POLITICS OF BLACK LIBERATION:

NATIONALISM, PAN AFRICANISM OR MARXISM?

The report on the 9th annual African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA) conference published in the last issue of FIRST WORLD is a disgusting polemic devoid of any content and full of factual distortion. It was, in sum, irresponsible journalism. We have decided to comment on this meeting because its significance for Black people requires a more thorough, accurate assessment.

The AHSA was born in the turbulent end of the 1960s, representing an organizational effort to forge a mix of intellectual and political concerns controlled in the interest of the masses of Black people rather than by some aspect of the US monopoly capitalist class (like the African Studies Association). Peoples College is a collective of people who have historically participated in AHSA since its very beginning, as plenary speakers, workshop leaders, and in its national leadership. And we continue to see the importance of such organizations as AHSA.

The main issue of the opening plenary session at the Detroit meeting was the road forward for the Black liberation movement. This is the key question for Black people and an appropriate beginning for any such meeting of Black intellectuals. Three different lines were put forward:
a. Nationalism: Haki Mahubuti, Institute of Positive Education, argued for a relationship with Africa, but maintained that his experiences (like attending the 6th Pan African Conference) have led to the position that Black people in the USA should be concerned primarily with the US by building Black unity here, and should concentrate on social service types of efforts (health, early education, etc.).

b. Pan Africanism: Stokely Carmichael, All African People's Revolutionary Party, argued that the main core of the Black revolution was in Africa, that Black nationalism was necessary but only when extended to working primarily to liberate Africa. He also maintained that as an Nkrumahist (a follower of the political ideas of Kwame Nkrumah) he believed in "scientific socialism" and the unification of Africa under one "socialist" government as a homeland for all Black people.

c. Marxism: Abdul Alkalimat, representing Peoples College, put forward the view that Black people in alliance with all other oppressed nationalities and especially the working class movement (of which most Black people are an integral part) would together lead the fight against all oppression. This means that the strategic force against US imperialism at home and abroad is a united front.
The reaction of the audience, which ranged throughout the day from 150 to 400, was intense, vocal, and demanding. The conference participants demanded that three sessions of the plenary discussion take place, and therefore, the conference coordinators had to hurriedly reschedule workshops and events. The audience reacted this way because they had the chance to honestly struggle over the major lines being debated by Black people all over the USA in schools, factories, and neighborhoods. And once again AHSFA had provided a forum that was relevant and on time, as it must continue to do.

Three key issues were raised:

1. **What is the relationship of Black people in the USA and Africa?** Haki and Abdul emphasized that there was a link but that Afro-Americans were a distinct people, while Stokeley argued that we are all Africans. From this flowed a difference over political action. Haki argued that Black people had to go it alone as did Stokeley, while Abdul argued that Black people should act in unity with progressive people from all nationalities (as the African liberation movements themselves do!)

2. **What is the relationship of Black intellectuals to the active struggle for Black liberation?** It was generally agreed that Black intellectuals have a responsibility to get involved in the concrete day to day struggles of the masses of Black people.
3. **What is the decisive test of our ideas?** The issue of African Liberation Day was brought by Abdul as both an historical test, as well as a test that was to come in a few weeks (May 28, 1977). In general, Stokely and Haki agreed that this was a day primarily for Black unity in support of Africa, while Abdul felt that Black unity was an important part of the picture but that the main aspect was the unity of Black people and all others to strike a blow against US imperialism in a militant demonstration and march on the White House. (Over 2,000 people from all nationalities—students, workers, professionals, unemployed workers—did participate in this march and rally at the White House.)

These different political ideas were debated hotly for the entire first day of the conference. Indeed, this conference was attended by many different political tendencies including a rank-and-file organization called Auto Workers United to Fight. Everyone got a chance to express their ideas in lively, heated and productive discussion in plenary, in workshops, in the halls, and later that night in various social gatherings.

This conference plenary debate is of major significance. It is not significant because well-known activists and intellectuals were involved (this would be the erroneous
"Great Man Theory of History"). But rather it was important because the issues and political views put forward are at the heart of what the masses of Black people are talking about when they speak of freedom. To deny this based on "facts" is merely to be wrong, but to write a piece like the Boyds have done is to subvert the discussion by introducing degenerate name calling. They have served our enemies well.

More information can be obtained by writing Peoples College, PO Box 7696, Chicago, Illinois 60680.
Dear Colleague:

We are encouraged that you have indicated that INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES—the new revised and expanded edition—may be used in your courses this coming year. If this becomes definite, you will join a growing number of colleges and universities who will be using the course. We think this is a big step forward in building academic excellence and social responsibility in Black Studies through standardizing a basic introductory course for the discipline.

The copies of INTRO-Blue (INTRO-Green is the current 3rd edition) is still in production and if you have ordered will be available in your campus bookstore before the last week of August. We wanted to keep you informed of its progress by answering a few key questions:

(1) How is INTRO-Blue (1977-78) different from INTRO-Green (1975-77)?

The main thing is that we have benefitted from many discussions and criticisms of INTRO-Green, all of which have been taken into consideration in the revision. For example, INTRO-Blue has more from the humanities included in it: poetry, short stories, song lyrics, etc. are used to give insight into many aspects of the Black experience. In addition, the historical content has been strengthened. We have also been more realistic about what is possible in a first or second year introductory course—required readings have thus been shortened. We have more carefully considered the reading/writing skills of students in both community colleges and four-year universities and have attempted to make the course more accessible to more students.

(2) How is INTRO-Blue a "revised" edition of INTRO-Green?

Essentially the basic content is the same. We are enclosing the rough draft Table of Contents, which outlines the 18 chapter topics. You will notice that the historical aspect—a summary of the slave, rural, and urban experience (Chapters 4-6) has been enlarged. The same is true with contemporary social structure of Black people which has been enlarged to include a chapter devoted to the important issue of racism. A consideration of the Black family has been added, as many suggested. And Part VI represents an expanded treatment of the Black Liberation Movement since the 1960's. The final chapter proposes that an in-depth effort be made wherever INTRO-Blue is being taught to concretely investigate the topics of INTRO-Blue in each local setting (e.g. have the class plan and sponsor a forum where various community leaders and advocates of various ideological positions discuss their views and answer questions of the class participants).

(3) How is INTRO-Blue "expanded"?

In addition to the above, INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES has taken several steps toward being a "self-contained" course. The 18 chapters outlined are intended for a two-quarter, or one semester course offering. (It can be used over two semesters if additional readings are assigned) Included in this expanded INTRO-Blue are:
(A) THE INTRO-BLUE TEXT: Each chapter in the text will include about 20 pages (typed, double spaced) of narrative instead of the one paragraph narrative in INTRO-Green. In addition, key concepts, review questions, and bibliography will be included.

(B) SELECTED READINGS: Many of you have suggested that a book of readings would make INTRO-Green much easier to deal with. Now we have it! The reader will be in two volumes: Volume I, Chapters 1-9; Volume II, Chapters 10-18. The readings for each chapter have been kept to about 30 pages and can be reduced or expanded if necessary. We have attempted to keep the readings brief and straightforward while not sacrificing high quality. We have drawn on the works of many noted Black scholars such as DuBois, Frazier, Kwame Nkrumah, Ralph Bunche, Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, Eric Williams, Lorenzo Greene, St. Clair Drake, Walter Rodney, Robert Allen, Margaret Walker, Joyce Ladner, and others.

(C) SLIDE LECTURES: We have completed a 25-slide presentation for each chapter intended to give the students a visual overview of the contents of each chapter during the first lecture of each week (assuming that the class meets at least three times each week).

(D) TEACHERS MANUAL: As many of you recommended, a guide discussing the history and thinking behind INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES will be produced. It will include lessons from having taught it for several years, and suggestions from discussing it with others. We will also make recommendations about how it can best be used on a semester or quarter system, and discuss the development of a standardized test as well as how INTRO-Blue can be integrated with many of the popular existing texts in Black Studies.

(4) Is INTRO-Blue final?
NO! The copy of INTRO-Blue that will be available in August is a limited experimental edition designed only for your class room use this coming year. We will solicit your comments and criticisms in the early spring through a series of regional workshops and a new final BLUE edition will be published for 1978-79.

(5) What schools are using INTRO-Blue this coming year?
Among the schools that have strongly indicated that they will use the course are L.A. Harbor College, L.A. Mission, Northwestern (Ill.), San Diego State University, Tennessee State University, Thornton Community College (Ill.), UC Santa Barbara, University of Illinois--Chicago Circle, University of Louisville, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, University of Pittsburgh, and Wayne State University (Detroit). Others are considering it for this year and many have indicated that they will use it in 1978-79. JOIN US!!

(6) How much will it cost?
We have attempted to keep the cost of the three volumes as close to cost as possible.

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<td>INTRO TEXT</td>
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<td>READER II</td>
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<td>SLIDE LECTURES (write or call for details)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEACHERS MANUAL</td>
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We hope this letter has been useful to you. If we had a big foundation grant or a lucrative publisher's advance, we might be well ahead of where we are. But this is truly a people's project in the interest of Black Studies and Black people. Thus, we appreciate your patience. More importantly, we appreciate and welcome your willingness to join together with other colleagues in pushing Black Studies further in the direction of survival and development.

Yours in Study and Struggle,

Ronald W. Bailey

NOTE: To place orders, write PEOPLES COLLEGE PRESS
P.O.Box 7696
Chicago, Ill. 60680

To discuss any questions about the above over the phone, or let us know that you will use it and that we should expect an order from you, call Ron Bailey at The Center for Black Studies, UC Santa Barbara (805) 9613914; after July 26th--Department of African-American Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (312) 4925122
INTRODUCTION TO AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES (BLUE)

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AFRICA
ABSTRACT

NATIONALITY AND CIVILIZATION: CHANGING TRENDS IN THE
IDENTITY OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN, 1863-1976

(For presentation at an international colloquium on "Black
Civilization" during the 2nd World Festival of Black and
African Arts and Culture, Lagos, Nigeria)

The purpose of this paper is to present a theoretical
summation of the historical and social forces that have
shaped the identity of Afro-Americans in the USA. The
importance of this task is threefold: to provide a
theoretical framework for understanding many of the
controversial ideological struggles of the past, to
clarify the crisis of identity that emerged during the
1960's, and to provide insight into the problems of the
future.

The paper can be summed up in several propositions,
which are as follows:

1. One of the major theoretical questions to be
answered by a scientific summation of the Afro-
American experience is the question of identity.

2. The major theoretical aspects of Afro-American
identity are class struggle, racism, and nationality.

3. The concept of civilization is the essence of a
historical socio-economic formation based on the
particular dialectical development of the corresponding
mode of production.
4. The class and national content of Afro-American identity has developed through three essential stages, enslavement of African peoples, the transformation into an Afro-American nationality, and the proletarianization of the Afro-American national minority.

5. Racism has been a tool to oppress Afro-American people throughout their history beginning with the European slave trade, though the historical and social content of it has changed according to the level of class exploitation and national oppression experienced by Black people, and according to the degree of unity between Black and white workers.

6. Within the context of the economic and political crisis of the world situation, especially within the United States, the prediction of this analysis is that since working class unity is a greater possibility racism will be intensified, and the national content of Afro-American identity will be intensified.

7. The critical question that remains is whether the national content of Afro-American identity will be a social force to galvanize a movement in close unity with the workers movement, or a narrow nationalist withdrawal into a separatist movement.
The significance of this paper is to clarify the historical and social content of the identity of the Afro-American community in the USA. Its major contribution is conceptual clarity based on the abstraction of dialectical dimensions of identity, and historical change summed up as logically developed stages of development. Its substantive content creatively maintains a high level of scholarship, while not sacrificing the spirit of the people about whom the analysis is done. It is unique in that the author is sensitive to the experience about which he writes (based on the methodological concept of "involved participation") and the trends of scholarship concerning the Afro-American experience.
FESTAC: The Myth and Reality of Pan African Culture in 1977

1. Background and History of FESTAC
   (a) Dakar 1966
   (b) Algiers 1969
   (c) Dar es Salaam 19

2. Three Basic Dimensions
   (a) Pan African Cultural Movement: 2 Lines in Struggle
      1. Where is Africa?
      2. Who is African?
      3. What is culture?
   (b) Nigeria:
      1. Political Economy
      2. Government
      3. U. S. influence
   (c) US - North American Zone
      1. Organizational planning
      2. The zig and zag of doing the work
      3. Composition of Delegation

3. FESTAC
   (a) Basic Design
      1. Resources & facilities
      2. Program
   (b) Festival Village
   (c) FESTAC Colloquium

4. Some Observations on Africa
   (a) Independence?
   (b) Role of intellectuals and artists?
   (c) Relation with Afro-Americans?
   (d) Revolutionary Struggle?

5. Future
ANGOLA, THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

(A PANEL PRESENTATION)

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
UCLA FEBRUARY 13, 1977

PEOPLES COLLEGE
P.O. BOX 7696
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60680
COMRADES! FRIENDS!

The task of this workshop is to discuss the revolutionary struggle in Angola and all of Southern Africa. To do this, we must take up the history of struggle by the masses of people there, the over-all development of the international situation in the world today and the international tasks of the American people.

Angola is located on the Atlantic coast in Southern Africa, sharing borders with Zaire, Zambia and Namibia. Angola is twice the size of Texas. There are almost 6 million Africans mainly composed of four traditional ethnic groups:

- Ovimbundu 33%
- Bakongo 25%
- Kimbundu 25%
- Chokwe 8%

Angola is rich in natural resources, mainly oil, diamonds, iron and coffee. People in the U.S.A. are well acquainted with these resources since over half the instant coffee we drink comes from Angola, and many Gulf Oil products we use are likely to be products from Angola.

Angola is important for these reasons, but also because it is a strategic military and economic location for ships and planes and railroads. Moreover, its proximity to the industrially developed AZANIA (South Africa) makes it especially strategic. The U.S. ruling class has a billion dollar investment by over 300 corporations in Azania. So Angola is important for resources mainly oil
and coffee, and also for its strategic proximity to Southern Africa, especially South Africa.

We can sum up the last 500 years of oppression in three stages. In all three stages, Portuguese colonialism was the direct political enemy, but the material source and therefore the class essence of the national oppressions changed.

1. 1483 - 1714. Portuguese colonialism established itself in Angola based on the interests of a mercantile capitalist class interested in trading slaves.

2. 1714 - World War II. With the rise of industrial capitalism and imperialism Britain became the chief force dominating Portugal, so Portuguese colonialism became a front for British finance capital.

3. W.W.II - 1970's. The results of W.W.II, in addition to leading to revolutionary movements throughout the third world, placed the United States on the top of the imperialist dung heap. It replaced Britain and tied the U.S.A. ruling class into Angola, with Gulf Oil representing 90% of the current $4 billion dollar investment in Angola.

The current phase of the Angolan war of liberation began in 1961. After World War II, the Portuguese policy of assimilating a small African intellectual elite turned into its opposite. Nationalism was taken up as a progressive unity forced based on an anti-colonial orientation. Out of this development came the formations that led to M.P.L.A. in 1956 and the core of what was to become F.N.L.A. in 1957. These were mainly students, intellectuals, and the small urban petty bourgeoisie. There were also organized resistance by workers, mainly in the railroad industry, and by peasants on coffee
plantations.

Armed struggle broke out in 1961 with a spontaneous attack on a political prison in Luanda. Shortly afterwards, a factional split occurred in FNLA and a new organization - U.N.I.T.A. - was formed in 1963.

Without attempting to describe the 14 year guerilla war led by these three organizations some key comparisons between them will serve as well.

A. Each of the three organizations represents itself as a united front effort representing a correct synthesis of the genuine desire by the Angolan people for independence. All three organizations have a national democratic program. There is no independent leading proletarian force inside any of them. As such, each contributed to the anti-imperialist national liberation phase, but none was able to lead the Angolan masses through the class struggle required to build socialism.

B. The leadership of all three organizations has social origins in the privileged intellectual and urban petty bourgeois class. Moreover each organization has been primarily based on a single traditional ethnic group. The essence of this is the bourgeois nationalist aspirations of petty bourgeois democrats. These are the people Cabral warned us about when he wrote that the petty bourgeois forces would have to commit revolutionary suicide after political independence.

In sum, the class character and ethnic basis for each organization define the limits of its revolutionary contribution. Only proletarian leadership of a united front, at the center of which is the worker-peasant alliance, can guide a people to socialism. The
three organizations could at best expel all foreign aggression and maintain development on the basis of diversified economic assistance but mainly self-reliance and socialist aid.

But Angola has been more complex and difficult a struggle than that. There has been superpower intervention developing since the 1950's. The Soviet Social Imperialists have supported MPLA since its inception; the U.S.A has equally supported FNLA, and then UNITA as well. But each has contributed skimpy support, dumping inadequate amounts of less than advanced weapons. With the revolution in Portugal, it became apparent that Angola would have its independence. A meeting held in January 1975 in Alvor, Portugal, established a transitional government of unity agreed to by all three organizations and the OAU leadership. Even after violent conflict between the liberation forces, a second agreement signed June 1975 in Nankuru, Kenya, reaffirmed the existence of this United Front government toward the November 11th Independence Day.

But superpower intervention was already in full steam because the November 11th Independence Day would formally free Angola from direct Portuguese colonial domination. The Soviet Union increased the amount and quality of military aid and Cuba readied to send thousands of troops to fight Angolans—all to install MPLA as the undisputed leader.

The USA funneled aid to the FNLA through Zaire, set up a mercenary force—both black and white—and South Africa prepared to invade the southern part of Angola to fight with UNITA—all to form an opposition to MPLA.

With the potential of a military edge in the situation, each
side with the backing of a superpower, fought to win and consolidate its hegemonic control thereby liquidating the development of a government of national unity. The seizure of control by the MPLA-Cuban-Soviet forces has placed Angola squarely in the camp of Soviet Social Imperialism.

So we are now entering what clearly appears to be a 4th stage of foreign domination over Angola, where the top dog imperialist position has been taken over by the false-faced Soviet Social Imperialists. This is a fact that stares the Angolan people in the face every day. It is acknowledged in military and economic pacts signed by the MPLA leadership in Moscow with the Breznev clique. It is spoken by Neto when he openly attacks the proletarian line of the Peoples Republic of China. It is brutally proven when the patriots inside MPLA are jailed and threatened with death for speaking out against superpower hegemonism, against the continued presence of Soviet advisors and Cuban troops.

The key question concerns the nature of the so-called Angolan independence.

Can a nation be independent when its existence is based on the presence of foreign troops? Especially when its main threat is from its own people, with or without imperialist support? Can a nation be independent when it makes economic pacts and military pacts that link it to the international designs of a superpower, that subordinate the determination of its own role by its own people to the international scheme of an imperialist force. The key issue here is self-reliance, national integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of another country.
There are many ways to characterize this situation, but the brutal
fact comes through that the Angolan people have not ended these
centuries of tyranny, but have merely changed masters once again.

So the struggles of the Angolan masses must be seen in light
of the international situation. Our view is that since the mid 1950's
the Soviet Union has degenerated in a capitalist country. This
means that it is essentially the same as the U.S.A., though its 40
years of socialist development make a different set of tactics
available. The Soviet Union is an imperialist country with a socialist
con game.

What has this meant for the world? Since World War II, the
main struggle has been national liberation movements versus imperialism,
mainly U.S. imperialism, and the declining European forces Britain
and France. But with capitalism restored in the USSR, and with most
countries having either achieved independence or at least political
independence, there has been a shift in emphasis.

Today, there are two trends in the world—peoples, countries
and nations continue to fight for freedom, this is the revolutionary
trend. But also, the two big bullies, the two superpowers, are
vying for a bigger piece of the pie (The U.S.A. trying to hold onto
its sphere of influence and design new tactics on how to expand, and
the Soviet Union eager to flex its muscles and expand its influence).
This contention between the superpowers is the basis for the trend
towards war. Both trends were concretely manifested in Angola. The
masses were fighting a revolutionary national democratic war against
imperialism, and the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, each with a proxy,
contending over whose influence would dominate Angola.
So we can directly answer the question of what happened after November 11, 1975. Was it mainly a civil war or a struggle between the superpowers. Given the low capacity of any one organization to dominate and given the great increase in military aid sent from both superpowers, the post-November 11 conflict must be understood in terms of superpower intervention, a struggle by imperialists over spheres of influence.

1. It was an unjust war because the strategic interests of the Angola masses were held by neither side.

2. It contributed to the general trend of world war. Conflict would certainly have existed between the three organizations, but it was only with the intervention of the superpowers that the actual conflict reached such proportions, and became part and parcel of the superpower struggle for hegemony in all of Southern Africa and throughout the world. Therefore, it is necessary to assume that while civil conflict was there, the principal aspect of it was the superpower contention.

There are no deals that can be made with the wolf to kill the fox, without the wolf eating you up, too. Both are wild, hungry, and carnivorous and both must be fought and defeated. There are many short cut schemes that appear to be the easy way, but, as the masses of Angolan people will come to learn more and more as the treacherous Soviet Imperialists continue to deepen their influence, there is no compromise possible with self-determination and self-reliance.
Now what are the tasks of the American people regarding this situation?

1. As in all affairs, the distinction that guides our action is unity with friends—the masses of exploited and oppressed people and struggle against the enemy—especially the two superpowers. In general, this occurs through political education in conferences like this, and in any way to destroy deception, hypocrisy, and camouflage that prevents the masses from making this very important distinction between friends and enemies.

2. Secondly, the main fight is here in the USA. Given our task to defeat our own ruling class, and given its international role as a superpower, the greatest international contribution would be to defeat the US. imperialist class and build socialism in the U.S.A.

So, our position is for the American people to deepen our fight for socialism in the U.S.A, as our greatest contribution to the world. In addition, we have a responsibility to give political and moral support to all genuine revolutionary struggles, which will be mostly aimed at the superpowers, but not entirely. Specifically, this means hit hardest for ending U.S.A. involvement, and continue to systematically expose the hegemonic Soviet Social schemes.

The American people have a great revolutionary history, and a history of support for the struggles of oppressed people. The great struggle against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Vietnam is so recent we can all vividly remember. Also, there is a history of support for African liberation most recently sparked by African Liberation Day protests since 1972, workers refusing to assist in illegal imperialist trade with racist Rhodesia and South
Africa over coal and chrome. We can make a difference. Our fight is a fight we can win. War will lead to revolution, or revolution will prevent war.

SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ANGOLAN MASSES AND THE STRUGGLES IN ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, AND AZANIA

SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA

LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

PEOPLE OF THE USA UNITE TO DEFEAT USA IMPERIALISM
S. African Jail the Stage In Black Struggle to Survive

By Mary Emma Graham

In South Africa, called Azania by its oppressed majority, acting in a traditional western sense is a luxury that no Black South African can afford. The actor, if such a one should exist, is viewed in a social context; his role and expression represent not him alone, but also the society and its members as they carry out the daily tasks of living and surviving. It is not surprising, therefore, that four brilliant actors who perform in "Survival", see the task they have set for themselves as more important than any measure of personal success they might come to have. They are here to give the American public a true picture of the life experiences of the majority of South Africa's population and to raise the level of consciousness of those who interact with them.

Playwright and theatre professor Prof. Perutofo Epenza recently invited the group in South Africa before inviting them to tour in America: Thembu Nteng, who serves as the group's spokesman, recalls:

"We didn't decide to come to America really. We didn't have that choice. Left groups criticized us by saying that "Survival" should not go to America, and that it should be performing to the rural areas. But the play was running out of money and this opportunity came up.

"For this reason, the view of a simple passbook—the symbol of oppression and exploitation for over six million people."

The incredibly magnificent performance of "Survival" at the Lobero Theatre in Santa Barbara did more than inform us. It cast a spell. Profoundly rich as an artistic medium, it achieves a level of political sophistication that, much Black American and radical theatre lacks. Significantly, the actors in this are a re-distillation of life, the recreation of a particular moment in time, forever to be preserved.

Instead, we view a process whose historical and artistic dimension have the effect of socializing us. A series of vignettes detail the life of Black South Africans through the eyes of "jailbirds." Mime, music, dialog and narration combine to dramatize the very real experiences of a people who have lived under the yoke of the most intense form of racial oppression known in the world today.

As the "process" evolves, the prison cell transforms into a place of struggle; the "jailbirds" likewise become politically conscious and committed to organized resistance. The hunger strike, weakened and strengthened them; the constant abuse educates and unites them.

The five actors, including understudy Peter Pepenuma, have continued the social, collective style inherent in traditional African theatre. "Survival" has no script, in a formal sense. The acting does not view the production as static. "Survival" insists: it is constantly evolving. As conditions change in South Africa, so too their theatrical reflections change as well. The performance itself is revised, with additions and deletions made as the actors themselves gain greater clarity about what they do and about what they have to do.

Quite the opposite of traditional American theatre, which thrives on the extent to which it can retain a formula for a "hit."

If "Survival" is about the evolution of political consciousness, it mirrors the political commitment of its creators. Seth Sibandi, who performs the role of a jailbird initiate, openly vows his allegiance to struggle:

"I see no need to stay away from the problems. When I do go home, I can do something. I like to help my people in South Africa. I've been away for 24 years. I've grown immune to it. People who have spent half their lives in jail still come out preaching the message.

The anguish and defiance of life in Black South Africa is what gives the performance its power and immediacy. Conceived to Bantu, the (African, homeland, or living in migrant townships, like Soweto, most Black South Africans are heirs only to a crowded slum. "Survival," like life itself, is for the day that he can escape this inevitable existence. If he finds..."
work in the city (Johannesburg or Capetown), he is likely to be a factory of sanitation worker or a driver; if he is lucky, he may train as a clerk. The educational system trains few Africans for skilled or professional work, so most perform at whatever labor they can find.

An average monthly wage of $80 is expected to cover the costs of transportation, clothes, childcare and education, food, housing and medical care, all of which add up to about $300. Borrowing at high interest rates is indeed common as the worker is forced to submit to yet another form of exploitation. In addition to the general savagery of work at practically no pay, and the millions of unemployed, the worker must be out of the city or in his living quarters by 11 pm. Violations of curfew can mean detention with additional ramped-up charges thrown in as a matter of course.

Desperate African women sell their bodies to decadent officials in order to secure work for themselves or their children. A bright young student gives up his education to help support his family. A young girl becomes the concubine of a wealthy Afrikaner._Survival._

But these words and music from South Africa have a particular political importance today, as the tide of revolution and national liberation sweeps over nations and peoples with long histories of oppression and exploitation. Since Sharpeville (1960) and now Soweto (1976), the South African government has employed more intensive repressive measures, and has sought to counter the growing domestic and international opposition to apartheid, the official policy of separation of the races. Among other things, policing can now shoot to kill without provocation, a privilege permitted them by the recent "Good Faith Act."

Perhaps the most glaring of the counter-measures by the South African government is the granting of "independence" to Transkei, the largest and most important of South African Bantu states and the residence of 1.65 million Blacks. As the USA carried notice of "Africa's Quiet Independence," giving credibility to this parody of liberation, South Africa invited attractive investments, welcomed the US navy and denied South African citizenship for American "officials." Transkei inhabitants who have long since migrated to "white areas" to live and work (Presumably, there is something called Transkei republic citizenship.)

The majority of Transkei residents, who engage in subsistence agriculture if they are not unemployed, and who generally suffer from malnutrition, disease and broken homes, can expect little benefit from the capital that is being invested in the area, or the US aid that has been requested. In addition, the deepwater port that belongs to the Transkei coastline, remains under South African control, despite the farcical "independence."

"Survival," then, like its creators — Seth Sibanda, David Kekana, Dan Mareodi and Themba Ntinga — emerges from a strong sense of historical mission. It tells no lies, and lays claim to no "easy" victories. It insists, however, upon the future survival of South African's majority population. Themba Ntinga, who plans to stay beyond the tour to complete his education, expresses the dominant sentiment:

I'm going back to Azania, to a free South Africa... But the pressure has to come from inside and from outside to free South Africa. One of the ideas that this group has been entertaining is a school of theatre, independent of the South African government. A school of theatre for everybody. They could get a theatre started here. Whatever money we make, a percentage goes to the theatre company. We'll try to help build the school from the outside. It's a risk, but we've been taking risks all our lives.

"Survival" mirrors this sentiment and, not surprisingly, does not bear the approval of the South African government. If and when the actors return to the country, it is most probable that they will be arrested and harassed as they were before leaving.

Both the content of "Survival" and the political statements the actors have been making while in the US are "embarrassing" for the national government. If this is the case, their fate will not be unlike that of the actors of "Sizwe Banzi is Dead!" the controversial play which ran in New York in 1975. Both actors are now in exile in England after their extended detention in South Africa. Moreover, after they were released from prison, they were unable to find work anywhere in the country.

But such a risk is necessary, say these actors. They look forward to joining the revolutionary struggle — armed struggle clearly — that they feel will result in an overwhelming victory for the South African people.

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BLACK LIBERATION AND THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM:
SOME LESSONS FOR OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT OF THE
FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Peoples College

(A paper presented to the Annual Conference of the African Heritage Studies Association held at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, April 22, 1977)

Peoples College
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U. S. A.
BROTHERS AND SISTERS

COMRADES IN STRUGGLE

We welcome the opportunity to participate in this forum today and put forward our views on the fight against imperialism and all forms of national oppression, and the tasks of the American people in relation to the liberation struggles in Africa. In other words, we are here to talk about how we can contribute to the defeat of US imperialism.

The AHSA has its origin and history rooted in this struggle. It was created as an organized act of resistance to the imperialist-dominated African Studies Association (ASA). The disruption of the Montreal ASA meeting in 1969 and the first AHSA conference at Howard University in 1970 consolidated a significant sector of Black intellectuals and students in a united effort to deepen their study of the problems facing Black people, and to increase their support for the African liberation struggles. But this has only been a beginning. We have a long road to travel, a road that must be widened to include every major sector of the American people except that small vampire class of imperialists. Our future is bright, but the road ahead is torturous!

The purpose of this talk is to sum up some of the major lessons from our struggles over the last five years, to draw out from this guidelines for action in the context of strategic and tactical aspects of the United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI). In continuing our struggle, we specifically pledge our support to the May 28th, 1977 ALD March on the White House organized around
the two slogans: 1) US Imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off! and 2) Oppose Imperialism and all Forms of National Oppression from USA (United States of America) to USA (Union of South Africa)!

The broad context for this discussion is the turbulent and complex international situation. While the Post World War II revolutionary struggles throughout the world continue (class struggles within the imperialist countries, and national democratic revolution in Asia, Africa, and Latin America), the more recent development that threatens the entire world is the ominous danger of World War III. The threat of war is based on the contention of the two superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. In particular terms, this view is based on the following points:

1. The world hegemony of US imperialism that was consolidated after WW II came to an end with its defeats in Korea (1953), then in Vietnam (1973-75). Internally, serious blows were struck by the militant Black liberation movement and the mass anti-war movement; also, the internal crisis of advanced capitalism in which over production, in a wild search for profits, resulted in stagnation (layoffs and unemployment) occurring simultaneously with inflation. And political scandals like Nixon's Watergate have weakened the US even further. US imperialism is indeed a paper tiger.
2. The Soviet Union, the first experiment in socialism where the proletariat held control for almost 40 years, has degenerated with the restoration of capitalism in the form called social-imperialism (socialist in form, imperialist in essence). Now the Soviet Union is based on the economic laws that govern all imperialist countries and therefore has the same inflation, crisis, unemployment, general social decay, and drive for imperialist expansion. While it hides behind the label of socialism and the memory of Lenin it is the source of confusion and counter revolution. The Soviet Union is a wolf dressed in sheep's clothing at the back door of every Third World country or movement.

3. The African continent has been the scene of intensification of struggle. The general thrust of the national democratic revolutions, being led by the anti-colonial wars of liberation in the south, have been made more complex with the intervention directly and indirectly of the superpowers and their lackeys. Many of us romantically long for the old days when the situation was clearer—African people fighting European colonial aggression. Now things are more complicated. US imperialism is in blackface with the "shuffle diplomacy" of Andy Young, while the Soviet Social imperialists loom large as a Trojan horse concealing a new slavery for Africa.
Given this broad context, we can more clearly understand the necessary importance of learning lessons from our recent struggles. Moreover, these lessons should be spread widely among the masses so that we can better create a new history of struggle and not repeat endlessly a history of defeat by falling for old or new forms of deception, and counter revolution. In this context, I'm going to draw some lessons from African Liberation Support Committee, or ALSC. This will allow us to think together about the joint tasks of our current demands:

1. US imperialism out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!!!

2. Oppose imperialism and all forms of national oppression from USA to USA !!!

The ALSC developed as a progressive leap, bursting forth from within the Pan Africanist movement. Pan Africanism had been characterized by the rebirth of the emigrationist back-to-Africa movements of Marcus Garvey, Bishop Henry Turner, Chief Sam, and Captain Paul Cuffee, and on the other hand, cultist attempts to create forms of traditional African culture under the conditions of an advanced capitalist society. This Pan Africanist movement was a reflection of a petty bourgeois class, mainly composed of a strata of youth, newly-arrived professionals—the products of government grants and agency work—and small traders and manufacturers of cultural handicrafts.
The Pan Africanist movement reflects the instability of this petty bourgeois class and its fear of the ruling class, trembling at the possibility of a fascist turn toward genocide. The goal was to get the hell out of here and get back to Africa, (either mentally or physically and there were countless schemes to do this, basically coming down to selective migration or mass exodus), or to pull together and re-create Africa on these shores (the schemes ranged from the imitative recreation of a traditional Yoruba village in South Carolina, to the ritualistic observance of some traditional African customs and the speaking of African languages).

While mass involvement was based on a positive rejection of oppression and exploitation, the concrete political solutions provided by the Pan Africanist movement have all proved to be dead ends!

The masses were spontaneously grasping for the anti-imperialist Pan Africanism of DuBois, though the major Pan Africanist ideologues raised most of their voices in the tradition of Marcus Garvey and because they did not focus the fight on imperialism, these leaders of the more recent Pan-Africanist movements have not led nor can they lead to the liberation of the masses of Black people. Indeed, today's Pan-Africanist movement is a repeat of what has happened before and we need to learn this lesson well, because we don't have the time to see it repeated again in the future.

Young people attracted to Pan Africanism were ready to fight for freedom, to fight for a better life, to fight against the system that was holding them down and holding people down in Africa as well. It was this determination to fight that enabled
the Pan Africanist thrust to be the staging ground for a
groundswell of struggle and militant protests against US
imperialism. From 1972 until recently ALSC has been the major
national context for the unfolding of the various forces that
have come forward in the Black liberation movement. Many of us
here today have been involved in ALSC. In fact, at the height of
the ideological struggle during 1974 ALSC sponsored a joint plenary
with AHSA at the New York AHSA annual meeting in order to deepen
the debate through the joint efforts of scholars and activists.

When a spark of struggle burns bright, the light can lead the way
forward for us all. As Mao Tse Tung taught us, "A single spark
can start a prairie fire." And as Fannie Lou Hamer was so fond of
singing, "This little light of mine, I'm gonna let it shine, let
it shine, let it shine, let it shine!"

In general, the first major action around ALSC involved a
very large and politically broad spectrum of forces. So in 1972,
in Washington, DC, San Francisco, Toronto, Canada, and the
Caribbean, over 25 thousand people united in mass demonstrations
to protest US imperialism in Africa and to support the liberation
struggles. This was a very positive development. But after the
May 1972 demonstration, the broad coalition was disbanded and
ALSC was formed around a network of nationalists and panafricanists
who began to openly put forward their political views. At times
these views not only avoided the question of mass struggle in
this country, but openly advocated policies against the struggles
that the masses of people were waging. This is the source of two major lessons by negative example:

1. the masses are the makers of history, and

2. the correct strategy for all mass struggle is to unite all who can be united in the fight against imperialism.

We consider these lessons to be of great importance for the further development of revolutionary mass struggle in the USA. Any position that liquidates mass struggle in this country is providing assistance to imperialism. A good example of this is when some people in ALSC right here in Detroit seemed to be quite interested in fighting the policies of the major US auto companies in South Africa, but were not involved in nor did they acknowledge the necessity of fighting against these same imperialist corporations right here in Detroit. This is the kind of escapism that Pan-Africanism can lead to.

The line of these Pan Africanists was reactionary "to the bone" because it failed to subordinate their petty bourgeois class interests to the great history of auto workers fighting against these corporations. Nowhere in the USA can you find a better example of militancy and struggle in which Black workers have been in the heart of the struggle. To cast this history aside is to lean over and kiss Henry Ford on his ass!

Even the liberation organizations themselves told the founders of ALSC that the main way that progressive people in the USA can
help in the fight against imperialism is to develop a movement like the movement against US aggression in Vietnam.

In sum, the Pan Africanist position is wrong for three reasons:

1. it regards imperialism as a policy of foreign affairs rather than the monopoly stage of finance capital which follows definite laws of development independent of any given decision-making process;

2. it liquidates the main responsibility of people in this country which is to fight right here. In this way, we define the only good patriots of this country as anti-imperialist fighters, who by fighting here in the US meet our internationalist duty because US imperialism is a danger to everyone in the world;

3. it mechanically separates theory from practice, the objective motion of the masses from the subjective force of revolutionary consciousness. We must not place ourselves above the masses and lecture them on being correct, but immerse ourselves with the masses in struggle, and use concrete experience as the source and verification of what is true and false.

The other aspect of this erroneous line was to argue that only Black people should fight against national oppression, only Black people should fight to support the African liberation struggles. This is a self-serving fatalism because it attacks
"friends" as if they were "enemies," and is used to buttress the leadership of this petty bourgeois Pan Africanist elite. Leadership in anti-imperialist struggle must be based on putting forward the correct line for fighting imperialism and having the respect and confidence of the masses based upon one's role in the concrete struggles.

This backward line tried to maintain racial purity as if being Black automatically made you anti-imperialist, and being white made you pro-imperialist. When white people came to join a protest march they wanted to turn them away. Our position is that for everyone the criteria is the same—agreement with the political line, and active struggle against imperialism. We need only to look at national liberation struggles and what shape they would be in if they applied a skin criteria to their friends and enemies to see how bankrupt this line is!

The history of ALSC is rich with lessons to be learned from these errors. In rejection of these errors, many forces within ALSC moved to join with the struggles being waged in their communities. This included struggles against police repression, against cutbacks in social programs, against attacks on the democratic right to quality education by phasing out Black colleges and Black studies, and support of local workers' struggles. This was an exciting period in which many young people came forward in the struggle. However, with this rapid increase in experience the lack of theory became a greater and greater source of confusion and lack of direction. So a call for
theory was put forward and people began to study. However, rather than approaching this in a dialectical way, the unity of study and struggle, of knowing and doing, the situation flip-flopped from all struggle and no study, to all study and no struggle. Incorrectly, the main task became one of waging the ideological struggle, of fighting for correct ideas in the abstract realm of theory.

Some of you might remember the height of the ideological struggle that went down in 1974. This was the time when study groups were bursting forth all over the country among people who had been attracted to the work of ALSC. But with this sharp confrontation of views, increasingly people began to worship books and spew forth quotations like Moses with the Ten Commandments rather than deepening their ties with the masses in summing up their experiences.

The result of this was dogmatism and it merely furthered the errors already mentioned. This so-called revolutionary force turned into a hard little sect; this trend which appeared to be "left wing" revealed its "right wing" essence. They abandoned the masses of people. This also provides an important lesson on how to handle different kinds of contradictions. The dogmatists failed to make distinctions between enemies and friends, between incorrect ideological and political lines and the genuine commitment and desire of people to struggle against imperialism. These sham pseudo-Marxist Leninists take two different things
and treat them as if they were the same. The genuine Marxist-Leninist approach is to make a concrete analysis and solve qualitatively different problems with qualitatively different approaches. So we fight the enemy and unite with friends—enemies are the imperialists and their lackeys and the friends are all of the exploited and oppressed masses. But at this stage of our struggle the masses are under the ideological and political hegemony of Bankrupt Bourgeois ideas, influenced by wild utopian Pan African schemes. We must fight and repudiate these poisonous lies and distortions. But at the same time we must unite with the legitimate desire of people to fight back. The key slogan is unity-struggle-unity. If anyone is so dog ass that they refuse to fight imperialism in unity with anti-imperialists of all nationalities, then they are reactionary relics of history.

Now let me toss bourgeois etiquette aside and focus on this forum right here. The forces I represent stand in direct contradiction (fundamental disagreement) with the ideological and political line put forward by the other two panelists—Haki Mahabuti and Stokely Carmichael. But while I'm bold enough to openly state this and I am prepared to systematically defeat their bankrupt ideas right here—we also stand ready to build unity in specific conditions around a militant campaign of struggle. Our commitment to freedom, our desire to destroy imperialism, and our struggle to liberate Black people and the whole society from all
forms of oppression forces us to take this stand. We stand for
the unity of the many to defeat the exploitation and oppression by
the few. I challenge Haki and Stokely to say the same!

But the record speaks for them. Haki deserted the fight by
withdrawing from ALSC and dropping involvement in mass struggle,
yeah, on uniting the masses in direct protests and demonstrations
against this imperialist system, he opted out. Stokely, on the
other hand, actually cut out of the country and has now returned
to carry on as a die hard, holding fast to a position of Black
separatism, escapism, utopianism, and a reactionary political stand
made palatable with the sweet seduction of an emotional rap, a
reputation of old war stories, and pleas for racial unity.

This forum is important because you can compare the lines put
forward and make a clear determination. I am ready to debate the
basic issues facing Black people, the basic problems of all
exploited and oppressed people in this country where ever--
most especially in the heart of where the masses are being
mobilized for the national ALD 1977 demonstration. We want the
broadest political unity possible, and so do the masses. I am
therefore issuing a public challenge to Stokely to openly debate
in Washington DC early in May--then the masses will have a clear
choice.

The basic issue is quite clear. US imperialism is our enemy.
When we look at smiling Jimmy Carter's teeth more and more of us
think of "Jaws," and the role of imperialism's lackey, Andy Young
is more transparent every day. So why can't all of us unite to attack the main enemy, the main source of all exploitation and oppression? Further, where do you stand? We might not agree on all points, but can we unite in struggle, concrete struggle against the imperialists?

We must fight back with our greatest force—the united force of all the exploited and oppressed. Then we are millions strong. Otherwise, we follow false-faced lies and quietly prepare for our graves. We say HELL NO! Stand up! Unite! Fight back!

On May 28th there will be several thousands marching strong in Washington DC aiming their anger and attention at the political symbol of the state power of US imperialism, the White House. Let us join together with sectors of all exploited and oppressed to rally round the two main demands. US imperialism Out Of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off! Oppose Imperialism and All Forms of National Oppression From USA to USA!

In the end, we must pull together in one mighty fist, one strategic united front against imperialism, the core of which are the movements of oppressed nationalities and the working class led by the party of the working class, to smash US imperialism. This march can be a new beginning for many of us, and build a bridge between the workers movement and the Black liberation movement.

We stand ready to build that bridge and work for the unity of the class and national forces it will take to be victorious over this
decadent system. Our efforts can't be limited to lecturing in a
class room, nor can it be limited to a speech at a forum such as
this. The test is what we build in struggle, what we build
concretely by uniting forces, by struggling out differences and
reaching higher levels of unity, by learning from the experience
of striking blows at imperialism.

Now is the time for unity!

Now is the time for militant struggle!

Now is the time to sing out across this land in a mighty
chorus, a chorus of voices from all nationalities, in revolutionary
harmony.

US imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers Hands Off!

Oppose Imperialism and all Forms of National Oppression from USA
to USA!
AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY 1977: SOME STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL
CONSIDERATIONS FOR BUILDING THE UNITED FRONT
AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Peoples College
for
African Liberation Day Coalition

Delivered at a Political Forum
May 22, 1977
All Souls Church - Washington, D.C.
Brothers and Sisters

Comrades in Struggle

I greet you on behalf of the African Liberation Day Coalition, and I share with you the great expectation we all have for what promises to be a great occasion. We will protest and march here in Washington, D.C. We will not have a festival, and we will not be isolated from the masses, but as one great body, united with all the thousands who could not make it but who are here in spirit, we will march on the White House, the political symbol of Bourgeois state power, the territorial waters of smiling Jimmy "jaws" Carter. Our march is the only demonstration in Washington, D.C. on May the 28th that can give political content and direction to the fight against imperialism, and therefore we must struggle for political unity to better accomplish our task, sum up the general political position of the Coalition, and make clear lines of demarcation between what we are doing and what some others might be doing.

I will take up three major questions that are central to our Africal Liberation Day campaign:

a. What is going on in the world today, especially in Africa, and with the superpowers—particularly the USA.

b. What are the political trends in the country?
What political stand makes the ALD Coalition correct and different from the others?

C. What can we do? How should we proceed from here?

In other words,

1. What's going on?

2. What's being said about it?

3. What are we gonna do about it?

Africa is a continent burning with the desire for freedom. Nowhere is it more true that countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution. It has a history of oppression to cast aside. DuBois, that great Afro-American scholar, summed up the situation in 1959 when he identified the capitalist system as the root cause of this oppression, particularly the capitalist class that developed

...in Europe and America,
Worshipping Greed, proclaiming God,
enchaining His children;
Preaching Freedom, practicing Slavery
Making Africans the niggers of the World.

To be mocked and spit upon.
To be crucified! Dead and buried!
But Africa is not dead; she never died;
She never will,
She writhes in sleep; this third century of her degradation
She struggles to awake.

This was in 1959. In 1960 17 African countries achieved independence, and a decisive shift in strategy was achieved in Southern Africa. The racist apartheid
system had signed its death warrant by murdering people in Sharpsville, South Africa, because from that point on armed struggle was taken up as the only road to freedom.

Over the last 17 years this has proven to be of great historical significance, as recently demonstrated in victories over Portuguese colonialism in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, bringing the number of independent countries to 49. It continues to prove itself in the war of liberation going on in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Indeed it will destroy white racist settler rule in Azania.

But there are many complex questions to deal with in Africa today and regarding how we can fight here in the USA and make real contributions to the freedom and liberation of all the various African peoples and countries (particularly in Southern Africa). It is necessary that we have a good grasp of the international situation, the main trends in the world today.

It is clear that in the aftermath of World War II the United States emerged as king of the imperialist camp. Western Europe had been bombed out, its population demoralized, disorganized, and killed, and its factories destroyed. On the other hand, the US had grown in its productive capacity, even more so in its war production.
to support Europe during the war and its subsequent investments and loans in Europe after the war.

But the post war temporary peace between imperialist countries is not the entire story. Two additional factors are key.

1. The Soviet Union, then a Socialist country controlled by the working class, had survived an invasion and was the decisive factor in defeating Hitler's fascist forces. Moreover, a Socialist camp existed that was greatly enhanced by the successful victory of Chinese revolution in 1949.

2. World War II, which began as an inter-imperialist war and changed its character once Soviet Socialism was attacked. This led not to peace but more war. This time, however, just wars of national liberation. Indeed, the main blows for liberation and revolution in the world were being struck by forces in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. I've mentioned 1960 as Africa year, when 17 countries got independence. Perhaps the high point of this post World War II period of third world revolution came with the heroic victory of the Vietnamese people against imperialism.
led by the USA. Everyone in the world was involved, the anti-war movement was significant in the US, and in a real sense, contributed to their victory. They won, we all shared.

But the world is a dynamic place and things change, in fact, these days things are changing rapidly.

The major changes in the last decade or so have resulted in a new world situation.

a. On the one hand, the capitalist system has plunged deeper into crisis. The dead end future of capitalism is dramatically brought home with attacks against the masses on all fronts, and the Bourgeoisie and its lackeys running to and fro from one scheme to the next.

b. But the more unexpected and confusing development is the degeneration of the Soviet Union. The proletariat lost power to a new capitalist class that hides behind a socialist front.

This is an issue of grave importance, it requires a fresh approach to understanding world politics today.

In general these changes require an analysis that there are two contending trends in the world.

1. Trend toward revolution. In all capitalist countries working class struggle is on the
rise and revolutionary forces are fighting to give leadership, but the main center of this is in the third world.

2. Trend towards war → it is the recent rise in contention between the superpowers that is the source of war, it is the Soviet Social Imperialism and Imperialist USA that will be the major forces in the war. But as a world war, it will force nearly every country to come down on one side or the other.

Our reason for being here tonight is African Liberation Day, so it is imperative that we examine how these two trends interact on the African scene.

For the US imperialists let's look at Andy Young.

Andy Young is in South Africa today and yesterday to speak to South African businessmen. His main message to them was a lesson he claims he learned from the Civil Rights movement: "Don't get mad, get smart. My argument boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." In other words, he says to the people of Azania, you have got to exchange that mess there for this mess here in the USA.

The key to understanding his visit is to understand his support of US imperialism in South Africa, especially
the role of imperialist corporations. As one newspaper put it recently, he is "being outspoken and very American --above all by defending (in private conversations) the virtues of multinational corporations for developing countries." And Young himself has been quite outspoken in his support of imperialism: "My notion is that if revolution is the transfer of goods and services and opportunities, then capitalism has produced a lot more in the way of revolution than communism." He continues: "Multinationals involve the US in the affairs of other countries. Why not incorporate a sense of political direction with the profit motive?" According to Young, American corporate power is a potential force for good in the world. So it is not hard to see why Andy Young would be welcomed in South Africa.

But how did Andy get to South Africa, given all of the controversy about South Africa's denying him entry? And what does his visit and his role in the UN mean for us as American people in general, and for Black people in particular. Why do we insist that Andy Young must be denounced as an agent of US imperialism, especially by Black people?

The charge is often made that we are attacking personalities when we denounce Andy Young as a servant of imperialism. "Give the brother a chance," many say.
"He's a good symbol of progress for Black people."

Others claim that no change could have possibly been expected from the old reformist shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger. But still they argue that we should pin our hope on the new reformist "shuffle diplomacy" of Andy Young and Jimmy Carter.

We say that we must have a thorough analysis to demonstrate that both of these views end up—whether based on good intentions or not—serving the interest of imperialism against the masses of people. The question is not whether he's a nice guy, the question is who does he serve! We can understand Young's role by understanding the importance of South Africa to US imperialism (that free market system Young talks about). Let us briefly illustrate what we mean by focusing on one notable example—what we call IMPERIALISM AND THE GOLDFINGER CONNECTION.

Gold is essential to US imperialism and to South Africa for two reasons: (1) In general, many capitalists profit directly from its production and trade; (2) Most important, and in particular, it is the pivot of the South African economy and therefore is key to maintaining $ billions of US investments in South Africa.

Andy Young's pro-imperialist stand can be made crystal clear in this context. First, Young was invited
to South Africa by Henry Oppenheimer, chairman of the largest mining finance complex in South Africa: the Anglo American Corporation. Seven corporations in South Africa organized as the South African Chamber of Mines, which is dominated by Oppenheimer's Anglo American Corporation, producing 99% of the gold, all of the uranium, 80% of the coal, and most of the diamonds in South Africa. Oppenheimer's company alone produced 40% of South African gold (229 tons) or one-third of the world's total. In 1966, 41% of Anglo American's earnings came from gold and 18% from diamonds.

What is the connection of the leading capitalist in South Africa--Andy Young's current host--to imperialism in the United States? The only American on the board of Anglo American for a long time, and a close imperialist partner, was the late Charles W. Englehard of Newark, N. J., chairman of one of the largest mineral and ore companies in the world--Mineral and Chemicals Corporation. In 1957 he joined with Oppenheimer to take over one of the biggest South African holding companies and in 1958 set up the American South African Investment Corporation. Englehard interests controlled directly 15% of the South Africa's production of gold, and through interlocking directorates plays a key role in the production of two-thirds of the gold and uranium. Englehard also
sat on the board of the two organizations set up for
the recruitment of migrant labor to work in South Africa.

In Newark, New Jersey--at home in the USA--Engelhard
was a top operative in the Democratic Party, advising
imperialist economic matters, and sitting
presidents on/on the New Jersey Democratic Committee.

He was also on the Port of NY Authority and the New
Jersey Citizens Committee for Higher Education.

Thus Englehard and Oppenheimer are the Goldfingers
of the real world in contrast to the one in the James
Bond flicks. But there are two class realities involved
in this Goldfinger connection: the side of imperialism
and its profits and the side of those suffering exploitation
and national oppression.

1. Gold is crucial to the South African Economy.
It produced about 70% of the world's gold output in
1972 and 75% of South Africa's foreign earnings come
from the export of gold. Gold profits rose by 88%
during 1973 to $1.46 billion.

These profits not only make the imperialists wealthier,
but they increase the power of their repressive state
apparatus: tax revenues paid to the South African government
on this increased profit increased by $398 million
in 1973. This meant more dollars to buy IBM computers
to monitor the passbook system, and to acquire advanced
weapons from the US corporations like Colt Industries
and other imperialists for fascist South African military and police.

2. On the other hand, for the working class, South Africa does not recognize the right of African workers to organize unions, bargain collectively, or strike. This intensifies a brutal form of class exploitation and national oppression. About 662 thousand miners are employed in South Africa, and 90% of these wage workers are Africans. But this 90% earned only 31% of the total salaries and wages. In dollar terms, white miners in 1973 earned an average of $6804 and Africans earned only $403. The gap has widened since 1936 from 12 to 1 to 18 to 1 in 1966, and one estimate is that the cash earnings of African miners was lower in 1966 than in 1911.

So, the slogan "fight imperialism and all forms of national oppression from USA--Union of South Africa--to USA--United States of America--did not just fall from the sky. In 1969, about the same time Englehard's companies were consolidating and increasing their exploitation of African workers in South Africa--27% of Black people in Newark were below the poverty line in income. Unemployment in such cities among Blacks ran as high as 44%, when the national rate was below 8%. Currently the president of Colt Industries, which supplies weapons to South Africa, is leading the drive by imperialists to take over control of New York City in this period of crisis. Thus, imperialism profited from national oppression both in the USA and
in the USA, and imperialists like Englehard make money on both ends.

Furthermore, the African Liberation Day Coalition's campaign against the South African Gold Coin—the Krugerrand—is symbolic of this Goldfinger connection of imperialism in the USA and the USA. South Africa is benefiting from the general crisis of imperialism since instability in the world currency system, runaway inflation, and the imperialism-caused oil crisis has resulted in speculation in gold and increased gold prices—forcing prices up from $40 in 1971 to a high $195 per ounce in 1974 and currently stands over $140.

To increase its exports, South Africa has increased its production of gold coins from less than one metric ton in 1967 to more than 100 metric tons in 1974, and this Krugerrand coin accounted for one-fifth of all gold sold by South Africa in 1974. Because of the widespread media campaign and the cooperation of major banks and companies like Merrill-Lynch in the US, the South Africans are reaping big profits from this Krugerrand. These profits strengthen imperialism and national oppression in South Africa and makes our struggle against the Krugerrand even more important.

The USA has been pulling plenty of tricks.

a. A phony appeal for human rights, as an abstract moralistic appeal, while negating the rights
of people to control and run their country in their own interests as they see fit.

b. A phony Kissinger plan for majority rule in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) leaving the key posts of a transition government in the hands of the minority white settler regime.

c. Putting a Black face in a high place to front for imperialism, attempting to confuse and mislead the masses.

Of course the US is not alone. The Soviet Union is aggressively playing a full hand of cards. In fact it's trying to grab the deck and become the dealer.

At the Mozambique United Nations conference three days ago the Soviet delegate exclaimed: "The Soviet Union does not seek advantage for itself. It is not hunting for concessions. It is not trying to gain political domination. It is not soliciting military bases."

If Moscow is not hunting for concessions, why has Guinea-Bissau been forced to charge the Soviets with creating severe shortages of fish in the country? Why does the Soviet Union buy coffee in Angola at 38% of the world price and sell it at higher prices in Europe? Why does it do the same with cotton textiles from India? Or make a 300 percent rate of profit from purchasing oil in the Middle East and selling it in Europe?
If the Soviet Union is not "seeking advantage for itself in Africa and the rest of the world, especially economic advantage in the third world," why can the Soviet press report that between 1976-80 $4.5 billion will be transferred to the Soviet Union because of "joint enterprises"—a new cover for social imperialist domination and exploitation?

If Moscow is not after military bases why did a government official in Mozambique publically warn the Soviet Union against attempts to pressure it into granting a military base in Mozambique to exploit its deep water ports?

If Moscow is not seeking to gain political domination why is it aiding and arming to the tune of $300 million Cuban military advisers the fascist military junta of Ethiopia and helping/to train thousands of peasants and troops to assault the just struggles of the Eritrean people?

But while we raise these examples as manifestations of Soviet social imperialism and contention between the two superpowers in Africa, we are not naive idealists nor are we dogmatists. There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing. Hence, the unfolding and working out of these many other contradictions in Africa will profoundly shape the future of the continent. While above we mention the warning by the Mozambique
official to Moscow, we recognize that the Soviet Union has just concluded a major long-term military and economic aid agreement with Mozambique. Egypt, after expelling the Soviets earlier this year, only last week suggested that there was a major breakthrough in reestablishing friendly relations with Moscow. We must point to a tendency toward interventionism by the front line states in the activity of the liberation movements, especially after the recent visits by Podgorny and Fidel.

All of these, of course, are manifestations of the class struggles going on within Southern Africa, within the independent front line states, and within the liberation movements in the general context of superpower contention. We must make a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using the interests of the masses of people as a guide to action, and closely follow the situation in Southern Africa as it unfolds.

In sum, what I have said can be put into two statements, statements that lead to our slogans for ALD-1977:

A. Imperialism is a world wide system that oppresses African peoples in all the different countries of Africa as well as here in the USA. We must fight it, and particularly see the connection we raise in our slogan,

Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA!
B. Imperialism is a two-headed monster—2 superpowers.

The USA is the main enemy at this time in Southern Africa and, of course, it is our main enemy.

We face this dialectical reality in our slogan,

US Imperialism out of South Africa
Superpowers Hands Off!

The movement to support the forces fighting for freedom and liberation and to defeat imperialism here in this country are debating the question of the international situation, and the role of the Soviet Union. There is unity that the USA is a superpower and a general danger to virtually all of the world's people. However, there is considerable disunity on the role of the Soviet Union. There is one line that says that the Soviet Union is a friend to the liberation forces, and points to Angola as the big example. There is another that says it is the most dangerous enemy of the world's people. Both of these positions look at only one side of the coin, and are mechanical abstractions from the material world, the world that everyone lives in and must understand in a concrete way, piercing through the apparent to the real, from what it appears to be to what the situation actually is.

The fact is that the USA is the most powerful imperialist force in Southern Africa. It is also true
that the USSR is aggressively moving to challenge this
hegemony. It's like the game king of the mountain:
the USA is still on top and the USSR is the leading
challenger.

Connected to this are two questions:

A. Which is the main danger, which causes the
threat of world war?

and,

Which should be the target for our struggle,
the so-called "main blow?"

B. How is it possible to fight imperialism and
nation oppression from USA to USA?

Without much difficulty the first question can
be divided into two parts:

A. World war is not the province of one superpower
but will result from and essentially represent
the contention of both.

B. USA is the main enemy (front door) with the
Soviets close behind (back door). Moreover,
it is our main enemy, one whose back we must
break. Therefore it is silly at best but
especially confusion and outright class collaboration
to say our main blow should be at the Soviet
Union.

But let us take a moment to speak to the second
question--how do we fight imperialism and national
oppression from USA to USA?
The African Liberation Day Coalition is a concrete manifestation of a united front strategy.

It objectively represents one concrete and historically significant move to unite Black people fighting for full democratic rights, liberation, and the working class fighting to end wage slavery and all that this means. Together we realize our common enemy is imperialism, and further we realize that only when we are united together is there any hope of victory.

Among Black people, while the great masses of people desire unity—on Saturday they want one demonstration—some diehards are holding onto a self-defeating nationalism, a go-it-alone sectarian approach. The All African Peoples to the objective reality of imperialism, deaf Revolutionary Party is blind to the masses of Black people calling out for unity, and dumb when it comes to their consistent refusal to speak out against and fight US imperialism in this country and their refusal to make support of the wars of national liberation in Southern Africa the key aspect of our relationship to the many peoples and countries in Africa.

The ideological and political line that leads to these errors and makes them an obstacle to the forward development of our struggle is Pan Africanism. Of course, we make a real distinction between the many people who will be at their demonstration and the many Black
people throughout the USA who are generally attracted to Pan Africanism. For people to get into struggle is a good thing, even when it initially means getting into a Pan Africanist thing. But to fully grasp its line and support it is backward and runs away from Black peoples' problems in this country.

a. Pan Africanism says our main fight is in Africa, we say it is here in the USA.

b. Pan Africanism says our fight is about land, all of the African continent. We say our fight is to destroy imperialism and all forms of national oppression from USA to USA, all this based on our struggle right here and support of freedom fighters in Africa.

c. Pan Africanism says our objective is a liberated African continent under one unified Socialist government. We say that each African country and its people must be free and independent and it is the "right" of the people in each country to chart their own future.

In short, if they want to defeat imperialism and free Africa the way to do this is to destroy US monopoly capitalism and imperialism and free ourselves. This is our main contribution.
But what is the key meeting ground, why do we call for unity? We call for unity because the masses demand it, because only in this context can the legitimate feeling Black people have for the liberation of African countries be linked to the fight against imperialism and national oppression here in the USA, only with tactical unity in cases like this can struggle take place and lead more directly to the strategic unity of the United Front/Against Imperialism.

Let me just sum up what we think needs to be done regarding Africa:

1. Educate the American people with the truth about Africa, superpower contention and the threat of war, especially the role of US imperialism, and the developments of the forces fighting wars against imperialism, and white settler apartheid rule in Southern Africa.

2. Give material aid to the forces fighting the revolutionary national liberation wars--food, medicine, clothes, etc.

But the most important is,

3. Struggle: the various peoples of Southern Africa are being held on the ground by imperialism with a pointed gun and a knife plunged into African flesh. We can't "just" educate those of the sidelines, nor "just" give supportive aid.
Since we, too, are fighting these daggers and knives we must make our principal point to fight the monster. Our main weapon is to intensify the struggle here, we are in a position to stab this cyclops in the eye, to plunge a stake into the heart of this vampire, to cripple this cripper, maim this maimer, and this our struggle is not only our possibility it is our responsibility—it is our duty not only to ourselves and our future generations but to the peoples of the world.

We stand united. We will march round the White House—-it won't come right down, but we will be serving another notice, making another move closer to unity and unity of the masses of people guided by a revolutionary ideology, political line and organization is the road to victory.

Therefore, we say in full recognition of our responsibility to ourselves, to Africa and the entire world,

1. FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION FROM USA TO USA.
2. US IMPERIALISM OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA—SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF
3. VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA!
AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY 1977:
FIGHT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION
FROM USA TO USA!

Peoples College
for
African Liberation Day Coalition
Washington, D. C.
May 28, 1977
Brothers and Sisters
Comrades in Struggle

Many people said we shouldn't march because there wasn't time to organize.

Many people said that narrow nationalism and "Back to Africa" idealism had a monopoly on ALD.

Many said that ALSC and ALD belonged to a self righteous, self appointed dogmatic sect.

And the cowardly Ku Klux Klan, sneaking in the night, attacked us trying to prevent this militant demonstration.

But look around you.

a. We are Black people uniting to fight against imperialism and national oppression.

b. We are youth and progressive anti-imperialist fighters from all nationalities.

c. We are workers, the vanguard fighters against all oppression.

d. We are militant, we are united, we are one!

Our main basis of unity, the key slogan of our militant battle and our unity with the heroic struggles being waged by African freedom fighters, is to "Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA."

What does this mean? Why are we marching on the White House? Why are we concerned with Africa? What are we gonna do for Black people right here in the USA?
Our fight is for freedom, our fight is for liberation.

And, yes, we recognize that our main task is to fight right here in this country; we know that US imperialism is everywhere trying to stir up trouble and we're gonna make part of our fight to force this octopus to pull back its arms—we know we're in unity with the freedom fighters because they're cutting these arms of the US octopus off right in the war zones of their countries.

And yeah, the US is not a lone ranger. The United States is a dirty, rotten thief with the face of a friend: the Soviet Union is a false-faced imperialist country, hiding behind a mask of socialism and aid, contending with US imperialism, fighting to sneak into control of Africa—it is a dangerous enemy of mankind and in struggling with the US is creating havoc, disruption, and the possibility of World War III. We must expose this trojan horse in the camp of revolutionary Africa, as will all the peoples of the world, including Africa. We must oppose every trick at every turn and expose its image as the imperialist predator that it is.

They have an embassy right over there and they know we know who they are, so we must be consistent in this aspect of our work as well—we say, SUPERPOWERS HANDS OFF! We oppose superpower contention and will continue our fight to expose the rotten role of Soviet Social Imperialism!
There has been a lot of confusion here in D.C. and around the country over the three demonstrations going on today. We are the voice of the American people, we are the future for Black liberation, we are the real friends of African freedom fighters. So who are these other people? What do they say?

The All African Peoples Revolutionary Party is two things. On the one hand it has seized the temporary leadership for a lot of Black people. What has happened? An example of MIS-leadership is Andy Young. Young is a pitiful lackey sniffing the rear end of US imperialism, spewing words of confusion; and the militant fighting forces for Black liberation have been left without revolutionary anti-imperialist leadership. But Black people know the value of unity, will fight for it, and will fight against all enemies.

The AAPRP is another thing. While it has appealed to a lot of Black people in the short run, it is based on the great man theory of history. It is guided by an escapist theory that the main fight of Black people in the USA is in Africa—they say Black people shouldn't fight here but should fight in Africa. They say the Soviet Union is a friend, they say the freedom fighters have incorrect goals (to fight for their own particular country is incorrect, one should fight for all of Africa
simultaneously) and so on. But after all, a lot of Black people today are misled into temporary support for all sorts of false leaders—Reverend Ike, and Rev. Andy/Young, for example.

But this will not last long. The AAPRP has no future because it has no program for struggle here in the USA. Their speakers have been repudiated in every forum they have held—Santa Barbara, Milwaukee, Kent State, Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Detroit—all over this country. As the struggle develops so will this popular fad of AAPRP and its misleaders fall by the wayside, yapping like 19th century relics of history, screaming loud but producing little.

However, we have attempted to apply the mass line—we have listened to what Black people want—UNITY! Our open letter to the AAPRP proves our position is what we really believe. They refused! They don't want unity! They are having a demonstration that tricks people who want unity of all people against imperialism and national oppression. They are trying to build their own little organization. They are opportunists who are pimping the legitimate, just, and revolutionary aspiration of Black people to unite the many, the masses, to defeat the few imperialists.

Our march has people united, people from all nationalities! Our approach will defeat the enemy! Our will is mighty,
and our political program correct—so we can have revolutionary optimism that the masses of people will be here with us one day soon.

There is another demonstration—an isolated group of self-defined super revolutionaries who are diverting people from the main task of fighting against US imperialism. These dogmatists are more interested in squabbling, they put forward the line that SSI is the main enemy, the object of our "main blow." We think this is silly. Our main enemy is US imperialism. Our main task is to fight it, cast away all illusions about it, unite the mass forces of the American people and have the will to fight it tit for tat until we win.

These two groups represent dead ends. One is a hold over from the Black power period, and says Black people should go it alone fighting in and for Africa, not for the liberation and freedom of Black people in the USA. The other is a pretentious small group of self-defined super revolutionaries, fighting in the sky with abstract ideas refusing to see our revolutionary task is to unite with the masses of people and while heightening our awareness of contention between the US imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism, superpowers, we must fight our ruling class, our main enemy, US imperialism. That's why we are here at the White House, we hate it and we will defeat it.
Let me speak more concretely about our fight, our fight against imperialism and national oppression from USA to USA.

The barbaric African slave trade ended over 150 years ago, and for hundreds of years Black people were tortured and literally consumed in a society dominated by capitalism as slaves. In fact, up to this time the oppression and exploitation hasn't ended, it has only changed its form.

Check out these giant US corporations: Polaroid, IBM and auto manufacturers: General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors--they rip us off every day; they are the cause of this depression we're in, widespread unemployment, run away inflation, speed ups and layoffs. They make us live in slave-like slums--Roxbury, Harlem, South side of Chicago, here in D. C., Anacostia and Cordova. You know what I mean--the Black ghetto. These big banks like Riggs National here in D. C., Chase Manhattan and Bank of America are imperialist partners in this. They use "red lining policies" to deny loans to Black people, push housing costs up, driving Black people and all working people out of their neighborhoods.

In addition to these corporations and banks the government obviously plays a key role in the national
oppression of Black people. Check out the Bakke decision, an attack on Affirmative Action, an attack on the rights of national minorities to their democratic rights to a quality education. It threatens all of us.

We must make this attack on one of us an attack on all of us. We must make a fighter for one a fighter for all. We must fight against this Bakke decision.

In response to this terrible condition we are forced to live with, US imperialism shoves smiling faces in high places expecting us to fall for the con. Their con is best revealed if we ask ourselves what Andy Young is all about, especially the trip to South Africa just last week!

Andy Young says: "My argument boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." He is so bold he says this sloppy mess put forward by his bosses, the captains of US imperialism, is the best for us and people all over the world.

We stand with what Malcolm said—"Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a blood sucker!" We think Andy Young has betrayed the legacy of Black leaders who have spoken out clearly against all forms of exploitation and oppression.

The key to seeing this is what we call imperialism and the GOLD FINGER CONNECTION.
Andy Young was invited to South Africa by Henry Oppenheimer, a major monster of capitalist exploitation in Azania (South Africa). Oppenheimer's corporation produced 1/3 of the world's gold. Over 70% of South Africa's sales abroad come from gold. And these blood suckers will stop at nothing to get profits from this gold. In 1973 Black miners in South Africa were paid slave wages. They got only $403 per year while white miners in South Africa got $6800.

So we must continue to fight the policies of imperialism and national oppression in South Africa.

We see the campaign against the Krugerrand as a major way to do this. The imperialists are pushing the sale of this coin. This coin of death accounts for 20% of the South African sale of gold. We must Smash the Campaign to Sell the Krugerrand in the US! Kick the Krugerrand out of the USA!

We also know Oppenheimer was hooked up with criminal capitalists like a dude named Englehart in Newark, New Jersey, a ranking advisor to presidents, a big official in the Democratic Party.

Andy Young is real tight with these imperialists. When the imperialists want to get advice on how to defeat the freedom fighters he helps them--he tells them "don't get mad, get smart." Imagine him saying
this to the hundreds of US corporations that have billions invested in Southern Africa.

The same corporations I just mentioned are ripping off the people of South Africa.

- Polaroid provides the equipment that produces the vicious pass book.
- G.M., Ford, and Chrysler don't recognize unions and pay workers less, especially Blacks who make less than a $1 to make the same product made in Detroit.
- IBM helps the racists with their sinister surveillance system.
- Major banks like Riggs, Chase, and Bank of America are selling the Krugerrand coin, investing in South Africa and lending hundreds of millions of dollars to the South African government.
- They keep Black people in horrible housing—in Soweto where over 1 million people live, there are only 100,000 houses!

We see hundreds of US corporations oppressing and exploiting the Black people of South Africa in a wild search for profits.

So we see that when we look at our suffering and exploitation in this country, when we look at the oppression in Southern Africa, when we sum up our problems—we
have the same enemy, we fight the same dangerous dogs of imperialism. That's why we raise up the slogan, Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA!

Further, that's why we march on the White House.

We march on the White House because it is the seat of the US government, a government that betrays its people--Black and white--that serves the fat, greedy, carnivorous corporations!

We march on the White House because US imperialism is a danger to the world's people, and today we especially fight its destructive role in Southern Africa: Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania!

We march on the White House because in it smiling faces tell lies, and smiling Jimmy "jaws" Carter has to answer for the terror and exploitation he represents.

We march on the White House to expose the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger and the shuttle diplomacy of Andy Young.

We march on the White House because it is our duty and responsibility to smash the ass of our own ruling class.

We march on the White House because we're not afraid of our enemies, we're not confused about who they are, and we're not going to spend our time talking about them, but fighting them.
We march on the White House not to dream, not to have a festival, not to shout theories of confusion, but to aim the force of our struggle in a concrete way at our major enemy.

We march on the White House because we see clearly the war preparations being made by US imperialism and Jimmy Carter as they get ready to protect their interests from the challenge of Soviet Social Imperialism. We march to say, Hell No! US Imperialism out of Southern Africa! Superpowers hands off!

Many of us have asked and are asking where do we go from here? What happens after our march?

Let me sum up what we think needs to be done regarding Africa.

1. Educate the American people with the truth about Africa, Superpower contention and the threat it represents to African peoples and the peoples, countries, and nations of the world, especially the role of US imperialism. We need to educate the masses of people about the freedom fighters of Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Azania and their just struggles against Apartheid Racist Rule in Southern Africa.

2. We need mass campaigns to provide material aid to the forces fighting in Southern Africa.
We must reach in our pockets, our homes, and the treasuries of our organizations to assist them with food, clothing, blankets, medicine and medical equipment. We must give concrete support to these necessary, just and righteous wars of national liberation.

But our third and most important objective must be to struggle.

3. We must concretely wage campaigns that strike blows against imperialism. We must find ways to wage struggle right here in order that our efforts express the militant solidarity that must develop between the American people and the peoples of Southern Africa. Our work after this march must go out broadly in our communities, in the places where we work and go to school. We must intensify our struggle!

There are some real lessons we can learn from the freedom fighters in Southern Africa. After they tried every means of negotiation, discussion, and moral arguments they failed. But they didn't stop. They took control of the situation and began fighting back. They based their struggles on self reliance and the will of the masses to resist and fight back.
And here we are today—standing up to our enemy US imperialism. Yeah, right up in their faces across from their White House. We have a fighting spirit, we are standing tall. We know it's right to rebel against exploitation and oppression.

The African Liberation Day Coalition was initiated by several local chapters of ALSC, former members of ALSC and revolutionary fighters for liberation and freedom for Africa and the United States. You are among the many who responded to the call for this militant demonstration.

Shortly we will sum up our victory today, examine our strengths and weaknesses, try to learn from you and those throughout the country who could not be here. ALSC does not belong to a little dogmatic sectarian group, it is an expression of the militant anti-imperialist fighting force of Black people in unity with people of all nationalities. We must rebuild our organization, we must build the struggle, we must return to Washington, D.C. in May 1978 and have an ALD demonstration that shakes the very foundation of US imperialism.

We have already made a major step forward. Go home and tell your friends what you did here today. Fire their spirit with the image of our militant unity. Tell them we shamed the Klan, blamed Jimmy Carter,
and aimed our fight at US imperialism and superpower contention.

The ALD Coalition charges you to go out and spread this word. We are a wave coming to the shores of Washington, when the tide comes in again, after we go out and militantly pursue our 3 objectives, we will come back as a tidal wave. Nothing can stop us, united we will be victorious.

Victory to the Peoples of Southern Africa!
Down with White Minority Rule!
US out of Southern Africa, Superpowers Hands Off!
Fight Imperialism and National Oppression from USA to USA!
PART III

ANALYSIS AND THEORY
The Deepening Crisis of Blacks in Sociology:
An Ideological Struggle to Reform Capitalism
or Join the Fight for Socialism

Gerald McWorter

A paper presented to
Sixth Annual Program
The Association of Black Sociologists
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New York City
The Deepening Crisis of Blacks in Sociology: 
An Ideological Struggle to Reform Capitalism 
or Join the Fight for Socialism

From my vantage point the most important issue for 
black sociologists to be discussing today is the deepening 
crisis of ideology that continues to influence all aspects 
of the Black liberation movement. This ideological crisis 
is the choice between two roads, to pursue the reform of 
capitalism or the fight for socialism.

In the last 15 or 20 years, in the factories, mines and 
fields, in the schools, prisons, and communities mass 
struggles have increasingly raised the issue of Black 
liberation and increasingly this has been joined with the 
interest of the working class, until today we have the 
beginnings of a merger between some forces fighting for 
Black liberation and some of the forces representing the 
militant rank and file workers movement. This is a situation 
that closely resembles the courageous fight against repression 
and exploitation that occurred during the great depression. 
Then, as now, the burning desire of Black intellectuals to 
serve the interests of their people can not begin to be 
fulfilled until the dominant ideological position rejects 
capitalism and accepts the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

This view is contrary to those sociologists who for some 
time now have bellowed loud and long for an "end of ideology" 
perspective, those who would argue for a value free social 
science, and those who would blatantly defend a careerist line 
of pragmatism.
But my goal is not to defend capitalism, it is to struggle for the liberation of Black people in a society free of exploitation. Therefore the question I raise here is "How can Black sociologists contribute to solving the deepening crisis of ideology facing Black people and this entire society?"

Our starting point must be to understand the social transformation of the material condition of Black people, and then show how this transformation has led to a deepening of the ideological crisis: first in terms of the Black liberation movement, and then for Blacks in sociology.

We can begin by reminding ourselves that the success of the October Revolution in 1917 and the devastating Great Depression in 1929 thrust the world capitalist system headlong into a general crisis. With World War II profiteering, and Keynesian deficit spending, USA imperialism (free from serious internal disruption) was able to gain supremacy among capitalist countries. Its rise to dominance was challenged only by the still proletarian-led Soviet Union.

Since the war, the national liberation struggles have been leading the opposition to capitalist domination, and the US has been no exception, especially in Cuba, Vietnam and Angola.

After World War II the Black community experienced a qualitative transformation. We had become an urban people,
rooted in the industrial heart of America and were finding a place in the clerical ranks of the government bureaucracy. Black people had momentum. We must borrow a phrase and call it a leap through the centuries: from semi-slave peonage on the land to the modern urban proletariat, from servile submission to fighting with modern weapons against White people to save the world for democracy.

By the transformation of the main economic role of Black people from agriculture to industry, from rural areas to cities, the post-war years resulted in a series of political and social movements that challenged all of the societal arrangements that maintained the brutal oppression of Black people.

The major underlying motion has been the increasing militancy of the working class forces, especially in the Black community. These were the forces who spontaneously waged militant armed defense against large scale racist attacks, what have been called race riots. These occurred particularly in the cities of proletarian concentration - Chicago, Detroit, etc.

And as we all know, the 1954 Brown decision led to the sit-ins.

For a long time the ideological dilemma facing Blacks that has developed for over the last 100 years has been characterized as one between integration and nationalism.
Indeed, the dialectical notion of this post war generation is no exception: from slogans of "Freedom Now, One Man One Vote, We Shall Overcome, Black & White Together." The mid-sixties witnessed the ritual deification of Black - Black Power, Black is Beautiful, Black Nationalism and devotion to the glory of Africa.

To a great extent it was the success of the integrationist movement (which benefited the more privileged elements) that led to the nationalist movement's rise - in part, it was the defense reaction of an unstable insecure newly-arrived elite and in part a necessary move by them to serve their position to win the allegiance and support of the masses of Black people who never really reaped much material reward from the civil rights breakthroughs. Here a key test is provided in Watts, Newark and Detroit where petty bourgeois elites adopted a super Black Nationalist stance to coopt the masses (Karenga, Baraka, Omari).

What I am suggesting to you is that the choice between integration and nationalism must be judged by whether it upholds or rejects capitalism, whether it has rushed our struggle forward ultimately to proclaim socialism as our goal or whether it has held it back. The question of class struggle has always been the key, the essence of our struggle.
Our ideological crisis then has an objective basis to it. And the inclusion of Black people in the industrial proletariat has resulted in totally new conditions. The defense of capitalism can no longer go unchallenged. The crisis is deepening.

My position is that just as it was traumatic for the mid-sixties nationalism to be fully articulated, so it is now even more so for M-L to be brought to center stage. But we cannot divorce ourselves from Black people. Today there is (1) a growing alienation from the government, both political parties, and the corporations. (2) Also, everywhere that oppression and exploitation exist the masses are taking up M-L as the only proven weapon for liberation and freedom.

I am convinced that the USA is no exception, nor are Black people an exception. It is very plain for everyone to see that the capitalist system, including all of its ideological apologists, is only in a position of selling Black people a con.

The M-L ideological position leads to the recognition that the gains to be made in social terms can only be won and consolidated on the basis of a fundamental change in the material condition of Black people, which means defeating capitalism and fighting for socialism.

Now for Black sociologists, this basic transformation in the material conditions of the Black community has resulted
in a special case of this ideological crisis. For the last fifty years there has been a two line struggle among Black intellectuals, including Black sociologists, over the capitalist road or the socialist road. The dominant line has been to support capitalism. However, we have had a break in this dominant tradition, i.e., the group of major Black sociologists from the 20's, 30's and 40's has not been allowed to build strong lines to the succeeding generations in an organized purposeful manner. Basically this means that the changes Black sociologists earlier in this century have gone through are being repeated rather than being built upon.

Until the explosion of Blacks into higher education, Black sociologists were concentrated in a few schools, and they in turn were connected to a few major graduate schools where they had been trained. This provided the basis for something that at least approached a tradition (in theoretical orientation and methodological approach). The Fisk - Howard - University of Chicago triangle represents this pattern. With the current dispersal of the greatly increased numbers of people involved, these centers of concentration have lost their relative significance. Also, the increase in people generally has not been followed by an increase in money so that these traditional centers are able to offer graduate training but not to the extent of competing with the major centers which continue to rule unchallenged.
In the main, this tradition represents the critical support of capitalism. However, we have never really given a fair hearing to the socialist ideological content of DuBois, Frazier & Cox, nor the early Marxist content of Ralph Bunche, or Abram Harris. So, from my point of view many will repeat their errors decades later.

A tradition of Black people who have taken up the fight for socialism has never been established, and those fore-runners who have emerged (Cyril Briggs, Harry Haywood, Paul Robeson, young Angelo Herndon) have been assigned to the dust bin of history.

So we have the two lines. The two points I've made about the dominant tradition is that, (a) it has been broken, and (b) it always had socialist ideas inside of it. On the other hand the experience of Blacks in the left has to be criticised due to the failure to consistently uphold the ideology of Marxism Leninism. This is based on the class capitulation to the support of capitalism by movements and organizations like the CPUSA, the trade union movement, and the civil rights movement. This took the form of revising Marxism-Leninism, allowing bureaucratic methods to dominate, and failing to have faith in the masses.

In any case, the most elementary fact remains that Black intellectuals, and Black sociologists in particular, have always had some concern with this struggle between
capitalism and socialism. But we have not made this concern as central to our work as we must in this current period.

So when the ideological crisis deepens we must be sufficiently prepared with a firm grasp of the extent to which we do have a history of defending socialism, using the concept of class struggle in our analysis, and holding strong to the democratic stance of uniting with all who will unite against capitalism, although we have yet to shake off the eclecticism of most of our training and seriously pursue the study of scientific socialism.

If we sum up the Black liberation movement in the last 4 years, the most heated and basic division has been over the ideological crisis, whether Black liberation can occur under a reformed capitalism or whether we must fight for socialism. We can list them

(a) African Liberation Support Committee
(b) National Black Assembly
(c) Boston Bussing
(d) Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
(e) Black Auto Workers in Detroit
(f) African Heritage Studies Association
(g) National Conference of Black Political Scientists
(h) Black Scholar
(i) Black World, and others
Under these circumstances, our contribution to resolving this ideological crisis, to begin making steps toward the fight for socialism can best begin with three basic lessons on how to further ideological development and correctly sum up the objective process of history.

A fitting slogan for Black sociologists is: **Fight For Unity On Three Fronts**

(a) seek unity with all other sectors of Black intellectuals
(b) seek unity with groups and journals in the developing Marxist-Leninist movement in the USA and other parts of the world
(c) (most importantly) seek unity with the concrete movement fighting for change - the Black liberation movement and the militant struggles of the rank and file workers movement

Maintaining three fronts of unity can provide the context for active ideological struggle and development. The key front is the front of theory, the active study of M-L and active association with others who are putting this theory to the test of practice.

What I have tried to briefly sketch, concerns how we can make a significant contribution:

(1) The most important problem is the deepening ideology crisis.
(2) The deepening of crisis is based on the proletarian class transformation of Black people.

(3) While the dominant trend of Black sociologists has been critical support for capitalism, there have been active Black Marxist Leninists including some early work by very prominent Black Social Scientists.

and, (4) At this time our work can be advanced by

**Fighting for Unity on Three Fronts.**
The African Slave Trade and the Development of Capitalism in the United States
A Critical Reappraisal of Theory and Method in Afro-American Studies

(A Dissertation for the Ph.D. in Black Studies, Stanford University)

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THE AMERICAN-AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES: A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL OF THEORY AND METHOD IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

(OPTIONAL OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Afro-American Studies: Point of Departure
2. Capitalist Roots of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the U.S.

II. THE SLAVE TRADE IN HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

3. Afro-American Scholars and the African Slave Trade
4. "That Unrighteous Traffic": The Slave Trade in American Scholarship
5. A Defense of Capitalism and Slavery in Response to Recent Critics

III. NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS, THE COLONIAL ECONOMY, AND THE AMERICAN-AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

6. The Development of Capitalism in the U.S.: The Stand, Theoretical Viewpoint and Method of this Study
7. New England Merchants and the Class Struggle: The Rise of a Commercial Bourgeoisie in the American Colonies
8. Commodities and Markets: Boston and South Carolina Compared
9. "And Don't Forget the Guinea Voyage": New England Merchants and the Slave Trade

IV. FURTHER NOTES ON CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND THE SLAVE TRADE: THE CASE OF NEW ENGLAND TEXTILES, 1788-1830


11. The Development of the Proletariat
12. Conclusion

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THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES
A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL OF THEORY AND METHOD
IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

(A Dissertation for the Ph.D. in Black Studies, Stanford University)

Chapter One
Some Questions of Theory in the Investigation of the African Slave Trade

Seminar Discussion Draft

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September 1976
THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

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Summation
This study of the African slave trade and Afro-American slavery is motivated by two general intellectual concerns. On the one hand, it was the historical occurrence of the slave trade and slavery that has resulted in people of African descent being dispersed from Africa to the Americas. Thus, this is a starting point in a systematic and comprehensive approach to studying the experiences of Black people in the United States, the primary goal of Afro-American Studies. On the other hand, there is the broader historical context in which the African slave trade and Afro-American slavery is embedded: the development of capitalism in Europe and America which created the social forces which gave rise to the current epoch of history and made the slave trade and slavery an historical necessity. Thus, the study of the historical development of capitalism and imperialism, its highest stage, should also be an integral component of Afro-American Studies.

But the importance of these two historical phenomena, the slave trade and slavery and capitalism and imperialism, is not reflected in the manner in which they are currently (or historically) treated in Afro-American Studies. (1) Neither is being given sufficient attention. In the recent and intensifying discussion of the slave trade and Afro-American slavery, neither Black scholars nor Afro-American Studies is making substantive contributions. (2) This is very important when the perspectives and assumptions of the recent work is assessed. (3) Similarly, the study of capitalism and imperialism is becoming central to the work of growing numbers of scholars in the U.S., certainly caused by the deepening economic, political and social crisis in this country and around the world. (4) Afro-American scholars, however, are lagging in taking up this important area of investigation in a systematic way. (5)
On the whole, however, interest in both subjects is increasing, but an essential point about them is usually not clearly recognized and developed: the interconnection and interdependence between the historical development of the African slave trade and Afro-American slavery, on the one hand, and that of U.S. capitalism and imperialism on the other. This dissertation specifically aims at elaborating this historical relationship.

One of the serious shortcomings in the intellectual work on the history of Black people is the failure to place the particularity of the Black experience in the broad framework of the historical development of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in the U.S. and in the world. This is a reflection of the metaphysics which characterizes bourgeois ideology, seeing social phenomena as isolated, static, and one-sided, generally unrelated to other phenomena and the larger social context. With such a view, the profound transformations and patterns in the economic activity of Black people (the slave trade, slavery and emancipation, rural tenancy, the mass migrations, urban industrial labor, patterns of employment and unemployment, occupational distribution, etc.) are often viewed in a social vacuum. They are not explained in reference to the profound historical changes in the U.S. economy, the stages of which can be shown to be closely intertwined with parallel changes in the Black experience: capital accumulation during a period of colonial commerce based on the African slave trade; the triumph of the industrial revolution and the emergence of industrial capitalism which tightened chattel slavery after the invention of the cotton gin in 1791; the contradiction between industrial capital of the North and agricultural capital of the South which led to the Civil War, emancipation and Reconstruction; the rise of monopoly capitalism and imperialism, which confined Black people to the rural South until economic expansion around the two imperialist wars fueled industrial growth and a demand for Black labor, an abundant pool of underutilized labor in the United States.
Instead, the economic history of Black people is presented in an idealist manner, viewed as the working out of some divine law or religious destiny, or as the political activity of a few great men.

Such theoretical errors, omissions, and distortions can be found in the most widely accepted treatments of every major period in the history of Black people, and almost on every major aspect of each period. The purpose of this investigation is to take up a particular aspect of one period—the African slave trade—and to conduct a thorough investigation of several key questions guided by the general theoretical perspective which we will outline below.

The central thesis of this study is that the African slave trade and the entire edifice of colonial economic activity which was related to it made an important contribution to the early development of capitalism in the United States. First, it enabled colonial merchants to accumulate huge fortunes which were subsequently used to finance key aspects of the process of industrialization. Second, the expansion of economic activity to meet the increased demands of expanded commerce connected to the African slave trade caused a significant expansion of the productive capacity of the U.S. economy and in several important ways "cleared the way" for the transformation of the colonial American economy into advanced industrial capitalism. In order to investigate this thesis, attention will be focussed on three main questions:

1) What was the role of New England merchants in the conduct of the African slave trade? What proportion of the volume and profitability of the slave trade and related colonial commerce can be attributed to merchants in Rhode Island and Massachusetts? Who were these merchants and what role did they play in the historical development of the U.S. as a result of the wealth that they accumulated as slave traders and merchants?

2) What was the general impact of the African slave trade and related commerce
on various sectors of the New England economy: commerce, industry, agriculture, and finance?

3) What role did the African slave trade play in the development of the textile industry in the U.S.? Was the slave trade important in the historical processes which were preconditions for the rise of capitalism in this industry and in the U.S.?

It is perhaps necessary to explain the basis for narrowing this investigation to the particular set of questions above. This approach to the slave trade and capitalism in the U.S. relates to broader concerns regarding theory and method in Afro-American Studies and the interpretation of the Black experience in broader historical context. We are concerned principally with the development of capitalism in the U.S., but we will attempt to relate its connection to the rise of capitalism in England. There is a distinct tendency to treat capitalism in the U.S. as if it did not emerge primarily because of its own internal developmental process. In my view, the external relationships of the U.S. economy during this period (e.g., dependence of foreign trade) were important, but secondary to the internal process of development which ultimately accounted for the transformation of the colonial economy into U.S. industrial capitalism. Failure to see this has resulted in an idealist interpretation of U.S. economic history suspended somewhere in international space, unable to explain the subsequent and "unexpected" development of the U.S. economy from a colonial appendage to the stage of monopoly capitalism and imperialism except by vague references to "external" forces.

Another important consideration has been to restrict this investigation to the African slave trade and the rise of capitalism in the U.S., purposefully excluding the important role that slavery as an institution had in this process. This is primarily to keep the investigation in manageable, but theoretically meaningful proportions. During the initial stage of capitalist development in the U.S., New England merchants traded African slaves and other commodities between
Africa and the Caribbean. Later, this led to increased shipment of slaves into the Southern states (and even into New England). Officially, the slave trade to the U.S. ended in 1808, and though smuggling continued, it is reported that that the widespread involvement of New England merchants ceased. But only after the invention of the cotton gin in 1791, the subsequent rapid expansion of cotton production in the South and the development of the textile industry in the North after the War of 1812 did slavery as an institution take on more direct economic significance for the developing industrial economy. Thus, for our purposes, we think it is useful to deal in this investigation only with the role of the African slave trade in the rise of U.S. capitalism, holding the consideration of the important role of Afro-American slavery in the growth and development of U.S. industrial capitalism for later treatment.

Similarly, we are confining our attention to the New England region, mainly to the states of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. As we will make clear, these two states were, for many years, the leading centers of merchants engaged in the African slave trade and colonial commerce. Thus, we can easily observe the impact of this slave trade-related commerce on the expansion of these particular economies, most notably in such areas as shipping and shipbuilding, the processing of sugar and molasses into rum, and the manufacture of such items as spermaceti candles and other key commodities in the trade. Rhode Island and Massachusetts were also sites of the earliest development of the modern textile industry in the United States. Textiles was the leading industry in the Industrial Revolution and a crucial factor in the development of U.S. monopoly capitalism and imperialism. For these reasons, we have chosen to trace the interconnection of the African slave trade and the development of capitalism centering in these particular states and in this one industry as a way of illuminating the general features of capitalist development.

No exaggerated claims will be made for this investigation. The African slave
trade and Afro-American slavery, in our view, played a pivotal role in the historical process which gave rise to capitalism in Europe and in the United States. In view of the recent and deliberate attempts to distort these historical facts and place this aspect of the Black experience on the periphery of history, a thorough investigation of the questions outlined above will place both the Afro-American experience and the continuing struggles for a new society free from exploitation and oppression at the very center of the world historical canvas where they rightfully belong.
One general problem that plagues Afro-American Studies is its failure to root itself in a firm theoretical stance. Science embodies two components: an empirical component which organizes data collection or the gathering of facts; and a theoretical component, which seeks the significance of the data and the relationship between facts to enable explanation and prediction. Most efforts in Afro-American studies fall into the first category. That is, more attention has been devoted to collecting the facts and very little has been aimed at an assessment of the facts and their inter-relationships with the vast body of knowledge already collected.

It is this failure to grapple with theory that, in part, has resulted in the situation which led E. Franklin Frazier in "The Failure of the Negro Intellectual" to criticize "Negro intellectuals for being overly concerned with the superficial aspects of the position of Black people in American society." He sums up this criticism by asserting that "Negro intellectuals or scholars have failed to study the problems of Negro life in America in a manner which would place the fate of the Negro in the broad framework of man's experience in this world."8

Without theory, there can be no meaningful understanding of the Black experience in the United States, nor can there be effective activity to fundamentally improve the conditions of Black people that might flow from a scientific understanding of the past and present experiences of Afro-American people. Because of this historical
shortcoming with regard to theory in Afro-American studies, and because as a field of study it cannot move forward without it, a primary task of this study is to contribute to the growing efforts to refine a theoretical perspective for analyzing the Afro-American experience. What follows in this chapter is a brief outline of some questions of theory, their implications, and the methodology which will guide this effort to investigate the role of the African slave trade in the development of capitalism in the United States.

The question of understanding the nature of human societies is a critical one in Afro-American Studies as in all the social sciences. The various processes which make up society are often viewed as an undifferentiated mass. But some are clearly more important than others. If by no lofty reasoning than this should be graphically demonstrated by the simple fact that

"...mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter, and clothing before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained instead of vice versa, as has hitherto been the case."
This is the core of the materialist world view, which "regards man's production activities as the most basic practical activities which determine all other activities." 10 While this observation is both common sense and scientific, this materialist view has long been opposed by people holding the idealist world view. This view turns reality on its head and asserts that other activities—art, religion, politics, literature—are more basic to society's survival and development than the production of life's necessities. The idealist view glosses over the fact that people need food, clothing, and shelter before they can engage in these other activities. Therefore, the direct production of basic necessities forms the basis of human societal development. This observation is important for the work which follows in this dissertation because we seek to investigate and understand the role of the African slave trade in the development of one such system for organizing the production of these necessities—capitalism.

To produce, people form mutual relationships and associations, which are called production relations. Production relations have three aspects: (a) the ownership pattern of the means of production; (b) people's role in production and their mutual relations; (c) the pattern of distribution of the goods produced. The pattern of ownership refers to who owns the means of production which includes means of labor—machines, factories, land; and the objects of labor—the raw materials transformed.
in the process of production. The pattern of ownership
determines the nature of production relations. Production
relations are key in understanding the historical development
of societies through various stages, and in understanding
the character of the various stages in the Afro-American
experience.

While production relations describe the relations
established between people in the process of production,
there is also an important relationship with nature that
is also established. That is, people must make nature
serve the needs of their societies. The struggle of
man with nature is made successful through the use of
production forces which also have three aspects: (1)
working people, the laborers themselves; (2) the means
of labor (tools, etc.) and the objects of labor (raw
materials). While the tools people use to conquer nature
are important, people are the determining factor because
without people there would be no tools.

Production relations and production forces are the
two aspects of social production, often said to comprise
the economic base of society or its mode of production. The
dialectical relationship (i.e., dynamic two-way interaction)
between the production forces and the production relations
of a given social system provide the motor of social
development. In general, production relations must be
compatible with production forces. When production
relations become incompatible with production forces--
say, as with the growth and development of new technology—
the further development of the production forces is hindered
and society stagnates. The further development of society
demands a transformation of old production relations
and the creation of new production relations that are
compatible with the higher level of production forces.
As Marx stated this thesis, "At a certain stage of development,
the material productive forces of society come into conflict
with the existing relations of production or—this merely
expresses the same thing in legal terms—with the property
relations within the framework of which they have operated
hitherto. From forms of development of the productive
forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then
begins an era of social revolutions."¹²

Production forces are generally the major determining
aspect of the two aspects of social production, but
production relations are more decisive, especially in
those periods where production forces have outstripped
the existing production relations and new productions
relations are called for or have just appeared. New
production relations generally give a great push forward
to the development of society, but the process of transforming
production relations is only realized through revolutionary
struggles.

How is this dynamic relationship between production
forces and production relations manifested in society?
This contradiction and the motion it provides for social
development is reflected in the emergence of groups which have different interests based on a specific form of production relations — their relationship to the means of production and their ability (or inability) to live by exploiting the labor of others. These groups are called classes.

"Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."  

History reveals that all human societies have developed through certain stages of development and that these stages can be best understood if they are characterized by the manner in which people have organized to produce and distribute the material goods needed to survive. (i.e., its form of production relations). Since the decline of early primitive societies, these stages have been characterized by the existence of classes, and the domination of one class over another because of its ownership of the means of production. Because in a
given stage one class of people emerge as owners of the means of production in that particular stage, the struggle by other classes to push production relations (i.e., the pattern of ownership and distribution) to a higher level so that they too can benefit is the driving force of social development. Hence the statement "The [written] history of all hitherto existing society has been the history of class struggle." The historically observable stages which generally describe most societies are: primitive (ancient) communalism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, and socialism. However, there is intense intellectual debate over the formulation of a general schema that embraces the social development of all human societics.

There is another important aspect of society. While man's productive activity and the economic (material) basis which facilitate it are the most decisive aspect, people also engage in a variety of other activity not directly connected with production. This kind of activity is called the superstructure and refers to the government, army, law, and other political systems, social institutions like church and school, and ideological forms, such as philosophy, literature and the fine arts. The character of the superstructure is determined by the character of the economic structure, or production relations. Every form of society—primitive society, slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, and socialist society—
creates a superstructure which conforms with the needs of that society. When the economic structure of society changes, the entire superstructure is slowly or rapidly transformed. That is, its various aspects begin to function according to the needs of the new economic order. In the context of Afro-American history, this law can be verified by the role of the government in legitimizing and aiding the African slave trade and slavery and suppressing it during a subsequent period when it was inconsistent with the further development of industrial capitalism.  

The stage of social development that this dissertation is particularly concerned with is that of capitalism. The interpretation of Afro-American history in relationship to the development of capitalism is not often found. This is especially unfortunate when we consider that it is capitalism that is the defining characteristic of the modern period of world history. This shortcoming is another manifestation of the failure of Black intellectuals to ground their work in a sound theoretical perspective. Some Black scholars have, however, made this recognition a point of departure. Black sociologist Oliver C. Cox suggested in the opening lines of *Capitalism as a System*,

"To the social scientist, nothing could be more important than an understanding of the nature of capitalism. All major contemporary social change involves, essentially, processes of the capitalist system—a system so pervasive that by the opening of the twentieth century,
the life of practically every individual on earth has been brought within its purview.\textsuperscript{17}

But while many scholars have made this claim and studied capitalism, we are faced with contending definitions and often a lack of clarity as to what capitalism is. It is necessary to mention the major lines in this discussion. Typical of the manner in which this important question is often approached by bourgeois scholars is that found in a leading introductory text in economics.\textsuperscript{18} The writer observes that "capitalism has over the years become a fighting word for many who advocate and oppose it" and that authorities are far from agreement on what the term means. "So," he continues, "instead of talking about capitalism, this book uses such less colorful but more descriptive terms as 'the private enterprise, free price system' and 'market system' in referring to the big private sector of the modern American economy."

He states that "we generally eschew the emotionally colored term," and his final admonition to us is, "If you like the term, use it. But don't let your emotional attachment or antagonism toward it get in the way of thinking objectively about the issues."

If historical description was a matter of such personal likes and dislikes, one might be able to hide his head in the sand and randomly pick concepts to describe reality out of one's imagination. But such is not the case. Fortunately, some writers have been more objective in
their study and discussion of the various contending
definitions of capitalism and their significance. Maurice
Dobb, in *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, suggests
that economists often reject the term capitalism because
their central concepts "are modelled in a level of abstraction
that is innocent of those historically relative factors
in terms of which capitalist alone can be defined."

Historians, on the other hand, view historical events
as so varied and hopelessly complex that they see it
as "a misleading simplification to label any section
of the historical process with the title of a single
element." But Dobb's comment that other considerations
doubtlessly underlie this hesitancy to deal forthrightly
with the term is well taken: "If capitalism does not
exist as an historical entity, critics of the present
economic economic order who call for a change are tilting
at windmills. And Marx, in particular, who was originally
responsible for the talk about a capitalist system,
was following a will-o-the-wisp." While Dobb suggested
(in 1947) that after decades of research in economic history
there is widespread acceptance of the term Capitalism,
widely-used texts still persist in rejection of the term
as illustrated by the example cited above.

But, the acceptance of Capitalism as an historical
category "affords no assurance that those who claim
to study this system are talking about the same thing."
Dobb has identified at least three separate meanings
of Capitalism that have exerted a major influence on scholarship.
(1) **Capitalism as Spirit.** Werner Sombart (and Max Weber) portrayed the essence of capitalism not in terms of economic structure but in terms of a combination of characteristics summed up in the "spirit" that motivated a particular epoch. Sombart "sought the origin of capitalism in the development of states of mind and human behavior conducive to the existence of those economic forms and relationships which are characteristic of the modern world." 20

(2) **Capitalism as Commerce.** Here, the essential feature distinguishing capitalism from previous stages is the shift from production for local markets to production for distant markets. This is accompanied by the rise of a trading class who profits by "buying cheap and selling dear." Dobb suggests that often linked in this definition is the domination of the profit motive, the existence of a group of people who invest money in trade, in lending, or in production for the purpose of making profits.

(3) **Capitalism as mode of production.** This is the definition arrived at by Karl Marx, who sought the essence of capitalism in the social relations of exploitation that develop between people in the process of production, not just in the state of production forces.

"What differentiates the use of this definition from others is that the existence of trade and of money lending and the presence of a specialized class of merchants or financiers, even though men
of substance, does not suffice to constitute a capitalist society. Men of capital, however acquisitive, are not enough: their capital must be used to yoke labour to the creation of surplus value in production."²¹ Dobb points up the major shortcoming of the first two of the above formulations:

Both Sombart's conception of the capitalist spirit and a conception of Capitalism as primarily a commercial system share the defect, in common with conceptions which focus attention on the fact of acquisitive investment of money, that they are insufficiently restrictive to confine the term to any one epoch of history, and that they seem to lead inexorably to the conclusion that nearly all periods of history have been capitalist, at least in some degree.²²

Thus, if Capitalism has existed throughout the history of humankind, then it is likely that it will always exist, a conclusion certainly favored by some but rejected by increasing numbers of the world's peoples. A further difficulty attaches to the idealist view: Sombart does not explain the origins of the capitalist spirit, which must be explained if his argument is to have weight. We are left with the impression either that it is not to be questioned or explained, or that it emerges under divine auspices, both conclusions which fly in the face of scientific method.
Thus, in our view, the first two of these conceptions—capitalism as spirit and capitalism as commerce—fall short of the needs of the analysis in this dissertation. But it is not our main purpose here to debate the pros and cons of rival definitions, only to inform ourselves of the nature of these contending views and to outline the definition and method which we will employ. As Dobbs eloquently states:

"The justification of any definition must ultimately rest on its successful employment in illuminating the actual process of historical development: on the extent to which it gives a shape to our picture of the process corresponding to the contours which the historical landscape proves to have."\(^{23}\)

Thus, we turn now to a brief discussion of the Materialist school of Marxism which seeks to locate the essence of capitalism not in the world of spirit or ideas but rather in the real world as it has historically and concretely developed. What follows is a brief delineation of the major constructs of Marxist political economy which relate to the development of capitalism in general, and the implications of this approach for this study of the role of the African slave trade in the development of capitalism in the United States.

Capitalism shares with other modes of production the characteristic of producing commodities, but it
is distinguished because the production of commodities reaches its highest stage of development, "when labor itself became a commodity." A commodity is, simply put, a product produced for exchange and not for use. Thus, under capitalism human labor assumes importance not because it is producing for one's own use and enjoyment, but because it can be sold and the products of labor produced can be sold for a profit. "Thus the other specific mark of the capitalist mode of production is the production of surplus value as the direct aim and determining incentive of production." 24 Surplus "value is the difference between what a worker produces in value and the amount he receives in wages. The key point is that only part of the labor a worker expends in a given day goes to pay his wages (necessary labor); the remainder produces commodities that capitalists take and sell for profit, to pay rent, interest, etc. Thus, labor is the source of all value and all incomes. Thus, surplus value reveals the essence of capitalist exploitation because it identifies labor as the source of funds which go to pay the wages of workers and to pay people not directly involved in productive labor—rent, interest, profits, and non-production workers (government, etc.). 25

Thus we have the outlines of the system of capitalist production: vast numbers of people selling their labor power to a much smaller number of capitalists who have somehow positioned themselves to be able to purchase
and exploit the labor power of others in the process of production. While many analysts would use this as a point of departure in discussing the U. S. economy, our aim is to dissect the capitalist mode of production in order to understand its origins, its structure and its motion. One of the most important questions is how this situation came about in the first place. Discussing the tenets of Marxist political economy, Lenin pointed out the conditions or prerequisites necessary for the rise of capitalism.

The historical prerequisites to the genesis of capital are: first, accumulation of a considerable sum of money in the hands of individuals under conditions of a comparatively high development of commodity production in general, and second, the existence of workers who are 'free' in a double sense of the term: free from any constraint or restriction as regards the sale of their labour power; free from the land or from the means of production in general, i.e., of propertyless workers, or 'proletarians,' who cannot maintain their existence except by the sale of their labour power. ²⁶

From this, we draw three aspects which will be useful in analyzing the role of the African slave trade in the development of capitalism in the United States: (1) the primitive accumulation of capital, (2) the development of the industrial bourgeoisie or capitalist class, and
(3) the development of the industrial proletariat, or working class.

PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL. Primitive accumulation, in Marx's words, "plays about the same part as original sin in theology." In religion, Adam bit the apple and thereupon sin fell on mankind. In political economy, the story goes that in the beginning there were two kinds of people: the diligent, intelligent and the frugal; and the others were lazybones who spent all of their time and resources partying and having a good time. "Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labor, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work." 27

The shortcoming of this idealist, biblical version is apparent. It is the aim of this dissertation to demystify this and other aspects regarding the rise of capitalism in the United States and the relationship of Black people to its development. If the origins of wealth (and of poverty) is not divinely ordained, what is its source?

"In actual history, it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force play the great part... The methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic [romantic]." 28
In the case of Europe, the development and prosecution of the overseas trade by its leading countries (England, Holland, Spain, and Portugal) derived great profits. Marx was again the most vocal critic of the robbery and plunder of the wealth of overseas colonies:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skinned, signalised the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. 29

The view that the African slave trade—"the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins"—contributed substantially to the early accumulation of capital in Europe is generally agreed. 30 But its role in the development of industrial capitalism is a much debated topic. 31 Among Afro-American scholars, particularly, a strong case is presented in favor of the thesis. While Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* is the most popular presentation of the argument, a little known thesis by William B. Williams presents the argument more forcefully. He concludes in *Africa and the Rise of Capitalism*:

Without the Negro slave it is likely that neither the African trade nor the West Indian economy could
have played an important part in the development of English capitalism; and hence it is unlikely that without the slave trade English capitalism could have shown the phenomenal growth it did.\textsuperscript{32}

A central thesis of this dissertation is that the African slave trade not only played a pivotal role in the accumulation of capital and the expansion of capitalism in England. The African slave trade also made a substantial contribution to the development of capitalism in the United States. This we will explore in the chapters that follow.

Capitalist production not only requires the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a small capitalist class. It also pre-supposes the existence of a class of people who own no means of production, can produce no food, clothing and shelter, and are thus forced to sell their labor in order to earn money to eat. Unfortunately, this essential aspect of the development of capitalism --the creation of the proletariat--is often ignored. While Dobb suggests that the bias toward studying the development of the bourgeoisie and ignoring the history of the proletariat is because many consider the exploits of the former as "a more resplendent tale,"\textsuperscript{33} we see two other important factors. (1) There is a tendency to emphasize the external aspect of capitalist accumulation--especially overseas trade and commerce. (2) This shortcoming is consistent with the view that defines capital (and commodities) as things. Marx criticized this latter
tendency in the following manner: "Here we have an example of a peculiar fact, which runs through the whole of economics and which has caused utter confusion in the minds of bourgeois economists: economics deals not with things but with relations between persons and in the last resort between classes; these relations are, however, always attached to things and appear as things." Thus, the correct view of capital and capitalism (and commodities) is not as things or a collection of things (e.g., machinery) but as "a special historically definite social relations." Thus capitalism is characterized not so much by the level of production forces (machines, factories, etc.) as it is by the fact that it is "the social relation between the class that owns the means of production and the class which, deprived of the means of production, is therefore compelled to undergo exploitation."

The significance of this point for a correct understanding of capitalist development is that we must locate the accumulation of things but more importantly, we must locate the historical genesis of the relationship between exploiter and exploited that is characteristic to capitalism. Maurice Dobb is one of the few scholars who underscores the significance of this observation. "When one speaks of accumulation in an historical sense, one must be referring to the ownership of assets, and to the transfer of ownership, and not to the quantity of tangible instruments of production in existence." And as Marx emphasized:
The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the laborer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage-labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production.37

Our specific task is to trace the relationship of the African slave trade to this two-sided character of primitive accumulation: the simultaneous concentration of capital in the hands of the rising capitalist class and the dispossession of the small producers and turning them out as propertyless workers forced to sell their labor or starve as pre-conditions to the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States. Let us briefly review the theoretical framework elaborated above in the more specific context of this dissertation.
The study of the colonial phase of the development of capitalism in the United States—much less the role of Black labor in this development—has not been as widespread as one would expect. As one study stated: "The period from the time of the first English settlement at Jamestown to the Revolution encompasses a span of American history nearly equal to that from Independence to the present. Yet, with certain exceptions, there has been relatively little attention paid to the economic development of North American colonies by economic historians." (38) This view has been echoed by economic historians. Thus, our efforts to assess the economic role of the African slave trade during this period of colonial American history and the early history of the U.S. must be seen as a contribution to filling a gap in the historical picture of the development of the United States—an important aspect of what discipline of Afro-American Studies can contribute to scholarship. (39)

One theme central to this investigation stands out in many of the works that have been done on the colonial economic history: the importance of external economic relations—particularly overseas trade—to the early development of capitalism in the United States. In the above cited study by Shephard and Walton, the authors state: "Economic growth in the colonies was strongly affected by the development of trade and a market sector, especially with regard to overseas trade and markets. Therefore, we focus closely on overseas trade and its primary mode of transport, ocean shipping." (40) Subsequently, the authors state that their "assertion about the importance of trade and the markets to colonial development is not a new one....

Historians of the colonial period have frequently stated or implied that overseas trade played a significant role in the development of British North America." (41) Indeed, Douglass North, in one of the standard references in U.S. economic history, states:
There are few exceptions to the essential initiating role of a successful export sector in the early stages of accelerated growth of market economies. The reason is that the domestic market has been small and scattered. These economies have been predominately rural, with a high degree of individual self-sufficiency. Reflecting this aspect of the market, specialization and division of labor have been limited and rudimentary. An expanding external market has provided the means for an increase in the size of the domestic market, growth in money income, and the specialization and division of labor. (42)

Curtis Nettles, on the other hand, has stressed the importance of the import aspects of overseas trade:

Despite the diversity and extent of their manufactures the colonies were unable to produce all the articles they needed in order to uphold a European standard of living and to sustain a growing system of production. Necessity dictated that they buy from the older industrial communities of Europe a wide range of capital goods (commodities used to produce or acquire wealth)...This import trade was the fundamental fact around which revolved the economic development of the colonies... (43)

While the impact of the overseas trade is widely noted, our impression from a review of the relevant literature concurs with Shepherd and Walton who observe that "the exact way in which overseas trade furthered colonial development has not usually been spelled out explicitly." (44) Their main work is an important step in this regard, especially in their emphasis on the growth of the market economy in the U.S.: "Whatever material improvements occurred in the colonies stemmed, we believe, primarily from improvements within the market sector; and so an analysis
of overseas trade greatly improves our knowledge of colonial development." (45)

In a very insightful elaboration, the authors go on to suggest that the overseas market itself, however, was not as important as its impact on the further development of the internal market:

While production for overseas markets did not form the major share of colonial economic activity, it almost certainly was a significant part of total output. Furthermore, the importance of production for overseas markets and trade did not lie solely in its magnitude. Its most important contribution was probably that of playing a leading role in the further development of domestic markets for products and factors and in improving the monetary system, in furthering knowledge and skills of labor force participants (which is necessary if they are to perform more specialized roles in the economy), in developing the institutional arrangements and other elements of a viable market system, and, in general, developing the framework for future growth. Thus, our interest in overseas trade is due partly to the fact that trade within markets (in which overseas trade was initially an important part) came to occupy a central rather than a peripheral position during the economic development of those areas which later became the United States and Canada. (46)

This is an important issue to which additional attention must be paid. While there is general agreement among bourgeois and Marxist scholars that the development of the market is a key aspect of the development of capitalism, it is our general impression that an incorrect bourgeois interpretation dominates the manner in which the question is treated in the United States. To be brief, our theoretical understanding on this point is taken from materialist dialectics
which "holds that external causes are the conditions of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes." (47). Thus, it is only by first understanding the internal motion of developing capitalism in the United States can we effectively grapple with the impact of external relationships like the overseas African slave trade during this formative period. The question becomes, then, what exactly are the internal causes which explain the growth of capitalist development? Marxist political economy provides us with the theoretical clarity which has been most helpful in elucidating this important process of historical development.

The work of Karl Marx, particularly Capital, is the starting point for a full understanding of the question, and we have found The Development of Capitalism in Russia by V.I. Lenin to be an excellent summation of the relevant theory of Marx and its application to a question similar to the one we are investigating. We must note that Lenin conducted this investigation in the process of combating erroneous historical and theoretical interpretations that had immense significance for the conduct of the practical revolutionary struggle in Russia. Briefly, he suggests that "the basis of commodity economy is the social division of labor." As commodity production advances, that is, as the production of goods for exchange and not simply for use spreads, the previously integrated and self-contained productive activity progressively separates into numerous independent branches. The widespread existence of similar self-sufficient economic units (e.g. family farms)—almost completely independent because they produced the bulk of their necessities—is transformed under commodity production into differentiated units with varying degrees of specialization, producing some of the goods they need to subsist and relying on trade for obtaining what they need, but do not produce. Lenin concluded that it is this "progressive growth in the social division of labor that is the chief factor in the process of creating a home market for capitalism." And that "the social division of labor
is the basis of the entire process of the development of commodity economy and of capitalism." In other words:

The home market appears when commodity economy appears; it is created by the development of this commodity economy, and the degree to which the social division of labour is ramified determines the level of its development; it spreads with the extension of commodity production from products to labour power, and only in proportion as the latter is transformed into a commodity does capitalism embrace the entire production of the country, developing mainly on account of means of production, which occupy an increasingly important place in capitalist society. The "home market" for capitalism is created by developing capitalism itself, which deepens the social division of labour and resolves the direct producers into capitalists and workers. The degree of the development of the home market is the degree of the development of capitalism in the country. (48)

What are the implications of this theoretical perspective for our interpretation of the role of the African slave trade and other overseas trade in the development of capitalism in the United States? The expansion of overseas trade during the colonial period created a demand for goods which dictated the expansion of commodity production, i.e., the production of goods for exchange (trade) and not just for use. This increased the social division of labor inside the United States; people who previously produced all of their necessities increasingly specialized in producing larger quantities of particular commodities needed to carry on the overseas trade, and in turn relied on trade ("the market") to obtain the balance of what they needed to subsist. Specifically, we witness in the U.S. the gradual growth of seaports and in-
creasing employment in export-oriented manufacturing activities which gradually replace home production; and we also find a decline in the agricultural population in the immediate region, which is also a decrease in self-sufficient economic units.

The "home market" grows as a result, because the previously self-sufficient agricultural population (1) no longer produces the tools and other means of production it once used in producing its own necessities; (2) no longer produces the food, clothing, shelter and other means of subsistence that it once consumed. These two categories of goods which were once produced and consumed (i.e., produces as use-values) now enter the market as commodities—goods produced for exchange and not primarily for the use of the producer. In other words, the means of production must be produced in order to supply the capitalists who own the factories which are producing for the overseas trade, and the means of subsistence must be produced and exchanged to supply the workers who are now employed in these factories, and therefore unable to engage in self-sufficient subsistence agriculture and handicraft production, production which requires additional means of production.

All of this signals the expansion of capitalist production over the entire economy because the means by which the commodities are produced—both for the home market and for the overseas market—are increasingly in the hands of private owners who employ workers. And because the people employed increasingly are dispossessed and have no other means of obtaining their means of subsistence (no land, no tools sufficient to compete with the larger producers, etc.), increasingly it is only through the exchange of their labor power (i.e., sale for a wage) with the capitalists that they can secure the means of living. "Labor power itself has become a commodity," and almost unlimited power is now in the hands of the capitalists to direct the economic and social development of society. It is this general theoretical perspective of the development of capitalist production that we will use in examining the impact of the African slave trade on the New England
economy toward the industrial capitalism of the succeeding period.

We think that the commercial activity of New England merchants which revolved around the African slave trade played an essential role in the development of capitalism because it created the pre-conditions under which the colonial economy could be transformed into a higher and qualitatively more advanced mode of economic production—from an economy dominated by small-scale commodity production to one characterized by capitalist manufacture that eventually gave way to large-scale machine industry carried out in factories. It was this historical transformation that Marx and Engels were discussing when they observed in The Communist Manifesto:

Meantime the markets keep ever growing, the demand, ever rising.

Even manufacturing no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionized industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle-class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeoisie.(49)

The pre-conditions for the rise of "giant, Modern Industry" in the United States were created, to a significant degree, by New England's involvement in the African slave trade and related commercial activity. Through the primitive accumulation of capital, these two aspects of capitalist primitive accumulation are closely intertwined with the African slave trade. Not only was sufficient wealth accumulated in the hands of an ascendant bourgeoisie to finance industrial activity, but in this same process the seeds of the industrial proletariat were sown through the progress of dispossession and pauperization of previous small producers as the scale of production grew. Therefore, the thrust of our theory of capitalist development is profoundly at odds with the metaphysical views which tend to isolate the African slave trade from the mainstream of American history, and treat it as a mere appendage. We will argue just the opposite: that the African slave trade, because of its pivotal role in primitive capitalist accumulation in colonial America helped to create the
internal basis—the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small bourgeoisie and the creation of a dispossessed working class—when external causes (the economic crisis of the post-Revolutionary period and the War of 1812) made large-scale investment in industrial activity (textiles) an urgent historical necessity.

Parenthetically, we note that even those who have recognized the important role of the African slave trade and slavery in the development of capitalism in Europe have made serious errors with regard to this important issue. The most serious shortcoming in Eric Williams' *Capitalism and Slavery* is his revision of the Marxist thesis on the dual character of primitive capitalist accumulation (as error we view as a manifestation of his petty-bourgeois radical nationalism). Not only did this process create the material basis for the rise of a capitalist class with sufficient wealth to finance industrial production. But, the primitive capitalist accumulation of which the African slave trade was one of the most essential aspects created the material basis for the dispossession of the peasantry and thus the development of the European, and in our case, the American industrial proletariat. The latter point is not at all treated in *Capitalism and Slavery*, nor in other interpretations influenced by bourgeois ideology. It is the dialectical character of this material (concrete) relationship between the African slave trade and slavery, on the one hand, and European (and U.S.) capitalism, on the other, that was the basis which led Karl Marx to observe that, "in fact, the veiled slavery of the wage earners in Europe need, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in the New World." (50)

The implications of an incorrect view of the historical development of Afro-American people and its relationship to the American working class—one that sees the two aspects of this important contradiction as having developed in isolation and in antagonism to each other—are extremely significant, particularly in light of contemporary theoretical and practical struggles that are now being waged. We make note of this point for future study. All of this will be proven true, we think,
in the course of our empirical investigations of the general impact of the African slave trade on the New England economy and of the specific development of the textile industry, the leading section in the development of industrial capitalism in the United States.


1. Earl Thorpe asserts: "While black scholars have been mainly preoccupied with the slavery theme, they have produced few of what might be termed definitive works in this area." The Black Historians: A Critique, 196. The most notable exceptions are W.E.B. DuBois, The SUPPRESSION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO THE UNITED STATES, 1638-1871 (1896) and Lorenzo Green, The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1775 (1943). The Importance of the slave trade and slavery in the context of European history has been more explored by black scholars. See Wilson Williams, Africa and the Rise of Capitalism (1936) and Eric Williams, Capitalism and Slavery (1944).

The work by black scholars on the African slave trade during recent years is confined to quoting the above works with little attempt at a first-hand investigation, except for the work by Walter Rodney, A History of the Upper Guinea Coast (1963) and others which explore the African and Caribbean contexts. A recent study of slavery by a black scholar is John Blassey's The Slave Community (1973).

Significantly, Thorpe, in one of the few attempts to sum up the history of Black intellectual work in a discipline, makes no comment about the study of capitalism among Black historians, though related themes are mentioned. The most ambitious is perhaps the three-volume work by sociologist Oliver C. Cox: Foundations of Capitalism (1959); Capitalism and American Leadership (1962); and Capitalism as a System (1964). A critical analysis of this body of work has not yet been produced. For an overview of the focus on the study of capitalism by black scholars during the 1970's, see the dictionary catalogue of the Howard University Library Moorland Spingarn Collection for the listing of the work of such scholars as Abram Harris (political economist), Ralph Bunche (political scientist), E. Franklin Frazier (sociologist) and others.


3. The authors of Time on the Cross state: "...the methodological challenge cannot be avoided..." Those who reject our findings will be forced to fight, to a considerable extent, on the ground and with the methods set forth in Time on the Cross." Quoted in Gutman, 174. This raises some significant questions regarding the historical development and integrity of Afro-African Studies, especially the task of using the new methodology to refute incorrect interpretations. For example, a central thesis of the most recent quantitative studies is that the slave trade and slavery played only a peripheral role in the development of capitalism in Europe and in the United States.

4. There has developed a "radical presence" in many of the social sciences. Among the most significant are the Union of Radical Political Economists, the Union of Marxist Social Scientists, and such publications as the Insurgent
Sociologists.

8. Among Afro-American scholars, for example, see the work of the Pull the Covers off Imperialism Conference, including its Declaration Against Imperialism (Black Scholar, Jan-Feb. 1974).

6. "...The Black American as a 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 changes." Harold Gun, Black Scholar (Dec., 1969). Earl Thorpe makes a similar point that "the Black historian has not joined in the twentieth century search for historical laws which has been characteristic of historians of the majority group." (194)

7. See Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry.

Gerald McQuorter, "Ideology of a Black Social Science," Black Scholar (Dec., 1969), discusses the contradiction between data collection and theory, and the misrepresentation of reality that flowed from this in the field of race relations.


9. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology. Historical materialism, the application of dialectical materialism to the study of the evolution of human societies, is a cornerstone of Marxist social analysis. For a general presentation see Harry Howard Selsam and Harry Martel, Reader in Marxist Philosophy (1963); and Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice," and "On Contradictions," in Selected Works.


11. Political economy is the science which studies the mode of production of societies, particularly the production relations. For a discussion of the general points raised briefly in this discussion, consult: "Fundamentals of Political Economy," in Chinese Economic Studies (Summer, 1975); A. Leontiev, Political Economy: A Beginner's Course; and the basic economic writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

12. Karl Marx, Preface to the Critique of Political Economy.


15. The controversy revolves around the "periodization" of history, or identifying the specific stages through which all or a given society has passed. For a discussion of some of the issues see Eric Hobsbaum's introduction in Karl Marx, Pre-capitalist Economic Formations (64); and B. Hindess and P.O. Hirst, Pre-capitalist Modes of Production (1976).

16. See Abram Harris, "Economics of the Founding Fathers," in Sterling Brown, et. al., The Negro Caravan (1941) for the views of a Black political economist.
on the class nature of the American state.

17. Oliver Cox, *Capitalism as a System*, II.


22. Dobb, 8.

23. Dobb, 8.


25. See the basic political economy texts cited in note 11 for a more detailed discussion of surplus value.


30. Generally, the admission that Africa was central to the development of capitalism in Europe in only grudgingly given. The work of Eric Williams and Milton Williams cited above are the most notable and rigorous exceptions. British economic statistics can be used to make the point: see Phyllis Deane and W.A. Cole, *British Economic Growth* (1967). A useful study of some of the most important aspects is found in Seymour Shapiro, *Capital and the Growth of the Cotton Industry* (1967).


We have studied these attempts and found that the main one we must adopt is in historical analysis: a metaphysical view that attempts to reduce a part of social reality, in this case, the slave trade, and study its impact with respect to the integrative connection to other aspects of social phenomena, in this case, the other economic activity (commerce, industry, etc.). Our calculations of these statistics using more materialist and historically accurate assumptions are found in the appendix.

32. Milton Williams, 41.
33. Dobb, 222. This tendency of historians to be historians for the class in power was observed by Marx and Engels in The German Ideology: "The idea of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force." (64). W.E.B. DuBois has contributed a useful elaboration of the same theme in "The Propaganda of History," Chapter 15 in Black Reconstruction (1963).


34. This modernist view of capital and commodities as things is called commodity fetishism. See the introductory texts in political economy for an elaboration of its meaning and importance.

35. Lacunie, Political Economy, 33.

36. Dobb, 178.

37. Marx, Capital, I, 714.


40. Shepherd and Walton, 6.

41. Shepherd and Walton, 10.


44. Shepherd and Walton, 10.

45. Shepherd and Walton, 10.

46. Shepherd and Walton, 10.


48. V.I. Lenin, The Development of Capitalism in Russia, 69f.

49. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 32.

50. Karl Marx, Capital, I, 333.
NEW ENGLAND MERCHANTS, COLONIAL COMMERCE AND THE
AMERICAN-AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

Seminar Discussion Paper

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The second presentation of dissertation work in progress begins with a self-criticism. Despite repeated warnings from others who have travelled this road, it is now clear to me that the thorough and all-sided treatment of one thing represents a greater contribution than the mediocre treatment of many things.

The precipitating external factor behind this realization has been the somewhat fortuitous discovery of an important body of data that enables the quantitative treatment of some of the questions raised in the dissertation. Various aspects of the Afro-American experience have been undergoing penetrating scrutiny by new quantitative methods in history, or cliometrics. The benefit from this is that large bodies of empirical data heretofore unmanageable are now useable. Thus, for example, one recent controversial publication by two cliometricians describes several of the research efforts now underway by other cliometricians. They include a study of the cotton economy in 1860 using data from 5,229 farms in 11 southern states, another on northern agriculture in 1860 using 21,118 farms in 102 randomly selected townships in the northeast and north central regions, and one on the post bellum cotton economy using 4,693 farms in 16 southern states.¹

The danger of cliometrics, however, is that the recent (as well as historical) emphasis on quantification and methodological rigor tends to take precedence over theoretical clarity. By theoretical clarity we here mean the extent to which one's approach reflects and seeks to explain the real world as it has historically developed. Grossly incorrect assumptions go unchallenged as would be challengers are left more awed than critical by the "sophistication" of the investigation.
The response of Afro-American scholars is justifiably skeptical. One needs only to recall the intense attack on Afro-American Studies as "the intellectual validity of studying the Black experience" was challenged in the 1960s. Many of the scholars who led that attack are now in the forefront of the cliometricians and they themselves in a recent formidable salvo in the continuing discussion, remind us of a possible link between their efforts then and now in case we fail to see the possible connection:

Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies points up the difficulties in predicting the course of scholarship. During the late 1960's there were raging debates as to whether black studies and black history had a legitimate place in the university curriculum. Many feared, not entirely without reason, that they would be artificial creations, or, at best, "soft" subjects that undermined scholarly standards. And now we have this volume which shows that Black history has become the leading arena in the effort to apply quantitative methods to historical research.

However healthy the skepticism about the motives behind the cliometricians, it cannot obviate the necessity of learning the methodology, mastering the technology, and applying them to old and new problems. It is this more than any other factor that has led to the new emphasis explained below.

Two concerns were central in the formulation of this research:

1. the role of the New England merchants in the African slave trade;
and 2. the relationship of the slave trade to colonial commerce and the colonial economy, particularly in New England. These concerns
were central for two reasons. First, they are important aspects of the developing contradiction between the colonists and the English ruling class, out of which developed the United States, the most immediate political entity in our discussion of the Afro-American experience. Second, the economic activity of the colonial period was intricately bound up with commerce related to the Atlantic slave trade and slavery. Out of this commercial activity there developed an industrial bourgeoisie centered mainly in New England which captured control of the United States government through the Civil War. Thus, the slave trade is pivotal in understanding the general development of the United States and the particular development of Afro-American people.

Similar questions have also been central in the study of the slave trade in the context of British history. The work of Wilson Williams and Eric Williams has sought to demonstrate the importance of the "Triangular Trade" involving Europe, Africa, and the Americas and such commodities as manufactured goods, slaves, and raw materials. Their work proves that "the triangular trade thereby gave a triple stimulus to British industry. ...The profits obtained provided one of the mainstreams of that accumulation of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution."  

Both of these works used quantitative data as supporting evidence. Capitalism and Slavery, for example, uses statistics on Britain's total trade to demonstrate the pivotal role of the commodities produced by slaves in the colonies. But Capitalism and Slavery has come under attack from investigators using more
rigorous attempts at quantification. There are several criticisms raised. First there is the question of the volume of the slave trade. How many Africans were taken as slaves and landed in the Americas and by whom? The point of departure for this work is Phillip Curtin's *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*, though many scholars have joined in the task. Curtin uses a variety of sources to estimate the slave trade over time, to discuss which countries were more deeply involved as slave traders, and the areas in Africa from which slaves were taken and their destination in the Americas. Curtin's conclusion is that British slave exports from Africa between 1700 and 1807 totaled 2,480,000.  

But this question of volume is extremely controversial. Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* has alerted us to the significance of these attempts at estimating the number of slaves taken from Africa, especially when explaining Africa's underdevelopment. Many things remain uncertain about the slave trade and its consequences for Africa, but the general picture of destructiveness is clear, and that destructiveness can be shown to be the logical consequence of the manner of recruitment of captives in Africa. One of the uncertainties concerns the basic question of how many Africans were imported. This has long been an object of speculation, with estimates ranging from a few millions to over one hundred million. A recent study by Curtin has suggested a figure of about ten million Africans landed alive in the Americas, the Atlantic islands and Europe. Because it is a low figure, it is already being used by European scholars who are apologists for the capitalist system and its long record of brutality in Europe and abroad. In order to white-wash the European slave trade, they find it convenient to start by minimizing the numbers concerned.
The truth is that any figure of Africans imported into the Americas which is narrowly based on the surviving records is bound to be low, because there were so many people at the time who had a vested interest in smuggling slaves (and withholding data). 6

As controversial as the quantity of slaves is the profitability of the slave trade. Many writers have taken issue with the position of a Liverpool (England) eyewitness report repeated by others that the slave trade was highly lucrative, yielding "upwards of thirty percent." Anstey has done work in this area and has concluded that the profits from the slave trade between 1761 and 1807 stood at 9.5 percent, or almost £4.4 million, or $20.3 million, assuming the £(pound) sterling was equal to $4.62 U. S. silver dollars.7

In addition to the profitability, the most controversial issue has been the contribution of the slave trade to industrial capital formation. Was the Industrial Revolution in England financed by the Triangular Trade in slaves and other commodities, as Eric Williams and others argue? As one of the most recent efforts to overturn the so-called "Williams' Thesis" argues, "the most credible contribution of slave trade profits to capital formation is--at 0.11 percent--derisory enough for the myth of the vital importance of the slave trade in financing the Industrial Revolution to be demolished."8

Without going into any great detail, it is here that we can point out an example of how incorrect--historically untenable--assumptions are often masked in the rush of cliometricians for quantification. It was not the trade in slaves nor the profits therefrom that were the
most important aspect of the "Triangular Trade." It was rather the totality of commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural activity of which the slave trade was an indispensable component that was of "vital importance...in financing the Industrial Revolution."

This is what is argued in *Capitalism and Slavery*. To isolate the trade in slaves (not even including the commodities used to trade for slaves!) and to assess the role of this component alone is to dissect out of the facts of history those which serve one's own biased ends.

Even bourgeois scholars who, as we see in this quote, have absolutely no intentions of ascribing to Africans and Afro-American people a pivotal role in the development of capitalism in Europe and in the United States are forced to note the important role that the overseas trade particularly to the Caribbean played, and lends unwitting support to our criticism that Engerman distorts historical reality by attempting to isolate the slave trade.

The importance of the slave trade to Europe and America lay not in usual profitability— which was probably mythical— but in its indispensable support for the tropical economy of the Caribbean. Without slaves, the Caribbean must have remained largely undeveloped. The Caribbean economy, as we shall see, came to be a main support of the North American colonies, which found markets there for surpluses they could not otherwise dispose of; and the whole colonial complex had some importance to European— and especially English— economic development in the eighteenth century. It is far from true to say that the Industrial Revolution in Europe was built on the necks of millions of African slaves; but their contribution to its preconditions was not a negligible one.⁹
We have attempted a preliminary statistical treatment to demonstrate how this incorrect and misleading view can be refuted. Simply, it is a matter of substituting the profits from the overseas trade for the profits from the sale of slaves. This flows from the correct view that British capitalists made substantial profits from activities bound up with the slave trade, for example, the sale of manufactured goods to the slave plantations. The results are found in Appendix I. These calculations indicate the following differences between the two sets of figures for the year 1770.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overseas Trade</th>
<th>Slave Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to British National Income</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>.005%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to Capital Formation</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution to Industrial Capital Formation</td>
<td>410.0%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, using the same ground rules that Engermann uses in his calculation of the contribution of the profits of the slave trade, we find that the profits from the overseas trade which in large measure was tied to the slave trade could have provided four times as much capital as was used to finance the Industrial Revolution. Undoubtedly this vast accumulation of capital was also the source of income which also financed the riotous life style and conspicuous consumption which characterized the English ruling classes during this period. The most important conclusion from this brief exercise, however, is that we must study the slave trade as an integral component of the totality of economic activities which gave rise to capitalism during this historical period.
II

The discussion of New England merchants and the American-African slave trade, particularly by American scholars, has been characterized by its extreme idealism. The clear intent is to minimize the role of American and particularly New England slave traders, showing that "the work of transporting negroes from Africa to the mainland and islands of this continent was almost exclusively done by Englishmen and in English ships." Rather than discuss the role of Massachusetts merchants, the president of a distinguished organization of propagandists sought to "bring before us...the facts and statistics of relating to the British slave trade," concluding:

Here we see who is principally responsible, since the beginning of their settlement, for introducing slaves from Africa into the British American colonies. It is the story briefly told of the British slave trade. Deane concluded: "From this review of the evidence, allowing it to weight against Massachusetts all it will possibly bear, it is certain that the share which that colony had in the planting of slavery in the new world was just a drop in the bucket compared with that of England."

Lillian Brandt has pointed to the distortions in the manner in which Massachusetts' role in the slave trade is often portrayed:

The favorite theme for students of Massachusetts' relationship to slavery has been the growth of sentiment against slaveholding and the early abolition of it within the state. When her connection with the slave trade has been considered, the
tendency is to limit the inquiry to the number of negroes brought into Massachusetts and the successive efforts to prohibit their importation. This is only a small part of the subject; the negroes imported into the colony by no means measure the part played in the trade by Massachusetts citizens, capital, and shipping.\(^{14}\)

It was this role as one of the nation's leading slave trading states that led some to label Massachusetts "the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage."

Rhode Island's role in the slave trade, on the other hand, is more widely admitted. Even the staunch defender of the innocence of Massachusetts mentioned above is "compelled to say that Rhode Island was engaged in the slave-trade to a far greater extent... than Massachusetts was."\(^{15}\) A history text provides evidence of much earlier recognition of this fact.

Rhode Island's participation in the slave trade was indeed large. As far back as May 1, 1784, the *Newport Mercury* had admitted, "It is well known that inhabitants of this state have had a greater hand in the slave trade than any other on the continent, and the records show that this reputation was fully sustained during the next twenty-five years.\(^{16}\)

There has also been much discussion of the impact of the slave trade on other sectors of the Rhode Island and New England economy. "It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the slave trade was the lubricating oil that kept the machinery of the colonial economy moving smoothly," one source asserts.\(^{17}\) Much discussion can be found of the many aspects of the colonial economy that were spurred to greater development—rum distillation, shipbuilding, and shipping, to mention only three.
But more recent interpretations have focussed on what is being
derisively labelled "the myth of the triangular trade." The main
contention of this line of attack is as follows:

The history of world commerce affords innumerable examples of
triangular patterns of trade, but every schoolboy knows that
the triangular trade was the one in rum, slaves, and molasses
between colonial New England, Africa, and the West Indies.
Popularly believed to have been one of the mainstays of
American colonial commerce, this famous triangular trade is,
in fact, a myth, for no such pattern of trade existed as a
major factor in colonial commerce. It is also a myth in the
sense of possessing mythic appeal, evidently requiring little
in the way of evidence to establish itself as historical "fact."18

This article not only fails to discuss the origins of the use of
"triangular trade" but also fails to investigate whether this usage
corresponds to the facts of history. The "Triangular Trade"
application has a long history as an accurate description of the
deep involvement of European merchants in the slave trade. A
recent study points out, for example, that of the 218 ships
entering the British West Indies from Africa in 1785-1787, 212
or 97% of this number originated in England (i.e., had English
home port registry). This is the "Triangular Trade" - a voyage
from England to Africa to the West Indies, then back to England -
and it is in this context that the use of the concept is essentially
correct.19

The fact is, however, that much of the discussion of the role
of New England merchants in the slave trade has aimed at portraying
a minimal involvement when compared to Europe, and at demonstrating
the absence of a "Triangular Trade" as a way of supporting the contention of minimal involvement. Few studies have sought to discuss the New England-African slave trade and related commerce in the context of what was historically possible in the particular context in which it was initiated and conducted, especially given the restrictions of colonial domination. Instead, the role of New Englanders has always been "favorably" compared with that of European slave traders. Certainly this approach helps to place the major blame on the English and other European slave trading merchants and to assuage the consciences of "moralistic" New England. But it does nothing to enable us to discover the real process of economic development in colonial America—especially the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States—in which the slave trade and commerce carried on by New England merchants was a prime source of capital accumulation which made industry possible. Empirical investigation of this central problem will be addressed by the dissertation.

III

"...to be immediately dependent on their original parent and to make their interest subservient thereunto." 20

The English mercantile system was built on this basic principle of colonial domination. As another mercantile theorist put it, "colonies are a strength to their mother kingdom, while they are under good discipline, while they are strictly made to observe the fundamental laws of their original country, and while they are dependent upon it." 21 Eric Williams in Capitalism and Slavery gives the following description of this system:
The colonies were obliged to send their valuable products to England only and use English ships. They could buy nothing but British unless the foreign commodities were first taken to England. And since, as dutiful children, they were to work for the greater glory of their parent, they were reduced to a state of permanent vassalage and confined solely to the exploitation of their agricultural resources. Not a nail, not a horseshoe, said Chatham, could be manufactured, nor hats, nor iron, nor refined sugar. In return for this, England made one concession—the colonial products were given a monopoly of the home market. 22

Thus, New England's economic development including its participation in the slave trade during the colonial period to 1776 cannot be analyzed without taking into account the control exercised by the ruling class of England. The same is true of all other colonies. It was the economic needs of the English ruling class that dictated the pattern of colonial commerce, manufacture, agriculture, and all other economic activity. The plantation colonies provided England with vast quantities of tobacco, rice, indigo, and, most important, sugar. The middle colonies were a source of bread, flour, and grain. New England provided whale oil, lumber and wooden products for ships. Newfoundland and the northern colonies supplied fish and whale oil.

While the commerce and economic activity of the colonies were geared to the needs of the English bourgeoisie, such activity was not sufficient for the development of the colonies nor the maintenance of the colonies so as to best serve England. Thus, there developed the trade between the colonies—the inter-colonial
trade—which became an important component in the trade of every colony. Of the $3.43 million of commodities exported from the mainland colonies in 1770, 25% ($848,934) was destined for the West Indies. This does not include the substantial trade among the mainland colonies; the so-called coasting trade, for example, between Massachusetts and South Carolina.) For example, New England provided the West Indies with fish and wood products, and candles made from whale oil. The middle colonies sent bread, flour and grain. The southern colonies sent grain and rice. All the mainland colonies received the main products of the West Indies in return—sugar, molasses, and rum. The West Indies was so deeply engaged in sugar production to serve the needs of the English ruling class that it relied heavily on the mainland colonies to supply its food.

Thus, we see the importance of discussing the commercial activity of colonial America in the context of British colonialism. The key word is monopoly. As Capitalism and Slavery states, "the economic philosophy of the age had no room for the open door, and colonial trade was a rigid monopoly of the home country." The failure to take this important fact into consideration has led to a distortion of the significance of the role of New England merchants in the African slave trade and the role of the African slave trade and the economic activity linked to it in the development of capitalism and the development of the United States.

The recent discovery of a body of statistical data at the University of California, Berkeley enables this work on the
African slave trade and the development of capitalism in the United States to make a decisive attempt in the direction of quantitative analysis. There are two sets of records, both of which are found in the Public Record Office in London, England. (1) The American Inspector General's Ledgers, called Customs 16/I, contains the quantities of all legally exported and imported goods (except imports and exports from Great Britain and Ireland), the number of ships and amount of tonnage entering and clearing from 43 colonial ports between January 5, 1768 and January 5, 1773. According to one source, the "five years covered by these records thus represent the only period for which we have data that purport to be a complete coverage of colonial overseas trade." 26 The list of these ports is contained in Appendix II. (2) The Naval Office Lists designated C.O. 5 were prepared by each colonial naval officer for his particular port district in order to facilitate the collection of customs for the British government. The records cover the period 1680 to 1784, though a complete series for none of the ports is available. The data sheet attached as Appendix III gives the kind of information that is available for the ships going into and leaving each of the ports. Both of these sets of records were filmed at the Public Record Office in London by Professor Lawrence A. Harper, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of California at Berkeley, and have since become available on microfilm. Substantial compilations from this data have been completed by Professor Harper and form the basis for much of the section on colonial statistics in the U. S. Census Bureau's Historical Statistics of the United States.
Analysis of this data will enable quantitative measures of many of the questions in this dissertation which would have been treated using secondary sources. Using the data described above, we will:

1. Demonstrate the subordinant colonial role of New England and other colonies in servicing the economic needs of the ruling English bourgeoisie, including how the pattern of inter-colonial trade was shaped by the needs of England;

2. Demonstrate the existence of England's triangular trade, and the extent to which New England's commerce followed a similar pattern or differed because of its subordination to England;

3. Demonstrate New England's role in the African slave trade (in relationship to the British slave trade) and the importance of the slave trade and slavery-related commerce to New England's commercial activity.

4. Demonstrate the impact of this commerce on New England by identifying the kind and quantity of commodities in the trade;

5. Demonstrate the dominant role of New England in supplying merchants who carried on the trade of other colonies, an important source of capital accumulation for New England's commercial bourgeoisie.

The initial research design called for the analysis of data found in secondary sources for this section on colonial commerce. However, the availability of this body of data enables detailed case studies to be completed. The following ports have been selected to test the five points raised above. These are listed below with the number of years for which complete records are available.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Port</th>
<th>Years Complete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston, Massachusetts</td>
<td>10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampton, Virginia</td>
<td>24 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charleston, South Carolina</td>
<td>18 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston, Jamaica</td>
<td>18 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados, West Indies</td>
<td>10 years (minimum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80 years

Using a computer, an analysis will be made of the import and export traffic of these ports for each of the years which are complete. The data sheet included as Appendix II also gives one ship as an example of the kind of information which is available for each ship incoming and outgoing. The computer will enable the ships to be organized and studied in such categories as ports of origin and ports of destination, names of owners and place of registration (ownership), commodities carried and their amounts. This will also facilitate calculation of the total quantity of commodities carried and the use of price data to calculate the value of commodities. (This is important because, for example, though the mainland colonies shipped 379,012 pounds of candles made from whale oil, this was less than 1% of the total value exported.)

Some work has already been completed using the Naval Office Lists. Though the work was not as focussed as the work described here, it does suggest the magnitude of the data base and calculations involved. Walton's calculations indicate an average of 160 ships per year for 3.5 years of the Jamaica records (567 ships) and 309 ships
per year for seven years of the Barbados records (2163 ships). Using these averages, we can project that the total number of ships likely to be involved in the 80 year sample of this research will total between 12800 and 24000 ships. Of course, there is the possibility that a few representative years can be selected without sacrificing the generalizability of the results, but this will be determined after more investigation.

It is important that we point out that while there have been few efforts to focus on the specifics of the colonial New England slave trade and commerce as we are attempting, conclusions and evidence drawn from other sources suggest that this line of investigation merits careful attention.

One important fact is the central importance of the ports we have selected for case studies to the trade of Great Britain, including its Triangular Trade. In 1773, the West Indies and the mainland colonies accounted for 30% of total British trade. The West Indies accounted for 24.8% of total British imports and 15.5% of British exports. Similarly, the mainland colonies accounted for 12.5% and 14.5% of British imports and exports, respectively. The following chart gives the figures for the ports we have selected, showing that they were the most important ports and accounting for at least 51% of the export or import trade of Great Britain in 1773.
British Imports and Exports, by Origin and Destination—1773

West Indies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,830,853</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6%</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45%</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51%</td>
<td>Barbados &amp; Jamaica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mainland Colonies

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,420,471</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,375,797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>344,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42%</td>
<td>Virginia &amp; Md</td>
<td>328,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9%</td>
<td>New England</td>
<td>527,055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83% Carolina, Virginia, Maryland & N. E. 51%

Calculations made from Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 225.

These ports, not surprising when we consider their general significance as export-import markets, were also the most important ports in the slave trade. Jamaica and Barbados, according to Curtin, received more slave imports than any other island in the West Indies, accounting for over three quarters of the total.

- Jamaica 747,500 44.9%
- Barbados 387,000 32.2
- Leeward Islands 346,000 (Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis) 20.8
The same is true of South Carolina and Virginia. According to DuBois, "South Carolina had the largest and most widely developed slave-trade of any of the continental colonies. This was owing to the character of her settlers, her nearness to the West Indian slave marts, and the early development of certain staple crops, such as rice, which were adapted to slave labor. ... Next to South Carolina, Virginia probably had the largest slave trade."²⁸

The following calculations support DuBois' assertion.

**Slaves Imported Into Mainland Colonies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Virginia</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>South Carolina</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Va. and S.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>10,165</td>
<td>2,104</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7,201</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>4,970</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>3,069</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,144</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>6,736</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4,888</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>2,496</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Finally, the West Indies was often more important as an export-import market in terms of volume of trade for the American colonies than Great Britain:

**Tonnage Capacity of Ships to and From the American Colonies, by destination and origin**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total (000)</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>West Indies</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>351.7</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>108.8</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>331.9</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1769 | Exports | 339.0 | 99.1 | 29 | 96.4 | 28|
|      | Imports  | 332.0 | 90.7 | 27 | 94.9 | 29|
In terms of value in 1769, Great Britain ranked above the West Indies, 53.7% to 26.2% in exports and 61.2% to 30.1% in imports. The question here, however, is whether or not the West Indies provided a market for commodities that could not have been profitably traded anywhere else. For example, through the use of the state in passing and enforcing such legislation as the Navigation Laws, the ruling class of Great Britain successfully prevented the import of some New England commodities into Great Britain. There has been much work done on the general magnitude and composition of the trade between the mainland colonies and the West Indies to enable us to make this kind of analysis. We have included in Appendix IV an example of the kind of calculations from Customs 16/1 discussed above which will be useful.

This, then, is a brief discussion of the main body of the work in progress. The data for Barbados is now being transferred to data sheets for coding and entry into the computer. The next seminar presentation should report preliminary findings resulting from the analysis of the data.
Notes


8. Anstey, 24


12. Deane, 205.

13. Deane, 211.


15. Deane, 205.


21. Williams, 55.

22. Williams, 56.


## Table II

### The Contribution of Overseas Caribbean Trade Profits to British National Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Value of Trade (£000)</th>
<th>Profits on Trade (£ millions)</th>
<th>British Nat. income (£ millions)</th>
<th>Contribution of Caribbean Trade Profits</th>
<th>Contrib. of Slave Trade Profits (Engerman)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.0019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.0012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>2063</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>.022</td>
<td>.0042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>4681</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.0054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>11087</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>232.0</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.0004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Column 1:** Official values (£000) of imports, exports, and re-exports combined to British West Indies. Taken from Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, p. 309 ff.

**Column 2:** Profits on overseas trade calculated using the 1770 figure of £2.58 million profit cited by Engerman. Others derived from ratio: \[
\text{ratio} = \frac{X}{14,631,000} = \frac{\text{Value from Column 1}}{2.58}
\]

**Column 3:** British national income from Engerman; see Table I above.

**Column 4:** Column 2 divided by Column 3.

**Column 5:** From Engerman; see Table I above.
### Table III

**The Contribution of the Overseas Caribbean Trade Profits to British Capital Formation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Overseas Trade Profits (ml)</th>
<th>British National Income (ml)</th>
<th>Contribution of Overseas Trade Profits to Capital Formation (%)</th>
<th>Contribution of Slave Trade Profits (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td>232.0</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Column 1:** From Table II above.

**Column 2:** From Engelmann; See Table I above.

**Column 3:** Column 1

\[
\frac{1}{(0.05)} \times \text{Column 2}
\]

**Column 4:** Calculated from Engelmann; See Table I. Same as Column 3 calculation, replacing overseas trade with slave trade.

### Overseas Trade Profits and British Capital Formation

1. **Total Capital Formation:**

   \[
   \frac{\text{Overseas Profits}}{\text{Ratio of Investments to National Income} \times \text{National Income}} = 82.2\%
   \]

2. **Industrial Capital Formation:**

   \[
   \frac{\text{Overseas Profits}}{(0.05) \times (462.8 \text{ million})} = 410\%
   \]
# Appendix II

**Customs 16/1: List of Ports for Which Records Were Kept**

### Ordering of Individual Port Districts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Port District</th>
<th>Colony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) northern colonies</td>
<td>1 Newfoundland</td>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Island of St. Johns</td>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Quebec</td>
<td>Quebec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Halifax</td>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) New England</td>
<td>5 Portland, or Casco Bay</td>
<td>Massachusetts (Maine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Piscataqua</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 Salem and Marblehead</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Boston</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 Rhode Island</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 New London</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 New Haven</td>
<td>Massachusetts (Maine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) middle colonies</td>
<td>12 New York</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Perth Amboy</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 Burlington</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 Salem and Cohasset</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 Philadelphia</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 New Castle</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 Lewes</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) upper south</td>
<td>19 Patuxent</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20 Chester and Patuxent</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 North Potomac</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 Accomac</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 South Potomac</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 Rappahannock</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 York River</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 James River, lower part</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27 James River, upper part</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) lower south</td>
<td>28 Currituck</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 Roanoke</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 Bath</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 Beaufort</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32 Brunswick</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33 Winsey</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34 Charleston</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35 Port Royal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36 Savannah</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37 Sunbury</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0) Florida, Bahama &amp; Bermuda In.</td>
<td>38 St. Augustine</td>
<td>East Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39 Pensacola</td>
<td>West Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 Mobile</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 Bahamas</td>
<td>Bahamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42 Bermuda</td>
<td>Bermuda Islands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX III

SAMPLE

EXPORT
IMPORT ✓ PORT BARBADOS YEAR 1728 NO. 2-1728

A. NAME OF VESSEL
   CONT GALLEY OF BOSTON

B. NAME OF MASTER
   Chas. Adiam

C. RIG
   (1) TONS
   120
   (2) GUNS
   3
   (3) HEN
   X

D. WHERE BUILT
   BOSTON

E. WHEN BUILT
   1725

F. WHERE REGISTERED
   BOSTON

G. WHEN REGISTERED
   1725

H. WHERE FROM OR WHERE TO
   FROM AFRICA TO VIRGINIA

I. DATE OF ENTRY OR CLEARANCE
   MARCH 10, 1728 - SAME

J. OWNERS' NAME(S)
   Wm. Malcom
   Thom. Chamberlain
   Rogers Wall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>OUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COMMODITY</td>
<td>AMOUNT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negros</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negros - Part of his cargo of Negros imported from Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**SAMPLE**

**EXPORT X**

**IMPORT** PORT Barbados **YEAR** 1-1773 **NO.** 9

A. NAME OF VESSEL: JOHN

B. NAME OF MASTER: F. SPEAKE

C. RIG: Schooner

(1) TONS: 50

(2) GUNS: 0

(3) MEN: 6

D. WHERE BUILT: New England

E. WHEN BUILT: 1769

F. WHERE REGISTERED: Salem

G. WHEN REGISTERED: August 23, 1769

H. WHERE FROM OR WHERE TO: Maryland

I. DATE OF ENTRY OR CLEARANCE: March 30, 1773

J. OWNERS' NAME(S): John Eden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMODITY</th>
<th>AMOUNT</th>
<th>UNIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>hhls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>hhls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>bushels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>gal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity (units)</th>
<th>1768</th>
<th>1769</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1772</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beef and pork (bbl.)</td>
<td>8,472</td>
<td>16,021</td>
<td>8,691</td>
<td>18,102</td>
<td>8,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and flour (tons)</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>9,992</td>
<td>1,623</td>
<td>20,784</td>
<td>1,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow, a (head)</td>
<td>12,605</td>
<td>1,456</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>11,174</td>
<td>1,307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, dried (quintals)</td>
<td>155,455</td>
<td>73,763</td>
<td>168,950</td>
<td>83,755</td>
<td>179,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (bbl.)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves and headings (no.)</td>
<td>4,008,840</td>
<td>10,824</td>
<td>3,599,350</td>
<td>8,310</td>
<td>3,447,705</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE II-4**

**QUANTITIES AND COMPUTED VALUES (IN POUNDS STEER NG) OF SEVEN COMMODITIES EXPORTED FROM THE THIRTEEN COLONIES TO THE WEST INDIES, 1768-1772**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity (units)</th>
<th>1768</th>
<th>1769</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1772</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From New England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef and pork (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and flour (tons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow, a (head)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, dried (quintals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves and headings (no.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, New England</td>
<td>125,852</td>
<td>148,953</td>
<td>171,884</td>
<td>167,448</td>
<td>186,630</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity (units)</th>
<th>1768</th>
<th>1769</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1772</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the middle colonies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef and pork (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and flour (tons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow, a (head)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, dried (quintals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves and headings (no.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, middle colonies</td>
<td>234,235</td>
<td>222,357</td>
<td>250,976</td>
<td>277,925</td>
<td>361,243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity (units)</th>
<th>1768</th>
<th>1769</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1772</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the upper south</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef and pork (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and flour (tons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow, a (head)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, dried (quintals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves and headings (no.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, upper south</td>
<td>1,737,165</td>
<td>1,221,132</td>
<td>3,226</td>
<td>2,095,491</td>
<td>7,002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity (units)</th>
<th>1768</th>
<th>1769</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1772</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the lower south</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef and pork (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread and flour (tons)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cow, a (head)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish, dried (quintals)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (bbl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staves and headings (no.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total, lower south</td>
<td>56,927</td>
<td>73,424</td>
<td>91,903</td>
<td>80,331</td>
<td>66,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total, Thirteen Colonies | 419,275 | 545,655 | 661,275 | 632,939 | 749,630 |

Sources: See Table II-2.

*All quantities and values have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

*bSource gave quantities for 1769 and 1770 in tons. Converted to barrels using average weight of 221 lb. per barrel (See Cole, op. cit., p. x).

*cSource gave quantities for 1768 in barrels. Converted to tons using average weight of 196 lb. per barrel (See Cole, op. cit., p. x).
January 19, 1977

TO: Seminar, Center for Black Studies
FROM: Ronald Bailey, Dissertation Fellow


I. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS (Review)

A. Dominant Themes in Existing Interpretations of American Merchants and the Slave Trade

1. Moralizing to Defend the Good Name of New England

"...the work of transporting negroes from Africa to the mainland and islands of this continent was almost exclusively done by Englishmen and in English ships... From this review of the evidence, allowing it to weight against Massachusetts all it will possibly bear, it is certain that the share which that colony had in the planting of slavery in the new world was just a drop in the bucket compared with that of England." (Charles S. Deane, "The Connection of Massachusetts with Slavery and the Slave Trade," Proc. of the Am. Antiq. Society, Oct. 1886).

2. Geometry: Did a Triangular Trade Exist?

"Among the reasons for the invention and persistence of the triangular trade myth, not the least important is the fact that many, if not most, New England historians have been satisfied to believe it about other New Englanders... Recent scholarship has exposed the largely mythical character of the triangular trade." (Gilbert Ostrander, "The Making of the Triangular Trade Myth," William and Mary Quarterly, October 1973.)

3. Failure to Explain the Precise Mechanism Through Which Commerce Impacts on Manufacturing

"...the exact way in which overseas trade furthered colonial development has not usually been spelled out explicitly." (James F. Shepherd, and Gary M. Walton, Shipping, Maritime Trade and Development of Colonial America, 1972).
B. Main Themes in this Investigation

1. New England's economic development including its participation in the slave trade during the colonial period cannot be analyzed without taking into account colonial domination and the control exercised by the ruling classes of England. The economic needs of the English ruling class dictated the pattern of colonial commerce, manufacture, agriculture and other economic activity—including its involvement in the slave trade.

2. This pattern of colonial domination altered over time with the gradual development of a colonial commercial bourgeoisie which arose at the expense of England. This challenge culminated in the American revolution, which gave the colonists political power to expand their economic activity without the fetters of British colonialism.

3. Thus, the course of the class struggle—and not morality and geometry—is the key variable to be studied.

II. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. Hypothesis #1: The commercial bourgeoisie in the American colonies developed at the expense of the commercial bourgeoisie in England, gradually reducing its role of a subserviant colony in which it served the interest of England.

\1. Data

(a) Average yearly tonnage by place of ownership/by routes: to show the increase in colonial shipping and the decline of England.

(b) Concentration of capital: average number of owners/by tonnage: to demonstrate the consolidation of a capitalist class—the fewer owners, the greater the concentration. Should decrease over time.

(c) Number of owners who are also captains: to demonstrate the consolidation of a capitalist class—the fewer owners, the greater the concentration. Should decrease over time.
(d) Value of commodities by place of ownership/by routes:

to illustrate by using the data from one port over a 45-year period (see Attachment §1).

South Carolina: 1717, 1731, 1762

2. Selected Ports and years for (a) - (c)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boston</th>
<th>Charleston</th>
<th>Jamaica</th>
<th>Barbados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1718-19</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>1720 or 1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monopoly</td>
<td></td>
<td>1724</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pre-1933)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1744</td>
<td>1740 or 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre Seven Years War</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td></td>
<td>1747/52 (6 months each)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Years War</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Seven Years War</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td></td>
<td>1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Revolution</td>
<td></td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Hypothesis §2: The involvement of American merchants in the African slave trade is positively correlated with the rise of an independent commercial bourgeoisie in the colonies and formed an integral part of the general commerce (see Attachment §1).

1. Data: Using the attached data sheet, all of the slave carrying vessels from about 1750 will be analyzed. Each vessel will be matched with the other segment (outgoing or incoming) of its voyage in order to assess the relationship of the slave trade to the trade of other commodities.

For the period before 1750, summary data on the number of slaves carried, the ports involved, and the place of ownership will be available for the years listed under Hypothesis §1. The following is a list of the years and ports to be studied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charleston</th>
<th>Jamaica</th>
<th>Barbados</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>1747 (6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>1752 (6 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>1764 (3 months)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>1763</td>
<td>1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Previous data compiled by Professor Lawrence A. Harper facilitates a cross check on the accuracy of this data on the years in which slaves were traded and the total number of slaves by port (see Attachment #2).

C. Hypothesis #3: The commercial activity of New England and the accumulation of capital which financed the industrial revolution (particularly textiles) in the U. S. was based on the expansion of trade involving slaves and slave-produced commodities, and this commerce spurred the expansion and development of colonial manufacture which paved the way for subsequent industrialization and the transformation of other economic sectors (e.g., agriculture).

1. Data

(a) Average tonnage/by place of ownership/by routes will reveal the general pattern of trade but not its composition.

(b) The expansion of commodity production, i.e., how much more iron did Boston produce as trade expanded (see Attach II). Quantities of processed goods vs quantities of raw materials.


\[
\frac{(a + d) - (b + c)}{(a + d) + (b + c)}
\]

\[
\frac{a}{b}\quad \text{is the value of raw materials imported}
\]

\[
\frac{c}{d}\quad \text{is the value of processed goods imported}
\]

\[
\frac{c}{d}\quad \text{is the value of raw materials exported}
\]

Total value equals: Quantity of Commodities Multiplied by Price.

(1) Quantity data on commodities compiled by Harper (see Attachment #2)

This index has been used to distinguish between the relative strength of nations with identical GNP but whose trade relies on raw materials or processed goods to a greater or lesser extent than another.

(d) Ship tonnage by place built: to assess the impact of expanded commerce on the manufacture of ships.

2. Because we are interested in the impact of expanded commerce on the rise of industrial capitalism in colonial New England, we will analyze the port of Boston for the years 1754, 1762, and 1764. This can be compared with other ports (e.g., Charleston) where industrial capitalism did not develop on such wide scale.

III. Preliminary calculations from Gary Walton, "New Evidence on Colonial Commerce", provide confirming evidence of the validity of the above hypothesis. Walton, however, was interested in the validity of the triangular trade thesis and failed to raise the issue of the development and struggle of contending commercial classes in the United States and Britain (see Tables I and II).

IV. Major Problems to be Resolved

A. Computer Analysis (SPSS, SAS 76)

B. Statistical Treatment
Table I
Port of Barbados
(Matched Import/Export)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Ownership</th>
<th>1697, 1698, 1716</th>
<th>1773</th>
<th>% Change in Share of Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Tons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Colony</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Colony</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2,346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>.68,305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*May not equal 100% because of rounding.

### Table II

**Port of Jamaica**

*(Matched Import/Export)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Ownership</th>
<th>1685-88</th>
<th></th>
<th>1764</th>
<th></th>
<th>% Change in Share of Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Tons</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>14,681</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Indies</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,762</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Colony</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Colony</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHIP (1)</td>
<td>CAPT. (2)</td>
<td>COUNTRY (3)</td>
<td>DUTY (4)</td>
<td>YEARDAY</td>
<td>GUNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philadelphia</td>
<td>sloop</td>
<td>9 - 5 4 0</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Plant 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philadelphia</td>
<td>sloop</td>
<td>10 2 5 1 0</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>100 4 29 5 0</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Brit 06 194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Brig</td>
<td>40 - 6 4 1</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Plant 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Brig</td>
<td>60 - 6 1 0</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Sloop</td>
<td>10 - 4 2 0</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>Sloop</td>
<td>30 - 6 1 1</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Brig</td>
<td>50 3 17 4 0</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>16 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>Sloop</td>
<td>30 - 6 2 0</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Sloop</td>
<td>40 - 6 4 1</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>Sloop</td>
<td>27 2 6 2 1</td>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>45 4 9 2 1</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>Pink</td>
<td>50 2 14 1 0</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Snow</td>
<td>40 - 5 2 0</td>
<td>Salem (N. Eng)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina</td>
<td>Ship</td>
<td>50 6 2 3 0</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>16 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ATTACHMENT 2

**Bk B 1762**

### NEGROES, SERVANTS & PASSENGERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(I)</th>
<th>(II)</th>
<th>(III)</th>
<th>(IV)</th>
<th>(V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negrose</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Slaves</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troops, Provincial</td>
<td>1 shipment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louisburg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PROVISIONS AND FOODSTUFFS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(I)</th>
<th>(II)</th>
<th>(III)</th>
<th>(IV)</th>
<th>(V)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>20 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 bbl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples &amp; Cider</td>
<td>202 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Halifax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 bbls</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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A Summation and Critique of
the Sociological Work of
Oliver Cox (1901-1974):

Notes on Part I, Critical Approach to Social Theory

by
Gerald A. McWorter

Presented to
5th Seminar: October 12, 1976

Black Studies Center
University of California
Santa Barbara, California
U. S. A.
One of the major challenges Black Studies presents to the university is to make a coherent and meaningful statement about the historical and contemporary experiences of Black people. The university has been asked to deal with a major flaw in its society: Why were Black people slaves? Why did racism develop, and why has it been maintained? After generations of exploitation and oppression, why is it that the society refuses to right its history of wrongs? Have things changed? If so, what is the quantitative and qualitative character of this change? and so on.1

But only a few universities have asked these questions, much less answered them. This has been assigned to the academic units in the area of Black studies.2 A center such as ours has this mandate, although the necessary intellectual and moral catharsis facing the university is a price many are not yet willing to go through. But those of us here know that we have no choice. The task of Black studies, if carried out in the university, will be the least costly road for this society. Otherwise, the pain of struggle, from Nat Turner to Malcolm X, will continue to be the only viable source of knowledge about Black people. And then the cost will truly be equivalent to the previous gain made at Black people's expense.
This presentation on the sociological work of Oliver Cox must be introduced by first indicating why this is an important task, especially for a sociologist working in the area of Black Studies, and, further, should delineate exactly what I will be focusing on in this presentation.

Our discussion of Cox is important for two major reasons:

1. The connection between abstract social theory and race relations is not always made clear, and therefore the study of race relations is often treated as a secondary aspect of sociology. Cox faced this neglect head on, and, based on his study of Black people in the USA, launched a full-scale critique of many of the major social theorists.³

2. Cox has been systematically ignored by the profession of sociology, because of his generation, his teaching in small Black colleges, his being Black, and his critical stance toward the major social thinkers of this period. Although he has received two major awards in this recent period, his work has not received the critical acclaim that it deserves; students should be taking up his work, furthering it, criticising it, placing it in the sociological literature that we use to define social reality.⁴
This seminar presentation is one part of a larger study dealing with the sociological work of Oliver Cox, which itself is one part of a larger study of the work of Black Sociologists. At a later point I hope to be able to circulate the full draft of the Cox study, and present another seminar paper on the overall character of his work. However, in this seminar, somewhat contrary to the rather grand schema presented in the handout of one week ago, I will be dealing only with the theoretical discussion of social stratification and race relations. My intention is to clarify what Cox has written, and present a critique of this based upon my own understanding of the case.

Cox was born in Trinidad in 1901. He came to the United States in 1919, earned a B.S. in Law from Northwestern University in 1928 and was stricken with polio the following year. After giving up his aspiration to be a lawyer, Cox earned an M.A. in economics and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1932 and 1938. He was one of the many Black intellectuals who developed in the period of the Great Depression, and he never lost sight of the meaning of that experience. He went on to teach at Wiley College, Tuskegee Institute, Lincoln University and Wayne State University. He published 5 books, 28 articles, and a number of book reviews in both the major sociological journals, and
the major journals that publish works by Black scholars. While he won the George Washington Carver award given by Doubleday (publishers of his *Caste, Class and Race* in 1948) and the Park-Johnson-Frazier Award given by the American Sociological Association, his work has been ignored, his challenges gone unmet, and, consequently, the field of race relations remains a quite secondary aspect of sociology.
1. A CRITICAL APPROACH TO CLASS

Cox took up the vital concept of class, and systematically evaluated the major social theorists who treated this concept. My view is that Cox represents a major contradiction: Cox stands squarely in the tradition that he criticizes, and rather than being recognized as such, he is criticized for being a Marxist, which he is not. This can best be summed up in his treatment of class.

Of all the writers that he examines, we can best sum up his views by looking at Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Ray McIver. The main questions here are, what is the meaning of social class? And, what difference does it make?

a. On Karl Marx: Cox has been accused of being a Marxist, though few of his critics apparently know both Cox and Marx. Cox himself actually does not give extensive treatment of Marx and Engles. He lays particular stress on the general summation in the Communist Manifesto of the history of class struggle.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now
open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.\textsuperscript{7}

From this Cox concludes:

Of this selection, however, the only true political classes are bourgeoisie and proletariat; and practically all of the writings of Marx and Engels on the class struggle have been concerned with the behavior of these two political classes. In feudal and pre-feudal days freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf were all social-estate groups. On the other hand, guild-master and journeyman are occupational groups. The sporadic conflicts between the latter groups were personal; they never had the potentialities of revolution. Journeyman never wanted to overthrow "society" in order to set up a new system. The terms "oppressor" and "oppressed" are too generalized to have meaning for definitions of political classes. In fact, it might not be entirely incorrect to say that the greater the seeming oppression of one group by another, the less the likelihood of political-class action on the part of the oppressed group.\textsuperscript{8}

The point of departure for Cox is the nexus of social relationships, whereas for Marx and Engels they concentrated on the material relations of production. The error Cox makes is to focus on the phenomenal particularity
of the conflict categories, and not speak to the essential material character of the conflict, what Marx and Engles would call class conflict.

One example might prove enough to make this point. Cox states that "...lord and serf were all social-estate groups." He defines this as follows: "From the point of view of social structure, an estate may be thought of as one of the generally recognized social divisions of society, standing in relation to other divisions as socially superior or inferior." So, being a sociologist leads Cox to take up the particularity of the Feudal period by treating social distinctions, by working on a theory of the social structure.

Marx and Engles, on the other hand, viewed history through the lens of the economist and sought the fundamental character of each historical period in what they called the "mode of production," i.e., the characteristic level of development of the production forces, and the form of ownership, production relations. Further, for a concise Marxian definition of classes, which was not laid out as such by Marx and Engles, we have to turn to Lenin: "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation
of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."\textsuperscript{10}

The essence, then, of the serf-lord contradiction is the different positions they have in the production process, meaning that the ownership of the land, and the use of the law, allowed the class of nobility to rule over the masses of people by extracting their produce as tribute. The basis of this is their antagonistic economic relationship.

b. \textbf{On Max Weber:} Here Cox strikes good blows, but often for the wrong reasons.\textsuperscript{11} Weber holds that class is a market category that is of three types, being based on property, income, or some social arrangement. He wrote:

A 'class' is any group of persons occupying the same class status. The following types of classes may be distinguished: (a) A class is a 'property class' when class status for its members is primarily determined by the differentiation of property holdings; (b) a class is an 'acquisition class' when the class situation of its members is primarily determined by their opportunity for the exploitation of services on the market; (c) the
'social class' structure is composed of the plurality of class statuses between which an interchange of individuals on a personal basis or in the course of generations is readily possible and typically observable. On the basis of any of the three types of class status, associative relationships between those sharing the same class interests, namely, corporate class organizations, may develop. This need not, however, necessarily happen. The concepts of class and class status as such designate only the fact of identity or similarity in the typical situation in which a given individual and many others find their interests defined. In principle control over different combinations of consumers goods, means of production, investments, capital funds or marketable abilities constitute class statuses which are different with each variation and combination. Only persons who are completely unskilled, without property and dependent on employment without regular occupation, are in a strictly identical class status. Transitions from one class status to another vary greatly in fluidity and in the ease with which an individual can enter the class. Hence the unity of 'social' classes is highly relative and variable. Cox criticizes this because Weber does not anchor his remarks in a historical discussion of a particular society so that his abstract deductive formulations are really not useful except as classificatory concepts.
Of course this is exactly how contemporary sociology uses his notions. This is a good example of how Cox is not a Marxist, because he does approach Weber from that stand point. Marxism would say that Weber puts the cart before the horse. While he discusses what the market activity of the different types of classes are like, he fails to discuss the source of all the wealth in question. That seems to be assumed. Marx, as many good classical economists, would base his approach on the labor theory of value and examine the production process. Therefore, it makes a significant difference whether a capitalist makes profits from land rent, or the direct exploitation of the worker in the production process. Also, it makes a difference whether it is industrial capital or bank capital. These differences have been empirically treated in the historical development of capitalism by Marx in Capital, and the rise of finance capital by Lenin, in Imperialism.

Another major attack is on the way Weber relates status groups to castes. Weber holds that:

Where the consequences have been realized to their full extent, the status group evolves into a caste. Status distinctions are then guaranteed not merely by conventions and laws, but also by ritual.13

Cox bucks this grandiose generalization by pointing to Weber's use of Jews as the typical caste. The identification of Casta with status group, and often coalescing with
ethnicity is contrary to the historical development of the caste system in India where the concept originated. The point is that the development of social groups in conflict in traditional Indian society initially crystallized around the supremacy of the Brahman priest caste, with subsequent caste formations forming around a material base of a power-occupational function, protected by endogamy, and perpetuated through heredity. Cox wrote:

Gradually then, the caste system became orderly and stabilized, with priests giving a religious interpretation to all questions of moment. Brahmans were never centrally organized, and so too, the caste system has remained decentralized, for it is built about priests. Brahmans constitute the only indispensible caste in the system.14

More specifically, Cox directly challenges Weber's notion that a caste is a cultural thing resulting from the nexus of status mechanisms freezing some group in social space. Cox maintains that caste is rooted in the occupational organization, supported by the will of God, so that there will always be a plentiful supply of labor.15 This is one case where the romantic missionaries to India would call Cox a Marxist quack for making it appear that their quaint discovery of Indian mysticism originates in such mundane earthly matters as economic exploitation.

c. On R. MacIver: MacIver presents Cox with an opportunity to discuss mainstream contemporary sociology and the treatment of social class. MacIver states:
We shall...mean by a social class any portion of a community which is marked off from the rest primarily by social status... It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each, and stratifies the whole society. 16

With this definition, MacIver goes so far as to say that "The owner-farmer and the tenant farmer (in North America)...form a social class as we have defined it..." This is a good case of deductive reasoning by a sociologist who pays little attention to the actual material forces in society.

Of course Cox responds by indicating that MacIver uses social class as a status mechanism and totally liquidates the power dimension. Cox, in attempting to avoid this problem, uses the concept "political class." This means a class, conscious of its own interests, engaged in a struggle for power. With this definition, Cox is correct in his estimation that it is only with the rise of capitalism that you have a struggle for power by political classes. However, a fundamental error that Cox makes is in negating objective factors, and in relying too much on subjective factors. He does refer to a material basis for some things, but he fails to be systematic and therefore produces the effect of being too subjective.

If we must consider the implications for his critique, the standard approach in American sociology, which is
decidedly positivistic in character in that it is rooted in an empirical and pragmatic philosophical tradition, is to use some combination of income and educational attainment as indicators of social class. But the best predictor they use is occupational prestige, a measure of social status. In other words, the differential distribution of these social attributes is the basis on which people make estimations of the class structure of this country.

Cox, while not clearly presenting a systematic alternative, does oppose this by agreeing that the above might well do for "social class," but it will not do for "political class." Here he uses the Marxian dichotomy of Bourgeoisie and proletariat to make his case. He says that there is a dichotomous struggle for power in capitalist society, those who have it against those who don't. Moreover, he says that the main determinant of this is political class consciousness. This is disputed by sociologists who base their argument on the fact that survey research does not pick up evidence of this revolutionary consciousness. This is disputed by sociologists who base their argument on the fact that survey research does not pick up evidence of this revolutionary consciousness. 17

The flaw in general sociology is that it is generally ahistorical and turns into being an apology for the
American dream. The flaw in Cox is that he lacks the systematic empirical treatment to demonstrate the material basis for his political class, and does not consult the revolutionary experiences of around the world to test his argument.
2. CASTE, CLASS AND RACE PREJUDICE IN THE U.S.A.

The above theoretical discussion is really used by Cox for two distinct purposes, 1. to develop precise theoretical tools to analyse the basic character of the capitalist system, and 2. to develop a more scientific understanding of the historical experiences of Black people in the USA. In order to complete the second task it was necessary to take up major social theorists that applied such notions to Black people and evaluate their results.

This is very key because it turned out that these people were very influential; they were major forces in the liberal camp of their time, they were the mentors of many of the major Black sociologists who were influenced by their work, and they were among the few who treated the subject, so they were also read by default. Once again, Cox turned against the tide and raised his criticisms.

a. On Robert Park: Park was a key figure in the history of sociological treatment of Black people. Mainly his work is suggested by his relationship with three men, E. Franklin Frazier, Booker T. Washington, and Charles Johnson. He was a personal secretary to Washington, mentor to Frazier, and mentor-colleague with Johnson. But as with many people, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. Cox was particularly pointed in his attack on Park.19
Park made many unfortunate statements that link his orientation to a period of backward thought, e.g., he once referred to Black people as the "lady of the races." This reads very badly for him today. However, Cox gives attention to three aspects of his work: caste, prejudice and change. Here is a composite view of what Park wrote:

The social order which emerged with the abolition of slavery was a system of caste—caste based on race and color....So firmly was the system of caste fixed in the habits and customs...of both races in the south that all the social disorganization incident to the Civil War and Reconstruction were not sufficient wholly to...destroy it.20

Race prejudice is like class and caste prejudice—merely one variety of a species...as far as race relations are concerned, racial minorities are merely social classes...race prejudice in the southern states is caste prejudice.21

The Negro group has gradually ceased to exhibit the characteristic of a caste and has assumed rather the character of a racial or national minority.22

Cox conducted an extensive study of caste in India in order to grasp firmly what it meant there and found that it was quite different from the south. Moreover, Cox placed emphasis on the societal differences between the rise of caste in India and when they were supposed to have developed in this capitalist country. The caste thesis is not correct by definition, since the status position of most Black people did not include all Blacks, differences existed. Moreover, Cox suggests that racial assimilation is a peculiar product of capitalist
society so that the forces had been set in motion for
some time that were strong enough to prevent anything
so structured as caste from taking shape.

Moreover, Cox, in one of his more Marxist sounding
passages, rejects the notion that prejudice is purely
a subjective "instinctive caste" reaction:

Race prejudice...constitutes an attitudinal justification
necessary for an easy exploitation of some race.
To put it still another way, race prejudice is the
social-attitudinal concomitant of the racial-exploitative
practice of a ruling class in a capitalist society.
The substance of race prejudice is the exploitation
of the militarily weaker race. The slogan that
the colored man shall never have social equality
merely means that the colored man must be forever
kept exploitable.23

So here is a good example where Cox maintains that the
social attitudes that are held by the general population
are a function of the social system of exploitation.
However, if we note his use of the concept "military"
we find his notion of "political class" lurking there,
and, because he does not spell out precisely what he
means by exploitation we can only assume general influence
from Marx but not systematic use of the same analytical
tools.

But one thing is sure, and that is that Robert
Parks' work was exposed for the theoretical and empirical
inadequacy that we have also spoken to elsewhere.

b. On W. Lloyd Warner: It is with the work on
Warner that we can get a better handle on the importance
of the Cox refutation of the caste line of analysis.24
Warner held that the racial situation in the USA reflected both class and caste (see appendix). The caste line was the dividing line between the races, while the class line represented hierarchal differences within each race. The major heuristic problem with this analysis is that it mystifies the dynamic interaction between Blacks and Whites, promotes racial classifications as the major basis for distinctions, and was generally used by the various exponents of the school in such a loose way that in the end they said it was an analogy anyway.

This is an important part of a much larger picture. In Moscow, in 1928 and 1932, the Communist International passed a resolution that the Black Belt south was an oppressed nation. In 1936, Warner writes an article saying that Blacks were a racial caste in this society. The resurgence of nativism and fascist groups like the Ku Klux Klan had made the 1920's a time for the most oppressive theories of the sub-human character of Black people. What I am trying to outline is an entire array of theoretical views that emerge after Blacks begin to move into the northern cities, and the world is thrown into crisis with the great depression.

Cox rejects all views that don't address themselves to the concrete realities of this country. Moreover, his work is based on several basic views.
1. Capitalism is the most dynamic system known to man (a view that he held in the 1950's).

2. Capitalist culture must be mastered by any group hoping to be a success in a capitalist society.

3. Black people must avoid being pigeon-holed into any theoretical self-understanding that inhibits them from doing this.

4. Basic to the motion of capitalism is the assimilation of all the many peoples within its boundaries. And Black people should expect no less than this, to be fully apart of this dynamic way of life.

Cox seems to have found in the general Marxist approach the general orientation that revealed the fundamental flaws in what was passing as the leading social theory of the 1930's and 40's. However, he was not a Marxist in any strict sense. Cox was to turn out to be impressed with the capitalist system, and in later years turn his guns against what he considered to be the foibles and danger of Black nationalists like Malcolm X. But that is the subject for another talk.

In sum, Cox is a major critical theorist whose work is invaluable for any significant social theory dealing with Black people in the U.S.A. He is an intellectual pillar for Black Studies.
Footnotes

1. A major conference on Black Studies was held at Yale University in 1967. Given the variety of papers presented, and the historical timing of the conference, it is an indispensable reference for this major point. Armistead L. Robinson, et. al., eds., Black Studies in the University (New York: Bantam, 1969)

2. The best example of how this has been responded to is the following: An Introduction to Afro-American Studies (Chicago: Peoples College Press, 19__)


5. Attached to this paper is a fairly complete bibliography of his major works. The key text here is Caste, Class and Race (1948).

6. A major portion of the thesis by Martin treats this aspect.


8. Cox, Caste, Class and Race, p. 284


15. Ibid, pp. 60-70. This chapter is entitled "Occupation and Caste"


17. A major exception to this is the work by John Leggett. See Class, Race and Labor: Working Class Consciousness in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968)

18. For a very impressive treatment of the origin of this see Herman Schwendinger and Julia Schwendinger, The Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology 1883-1922 (New York: Basic Books, 1974)

19. Shorn of its censural and descriptive support, Park's theory of race relations is weak, vacillating, and misleading; and, to the extent that it lends "scientific" confirmation to the Southern rationalizations of racial exploitation, it is insidious. His teleological approach has diverted him from an examination of specific causal events in the development of modern race antagonism; it has led him inevitably into a hopeless position about "man's inhumanity to man," a state of mind that must eventually drive the student into the open arms of the mystic. Cox, Caste, Class and Race, p. 474.


22. Ibid., p. 468.

23. Ibid., p. 476.

24. Ibid., see Chapter 22 "The Modern Caste School of Race Relations"
**Chart 1**

W. Lloyd Warner

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**Chart 2**

Oliver Cox

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Within the caste system, the individual has some opportunity to progress in status with respect to members belonging with respect to other castes. The status of the caste is the social status of the individual.

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**The individual within a class system is completely free to advance in status according to his ability, or to retrograde with misfortune or failure. The classes here, as the castes in the caste system, have no status. But unlike the caste system persons or families have social status independently.**
Complete Bibliography of Oliver C. Cox

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"Sex Ratio and Marital Status Among Negroes," American Sociological Review, V, No. 6 (December, 1940), 937-47.

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"Race Relations," Journal of Negro Education, XII, No. 2 (Spring, 1943), 144-53.

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"Race, Prejudice and Intolerance," Social Forces, XXIV, No. 2 (Fall, 1945), 216-19.


"Modern Democracy and the Class Struggle," Journal of Negro Education, XVI, No. 2 (Spring, 1947), 155-64.


"The Preindustrial City Reconsidered," The Sociological Quarterly, V, No. 2 (Spring, 1964), 133-44.

"Introduction" to The Black Anglo-Saxons by Nathan Hare (New York, 1965).

Books

Caste, Class and Race (New York, 1948)


(Cox at the time of his death was working on a book about race relations which he had expected to be published in a year or so.)

Unpublished Material

"The Buying Power Movement Among Negroes in Chicago." This is a study of the first attempt of Negroes to use the boycott as a means of forcing white employers to consider Negroes for jobs. This survey was made in Chicago in 1932.

"Factors Affecting Marital Status Among Negroes." This is Cox's PhD dissertation, completed in 1938.

"The Negro's Quest for Democracy." This is largely a study of protest movements of Negroes in the U.S. with emphasis on the significance of nonviolence. Completed 1963.

(Cox wrote numerous book reviews in such periodicals as the American Sociological Review, American Journal of Sociology, ...
By Maryemma Graham

At precisely 8:30 on a recent Tuesday evening, an eager audience filled the nakedness of a college cafeteria — converted to a stage of sorts.

Moments later, a black woman emerged, expecting to see more black faces than she had seen earlier in the day. There is no confrontation, only humble submission. Then, in slow deliberate cadences, the black woman's voice broke through a supposed racial barrier, a barrier that, as it turned out, did not exist.

It did not exist because the medium through which this woman spoke was poetry, poetry which made a private experience public and a specific experience general. Thus, for those present — who were mostly white and middle-class — listening and believing were not difficult.

They could listen to the poetic translations of Gwendolyn Brooks and believe in the profound reality and intense humanity of black people. They could listen, too, and feel no reprimand, no call to action. I was immediately critical as I, like them, listened quietly, but did not believe completely.

For I was afraid, in thinking about the productive literary period of the sixties, that black art was about to become, if it had not already become, a fetish to be bought and sold to the highest bidder.

Neither polemical nor overtly political, the poetry of Gwendolyn Brooks is at its best in the lyric mode. Her messages are almost always spiritual ones. When she writes about black people — and this is undoubtedly her favorite subject — she enshrines them in the cloak of their soulful reality with images that elicit the most powerful emotional responses. But they are images that flow from the poet’s retiring personal lyricism, at once non-threatening, but effective; non-protesting, but extremely precise.

Moving Poet

An extraordinarily prolific poet, Gwendolyn Brooks’s fame has come to rest upon her moving situation poems (poverty, loneliness) and character narratives (“The Ballad of Pearly May Lee”), as well as upon general subject poems (childhood, womanhood, motherhood, old age).

She has mastered all of the conventional forms of poetry, especially the sonnet, and has continued her effective and expert rendering of narrative poetry and free verse. Among her classics are “Children of the Poor,” “The Preacher: Ruminates Behind the Sermon,” “We Real Cool,” and this one which reflects her view of poetry as inner reflection:

Abortion will not let you forget.
You remember the children you got that you did not get.
The damp small pulps with a little or with no hair.
The singers and workers that never handled the air.
I have heard in the voices of the wind the voices of my dim killed children.
I have contracted. I have eased.
I dim dears at the breasts they could never suck.

You were never made.
But that, too, I am afraid.
Is faulty: oh, what shall I say, how is the truth to be said?
You were born, you had body, you died.
It is just that you never giggled or planned or cried.

This delicate examination of private experience is the gift of a poet whose lyricism refuses to diminish with age, a poet whose creation world is the result of the internalization of the collective experience of a race of people.

She might be compared to Carl Sandburg — though many would abhor such a comparison — whom she succeeded as poet laureate of Illinois. Both were Chicago bred, both sought to interpret the phenomenon of urban America through folk ballad and lyric poem, both were "poets of the people."

Unlike Sandburg, however, who wrote in an earlier period of urban American history, Brooks expresses the brutality of black urban life: the slaughter of black people. Sandburg expressed the powerful impact of industrial society: the slaughter of hogs ("Chicago, hog-butcher of the world").

In black (American) history's current constellation, Gwendolyn Brooks is an ascendant superstar. A poet since age 13, she has published numerous volumes, including children's books (The Tiger Who Wore Gloves) and an autobiography, (The World of Gwendolyn Brooks).

The most accepted black poet alive today, she is neither pompous nor elusive; she comes forth with a burst of youthful animation that not only belies her 50-odd years, but baffles an unsuspecting listener. As for glamour or flamboyance, she has none; it is her poetry that attracts and convinces a mostly spellbound audience.

Paradoxical

The career of Gwendolyn Brooks may be viewed as somewhat paradoxical. The poetry and the woman have survived the radical social protest of the 1930's and 1940's as well as the retreat from that protest during the 1950's.

She knew the black poet and scholar, Langston Hughes, and was nourished by the same forces which created Richard Wright. She is also the poet parallel to Ralph Ellison, noted contemporary black novelist. In a real sense, the ideas of these two very different historical periods — social protest and its retreat — have merged in the work of a woman most of the younger generation have only known since the 1960's.

Gwendolyn Brooks has a rather simple postulation about poetry.

"Poetry is life distilled," she says. It is this postulation that she has shared with countless young, mostly black, writers for many years.

About ten years ago, for example, Brooks, already a distinguished poet, opened her home to young black poets and writers, who wanted to transform the form and content of poetic writing. The result was OBAC (Organization of Black American Culture), a workshop which was distinguished both by its members and by its ideological content.

From OBAC came Don L. Lee (Haki Mahibuti), who along with three other younger black writers — Nikki Giovanni, Etheridge Knight and Sonja Sanchez — helped to mold a cultural renaissance among black people.

It was these "Big Four" who helped to turn black poetry around," says Brooks. OBAC and writers centered throughout the US accepted the premise that the cultural uniqueness of black people had to be addressed in very specific terms, terms which would help to create the spiritual, mental and political unity of black people.

For some, this movement passed all too quickly — this cultural movement in art and poetry, which, together with widespread social unrest, represented the contending forces in the political scenario of the 1960's.

Brooks, for one, does not concede a waning of that cultural renaissance, at least the more broadly nationalist phase of it. She insists, rather, that the seventies are a period of "reassessment" for black people.

"Black people had to go through what they did," she says thoughtfully. "I do think that the black poet today is more individualism-oriented."

Stability and Substance

It is not at all surprising that the poet who gave such stability and substance to a broad literary movement has continued to propagate the ideas of that movement. And yet that poetry which is typically identified with the 1960's, that poetry of spontaneity, racial protest and indignant rage, that poetry that could be distinguished by its form more often than its content, that poetry is not the real poetry of Gwendolyn Brooks.

Much too controlled to let an emotion get out of hand, much too contemplative to comment about society, Gwendolyn Brooks is to herself an enigma. She is a poet/teacher who has given much more than she herself can express.

As a poet/critic, she reflects the world, but does not help us to transform it into what it ought to be. She does not, however, shy away from "Messages" which she feels are necessary to poetry. But because her visions represent the best subjective expression of an objective experience, she makes it possible for everyone to go into her world, taking us out of our own real one, allowing us, in fact, to escape the plane of reality altogether.
This is what all great poetry does, we are told. It allows us to participate in and understand the heightened vision that only subjective reality can afford. But when one asks for something more concrete, something more explainable in terms of social reality, Gwendolyn Brooks somehow fails.

What she gives us is a spirited exhortation that does not address any real issues: Primer for Black People

LARGE THE CHARGE
Blackness is a title, is a preoccupation, is a commitment,
Blacks are to comprehend and in which you are to perceive your glory...

Remember your education.
One drop maketh a brand new Black. Almighty drop.

Blackerness stretches over the land...

Blackerness—the black, black of it, the rust red of it, the melted cream of it, the yellow and yellow tan of it, the deep brown, middle brown, high brown of it...

To all of you, the banner is black unity.

Her message is simple. Black people can and must survive on the spiritual and physical plane that their blackness alone creates for them.

It is the kind of message, however, that only some black people and some white people can abide. The vast majority must be more concerned about a survival other than spiritual.

When asked about her political feelings, Gwendolyn Brooks is quite candid. What can white people do for the black liberation struggle?

"Work among their own and help to smash the wild rumors about "blacks," she comments pointedly.

Women's liberation? "It was inevitable, but there are certain dangers for black women—the loathing of men, ever, and we wonder if w have the right to ask at all. Sh has never been subject to political controversy, nor ha she demanded the kind of public attention that an artist such as Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones) finds most attractive—and we are grateful that sh does not.

And so we must be prepared to receive, as we do in Santa Barbara, a poet of superior talent. We must accept, too, her quiet aggression, her non-charismatic, but forceful manner, and her political reticence.

For clearly, it is as a disciplined poet, who is dedicated to the art of poetry—and who is one of its most successful creators—and not to an examination of causes, problems of solutions, that Gwendolyn Brooks makes the kind of claim upon our attention that she does.

Editor's note: Maryuem Graham is a freelance writer living in Santa Barbara. Sh has written reviews, an feature articles for such publications as Essence, Renwic Magazine and Encore Magazine.

GWENDOLYN BROOKS

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University
Pan-Africanism Puts Race Before Class Struggle

By Maryemma Graham

"Capitalism is a vicious stupid system. The capitalist system must be destroyed... Revolution is an inevitable process. The process in which capitalism finds itself is irreversible, it cannot be stopped."

An unsuspecting listener falls easy prey to this tirade against capitalism and to the captivating, alluring style of the speaker.

Stokely Carmichael, veteran Black protest leader, Pan-African socialist, chairman of the All African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) cast such a spell during his first visit to Santa Barbara.

His visits to black communities, US colleges and universities have become a commonplace. His audiences expect—and get—a master rhetorician who can put forth cunning arguments on pertinent issues. Not only does Carmichael feed his listeners large doses of self-styled socialist ideology, he skilfully searches for whatever leftovers there might be from the waning movement of student activism:

"The farm workers are exploited because someone else takes the products of their labor. Technology is used to discover more ways to exploit. Capitalism exploits without mercy. It steals people from Africa and makes them slaves without mercy. It drops bombs in Vietnam without mercy. Thus, if we must fight it, we must fight it without mercy."

His deliberations on socialism are explicit:

"We must make sure that the material conditions of the society allow for no exploitation of one by the other. Thus, we must make sure that everybody owns and controls the means of production. When everybody owns the means of production, nobody works for nobody, everybody works for everybody. A socialist system is a planned system, planned to meet the needs of humanity."

Carefully avoiding any conscious discussion of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat (the dominant themes of scientific socialism), Carmichael makes his most compelling appeal to students and ex-students, especially those who are wandering in the muck and mire of political confusion and who are often more adept in the form, not the content, of political posturing.

By the time he shifts his discussion to the revolution in Africa, Carmichael has evoked all the memories of the Black Power days, rekindled the flames of Black nationalism and recruited an entire audience into the AAPRP:

"Imperialism knows that when the African in Africa hooks up with the African in the Caribbean hooks up with the African in South America hooks up with the African in America and all of them are fighting against capitalism and for socialism at the same time, the world will tremble!"

It is not that Carmichael isn't correct in his assertions about capitalism and the inevitability of socialism.
It was this reformist, middle-class-led movement which gave prominence to Stokely Carmichael.

Now... some years later... Carmichael is no longer clad in denim... the popular symbol of sixties activism. And he is known as one of the most internationally renowned activist/theoricians of Black liberation.

Born in Trinidad, and raised in New York City, Carmichael has made his home in Guinea, West Africa, since the late sixties. He personifies the relationship between Africa and America by maintaining a dual citizenship.

Carmichael reportedly went to Africa to seek political guidance and clarity. And it was in Guinea where he studied and transformed the Black Power philosophy into Pan-Africanism, an ideology which seeks "the total liberation and unification of Africa under scientific socialism."

Borrowing from the ideas of Kwame Nkrumah who led Ghana to independence in 1957, Pan-Africanism a la Carmichael's version of Nkrumahism, is closely akin to the political idealism of Black Power.

Whereas Black Power saw the necessity for Black solidarity as a prelude to Black equality under American capitalism, Pan-Africanism asserts that African liberation is a prelude to the liberation of "Africans" in the US, South America and the Caribbean.

Does this mean struggle for socialism wherever Black people live? Carmichael's answer: It means socialism in Africa.

A Strong Affair

"Africa is more important to us than America. The building of a strong Africa is the only way that we will be free... He [the Black man] was ripped from his nation, brought to America to build the American capitalist system. Now being here, he must understand to which is his primary loyalty: to the destruction of the American capitalism system for the building of his nation, Africa, or for the building of America. There must be one that is primary, because he has both. If he opts for Africa, then I know that he will organize himself properly, get as much power as he can, inside the system, but will use that power to help build a socialist Africa. If he doesn't opt for Africa, he can only use that power to build a socialist America..."

It was this view—though certainly attractive and strangely compelling—that caused concern among Carmichael's audience. At least Carmichael's Santa Barbara listeners during a late October lecture at UCSB. Many found the call to free Africa offered no real solution to the problems facing Black people in the US (or elsewhere outside of Africa). It was this contradiction that carried over into an intense discussion when Santa Barbara's Black community met with Carmichael in the Graduate Tower of UCSB's South Hall.

Carmichael's audience was critical and insistent.

In ending his discussion of capitalist exploitation in America, it was charged, Carmichael talked about the struggle in Africa without addressing the particular struggle of Black and oppressed people in America. What about education, unemployment, poor housing, diminishing social services, the countless numbers on welfare, several wondered—are these not the primary struggles of those Blacks who live in America and, presumably, will continue to do so?

Carmichael's propositions offered little satisfaction to spirited questions from the audience.

"The more power Black people get by improving their lives, the more power they are able to aid Africa with. The question is 'what are we fighting for?'... Africans..."
"Capitalism exploits without mercy... we must fight it without mercy."

In America are Africans, their nation is Africa," insisted Carmichael. "Any sensible African knows that Africa is his nation."

The argument that the goal of Africans in America must be to unite with Africans everywhere in the world did not go unchallenged. As the evening went on, queries could be heard: "Is he calling me an African?"

It was clear that Pan-Africanism as defined by Carmichael has the potential for excluding and alienating those very people who share the same exploitation and without whose cooperation in struggle no liberation at all is possible.

According to Carmichael, Black people do not "belong" to America. Therefore, the struggle of Blacks in America is not viewed by Carmichael as a part of the international struggle of oppressed people and exploited classes.

"If I was stolen from a nation," Carmichael's logic goes, "I no longer stop belonging to that nation and I certainly do not try to belong to the nation that stole me. I belong to the African nation and, since I belong to the African nation, my primary objective is to bring socialism to the African nation."

There is no questioning Carmichael's logic; he answers every question with his question, "Are you African, or are you American?" provoking round after round of heated debates.

The most militant exchange occurred regarding the strategy and tactics of liberation.

Because Carmichael advocates socialism as the system which serves humanity, he represents the view of the majority of Black, third world, and other revolutionary groups struggling against capitalism according to the principles set down by Marx, Lenin, and more recently, Mao Tse-Tung.

But because he also accepts the view that Black people, as an "African" people must unify as Africans and that race rather than class leads to socialism, Carmichael represents what many revolutionaries have termed escapism and idealism. Idealists believe that the idea of a thing can be used to change or substitute for the material reality. Idealism results when one's consciousness of the world does not conform to the way the world actually is.

Revolutionaries who accept the notion that it is the unity of the working class that leads to socialism are quick to point out, in response to Carmichael's African nationalism or Pan-Africanism, that the US is a multinational country in that those who are exploited and oppressed are drawn from many national and ethnic groups. Through a unity of action by oppressed and exploited groups struggling against a common enemy, revolutionaries argue, the liberation of all oppressed people is possible.

Carmichael can accept multinational—on his own terms that is.

"I can be multinational because I'm an African... How can you be multinational if you have no nation?"

But it was not the question of (continued on next page)
Carmichael

(continued from previous page)

African identity,” a seeming obsession for Carmichael, and
certainly it was not the need for
socialism. The particular kind
Carmichael argues for, that
merits great debate.

It is rather the issues of Black
liberation and the strategy for
socialism—of long-term strategy
and immediate tasks—that be-
come the major point of conten-
tion. And as Carmichael
struggled to clarify Pan-African-
ism, to give it more immediate
meaning to the on-going struggle
of the working class in America—
indeed, in California—he became
less and less a proponent of
socialism, and more and more a
proponent of an explicitly
reactionary philosophy.

"Scientifically speaking," he
pointedly said, "there are genes.
Which is the dominant gene? The
black gene or the white gene?
Which one is recessive?"

Africans for Africa

While Carmichael would have
all Africans in America fight for
Africa, other African libera-
tion leaders themselves have some-
what different views.

Amilcar Cabral, the slain
leader of Guinea-Bissau, said that
Africans in America should
struggle on the American front.
This he viewed as the "real
contributions to our struggle."

"Does this mean you all have to
leave [the US] and go fight in
Africa?" Cabral continued, "We
do not believe so. That is not
being realistic in our opinion."

Leaders of the Mozambique
liberation movement, comparing
their struggle to that of the
Vietnamese, suggested that the
mass mobilization of Black people
in opposition to US imperialism’s
support of Portuguese colonial-
ism, of South Africa and of
Rhodesia, is essential.

The support of African
liberation in the US has had most
positive results. The US based
African Liberation Support Com-
mittee (ALSC), originators of the
nation-wide African Liberation
Day demonstrations, mobilized
over 50,000 people and contrib-
uted thousands of dollars to
African liberation movements in
1973-74.

Carmichael’s comments re-
garding this organization, one of
whose chapters was most active
in the Bay Area, are revealing.

In his view, ALSC and the
supporters of African liberation in
the US were "reactionary and
didn’t really care about Africa."

Interestingly enough, in 1976,
Carmichael and the AAPRP were
found to be the somewhat surrep-
titious organizers of African
Liberation Day.

Given the views of African
liberation movement leaders and
the tremendous support of Black
people for African liberation,
Carmichael’s notions continue to
contradict both the theoretical
lessons and practical experience
of these liberation movements.
And it is these movements which
provide a real understanding of
the relationship between US
Blacks and the African revolution.

Clearly the most important
lesson to be learned is that every
revolution—especially the Afri-
can revolutions in countries such
as Angola, Mozambique and,
increasingly, South Africa—
result from contradictions general
to capitalism and specific to the
context of Africa, and not to the
context of Africans in America or
the Caribbean or South America.

Confronting the Struggle

Stokely Carmichael’s appear-
ance in Santa Barbara has raised
some important questions, ques-
tions which in fact have con-
fronted the Black struggle for
decades and especially during
recent years.

The notion of "Back to Africa"
or, in its modern form, "the
liberation of Africa," is not at all
new to Black history. It has been
espoused as a means of resolution
and escape from the problems
which have continually plagued
US Blacks. And it has been most
popular during periods of intense
crisis.

The 1970’s are evidence of the
failure of the Civil Rights
movement of the fifties and the
late sixties and the failure to
achieve any lasting or fundamen-
tal improvement in the conditions
of the masses of Black and poor
people. The result has been that
many of the leaders of the
sixties—like Carmichael—have
translated their frustration and
dilution into a desire for
escape and have sought refuge in
foreign lands.

These leaders have not
understood that frustration, disil-
dillation and setbacks, must
necessarily be transformed into a
stronger desire to struggle, to
resist and to be victorious.

Certainly the future will be
determined by the methods Black
people use to resolve the
problems facing our entire
society—problems about unem-
ployment, inflation, racist attac-
ks, the Bakke decision (striking affirmative action uni-
versity admission standards), or
outbacks in educational opportu-
nities. Whether the solution will
come from escape or idealism, as
Carmichael personifies, or
through struggle, as others pro-
pose, must be determined by a
careful understanding of these
alternatives.

One thing is certain, however:
we must beware of the introzi-
eating effects of clever-sounding
rhetoric which passes itself off as
the real thing.

Maryemma Graham is a freelance
writer living in Santa Barbara
who has traveled extensively in
Africa and written for many Black
publications.
November 2, 1976

TO: Seminar, Center for Black Studies

FROM: Gerald A. McWorter, Director

RE: An Afro-American View of China

I. Introduction

(a) why is this important to discuss?
(b) what is "an Afro-American view?"

II. Historical Comments on the Chinese Revolution

A. General Outline

1900 Boxer Rebellion
1911 Republican Revolution, Sun Yat-Sen declared president
1919 May Fourth Movement
1921 First Congress of Chinese Communist Party
1927 First Communist-Nationalist Civil War (1927-37)
1937 United Front Against Japan: The Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945)
1946 Second Communist-Nationalist Civil War (1946-49)
1949 Founding of New China
1950 Korean War
1960 Soviet aid withdrawn from China
1972 Nixon visit to China

B. Internal Development

1931-1936 Struggle against Wang Ning, the 28 Bolsheviks, and The Long March
1937-1944 Rectification Campaign
1949-1954 Land Reform - collectivization of ownership
1958 Great Leap Forward
1966 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
   (a) Liu Chao-Ch'i
   (b) Lin Piao
   (c) Teng Hsiao-p'ing
III. A view of New China through the eyes of an Afro-American (slides)

IV. A Summation

(a) unity of theory and practice
(b) mass line and faith in masses
(c) process of making changes
I SING TO CHINA

Reprinted from
Selected Poems
by
W. E. B. DuBois

Ghana University Press
Accra, Ghana

Peoples College Press
Nashville, Tennessee
U. S. A.
1974
I SING TO CHINA

All proud brethren of mine,
You and your kin: I die,
For you are born again, bursting new life.
Only you are mine, and kin.
But soon when your fathers return,
All your hosts in gold,
And made us both, cousins to the stand!

Farewell and Hail!
Farewell and Hail!
Now I turn West, where kindly Death
Opens its arms of endless sleep
Dying as I die: be born, New China,
Celestial Kingdom, Golden Realm!

Hail, China!
I go, I leave, I hasten home
Where Dulles' brink can punish a nigger,
For greeting a chink!
My country, 'tis of thee,
I cannot sing.

But I can bring greetings
From six hundred eighty million souls—
Marching, pushing, pulling;
Singing, weeping, crawling to conquer
Themselves and the world.

Bursting pain bonds of poverty
Dull ignorance, dread Disease!
Hand held in hand
Of that strong elder brother
Great Soviet Russia, Northern Light.

Emperor of all Snow and Ice;
Who, wounded and scarred from fighting half the World,
Stands today, wise, strong and proud;
Exulting and exalted.

She who once felt pain blushing Pain,
Blood blushing Blood
Hope eating up Despair
But now sits she, conquering and unconquerable.

Not perfect, but with her eyes firm fixed
On Perfection
Beckoning all her brethren: south, east and west
White and black, yellow and brown
All colors, all men!
All knowledge, all good!

Eternal China!
Live again, unending Life of Death!
Hear not the howling of the Hounds of Hell,
Old China Hands who kicked their servants;

Raped your daughters
And prostituted your wives;
Sent priest, with opium in their sight hands, guns in their left;
Crosses on their foreheads and gin in their backs,
To baptize the heathen!

Torment yourselves, O Chinese people,
Flagellate your souls, my brothers,
Do bitter penance for those awful years
And centuries of yielding
To self-murder, degradation and despair;
To faithlessness to China and mankind.

Work now and struggle; sacrifice with joy,
In just requital for the cruelty and neglect,
You, yourselves, meted out to
Your mothers, wives, and children
And yourselves.

Count sweat and toil today;
Hunger and cold;
Nakedness and suffering, as just pay
For centuries of surrender.

Forget the little shrill that stinks and stews on Taiwan
Forget the dogs, thorn and Dixon.
Remember them their ravaged peoples, the hapless pawns
Of blood-stained paws, of bloody jaws.
Be calm, their end is written in the stars;
Even their fellow-slaves in America
Power is justice.

You have faced the Dragon, China,
That fearsome Beast who ruled a thousand years;
A writhing colt of sin, a poison frog, a slimy horde!
Who frightened you to submission
And bound your feet and bowed your backs.

Hearken to the drums, listen to the feet:
The March, the Long, Long March from Ming to Mao, led by the Ghost
Of Sun Yat-sen.
With the Song of Tu Fu, the memory of Confucius and Tao
Sing, Liu, to the starving; starve with the song, Chou!

And Ch' u T' e h, fight, fight, fight!
Through the snows and over the mountains,
You carry treasure;
You carry Gold, but not the Gold
Of banks and war-lords.

But the fine Gold of human hearts
Whose price can never fall
Which is scarce only as it is not used
Spend your Gold, China, scatter it and throw it abroad.
Buy all mankind as you have bought me
Bought me and bound me and made me
Forever and forever yours!

Away Myth and Miracle, Creed and Dogma;
Up Science, Truth, Right and Reason
Come, Little England, dying France,  
Live on your own toil and no longer on the stolen land  
and labor  
Of slaves.  
Rejoice, Honesty, God lives again!  
No Christ to kill, no faith to fan  
What China worships is a Man!  
A workingman, who earns his food  
And toils and sweats through day and night;  
And tills his land with all his might;  
And owns the harvest that he sows,  
And winds and pulls,  
And hauls and lifts  
And counts his children as his gifts;  
And thinks and plans,  
And learns and knows;  
And plants the tree and salls the sea,  
And works for all and all for me;  
And they for us and we for them;  
Who love their fellows more than self,  
And toil for others not for self.  
No lofty lineage does China bear—  
No 'ords to strut, no fools to fear  
And all its myriad millions sing  
Work save the people, away with kings!  
Let Poet, Seer and Thinker rule,  
Raise Age to honor, child to school.  
To school, to school, Golden baby, China doll,  
Kowtow, all sons of Heaven  
To the Daughters of Destiny  
Mothers of Men!  
To the women of China  
Fragrant with the fairest Future  
Man ever knew!  

Reach down, O mighty People,  
With your clenched left fist,  
Grip the hands of Black Folk!  
Hold fast the men from whom this world was born:  
The great-brained Ape  
Who stood erect and talked to his fellows  
Who planted seed and first boiled Iron  
And civilized a World.  
Night fell, silent and noiseless night, ghost-haunted,  
Earthquake tore, flood reared, serpent and insect bit;  
Fever raged, starvation reigned; but Africa lived;  
Africa lived and grew, fared far and flourished,  
Vitalized mankind.  

Until the Devil rose and ruled in Europe and America,  
Worshipping Greed, proclaiming God, enchain ing  
His children;  
Preaching Freedom, practicing Slavery  
Making Africans the niggers of the World.  

To be mocked and spit upon,  
To be crucified! Dead and buried!  
But Africa is not dead; she never died; she never will,  
She will rise in sleep; this third century of her degradation  
She struggles to awake.  

Help her, China!  
Help her, Dark People, who half-shared her slavery;  
Who know the depths of her sorrow and humiliation!  
Help her, not in Charity,  

But in glorious resurrection of that day to be,  
When the Black Man lives again  
And sings the Song of the Ages!  
Swing low, Sweet Chariot—  
Good news! the Chariot's a'coming!  
Then again, Peace! Then forward the World, forward  
Mankind!  
No more Murder!  

Ignore the memory of white men who tossed pence to paupers  
Yoked children to machines  
Ate babies in their mills  
Waxed fat on profits.  

Remember only the Saints of the West  
John Brown and Garrison  
Lincoln and Douglass  
Pray that lost Britain  
Live in truth as once it wanted to live  
And bring back the World it murdered.  

Sweet cities of China  
With gold-coil roofs and curling caves  
With flaming walls and flowering gardens  
And laughing children rolling in the sun,  
Thunder your lightnings  
From the Great Wall to Himalay a  
Where pearls and jewels of Jolmolumna  
Peel down on all the earth!  

Shout, China!  
Roar, Rock, roll River;  
Sing, Sun and Moon and Sea!  
Move Mountain, Lake and Land,  
Exalt Mankind, Inspire!  
For out of the East again, comes Salvation!  
Leading all prophets of the Dead—  
Osiris, Buddha, Christ and Mahmoud  
Interning their ashes, cherishing their Good:  
China save the World!  
Arise, China!  

China Reconstructs, June, 1939
MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO AMERICAN NEGROES

Adapted at the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination

Peking, October 10, 1963

American Negro Brothers and Sisters
Care of Mr. Robert Williams

People from all walks of life in Peking are gathered here once again today in a great assembly to pledge resolute support to American Negro brothers and sisters in their struggle against U.S. imperialist racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

Since last April, a movement of demonstrations launched by the American Negroes has swept rapidly over the whole of the United States. The Freedom March on Washington on August 28, in which more than 200,000 Negroes and many honest white men participated, marks a new upsurge in the American Negroes' struggle. Your struggle jolted the ruling circles of U.S. monopoly capitalists, dealt blows to the U.S. imperialist policy of racial discrimination and, before the people of the whole world, gave the lie to the so-called democracy and freedom of the U.S. ruling circles and unmasked the fraudulent nature of the "sympathy" given by Kennedy and his ilk to the American Negroes.

Your struggle has also given support and encouragement to the people of the world in their struggle against imperialism.

Aided and abetted by the Kennedy Administration and with its participation, the American racists have intensified their persecution of the Negroes. The Birmingham bombing on September 15 which caused the death of many Negro children was most shocking. The Chinese people indignantly condemn such heinous crimes of racial discrimination and persecution perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists.

The American Negroes' struggle is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the American people and of the liberation struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples. It has the sympathy and support of the just people in the United States and throughout the world. The Chinese people will always stand by their American Negro brothers and sisters as well as the American people as a whole in the fight against U.S. imperialism and its policy of racial discrimination.

U.S. imperialism, which maintains a rule tending more and more towards fascism at home and pursues a policy of aggression and plunder abroad, is opposed by the people of all countries and is finding itself increasingly isolated. The struggle against U.S. imperialism waged by the people of the world will surely continue to grow in strength and magnitude. U.S. imperialism is doomed to extinction. The just struggle of the American Negroes, which has the support of over ninety per cent of the people of the world, is sure to triumph in the end.

The Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Opposing U.S. Imperialism and Supporting the American Negroes' Struggle Against Racial Discrimination
Roar, China!
Roar, old lion of the East!
Snort fire, yellow dragon of the Orient,
Tired at last of being bothered.
Since when did you ever steal anything
From Anybody,
Sleepy wise old beast
Known as the porcelain-maker,
Known as the poem-maker,
Known as maker of firecrackers?
A long time since you cared
About taking other people's lands
Away from them.
They must've thought you didn't care
About your own land either--
So THEY came with gunboats,
Set up Concessions,
Zones of influence,
International Settlements,
Missionary houses,
Banks,
And Jim Crown Y.M.C.A.'s
THEY beat you with malacca canes
And dared you to raise your head--
Except to cut it off.
Even the yellow men dropped bombs on Chapei.
The yellow men called you the same names
The white men did:
  Dog! Dog! Dog!
  Coolie dog!
  Red!...Lousy red!
  Red coolie dog!
And in the end you had no place
To make your porcelain,
Write your poems,
Or shoot your firecrackers on holidays.
In the end you had no peace
Or calm left at all.

PRESIDENT, KING, MIKADO
Thought you really were a dog.
THEY kicked you daily
Via radiophone, via cablegram,
Via gunboats in the harbor,
Via malacca canes.

THEY thought you were a tame lion.
A sleepy, easy, tame old lion!
Hah! Hah!
Haaaa-a-a-a!...Ha!

Laugh, little coolie boy on the docks of Shanghai, laugh!
You're no tame lion.
Laugh, red generals in the hills of Siang-Kiang, laugh!
    You're no tame lion.
Laugh, child slaves in the factories of the foreigners!
    You're no tame lion.
Laugh—and roar, China! Time to spit fire!
Open your mouth, old dragon of the East,
To swallow up the gunboats in the Yangtse!
Swallow up the foreign planes in your sky!
Eat bullets, old maker of firecrackers—
And spit out freedom in the face of your enemies!

Break the chains of the East,
    Little coolie boy!
Break the chains of the East,
    Red generals!
Break the chains of the East,
    Child slaves in the factories!
Smash the iron gates of the Concessions!
Smash the pious doors of the missionary houses!
Smash the revolving doors of the Jim Crow Y.M.C.A.'s.
Crush the enemies of land and bread and freedom!
    Stand up and roar, China!
    You know what you want!
The only way to get it is
    To take it!
    Roar, China!

Langston Hughes
DEPENDENCY VERSUS DIALECTICS: TWO LINES OF ANALYSIS
ON THE AFRO-AMERICAN NATIONAL QUESTION

To be presented to a Colloquium
November 18, 1976

COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF DECOLONIZATION AND
DEPENDENCY IN THE THIRD WORLD, 1945-1975

DEPARTMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES
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COMRADES, COLLEAGUES, AND FRIENDS:

The general concept of “dependency” is for many people a useful tool in the analysis of Afro-Americans in the United States because it links by analogy the internal exploitation of Black people with the external exploitation of the peoples of the world by USA monopoly capitalism. We will argue that this is a mechanical error, and reflects an attempt to arrive at greater clarity through a conceptual shortcut. Even if it is done with good intentions, it ends up serving the interests of capital. Indeed, as Lenin pointed out, the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

We will argue that the dynamic historical motion of this society, the dialectical development of the internal relations, has many contradictions in which we find the interpenetration of opposites. This basic theoretical point, when grasped in its concrete manifestation in USA history, is the key to developing strategy and tactics for revolutionary change in the USA. Therefore, we have titled this paper “Dependency versus Dialectics” in order to sharply contrast these two views.

Our aim is to set the matter straight, and convince you that dependency theory is not a useful approach to understanding the exploitation and oppression of Black people in the USA. This is an important task, in part because it is a self-criticism and repudiation of views we incorrectly held at an earlier period, and in part because these views are prevalent in intellectual circles, and held by a significant sector of the middle class. We present this paper as a polemic, a polemic with definite intellectual and political implications.
There are several basic axioms of dependency theory that must be specified in order to understand the basic parameters of our subject.

A. First, it is assumed that there are at least two distinct entities, countries or nations that each have a separate origin and historical development.

B. Second, it is assumed that after contact, at least one of these two entities achieves economic, political, and cultural dominance over the others.

C. And third, it is assumed that the dominated entity increasingly becomes dependent on the dominant one, meaning that its economic, political, and cultural development is shaped to serve the needs of the dominant society.

This is also the abstract model used in an attempt to illuminate the basic character of Afro-American people in the USA as an internal colony.

In general, this is a kind of mechanical logic and gross empiricism that focuses on pieces of reality, presenting them in isolation and raises this to a level of theoretical abstraction, this view mystifies the dialectical complexity of the material reality of Afro-American life and fails to point to the dynamic process of the struggle for socialism in the USA. Instead this approach seeks to substitute a weak, historically bankrupt, reformism by holding up a two stage theory of revolution to our critical study of the essential features of black people's history. It plays on the
OPPORTUNISM OF THE MIDDLE CLASS, WHIPS UP THEIR VISIONS OF GRANDEUR,
(e.g., GETTING A BIGGER PIECE OF THE PIE), AND TRIES TO MAKE REFORM
SEEM LIKE REVOLUTION, WHEN IT DRAWS THE ANALOGY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS
MOVEMENT AND ECONOMIC REFORMS WITH THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS IN
THE THIRD WORLD. THIS APPROACH, FOR THE LAST CENTURY HAS BEEN A
TACTIC OF THE RULING CLASS TO PERVERT OUR ANALYSIS AND DEFUSE OUR
STRUGGLE.

CONTINUING ON A GENERAL THEORETICAL LEVEL, IT WILL BE USEFUL
TO SKETCH OUT A CRITIQUE. THEN, WE WILL EXAMINE THREE PARTICULAR
MANIFESTATIONS OF THIS APPLICATION OF DEPENDENCY THEORY TO THE
REALITY OF AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE USA.

1. THE FIRST POINT IS THAT COLONIALISM IS NOT A STATIC
PHENOMENON, BUT RATHER AN EXPANSIONIST POLICY THAT CHANGED ITS
CONTENT BASED UPON THE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE METROPOLITAN
COUNTRIES. WE CAN POINT TO DIFFERENCES AS FAR BACK AS ROME, AND
AS CLOSE AS MERCANTILE AND EARLY CAPITALIST SOCIETY, IN CONTRAST
TO THE LATER DEVELOPMENT UNDER MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, IN ORDER TO
PROVE THAT THINGS MIGHT LOOK THE SAME BUT DIFFER ON THE BASIS OF
THE CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIETY. LENIN PUTS IT THIS
WAY IN IMPERIALISM:

COLONIAL POLICY AND IMPERIALISM EXISTED BEFORE THE LATEST
STAGE OF CAPITALISM, AND EVEN BEFORE CAPITALISM. ROME,
FOUNDED ON SLAVERY, PURSUED A COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICED
IMPERIALISM. BUT "GENERAL" DISQUISITIONS ON IMPERIALISM
WHICH IGNORE, OR PUT INTO THE BACKGROUND, THE FUNDAMENTAL
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORMATIONS, INEVITABLY
TURN INTO THE MOST VAPID BANALITY OR DRAGGING, LIKE THE
comparison: "Greater Rome and Greater Britain." Even the capitalist colonial policy of previous stages of capitalism is essentially different from the colonial policy of finance capital. (Lenin, Vol. I, pp. 731-732)

This historical difference, essential to understanding the basis of European expansionism, is one side of the equation. Moreover, the level of material development and political organization of the colonized country is the major factor, a factor that also dictates different patterns of development.

2. A second point is that with the development of the first socialist country, there was a qualitative change in the political meaning of colonialism, not in terms of the colonizing force, but in terms of the political meaning of the anti-colonial struggle.

Stalin puts it this way:

Formerly the national question was usually confined to a narrow circle of questions, concerning primarily "civilized" nationalities... (through the victory of socialism) the national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colonies from the yoke of imperialism. (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, page 71)

Moreover, an additional factor is that the struggle in the third world is based on peasant masses, whereas Afro-Americans are firmly rooted in the proletariat.

3. A third point is that the forced migration of workers is characteristic of all periods of domination of one country by another, but the meaning of this depends on the historical period, and the
CONCRETE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THIS ENTIRE PROCESS, BLACK PEOPLE WERE CAPTURED AND BROUGHT TO THE USA AS SLAVES, THE MOST BRUTAL COERCION OF ANY MASS FORCED MIGRATION OF WORKERS IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. BUT THIS SHOULD NOT BLIND US TO THE REALITY THAT THIS REFLECTS FOR THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY TO THE WORKERS OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. CONSIDER WHAT LENIN SAYS ABOUT ANOTHER ASPECT OF THIS:

CAPITALISM HAS GIVEN RISE TO A SPECIAL FORM OF MIGRATION OF NATIONS. THE RAPIDLY DEVELOPING INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, INTRODUCING MACHINERY ON A LARGE SCALE AND CUSTING THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES FROM THE WORLD MARKET, RAISE WAGES AT HOME ABOVE THE AVERAGE RATE AND THUS ATTRACT WORKERS FROM THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS THUS WANDER HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF VERSTS. ADVANCED CAPITALISM DRAGS THEM FORCIBLY INTO ITS ORBIT, TEARS THEM OUT OF THE BACKWOODS IN WHICH THEY LIVE, MAKES THEM PARTICIPANTS IN THE WORLD-HISTORICAL MOVEMENT AND BRINGS THEM FACE TO FACE WITH THE POWERFUL, UNITED, INTERNATIONAL CLASS OF FACTORY OWNERS.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT DIRE POVERTY ALONE COMPELS PEOPLE TO ABANDON THEIR NATIVE LAND, AND THAT THE CAPITALISTS EXPLOIT THE IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE MOST SHAMELESS MANNER. BUT ONLY REACTIONARIES CAN SHUT THEIR EYES TO THE PROGRESSIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS MODERN MIGRATION OF NATIONS. EMMANCIPATION FROM THE YOKE OF CAPITAL IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM, AND WITHOUT THE CLASS STRUGGLE THAT IS BASED ON IT. AND IT IS INTO THIS STRUGGLE THAT CAPITALISM IS DRAWING THE MASSES OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, BREAKING DOWN THE MUSTY, FUSTY HABITS OF LOCAL LIFE, BREAKING DOWN NATIONAL BARRIERS AND PREJUDICES, UNITING WORKERS FROM ALL COUNTRIES IN HUGE Factories AND MINES IN AMERICAN GERMANY, AND SO FORTH.

AMERICA HEADS THE LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH IMPORT WORKERS.

(PAGE 82, LENIN ON THE UNITED STATES)
It is the essential similarity that must be seen here. In addition, it is also necessary to see that the slave system, a sub-system of the overall capitalist society, was the basis of a different history for Black workers. However, as we shall point out, the Civil War ended the slave system and opened up new potentialities for working class unity in a direct confrontation with capital in the fight for socialism. This is a fact of historical periodization, in which the nature of the historical process changed.

A basic way that this changed is that during slavery, Blacks were held apart from the benefits of bourgeois democracy in a retarded form of social and economic development. Therefore, a struggle against the slave system, even if it was led by elements that wanted to fully establish capitalist relations was progressive in that it weakened the rule of the capitalists and would have represented progress for Black people and the whole society. However, with the civil war, the constitutional amendments, and a change in the production relations the veil was lifted and this bourgeois democracy was fully exposed as insufficient for the masses. This is true even though bourgeois democracy was never fully achieved by Black people. The objective score card approach, which lists "rights" achieved and "rights" not achieved, is not the correct approach to understanding this. The fact is that the essence of this society, the dictatorship of the capitalist class, was exposed and the lesson learned that the full freedom for Black people was only possible with the end of capitalism and the creation of socialism.
Before the civil war a two stage revolution was possible, the
first stage being an end of slavery and the creation of a Bourgeois
Democracy, and then a fight for socialism. But the civil war
happened not as a separate fight for the national liberation of the
Afro-American people, but as a convulsion of the whole society, in
which the working class as a whole joined in the fight against this
reactionary and degenerate system of slavery that infected the entire
society. Now there is no longer a revolutionary character for any sort
of bourgeois movement. In this society, with the level of development
of capitalism at its highest point, the only revolutionary struggle is
the fight for socialism, one mighty leap, one decisive break, one
qualitative rupture with the past.

This is the theoretical basis for our approach to the question
of dependency theory and the case of Afro-American people. It is
important to take up some of the concrete manifestations of this
in order to fully grasp the importance of this polemic.
We have identified three major varieties of this dependency theory. We shall call them

1. Cultural assimilation theory.
2. Genocide theory
3. Internal colony theory

The first position is the thesis put forward in various ways by Robert Park, Gunnar Myrdal, Moynihan and Glazer, and a host of others. The basic thesis is that the only hope for Blacks as a group of people is to eliminate any group differences, and disappear into the dominant society. Robert Park had a Rudyard Kipling version of Black people. His misguided paternalistic liberalism is revealed by the following statement that the Afro-American has always been interested rather in expression than in action; interested in life itself rather than in its reconstruction or reformation. The Negro is, by natural disposition, neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East Indian; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His métier is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races.


Park puts forward a teleology that identifies a race relations cycle as the inevitable process in which Blacks disappear as a group—first conflict, then amalgamation and assimilation. This clearly affirms that the only context for the "freedom" of Black people as Park views it, is in the clutches of the bourgeois social order.
Myrdal presents a pathological formulation of this line by saying that Blacks are simply the obverse reflection of whites, and, by implication, are totally dependent upon them:

"...the Negro's entire life and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority."

And therefore, when he sums up the American dilemma he roots it in the dominant group. Somehow, Black people are so dependent, they don't seem to really or essentially count as an independent force in any possible future changes.

The most blatant liquidationist formulation is by Glazer and Moynihan when they simply state that "the Negro is only an American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect."

In sum, this is the adopted junior brother thesis that views the oppression of Black people as child beating. The key problem is the contradiction between the child being totally dependent upon the parent, and yet the parent criminally beats the child. What flows from this approach is that the education of white people, or, the more systematic process of desegregation, is key to the solution. All efforts to end the problem by assuring democratic rights and inter-racial contact fall here. This view is clearly championed by optimistic liberals who function, even if naively, in support of capitalism.

The second major position is that of the genocide theorists. The basic premise of this group is that the historical role of the
Black worker has been eliminated, phased out, and, since the society has always been hostile towards Black people, the fascist solution of physical extermination is a real possibility. Wilhelm asks the question "who needs the Negro?" and basically answers that they are not needed.

Wilhelm writes:

While harboring constant antipathy toward non-white people, white America could not dismiss the Black man until the intervention of machines severed its dependency upon labor. Now the economics of technology combines with white racism to make possible the Negro's total exclusion and possible extermination.

After much postponement due to economic dependence on Black labor during the last 350 years, the Negro question finally transforms into the Indian question. What is the point, demands white America, in tolerating an unwanted racial minority when there is no economic necessity for acceptance? With machines now replacing human labor, who needs the Negro? (Sidney Wilhelm, Who Needs the Negro, pages xv-xvi, 334)

Yette's formulation is that based on this obsolescence a choice exists, and the choice of the ruling class has been made.

Whether Blacks have a place in US society is a choice that belongs to the nation. That choice was audaciously called to the attention of white America early in 1960, when four Black college students sat down at a North Carolina lunch counter reserved for whites. For the ten raw years of the 1960's the nation noisily grappled with its choice: freedom or death for Afro-Americans.

By the end of the decade, Blacks were forced to face the evidence heaped painfully upon them. The evidence showed that a choice had been made, and freedom was denied. (Samuel F. Yette, The Choice, page 19)
These are scare tactics, the opposite of the assimilationist position. Both of the genocide positions blindly focus on technology as the major factor. Moreover, the politics of the issue are treated in an equally lopsided way, simply as the politics of the ruling class. There is no objective basis for this view in the working class, because of two fundamental facts:

A. The working class is the only basis that the capitalists have to make profits, through low wages and high prices, and the working class is the human tool used to fight imperialist wars of aggression around the world;

B. The working class has a long history of struggle in the USA, and, contrary to being afraid of capital, despises it in anticipation of the strategic victory of socialism but in the short run it takes it very seriously.

These genocidal screaming are the way a very insecure sector of black middle class forces reacts to economic crisis. They actually fear for their own social standing and privilege, so they apply their fears to everyone. Even in the face of the syphilis experiments, the programs of forced sterilization, police murder, and many other fascist like programs, the answer of the working class is different from these weak-kneed elements. The working class pulls together in a mighty multi-colored fist to beat the monster to death, as McKay said so eloquently "and for their thousand blows deal one death blow."

In our analysis we answer Margaret Walker's call to "let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control."

By comparison, the assimilationists hold out the carrot that germinates the urge of cultural (and to the extent that it exists national) suicide, the genocide theorists hold out the stick and generate a kind of Spenglerian gloom, a fatalist eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we may die approach, or a more vicious collaborationist approach like the Jews in the concentration camps who saved themselves by pushing other Jews into the gas ovens. All of these are perversions, and attempt to force Black people into a degenerated state. This is the lot of a significant sector of the Black middle class.

The work of Harold Cruse, James Boggs, Charles Hamilton, Robert Allen, William Tabb, and Robert Blauner are the most widely cited applications of the internal colony formulation. How does this formulation view the structure of society and the process of social change? Rather than the precision of a surgeon's scalpel in dissecting the particular character of the changing reality of Black people, we find a discussion of the Black experience in rather broad strokes, asking us to accept by faith the validity of the colonial analogy. In the words of Harold Cruse:

From the beginning, the American Negro has existed as a colonial being. His enslavement coincided with the colonial expansion of European powers and was nothing more or less than a condition of domestic colonialism. Instead of the United States establishing a colonial empire in Africa, it brought the colonial system home and installed it in the southern states. When the Civil War broke up the slave system and the Negro was emancipated, he gained only partial freedom. Emancipation elevated him only to the position of a semi-dependent man, not to that of an equal or independent being.
As a wage laborer or tenant farmer, the Negro is discriminated against and exploited. Those in the educated, professional, and intellectual classes suffer a similar fate. This is much more than a problem of racial discrimination; it is a problem of political, economic, cultural, and administrative underdevelopment.

In *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto*, William Tabb is arguing that the ghetto is a colony focused on political dependence and economic control and exploitation. But his discussion of the economic aspect is one-sided, an undialectical characterization of the process of development going on in the whole society. Correctly, Tabb emphasizes the importance of cotton grown through the brutal exploitation of slave labor in the rapid expansion of the U.S. economy between 1790 and the Civil War. But we find no mention of the simultaneous development and expansion of the cotton textile industry in New England and in parts of the south. The production of textiles gave rise to the industrial bourgeoisie and to the emergence of the industrial proletariat. Such a one-sided view is used further to discuss subsequent periods of the Afro-American experience. The result is that Tabb incorrectly assesses the relationship of Black people to the development of USA monopoly capitalism in general, and to white workers in particular. He concludes:

*The Blacks act as a buffer pool, keeping labor costs from rising. In this way the entire society benefits by receiving goods and services more cheaply and white unemployment is cushioned.*

From Tabb’s own statement—and certainly from a thorough-going class analysis—we see that not all whites benefitted equally from
RACISM. In fact, most whites did not materially benefit from racism and this even greater exploitation of Black people at all. White workers suffered because, as Tabb states, labor costs—meaning their wages—were kept lower by the threat of unemployed or underemployed Black workers. As a result of keeping labor costs low, white capitalists were enabled to make even bigger profits at the expense of Black and white workers.

This tendency to gloss over the material class contradictions and class struggles that characterize the real world—as well as ignoring the objective class unity of white and Black workers—is one of the most serious shortcomings of the internal colonial analogy.

Other formulations of the internal colonial analogy have been equally as one-sided, focusing more on the superstructure with almost no attention to the economic base. Robert Blauner, for example, in "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolts," initially discussed four basic components of the colonization complex:

1. Forced, involuntary entry;
2. Effect on cultural and social organization;
3. Special relationship to governmental bureaucracy and the legal order; and
4. Racism, "a principle of social domination by which one group seen as inferior or different in alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and psychologically by a superordinate group."
Thus, the political and cultural factors--especially racism--are viewed in isolation from the economic factors.

It is the impact of this formulation in resulting practice in addition to its incorrectness as an abstract theoretical model that concerns us here. The internal colonial analogy, though conceived with good intentions of linking the exploitation of Black people and their struggles with the exploitation and struggles of the Third World, was in essence always the opposite of what was intended. Its real class content has become much clearer in subsequent practice. The internal colony analogy is used as an ideological justification of the efforts to secure personal gain by the Black middle strata at the expense of the Black masses. Many of these gains have come as the struggles of the masses have been pimped and fronted off as a lever to pry dollars and positions from the U.S. ruling class and their agents.

We should make clear our view on the importance of the role of the masses in the making of history. While the struggles of the masses in the 1960s and in all periods is a good thing, it is the tendency of the petty-bourgeois middle strata towards being easily bribed and coopted that we here point out and criticize. While the masses waged heroic struggles, many of the programs created and concessions that were forced ended up serving the interests of a few Black people and having no meaningful impact on the lives of the masses of Black people. A few examples of this from several sectors should serve to illustrate how these victories from struggle have been consolidated by the middle class at the expense of the masses.
(1) A few Blacks talked their way on to the boards of imperialist corporations as if a few Black faces in high places would improve the lives of the millions of Black and working people exploited by these corporations.

(2) We have seen the proliferation of Black Studies programs that have repudiated the initial goals of Black Studies to serve the struggle of Black people and fight to build a new society. These programs have become mere J-O-B-S for a growing, vacillating strata of bribed Black intellectuals.

(3) Corporate, government and foundation grants are hustled in the name of the people, with little intention of developing and sustaining programs which speak to the real problems that Black people face.

(4) Black capitalism is supported through the development of small Black businesses, giving the impression that these businesses can somehow blunt the impact of monopoly capitalism on Black people.

(5) Faith in capitalist democracy is strengthened by those who tell the masses that electing Black politicians like themselves on the local, state, and national level, is necessary or is even a first step in getting to the root of all the problems which Black people face - the dictatorship of the capitalist class. A most recent example is the religious zeal which characterized Black support of Jimmy Carter, with many saying that he will do something for Black people other than continue to aid the U.S. ruling class in the exploitation and oppression of Black people.
And all of these acts are carried out under the guise of "decolonizing the ghetto," of getting more control of the Black community (or colony) into the hands of Black people. And here we see the second major error of the internal colony analogy: its substitution of Black exploiters for white exploiters. This willingness--this desire--on the part of some Black people to exploit other Black people to enlarge their own individual pie has characterized the Black experience since the African slave trade and the existence of Black slave owners in the U.S. In the recent period, it has been a recurring theme among the small but growing group of Black capitalists. In the words of Floyd McKissack in his book 3/5 of a Man:

By not providing economic opportunity for the former slaves, America missed the one chance to absorb Black people into the economic system. By developing Black capitalists at an early date, capitalism could have bought a great deal of time with a comparatively short investment...Ownership of businesses in the ghetto must be transferred to Black people, either individually or collectively...

One needs only to survey the pages of Black Enterprise, the magazine of the emerging Black capitalists, and compare it with the class interests found in Fortune magazine to see that Black capitalists have the same thing in store for Black people that white capitalists have always had.

However, there has been an anti-capitalist tendency in some of the formulations regarding the Black internal colony. It is this formulation that seems most consistent with the struggles and aspirations of the masses of Black people. Robert Allen's Black Awakening in Capitalist America reflects this anti-capitalist view:
Black people cannot afford the social injustices of capitalism. They cannot afford a system which creates privileged classes within an already superexploited and underprivileged community. They cannot afford a system which organizes community resources and then distributes the resulting wealth in a hierarchal fashion, with those who need least getting most. Neither can Black people afford some half-hearted compromise which would make the Black community in general, and its educated classes in particular, subservient to the expansionist needs of corporate capitalism. Of course, capital must be accumulated to make possible the economic development of the Black community, but this must be done in a way that precludes the enrichment of one class at the expense of those below it. (p. 231)

But because of the mechanical way in which the internal colony analogy is applied, the strategies for social change they propose are reformist and inconsistent with the current conditions of struggle for Black liberation. Those who uphold the internal colony have opted for a two-stage theory rather than viewing the current struggle for Black liberation as an integral aspect of the struggle of the American working class against capitalism, for socialism. Tabb, for example, in The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto, is quite explicit on this point:

There is a small but growing number of Blacks who see their struggle for autonomy and collective control over their communities as only the first step toward imposing new national priorities and forms of social and economic organization. Should Black militants move beyond an essentially trade-union mentality, then they will be projecting the so-called two-stage revolutionary strategy: first the nationalist or racial struggle for power in the Black community and then, in alliance with white groups, a class struggle for state power. (p. 143)
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In our view, this two stage theory represents an incorrect view which serves the interest of monopoly capitalism. It raises the spontaneous struggle for reform to the level of principle rather than seeing the constant efforts of the bourgeoisie (and their agents) to support and encourage reformist struggle, to divert the struggle of the masses away from revolution and keep it safe within the bounds of monopoly capitalism. The emphasis on reforms in the two-stage theory of revolution represents tailing behind the struggle of the masses rather than boldly educating the masses about the objective necessities and inevitable victory of revolutionary struggle in the United States.

Robert Allen can argue for "the dismantling of capitalist property relations in the Black community and their replacement with a planned communal economy." Rather than confront the strategy and tactics for dismantling the capitalist property relations of monopoly capitalists in general, he revives DuBois' utopian scheme of a cooperative commonwealth (as made more profound by Harold Cruse). Other tactics call for links with revolutionary forces around the world, and links with domestic allies after building an independent Black political party. These reformist views flow from the incorrect view of the strategy and tactics of building revolutionary struggle in the United States. The view that results from the application of the colonial analogy which Allen states "lies at the heart of this study," (p. 2) is his reformist "transitional program".
Since the masses of Black people are not going to be integrated into the economy in the foreseeable future, as the reformers would have one believe, and since there are few signs of an imminent revolution in this country, contrary to the hopes of some radicals, it is necessary for the Black liberation movement to devise a transitional program, which will operate until such time as conditions develop that will make possible full liberation through social revolution. This program must be aimed at building a mass revolutionary organization, and it must facilitate community development and offer constructive interim reforms. (p. 231)

William Tabb's *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto* is more a summary of reformist strategies than anything else, no doubt consistent with Tabb's work as described on the book's cover: "Consultant to a number of government agencies on problems of income redistribution." Indeed, Tabb states his view on the dominant reformist character of the first stage, the national or racial liberation stage, especially his expectation of the major role to be played by the State:

The type of policies which will probably get government endorsement in the coming years is likely to be neither a massive reallocation of national resources to serve the needs of our low-income groups, nor the acceptance of a police state, before the latter is forced on the nation there are a number of reforms which can be attempted. (p. 34)

The book goes on to discuss the more likely of these reforms including: Black capitalism, community development corporations, cooperatives, location subsidies to encourage imperialist corporations to relocate in the ghetto and provide jobs for Black people.
While we are aware that some of those we have cited have changed their views in varying degrees, as we ourselves have repudiated our earlier use of the internal colony analogy, it is important that we study the more widely quoted examples of these incorrect views because of their continuing influence in certain circles. To reiterate our main point, the use of the internal colony analogy—the reliance on dependence as opposed to dialectics—has led many to an incorrect view of the dynamic historical motion of this society and the process of developing the strategy and tactics for revolutionary change in the U. S. In short, contrary to the view of those who uphold the internal colony model, the struggle is not for higher pay or for better conditions under which Black people can continue to be exploited. The struggle is to end the entire system of exploitation itself.
Now that we have exposed some of the most essential shortcomings and incorrect features of these three petty bourgeois attacks against the revolutionary struggle of Black people, it is imperative to sketch out the correct approach. Of course, what is meant by the correct approach is the stand, viewpoint and method of the proletariat, the revolutionary perspective of dialectical materialism as summed up in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

As Stalin indicates,

The solution of the national question is possible only in connection with the historical conditions taken in their development...to repeat: the concrete historical conditions as the starting point, and the dialectical presentation of the question as the only correct way of presenting it - such is the key to solving the national question.

(Stalin, Vol 2, pp 325,331)

Following this framework of analysis, we will address three basic questions:

1. What is the identity of Black people?
2. What is the principal contradiction facing Black people?
3. What is the revolutionary strategy for change?

Identity: This has been a major question for each generation to grapple with, just as the self consciousness of the working class has had its ebbs and flows. Some of the main aspects of this are revealed in the following questions:

1. What is race? And what role does it play in history?
2. What relationship do Afro-Americans have to Africa?
3. What relationship do Afro-Americans have with White Americans?

4. Do Afro-Americans constitute a nation in the USA?

5. What role do class differences have on the identity of Black people?

6. What are the differences between objective and subjective factors in determining the identity of Black people?

At best, in this speech we can only present the broad outlines of our analysis. Our basic approach results in a determination that Black people constitute a nationality, within a complex network of social forces, the main one being the overwhelming proletarian character of Black people. The objective fact of race, genetics, etc., is not a proven historical force, but the subjective phenomenon of racism is and has played a major role in Afro-American history. In broad terms we view the dialectical process in three stages:

1. Slavery and the origin of the Afro-American people

2. The rise of the Afro-American nation

3. The proletarianization of the Afro-American masses

During slavery, captured, enslaved Africans were generally concentrated in agricultural production in the deep south, and in a violent fascist manner transformed into the Afro-American people. Two secondary aspects of this are:

1. Not all African cultural survivals were wiped out, and, 2. Some Afro-Americans were so assimilated that only color kept them in; indeed some were white and "passed."
This dominant peoplehood was rooted in the production relations of slavery, so if the cotton gin increased the exploitation of slaves, so the resultant demographic concentration in the Black Belt turned into the potential strength of a common people, with a unity of culture, economic experience, and political status. The 2nd bourgeois democratic revolution, the Civil War, unleashed the aspirations of this new Afro-American people. Ideological debates had taken place for decades in the North, and armed struggle had been a constant threat from within the slave system, but with the formal destruction of the judicial slave superstructure and the transformation of slave relations of production the potential liberation of Black people was redefined. We believe that the end of slavery ended the possibility of Black people fighting a bourgeois revolutionary struggle. From that point on the fight was against the bourgeois order in a fight for socialism. This has been true for the past 100 years or so.

After slavery, Black people were on the same land and continued to be exploited but now were more fully transformed into a bourgeois order of the USA; though with near feudal-like fetters — not on the level of the national market (for this had always been true), but specific to the social relations of Afro-American life in the South. This was the context for the development of the Afro-American people beginning to more fully develop a national character, though this clearly had started before slavery. (Gutman on the family structure, Frazier on the invisible institution, the development of cultural expression in art, music, and dance, etc.) This national character
CAN BE MEASURED IN OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE TERMS, AND THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT DISTINCTION TO MAKE. OBJECTIVELY WE CAN POINT TO THE VARIOUS FACTORS THAT STALIN OUTLINES AS THE BASIS FOR DETERMINING THE EXISTENCE OF A NATION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE RISE OF CAPITALISM. HE DEFINES A NATION AS FOLLOWS:

A NATION IS A HISTORICALLY CONSTITUTED STABLE COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE WHO SHARE A COMMON LANGUAGE, TERRITORY, ECONOMIC LIFE, AND A COMMON CULTURE MANIFESTED IN A COMMON CULTURE.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE CLEARLY ON THE WAY TO THIS STATUS, ALTHOUGH THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THIS PEOPLE WAS CLEARLY STUNTED SINCE IT GREW UP WITH THE GROWTH OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND NEVER FULLY MATURED. IT WAS MAINLY BASED ON PRODUCTION FOR USE, DIRECT CONSUMPTION, OR AS A MARKET FOR CONSUMPTION OF GOODS RETAILED TO THEM BY BLACK MERCHANTS. BUT IT WAS NEVER AN INTEGRATED ECONOMIC SYSTEM LINKING PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION SUCH THAT IT HAD AN INDEPENDENT CHARACTER TO IT. WHAT DID EXIST AND WHAT STILL DOES, IS THE POTENTIAL FORM THAT KIND OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION.

DURING THE TENANCY PERIOD IT WAS THE TENANT PRODUCTION RELATIONS THAT FIRMLY ESTABLISHED THE MATERIAL BASIS FOR NATIONALISM IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BECAUSE IT IS PRECISELY THIS RELATIONSHIP THAT ANCHORED THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF BLACK LIFE IN PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION AGAIN, ALTHOUGH IN A DISTORTED, STUNTED FORM.

BUT AGAIN, WHEN WE VIEW THIS PERIOD DIALECTICALLY, WE ALSO FIND THAT A SECOND MAJOR, FORCED MIGRATION OCCURS IN WHICH THE FATE OF BLACK WORKERS COMES MUCH CLOSER TO THAT EXPERIENCED BY EUROPEAN WORKERS. BLACK WORKERS WERE PUSHED INTO THE BOWELS OF INDUSTRY,
FIRST AS MENTAL SERVICE AND UNSKILLED WORKERS, BUT THEN INTO THE HEART OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION AND CLERICAL WORK. THIS TREND OPERATED TO PLAY DOWN THE OBJECTIVE FACTORS OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK PEOPLE. RATHER, WHAT THIS DID WAS TO MORE FIRMLY ROOT BLACK WORKERS INTO THE WORKING CLASS, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT A SMALL SECTOR INTO THE PETTY BOURGEOIS CLASS (MOSTLY THE NEW PROFESSIONAL ASPECT, BUT ALSO THE OLD SMALL BUSINESSMAN SECTOR AS WELL).

BUT WE HAVE ISOLATED THE GENERAL TREND OF THE OBJECTIVE FACTORS (TOWARD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH, AND TOWARD OBJECTIVE UNITY WITH THE OVERALL WORKING CLASS IN THE NORTH), BUT WHAT OF THE SUBJECTIVE FACTORS? HERE AN INTERESTING REVERSAL IS EVIDENT. THE OVERWHELMING TREND IS FOR THE CONSCIOUS STRUGGLE TO BE AGAINST OPPRESSION, IN A STRUGGLE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF RIGHTS, RIGHTS LOGICALLY BASED ON THE IDEALIST PRINCIPLES OF A BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY. HOWEVER, WHEN NATIONAL SENTIMENTS HAVE BEEN RAISED, THEY HAVE BEEN RAISED IN NORTHERN CITIES AND NOT THE BLACK BELT SOUTH. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION TO MAKE. IN THE SOUTH, WHEN AND IF NATIONAL DEMANDS ARE TAKEN UP BY THE MASSES, THEN THE POTENTIAL FOR NATIONAL REALIZATION BECOMES THE BASIS FOR HOLDING TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT NATIONS HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. THIS IS SUPPORTED WHEN THE FIGHT IS AGAINST CAPITAL FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, AND OPPOSED WHEN IT IS RAISED AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CAPITAL (SUCH AS AN APARTHEID POLICY).

positive existence of Afro-American cultural factors that have their roots in the southern experience. But more than the subjective expression of an objective reality, this is the longing for a nation based on facing a vicious racist attack. Again, the main factor is that this nationalism is progressive to the extent that it fights the rule of capital. So, the fundamental struggle is the fight waged by the entire working class, and when Black people aid this, or fight their fight as part of this fight then the struggle moves forward. When it is fought in opposition to the working class then it is a reactionary bourgeois nationalist force that must be opposed by all revolutionary forces.

Historically we can see that there is a difference between the overall class collaboration of Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey by linking the interests of Black people with the ruling class, whereas the Union of Sharecroppers and the Southern Negro Youth Congress linked the struggle of Black people to the fighting interests of the working class and oppressed peoples of the USA. Here is a major historical lesson.
In sum the identity of Black people has a dual character that is based on the historical development of the last 300 years or so, and not based on either some objective biological factor of genetics or some superficial fleeting reality like attitudes. The dual character is that, (a) Black people have a national identity that is rooted in the Black Belt south, and (b) Black people are overwhelmingly a part of the working class. This is where we can find the material nexus for the revolutionary struggle of Black people, if we can grasp its dialectical reality and not mystify it.

Now we face the question of contradictions: The principal contradiction, the one that must be overcome in order for capitalism to be destroyed and socialism to be established, is the exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie. The main work is to muster the revolutionary forces of the single working class, including the Black workers in it, and strike the decisive blow that must and can be struck at this stage. The principal contradiction is the class contradiction, the fight of the capitalist ruling class against the working class.

Does this mean that the rest of the contradictions that we face in this society should be forgotten or put on a back burner? To this question we must give a resounding NO! The fact is that the contradiction that Black people have with the ruling class is the basis for a mighty aspect of the overall struggle. The key point is to find the common essence between the two. Our view is that the national question, the oppression of Black people, is in essence the material class exploitation of Black people. Therefore, the link between the class contradictions and national oppression is essential to the fight against the ruling class.
In this way we can understand that the mass aspect of the revolutionary strategy for the USA socialist revolution is the united front. This united front includes many parts of the society, led by the revolutionary party of the working class, united in a fight against the rule of capital. Each sector of the society has an immediate objective basis for its joining the united front, and each has the need to trace the basis of its contradiction with the ruling class to its class essence, its material roots, and openly declare its unity with the interest of the working class, and follow the leadership of the working class to a definitive victory.

This is the task for Black people, and it is a task made harder by those few middle class elements who opportunistically try to divert the struggle of Black people away from its working class roots, and set up some phoney theory of revolution (decolonization, two stages, let’s go to Africa and fight, we can’t win so give in, etc.). The essential point here is that Black people must fight as Black people against the problems that we face. In doing so, we don’t negate our working class character, but raise it up and recruit from all strata to join in based on every problem that puts us in contradiction to the ruling class. To the extent that anyone fights for the privileges of Blacks at someone else’s expense (some sector of the masses), then we have to fight that view as reactionary. If a force attempts to negate the basis for or the need to unify the entire working class, Blacks, Whites and whoever else is in it, then we have to fight that view as reactionary. Whatever fights against the
RULE OF CAPITAL, TO THAT EXTENT, IS A FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE, IS IN THE UNITED FRONT, AND IS MAKING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE COMMON ENEMY OF MANKIND - THE USA CAPITALIST CLASS.

WE HAVE TRIED TO CLEARLY DRAW OUT THE KEY ISSUES AND SHARPLY CONTRAST DEPENDENCY THEORY AND DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. WE HAVE LAID OUT THIS ANALYSIS AS A POLEMIC DESIGNED TO WIN YOU OVER TO THIS VIEW. BUT THIS IS ONLY A BRIEF SKETCH, ONLY A START. THE FIGHT IS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN THE POLITICAL DEBATES AND STRUGGLES OF YOUR DAILY LIVES. INDEED, THE MAIN THING IS TO FIGHT AND WIN YOURSELF AND OTHERS OVER TO THE CORRECT SCIENTIFIC FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM, AND TO JOIN THE FIGHT OF THE MASSES BRINGING THIS REVOLUTIONARY THEORY TO THEIR STRUGGLES. WE ARE DRIVEN BY LENIN'S OBSERVATION THAT THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE WITHOUT REVOLUTIONARY THEORY. WE PRESENTED THIS PAPER TOWARD THIS END.

THANK YOU.
January 11, 1977

TO: Seminar, Center for Black Studies

FROM: Gerald A. McWorter, Director

RE: Dependency Versus Dialectics: Two Lines of Analysis on the Afro-American National Question

1. Dependency Versus Dialectics: Two Lines of Analysis on the Afro-American National Question - Some general theoretical comments

   (a) Why is this important?
   (b) What are some basic differences?

2. Types of Dependency Theories

   (a) Cultural Assimilation Theory
       (Robert Park, Gunnar Myrdal, etc.)
   (b) Genocide Theory
       (Sidney Wilhelm, Sam Yette)
   (c) Internal Colony Theory
       (Robert Blauner, William Tabb, etc.)

3. Toward a Dialectical Theory

   (a) Identity:
       (1) What is race? What role does it play in history?
       (2) What relationship do Afro-Americans have to Africa?
       (3) What relationship do Afro-Americans have with White Americans?
       (4) Do Afro-Americans constitute a nation in the USA?
       (5) What role do class differences have on the identity of Black people?
       (6) What are the differences between objective and subjective factors in determining the identity of Black people?

   (b) What is principal contradiction?
       Race or Class

   (c) Strategy for change?
       Reform or Revolution

4. WHAT DO YOU THINK?
BUILDING BLACK UNITY THROUGH STRUGGLE is a special supplement prepared by the Santa Barbara Black community with the assistance of the Center for Black Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara. It is being published in recognition of Negro History Week/Black Liberation Month which occurs annually during the month of February. The aim of the supplement is to chronicle the continuing discussion and struggle of Black people in Santa Barbara as they seek to analyze and solve the problems which stand in the path of the black community’s fullest development.

The Center for Black Studies would like to thank all who have contributed to making this supplement possible by participating in meetings, taking out ads, writing articles, agreeing to be interviewed, and in countless other ways. We hope this supplement contributes toward understanding the problems faced by Black people in Santa Barbara and a revitalization of struggle to fundamentally change things.
Many of the problems can be traced to the relative poverty of Santa Barbara's Black community which exists like an island of deprivation in the vast sea of Montecito and Hope Ranch wealth. It is the story of Watts and Bel Air, it is the story of Fillmore and Nob Hill. It is the story of the poor and the rich — and the struggle to improve the conditions of the masses.

US Government statistics clearly reveal that low income characterizes the Santa Barbara Black community. In 1970, over one-third (34.5 percent) of all Black families had yearly incomes of less than $5,000. The government set the poverty line for 1974 at $5,083. By this measure, one-third of the Santa Barbara Black community lives below the poverty line.

On the other hand, however, 50.8 percent of white families had incomes of $10,000. This compares with only 21.4 percent for Blacks. The census tracts which include Hope Ranch have an average family income in 1970 of $24,555 and this compared with $7,019 for Black people in the census tract covering the Haley-Milpas area in which most Blacks live. Thus, we have the all too familiar pattern of poverty and misery on one side and wealth and plenty on the other.

Black Santa Barbara is composed primarily of domestic and service workers who initially came here to wait on the rich and wealthy. Of the 734 employed residents 16 years old and over, one-half — 55 percent — work as private household workers (cooks, service workers and laborers).

While making up only 2.6 percent of the total employed population, Black workers provided almost five times as many household workers (12.7 percent), and twice as many service workers (3.5 percent) and laborers (5 percent).

On the upper end of the occupational ladder, however, Black people are grossly under-represented in Santa Barbara. In 1970, about 1.1 percent of the professional and technical workers, 0.7 percent of the managers and administrators, 0.2 percent of the sales workers, 1.8 percent of the craftspersons and foremen, and 1.8 percent of the clerical workers were Black. This reveals the distinct pattern of racism that affects most Black people.

The situation is the same all over the US. Historically, this is the reason that the masses of Black people have militantly struggled against the racism and the economic exploitation that the situation in Santa Barbara and the US represents.

(Continued on next page)

Other important problem areas have also been identified by the Black Community Coalition. The needs of Black youth were very high on the list. "Black children have nothing to identify with. They have nothing to look forward to and are forced to leave to seek wider opportunities.

The needs of youth can be graphically illustrated. Almost half — 47.3 percent of the Black male population and 40.6 percent of the Black female population are under 20 years old. Thus, when Black residents stress the absolute necessity for more effective youth programs their demands are supported by these statistics.

This is especially true in a community in which there are large numbers of youth and where both parents must work one and often two jobs to make ends meet. Recreational facilities, child care facilities and other services are essential.

Similar needs have been expressed in the area of education. In 1969, the UCSB Black Student Union, to develop its program to serve the community, surveyed Black residents in Santa Barbara. "Extra academic help for school children" was given top priority and the BSU-sponsored Community School resulted. (See the article on the school in this supplement.)

Then and now, the needs of these Black youth are still rated among the top problems.

This strong support for improved educational opportunities for young people has led to the candidacy of the Rev. Leander Wilkes for the Santa Barbara School Board. Rev. Wilkes has the solid backing of many Black Santa Barbara residents who see education as one vehicle for improving the life chances of the community's youth. (See the interview with the Rev. Wilkes in this supplement.)

Housing Problems Exist

The problems of housing are also a longstanding area of concern. The Santa Barbara News-Press accurately described the condition of Black people and their housing in Santa Barbara several years ago: "Updating of a 1965 Santa Barbara poverty study echoes the same finding with a 1969 emphasis — poverty amid plenty."
The article stated that "It is tough to be poor but it is tougher to be poor in a wealthy community (like Santa Barbara) than in a poor one."

In describing the housing deterioration in Black Santa Barbara, the article goes on, "many of the homes are without private baths and have other plumbing deficiencies." More than 2,000 units were either without heat or had over-used chaotic conditions with dangers of asphyxiation.

Most Black people live in four census tracts. In discussing these areas, this official report described racism and economic exploitation, how poor housing results from the greed of the wealthy: "Blacks are paying higher rents for what they get than they paid in some cases. They are not in the minority and are holding the property for speculation."

While these descriptions are from a 1970 housing survey, many Black residents feel that the situation is not much better today;

Internal Identification

"Many Blacks emphasized that internal class divisions exist in the Black community and have become increasingly important. This must be understood, they state, if we are to move forward in knowing where our troops are and knowing who our enemy is." According to one person, "Once some Blacks get a little bit in life they forget the poverty and misery of the masses they came from." They think they've made it.

"Another woman, a long-time Black resident of Santa Barbara, related it to a modern X-ment about Black people's slavery. She also pointed to the responsibility for bridging this gap: "We, the old, hold the field negro and house negro situation, whereas if I have a good job then I become a house negro and if you happen to be working somewhere that is not considered 'professional,' you become one of the yard negroes and so forth."" The article continues:

"And to me Santa Barbara has this type of situation going. And those of us that are - if you want to say - house negroes have done nothing to try to bridge the gap and I think it is up to those who have these positions - I cannot think of a better word - I think it is time for us to penetrate into other parts of the community." She got plenty of "Amen's" on that comment.

Objectively, these class divisions do exist. There are a few Black people who have high paying jobs, comfortable homes and many luxuries of life. They have escaped many of the day to day struggles and problems of survival. But the masses of Black people are still deprived even of the necessities of life - much less the luxuries - and therefore must continue to struggle for improvement in their lives.

The question is whether, or not, in these continuing and escalating struggles the masses of Black people will have the support and participation of those few Black people who have made it. Or will the masses face the opposition of the "Black middle class."

"Either you're part of the solution or else you're part of the problem."

SB-UCSB Split

A similar division was pointed out between the Black community in Santa Barbara and Black people at UCSB. This undoubtedly reflects that some Black people have succumbed to the elitism and snobishness that often characterize people in "higher education." E. Franklin Frazier, the noted Black sociologist, described these attitudes in his study, Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class in the United States.

Many Black people with college degrees have seemingly forgotten that 'affirmative action,' equal opportunity programs, Black Studies and other programs that led to the increased participation of Black people in higher education and got them their jobs - were spurred by the mass struggles of Black people in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

1969 and 1970 as a response to the Watts rebellion and the militant protest of Black people after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

In demanding the increased admission and participation of Black people in higher education, Black people had a vision of "education for liberation." They wanted a "relevant" education, one that would lead to answers and solutions to the many problems that the masses of Black people faced.

Unfortunately, this sense of mission has not been passed on. The result is now the need to rebuild these links between Black people in the community and Black people on the campuses.
which will mean the Mexicans, whites and Blacks.

And this is a natural alliance anyway: the Blacks and the poor whites should have been allied a long time ago but the poor white man has been imbued with this superiority and as a result the selfish whites are still running the country getting all the money; and all he gets is to be white and poor which is not a whole lot better than being Black and poor.

Building Unity Through Struggle

An important step in solving the many problems facing Black people in Santa Barbara is building unity through struggle. There are many differences in the Black community — church denominations, income, occupations, educational levels, and many other. But there is also a common interest among the masses of Black people in seeing common solutions to the many problems that Black people face.

Few Black people in Santa Barbara, for example, have not experienced racism — on the job, in the classroom, finding housing, on the campus looking for employment, in restaurants and stores. Most Black people and almost everybody else except the wealthy feel the crunch of galloping inflation and crumbling pay raises.

More and more Black people are finding it difficult to get a decent job — especially Black youth. This is the fundamental basis for unity in the Black community — unity as we struggle to solve these common problems.

This view is gaining support among Black people in Santa Barbara. Building unity through struggle to solve common problems — this is the view that accurately expresses the needs of Black Santa Barbara in 1977; in the midst of the most serious crisis that has faced the US since the Great Depression in the 1930s.

During the 1930s, Black people, along with other working people, escalated their struggles for jobs and income, for social security, for an end to racial discrimination in employment, benefits, and other measures in response to the Depression. Black people today are doing the same thing.

Regardless of where you come from, most Black people recognize the truth and the power in the observation by the militant freedom fighter Frederick Douglass:

If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want the crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the forceful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will.

A local Black resident put it equally as clear:

"There is a need for rediscovering that struggle mentality of our fathers: We know that all progress is by struggle. Who’s going to try to get around that sort of thing? Nobody makes progress without struggle. Struggle is an indispensable accompaniment of all progress. So we have got to rediscover and accept that principle and recondition ourselves if need be to the point of having a downright struggle mentality."

Rich History of Struggle

These attempts to build Black unity and struggle among the masses of people who have common economic, social and political problems are not confined to Santa Barbara. One needs only to read the annals of Black history to get an idea of how essential unity has been to the struggle for freedom, justice and equality.

The American Negro Labor Congress (1925), the National Negro Congress (1936), the Southern Negro Youth Congress (1937), the March on Washington Movement (1941), which resulted in the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the activity of W.E.B. Du Bois at the League of Nations, on behalf of Africa, Paul Robeson’s call for “The Power of Negro Action” in his autobiography Here I Stand. And more recently, there was Malcolm X’s Organization for Afro-American Unity and the African Liberation Support Committee.

But this unity has not fallen from the sky. It has emerged because large numbers of Black people saw the importance of putting their minor differences on the back burner and uniting to solve some common problems.

“Without unity,” one Santa Barbara Black resident stated, “we all die.”

Key Role of Black Church

In his study The Negro Church in America, E. Franklin Frazier correctly points out the important role that the Black church has played in the history of Black people. Because of the disruption of the American-African slave trade, the church provided a new basis of social cohesion and social organization during slavery and up to this recent period.

But Frazier also suggests that because the Black church preaches “milk and honey on the other side,” it has often exercised a conservative influence on the struggle of Black people for freedom, justice and equality now. The church has often encouraged acceptance of the status quo and an all too patient wait for “heavenly” rewards “over yonder.”

More recently, however, there has been the rise of Martin Luther King — of the struggling Black church. During the mass struggle for democratic rights in the 1950s and 1960s, the Black church and its ministers were an important base of support and activity. It is this spirit of struggle that is needed today if the church is again to play a prominent and relevant role in the Black community. The fact that the church has failed to do this helps explain why Black church attendance is so low.

As one local minister put it: “The churches have actually become isolated from the needs of the community. And they are building their programs within their four walls. We talk about why there is not this greater involvement. There is a need for the churches to incorporate within their programs the needs of the community.”

In other words, it’s about time to give religion work clothes — not the Sunday clothes, not the Sunday suit. The church was once a part of the struggle — it met the needs of the masses of people and not just an isolated few.

This spirit of struggle and meeting the needs of people “here on earth” for jobs, income, housing, education — an end to racism and economic exploitation — is a serious challenge to the Black church. Its future may well be decided by how it answers the challenge.
Black Coalition Formed

The result of these discussions about the problems in Black Santa Barbara has been the recent formation of the Santa Barbara Black Community Coalition. The group consists of several individuals and organizations who have come together weekly to address common concerns.

The broad representative character of the Coalition is indicated by the partial listing of some of the organizations which have been regularly participating in its meetings: The Inter-Faith Ministerial Alliance, John H. Johnson, president; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Lee N. May, president; and the George Washington Carver Scholarship Club, Mrs. William Etta King, president; Unity Lodge No. 22, Jeremiah Garrett, Worshipful Master; the Self-Care Foundation, Horace Owens, president; the Alliance for Community Development, Leander Wilkes, president, and Theo Thomas, treasurer; and the UCSB Center for Black Studies.

Several participants in various Coalition meetings have stated that this new forum for discussing a common strategy for solving common problems is a step forward in itself. But action speaks louder than words and the Coalition has already developed an initial agenda of activity.

One of its first acts was to express to Santa Barbara officials its dissatisfaction with the hasty and short search following the disappearance of an elderly Black woman who has since been found dead. Many people compared the short search for this Black person with the massive search for the mother of Frank Sinatra who disappeared about the same time. They concluded that the life of this Black woman was obviously not as highly valued by city officials.

The Coalition has made the educational needs of Santa Barbara youth its first priority area of work. Members of the Coalition are actively supporting the campaign of Rev. Wilkes as a candidate that will contribute to improving the quality of education in Santa Barbara. Other priorities will be decided in March.

As a concrete example of this emerging unity, a "Black Community Unity Service" has been planned in commemoration of Negro History Week-Black Liberation Month. It will be held on Sunday, Feb. 27, at 11 a.m. at Friendship Baptist Church. The service will feature unity messages from fraternal, service, religious and educational organizations.

The unity effort was organized by the Ministerial Alliance and members of the Black Community Coalition. The following churches will join with community residents for this united service: Friendship Baptist Church, Rev. John H. Johnson; St. Paul A.M.E. Church, Rev. Lee N. May; Greater Hope Baptist Church, Rev. John B. Ficklin; Lewis Chapel C.M.E. Church, Rev. John E. Cochran; Second Baptist Church, Rev. Leander Wilkes.

What does all of this mean? Only time and hard work and struggle will tell. But the importance of Black unity and struggle has been seen throughout a long history. The wisdom of two African proverbs may very well describe the long-term significance of these initial efforts by the Santa Barbara Black Community Coalition: "A long journey begins with a single step." And, "when spiderwebs unite they can tie up a lion."

BLACK COMMUNITY COALITION. Black Santa Barbara residents have formed the coalition and are meeting regularly to build their unity in struggle to solve common problems.
UNITED FRONT
STRUGGLE
THE ONLY ROAD TO
DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
AND QUALITY EDUCATION
It was less than ten years ago that an unsuspecting generation of Black students were swooped up from enclaves like Watts and transported to the deceptive splendor of environs like the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB). As they confronted barriers of race, they opened doors and found the world they had been forced to touch. As they refused to accept the role that the University and society had prescribed for them, they became transformed into a militant force that was committed to making education serve their needs and the needs of their communities.

These Black students were not alone; they were everywhere among us — at Cornell in New York, at Kent State in Ohio, at Jackson State in Mississippi, at San Francisco State — and at UCSB, where many of their brothers gathered in February 1970, at the Isla Vista Bank of America, to signal their discontent with a world that cheated and oppressed them. The heat of those simmering flames could be heard in the rage and indignation flowing from within these students.

Burning flames told their story, a story of how Black students came seeking an education, one they had been so consistently denied, a story of how they battled with racism and discrimination, threats to their survival, and insults to their humanity on and off campus. But it is also a story of victory, as well as defeat, of how they penetrated bastions of elitism, turning prestige and privilege inside out. Their most important accomplishment was forcing a recognition of social responsibility on the part of a college or university community.

But it is this victory which made these militant Black students so despised. It has made them those who rule the university foster a burning desire to be rid of them forever.

And they did depart — not always by choice, and not before, leaving behind them the somewhat uneasy symbols of their struggles and victories: Black Studies, EOP, and Affirmative Action and several other mechanisms aimed at facilitating the exercise of their democratic right to quality education. Having gotten rid of the "militant students" — the so-called troublemakers — most universities have wasted no time in wiping out even the very symbols of Black presence, very often encountering little difficulty from the remaining Black population.

At UCSB today, the ashes have all been swept away. As the university charts its survival through the decade of crisis to the 1970s, it has made clear the order of its priorities. In its own quiet but deliberate manner, it has paved the way for the dismantling of Black Studies and other programs as "ineffective" and "inefficient." At the same time, revised admission standards are being constructed that hamper the enrollment and retention of Black and minority students, making them the lowest of their priorities.

Clearly, much that was gained through struggle in the early 1970s has been efficiently and effectively swept away. Black student enrollment at UCSB continually declines, cutbacks in financial aid send students scrambling for another part-time job while their studies suffer an "unfortunate" neglect. The "Jimmy Carter Reform Era" is being looked to for eternal salvation from a deepening crisis.

UCSB, like most other universities, could not be happier about this period of lull in militant student activity. Caught off-guard in the 1960s with the influx of "special," "regular," "admissible," and "improved access" type students; the University has barely had the chance to keep a step ahead of the "game" it thought Black students were "playing." Now is its chance to catch up, its opportunity to chart a new course of activity for insuring a future that is free from the turmoil and struggle of everyday life. This, of course, means repudiating the unwilling concessions to earlier Black student demands; and, of course, cleaning up behind itself quite thoroughly.

Unfortunately, the repudiation of such democratic rights as equal opportunity for a quality education is not confined to UCSB. At the heart of this repudiation is the Bakke case, a legal challenge to affirmative action programs soon to be heard by the US Supreme Court. Bakke not only provides a convenient excuse for not redressing the wrongs that have been done to Black and minority people in this country, but also permits the majority of the educational institutions to brush aside minority programs and minority students as if they are, once again as they were in the past, not "deserving" of their rights to quality higher education.

Karen Edinger, a black graduate of UCSB puts it plainly in "The Cruel Hoax Called Reverse Discrimination": "The argument of Bakke ignores the gross economic disparities of our society; the 1969 per capita income of Black people was 54 percent that of "White-Anglo" people; Chicano and Puerto Rican people have per capita incomes comparable or even lower than that of Black people; and Native Americans, the most economically oppressed with a per capita income of 46 percent that of "Whites." It further ignores the disparities in the quality of education the minority peoples receive in this country."

Bakke, however, is not the beginning of a new thing. It merely represents an escalation of oppression in a country that is plunging deeper into crisis and is seeking desperately to recover itself. The roots of Bakke can be seen in the university's already declining commitment to equalize educational opportunities. At UCSB, Black enrollment that increased to 3.1 percent in 1973, declined to 2.3 percent in 1974 and 2.6 percent in 1976. Recently released statistics from the Office of the Chancellor reveal a decline to 2.4 percent in 1977, a return to its 1970 level. This is the context in which we can best understand the current activities of the Black programs and activities at both UCSB and Santa Barbara City College.

Continued
The Center For Black Studies

In fact, it is the need to confront this current crisis that one unit at UCSB, the Center for Black Studies, takes as a point of departure in its operations. In a recent call to a conference on Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies, the Center for Black Studies clearly states its view:

CRISIS! CUTBACKS! ATTACKS! Today, these are words which best describe the situation facing Black people in higher education in California (and throughout the country). The Bakke decision of the California Supreme Court is aimed at dismantling programs which seek to overcome the history of educational disadvantages heaped upon Black people and Third World peoples. Passed recently by California voters, Proposition 4 prohibits the University from denying admission on account of race, religion, ethnic heritage and sex, and might be used like the Bakke decision to dismantle equal opportunity programs.

Under the guide of budget deficits and academic review, university and college administrations, are moving decisively to dismantle Black Studies programs, cut back their funding, reduce financial aid and supportive services to Black students, and deny tenure and promotion to Black faculty and staff. At the same time, however, William Shockley and Arthur Jensen continue to enjoy privileged tenured status at Stanford and UC Berkeley as bases of operation to spread their blatantly racist views about the inherent genetic "intelectual deficit" of Black people.

The response to these attacks by many Black students has been the same as that which created Black Studies in the first place — STRUGGLE! There have been demonstrations at UCSB, UCLA, California State University campuses at Fresno, Los

Colleges and other colleges and universities. In the face of these continuing attacks and the growing struggles against them, we in Black Studies must be as united and organized as possible.

This conference on Black Studies will be attended by more than 65 colleges and universities throughout California and the US. The conference will address the need for a standardized curriculum, the logical outcome of the past ten years of activity in Black Studies.

There has been a considerable amount of experimentation to consolidate Black Studies on a new level. Academically, a standardized curriculum will enable us to provide our students with a quality education about Black people, one that represents the best of black collective experimentation over the past ten years. Politically, a standardized curriculum which maintains academic excellence and social responsibility will provide the most effective base to build community support for Black Studies, and serve as the most effective foundation for defending our programs.

In undertaking such a conference, the Center for Black Studies is carrying out its initial mandate. As the 1969 proposal which created the Center for Black Studies stated, the center should not only attempt to attract distinguished scholars, but should also itself become "a leader in academic and scholarly research in the emerging field of Black Studies." In keeping with this concept, the center annually provides two dissertation fellowships for young Black scholars completing their doctoral dissertations.

The contradiction between the University's word and deed is ever present, however. Despite its grandiose design, the center has faced periodic threats to its survival, each one more severe and more costly than the one before. Its two outstanding features have been — not surprisingly — its constantly changing leadership and insufficient funding. Its third director, Abdulhamid Akoni, reported upon leaving his post in 1974:

"The center was programmed for failure...It, like other Black programs, is losing its novelty and being absorbed. Funds...are inadequate to do the job required and are restricted so that they cannot be spent freely."

It was during Akoni's tenure that the Center for Black Studies was rapped for not "producing research." An investigation, however, uncovered that out of ten research proposals submitted to the University between 1970 and 1974, all were refused by University funding sources.

In fact, the Center for Black Studies' current existence can be attributed to the takeover of the
cultural traditions, examining each on its own terms and from varied perspectives. The Department of Black Studies seeks to increase the general awareness and understanding of the Black experience through an examination of its historical and contemporary manifestations in various societies. To do this, it utilizes a cross-cultural approach and incorporates the active participation of faculty, students, and the wider community.

As has happened in many programs, however, the decline in Black student enrollment at UCSB and budget cutbacks have led to declining enrollment in Black Studies. The department recently found it necessary to cancel several classes. The current chairperson of the Black Studies' Department is Professor Gerard G. Pigeon.

The Equal Opportunity Program

The first Black component at UCSB, however, was the Equal Opportunity Program (EOP). As much as any other Black program, EOP was the direct outcome of the mass struggles of Black people in the 1960s. Its activity in increasing the number of Black students laid the groundwork for the subsequent student demands for Black Studies. Because of its focus on student recruitment and retention, EOP will also be hit hard by the Bakke ruling.

In 1967, EOP organized as a single minority function, serving as the financial counseling arm for all minority affairs. Since its inception, the program was beset with instability, and the twists and turns of an uneasy university administration. By 1969, Chicano EOP had separated and in 1974 the Native American and Asian components formed autonomous units. Known now as "Black EOP," the program bears the scars of the battle of its tumultuous years and its six directors. Nevertheless, the program has helped to shape the experiences of almost every Black UCSB student since 1968.

Ozel Kirkland, current Black EOP director, points out the major problems confronting the Black student at UCSB: a poor background in communications skills and overwhelming isolation in an anti-Black community. Reportedly only 20 percent of Black EOP students are regularly admissible. Thus, the tutorial component of the program has developed into a large operation over the last few years. Today, Black EOP students (and all other EOP students) are not only provided with financial assistance and personal counseling, they also have access to subject tutoring and basic skills tutoring. Still, only 180 Black students have graduated since 1970 out of many times that number who entered.

MILITANT DEMONSTRATIONS AND BUILDING TAKEOVERS were used by Black students and their allies at UCSB and across the US to win concessions in their struggle for increased admissions, Black Studies and other goals.
Santa Barbara City College

Is the situation with Black Studies and Black people any different in a two-year college? Apparently not. David Lawyer, Co-director of the Ethnic Studies Program at Santa Barbara City College (SBCC), remembers the history of Black Studies at the College.

Unlike most community colleges which upheld a commitment to open doors and to open admissions, SBCC was scornful of such a policy and was particularly slow to open its doors to Black students. Even today, the Black population represents only about 18% of a total population of 8,000, or 2.25 percent. According to Lawyer, SBCC has always considered itself a "miniature UCSB" and as a result all but vowed to keep the elitism of its college under the guise of "academic purity" of its college. The struggle for Black Studies and Ethnic Studies at SBCC, in so far as it reflected the presence of a minimal number of Black students, was determined by these harsh realities.

From the very beginning, the program sought to make itself an integral, rather than an isolated part of the SBCC community. Thus, since the program's 1972 inception, a "cooperative approach," which joins Chicano, Black, Native American and soon Asian Studies under Ethnic Studies, has allowed for a certain amount of political security and strength few programs have had.

Although departments within the college viewed Ethnic Studies as diminishing the power of their own programs and continue to voice their opposition, the department offers majors in both Black Studies and Ethnic Studies. It has also succeeded in getting Black Studies courses required courses in other fields and majors. Ethnic Studies at SBCC has never had a Black majority enrollment, although the program was greatly concerned with student recruitment. Thus, the steadily increasing enrollment in its courses has depended primarily upon recruitment rather than Black students. And the course enrollments have indeed increased, "surpassing" that of many other departments in the college, according to Lawyer.

If the history of SBCC appears to be rosy, it is not. Lawyer is well aware of certain vivid realities. The department, finding itself with students who have very real skill deficiencies, a growing problem among all students, has therefore had to alter its emphasis upon recruitment and has responded with an extensive tutorial and support service.

In addition, studies who are enrolled in Black Studies courses are increasingly interested in improving their own employability. Their interest in Black Studies now reflects more their interest in "a job after graduation, rather than an interest in the kinds of social and political concerns that were pervasive in an earlier period.

The department is sensitive to another critical problem. The lack of a consistent and significant flow of Black students from the community has discouraged any sustained interaction between the community and the college. Few City College graduates can be found in the community. Young people see few job prospects in Santa Barbara, given racism and the economic crisis. Many are forced to leave just as Black people were forced to migrate.

Finally, the opposition to Black Studies at SBCC appears to be gaining ground. It is clearly heading toward an uncertain future. A persistent effort to force down the enrollments in Ethnic Studies courses and therefore to cancel them was successful this Spring semester. Several Black Studies courses were cancelled before the end of registration charging that these courses had minimal and therefore insufficient pre-enrollment.

Lawyer, who admits that the University gave him "carte blanche" to establish a Black Studies program in 1972, recognizes this new reality as the end of an era.

Black Units Face Uncertain Future

UCSB and SBCC will undoubtedly continue to proclaim a verbal and symbolic commitment to the concept of Black Studies and EOP, that is, just enough of a commitment that will enable them to continue to "gather in the supply of dwindling state and federal funds which have been allocated for this purpose.

But the various Black units on both campuses face a harsh fate. Now that the University has learned its lesson the hard way, it is highly unlikely that Black programs which have been primarily responsible for raising the political consciousness and struggle of Black students will be supported (though many of today's students have not been told of this tradition of struggle). It is unlikely that those very programs that have helped to "force much-needed change in the university and in the society will continue to receive the blessings of university administration which are also confronted with the impact of the economic and political crisis.

The very presence of large numbers of Black people in higher education numbers which reflect their percentages in the population speaks to the democratic right of Black people to a quality education. Because the initial presence of Black Studies programs and EOP programs reflects the struggle against racist injustice and economic exploitation that still characterize the broader society, the attacks on these programs will parallel the "deepening crisis in the overall society.

But Black Studies and EOP were brought into being not through the good will of socially conscious administrations and faculty, but through STRUGGLE. Thus, the real answer to the current crisis facing Black people in higher education, the answer to such attacks as Bakke, will hinge on the same thing that the outcome of the crisis facing the masses of Black people will hinge on — struggle.

STRUGGLE — that is how the current situation must be answered.
John Davis is a typical Black migrant to California. He reflects on the hard working-class experience of leaving Mississippi, the heartland for the oppression of Black people, and making do with a menial job in California. He relives that experience and that oppression in the following interview, and demonstrates the vitality and creativeness by which the current Black community was developed in Santa Barbara. John Davis was a hard working 'man.'

Q: Where were you born?
A: Natchez, Miss., 1883.

Q: What was early family life like in Natchez?
A: I don't remember what kind of work my father did. He died when I was young. My mother did domestic work. I was 14 when I went to work in the post office, and I stayed even after they moved into a new facility seven years later (1904).

Q: How old were you when you left Natchez?
A: I came to LA in 1921. I was 38 years old.

Q: Why did you come to Santa Barbara?
A: My wife's sister lived in Santa Barbara, and after some correspondence between my wife and her sister, we moved to Santa Barbara.

Q: What kind of work did your sister-in-law do?
A: Domestic.

Q: How did you come?
A: On the train, LA-Santa Barbara.

Q: What kind of jobs did you have?
A: Here for a good while before I found work. I was working in a bakery shop. I stayed there until they went out of business. I took jobs here and there until I found work with Levy's Shoe Store. I stayed there until I retired in 1956.

Q: What was life like for poor Blacks in SB in 1921 when you first got here?
A: We were strangers, and didn't know much about people. I was mostly concerned about finding work to support the family. There were very few colored people in SB at that time. There were so few that we knew all of the telephone numbers of the Blacks in town, and we would pick them all up each Sunday for church.

Q: There was a church here at that time?
A: Yes, Methodist church.

Q: What kinds of jobs did most Black people have at that time?
A: The most jobs were those domestic and janitorial jobs in Montecito.

Q: Where did Black people live?
A: Different places — not concentrated in one area.

Q: When did Black people start moving to SB?
A: Around 1940, there was a large increase, especially in the church.

Q: Where did most Black people come from?
A: From Texas mostly, and some from Georgia.

Q: Are there many people in Santa Barbara now, originally from Mississippi?
A: No.

Q: Was there ever a period when things were better or worse in SB? (e.g., during the depression years, 1929-30s, did things get hard in Santa Barbara?)
A: Well, we didn't know much about it, but we did a lot of fishing.

continued
on the wharf and job hunting.

Q: Around the time of WWII, how would you characterize the differences that began to emerge?
A: A lot of construction work began which brought in a lot of Black people who worked at Point Hueneme and Pt. Magu.

Q: Was this construction work done by the Federal Government?
A: Yes.

Q: When did the Black community begin to take shape in terms of having Black businesses, clubs, organizations, etc.?
A: By 1952, we had a Black cafe, barber shop and a pool hall.

Q: After the jobs finished, what happened to those people who were employed?
A: Some are still employed, others who were from out of town moved back to LA, Bakersfield, Pasadena, Altadena, and other places.

Q: What have been the jobs in addition to Black people doing traditional jobs of domestic and janitorial workers. Is this still the case?
A: Yes, but now there are more Black teachers at both the elementary and secondary levels.

Q: When did this happen?
A: About 15 years ago.

Q: In 1921, was there any segregation in SB?
A: Oh yes! In the schools, and in the restaurants on State Street. Sometimes they would not serve Blacks but would break the dishes in front of them after they ate. In the markets, Blacks would be the last waited on.

Q: When did this change? Was it a gradual change?
A: Yes, a gradual change by the 1950s.

Q: What impact did this have on whether or not the Black community would grow, particularly in terms of young people?
A: Young people left and still leave. There is nothing here for them. There were no scholarships available for Blacks here, so they leave.

Q: How many of the people you met when you first came in 1921 are here now?
A: Only a few. Most have died or moved.

Q: Were there any housing restrictions?
A: Don't know, built my own home in 1927 and slept in a tent while the house was being built. We have heard of some problems, but never experienced any because we didn't have to rent.

Q: Were there ever any instances of violence? Were there ever any Blacks killed here, and did it become an issue?
A: No.

Q: Do you remember any famous Black people coming to SB?
A: Marian Anderson and Grace Bomby, but these are recent — they sang at the Lobero.

Q: Who was the most prominent Black person?
A: Mr. Goodwin, a mail carrier.
Q: Was Mr. Goodwin a mail carrier here in Santa Barbara?
A: Yes, in 1921.

Q: Were there other Black people who had that kind of job?
A: No, he was the only one at that time.

Q: Was that the best job we had in the community at that time?
A: Yes.

Q: How did things improve? Were there more people who got jobs in the post office or were there business people opening businesses?
A: There's more than one Black mail carrier now, and we have more than one Black policeman.

Q: When did the first Black policeman join the police force?
A: About 10 years ago. There are also some Black firemen (two), but this is more recent because we seem to have a hard time trying to get in.

Q: How do your family have experienced the Emancipation Proclamation? In terms of your experience here in SB from 1954 to now, what differences has it made in your life?
A: There's been a great deal of advancement since then. We've seen more of our Black boys and girls striving to make something of themselves. A lot of them have come to the polls to vote.

Q: Did Black people start voting here? Were they voting in 1921?
A: Yes, but many of the Blacks did not vote then. There would be discussions in the church to encourage them to vote. My daughter was the first Black to register people to vote.

Q: Brother Davis, when was the first time you voted?
A: 1922.
Q: Were you voting in
Mississippi?
A: No.
Q: So that was considered a big thing?
A: Yes.
Q: What about the NAACP? When did it start here?
A: Don't remember much about them until the 50s. In 52-53 they were doing well, then they died out around 1960.
Q: Who would try to help Black people with problems; the real fighters?
A: My wife, she would offer shelter to families. She was a missionary.

Q: In terms of businessmen, ministers, leaders in the Black community, who were those people you could talk to if you got into trouble? Who would represent Black people?
A: I don't know of any Black people who would do that.
Q: What about UCSB? What do you remember about that?
A: I remember when it was just a small place out there. It makes you feel good inside to see the growth of our Black kids out there.
Q: When did Blacks start being out there?
Q: What do you think about what's been happening out there in the last few years?
A: I think it's just great. Our kids are just doing great, getting into more, getting involved.
Q: What does the Black community think about the Black students and faculty at UCSB?
A: So many don't understand, a lot of people just don't know. We don't get involved enough.
Q: How would you define a 'good' man?
A: A good man is one who's married, has a wife and children, one who takes care of them, one who belongs to a church, and a lodge and like that.
Q: What are the characteristics of a good member?
A: I would say one who would do unto others as they would have them do unto you, and to do the right thing and treat everyone right. That's my philosophy.
Q: What is the right thing? For example, when they broke the cups in the restaurant, or did not wait on, Black people in the market; the idea of what's right would be don't go around.
A: Oh no. You would not do that. Very few Negroes would argue with them.
Q: Was there a difference between the way a Black male and female were treated?
A: No.
Q: What kind of work did your mother do?
A: Domestic work.
Q: What about the future of Black people in Santa Barbara?
A: I think if they get educated they will be getting into more things because they are preparing themselves. Things are much better now than they were when we first got here. As time goes on, our boys and girls will be getting into more things and we'll be proud of them. I worked for Levy's for 40 years without a vacation.
Q: What about retirement?
A: They took out social security. It didn't pay off then, but it pays off now.
Q: How many days a week did you work?
A: Seven days.
The Franklin Neighborhood Center has been in operation since 1975. Various county agencies are housed in the Center to meet the needs of the residents of Santa Barbara’s Eastside.

The Center offers a variety of services and resources. The agencies housed in the Center include: the County Health Department, the County Hospital, the County Welfare Department, Mental Health Department, and County Probation Department. Various private agencies also utilize the Center, including the Community Action Commission, the Cornelia Moore Dental Foundation and the Self-Care Foundation of the NAACP.

The services of the Center are listed as:
- Primary Medical-Care
- Medi-Cal and Financial Assistance
- Mobile Dental Classroom and Resource Center
- Counseling and Diagnosis
- Senior Citizen’s Lunch Program
- Educational Meetings
- Recreational Activities
- Legal Referral Services
- Individual and Family Counseling
- Santa Barbara County Schools PTA Idea
- Santa Barbara County Schools Child Care Development Program and Community Education
- Renal Mediation and Home Rehabilitation Program

In 1968, the concerted efforts of a group of Eastside residents and others prompted the City of Santa Barbara to sponsor the construction of a neighborhood facilities center.

The Franklin Neighborhood Center is operated administratively by the City of Santa Barbara’s Citizen Service Office. Center Coordinator is Javier Escobar. The administrative activities of the staff involve facility use coordination, information to Center clientele, regarding services, and general public information.

The Franklin Neighborhood Center also has a multi-purpose room that is used regularly by agencies, groups, clubs, organizations and individuals for various activities.
Question: Rev. Wilkes, why have you decided to run for the Santa Barbara School Board?

Wilkes: I have for several decades been committed to education and the development of young people. I have also in recent years become very disturbed by what I perceive to be a deterioration in the basic skills that are indispensable to effective living in a highly competitive society. The capacity to change this educational trend will be the same as the breadth of vision of the school board that exercises leadership. I have become a candidate for the Santa Barbara School Board because of some things I see as basic causes for this deterioration. And I feel I can contribute toward overcoming this deterioration.

Q: Are there experiences and training which you think give you insight into the issues you will face as a school board member?

Wilkes: I have been an active member of the clergy for more than 25 years. My experience is of a rather broad range. It includes formal education — a BA from AM&N State College, Pine Bluff, Ark., and training at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio. I have also been involved in administration, research, workshops, seminars, curriculum development and lecturing. I have been a lecturer at UCSB for the past three years.

Q: What is the main thing you intend to do if elected?

Wilkes: I intend to represent the children that they may become all that they are capable of becoming, so that the public may get the most out of its tax-dollars. I am concerned with questions such as ‘What do students really need to achieve the goal of student-learning and what precisely are we doing about it?’

Q: Is there any basic problem that you already see?

Wilkes: I see a basic problem that places the goal of student-learning for too many students in the category of the impossible. It emerges from the failure of two old simple principles not being applied: 1) the student must have confidence in his teacher; 2) the student must have confidence in himself.

Q: What will you do when you are elected?

Wilkes: When I am elected, I shall endeavor to work unceasingly on an effective program of parental and community involvement so that the confidence of students in their teachers and in themselves may be restored. I shall also take a serious look at instructional materials and strategies and, finally, all programs with the ultimate goal of making the student self-reliant.
NEGRO HISTORY WEEK
BLACK LIBERATION MONTH

Black Community Unity Service

11 a.m. February 27, 1977
Friendship Missionary Baptist Church
912 E. Cota, Santa Barbara

JOIN US SUNDAY
This paper will present a Marxist view of the U.S. capitalist state and its implications for the struggle of Black people. This is especially relevant in light of the role Black voters played in the election of Jimmy Carter, and his subsequent appointment of Andrew Young as chief spokesperson for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations. Briefly, we will argue that in a capitalist society, the State is an instrument which serves the interest of the dominant capitalist class in exploiting and oppressing the masses of people. This role of the state has been vividly true in all periods of Black peoples history in the U.S. Instead of summing up the lessons of this history and using it to reorient our current practice, many of us have stuck our heads in the sand like the proverbial ostrich, held out our hopes for some Messianic savior, and jumped on the Peanut Special when it rolled into town (or in the case of Georgians, when it rolled out of town.)

As difficult as it might be to cut through the religious mysticism and hollow rhetorical flourishes, James Earl Carter represents the interests and current needs of the U.S. capitalist class as it grapples with the most severe crisis it has faced in decades. One of the main contradictions facing U.S. capitalists is the international situation: the danger of a new world war caused by the contention of the U.S. with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, and the continuing victories of the countries, nations, and revolutionary peoples of the world against imperialism.

Thus, the appointment of Andrew Young to the United Nations and his decision to accept objectively represents Young's capitulation
to U.S. imperialism, arguments about his good intentions and/or naïve idealism notwithstanding, his actions will serve the interest of U.S. imperialism in solving some of its most glaring contradictions: it can move to a new phase of exploiting and oppressing the people of the world. How Black people—especially the masses of Black people who are genuinely interested and committed to Black liberation—can avoid selling out to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism is the major focus of this paper.

First, however, it may be useful to mention why this analysis of Black liberation and election of Carter is such an essential question to discuss. 1976 will be a critical year in the history of U.S. imperialism and in the struggles of the masses of people to end its exploitation and oppression. Internationally, there were the victories of the Indochinese people. Inside the U.S., there was the severest economic crisis that U.S. capitalism has faced since the Great Depression, graphically illustrated by an inflation rate which reached 12.2% in 1974 and about 18% unemployment. On top of this, the masses of working people responded militantly to this attempt of capitalists to push the burden of the crisis onto their backs: the numbers of workers involved in strikes was the highest since the Great Depression.

In addition, there was the aftermath of Watergate when the covers were pulled off of the gross political corruption that characterizes American politics for all to see. A growing cynicism and distrust pervaded the American people. Politicians were ranked on the bottom of the occupations held in esteem and millions of people refused to
exercise their vote in corrupt and meaningless elections. For example, there has been a steady decline in the percentage of eligible voters casting ballots for presidential elections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>63.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>61.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>60.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>55.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>53.3</td>
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Politicians, capitalists and bourgeois scholars have expressed grave alarm at these developments.

It was to gloss over these realities—to divert attention from the real problems—that the U.S. ruling class launched its well-financed and well-orchestrated Bicentennial celebration. But the 200th birthday-party was a gigantic flop. There was a general lack of interest and relatively few people turned out to celebrate, especially in Philadelphia. This indicated how serious the situation is. It was also for this reason—to divert attention from the real problems—that the 1976 Presidential election, occurring in the middle of this very serious crisis, assumed additional significance, and such an intense get-out-the-vote campaign was undertaken. The 1976 election should help to sharpen our struggle for clarity and understanding about the correct path to Black liberation in the U.S. Why placing our eggs in the basket of electoral politics under U.S. capitalist democracy is not the way forward. A naive euphoria characterizes the response that most sectors of the Black population have to the election of Jimmy Carter. Clearly he has the support of record numbers of Black people. Of the 6 million Blacks who voted—a record 60% turnout—it is estimated that more than 81% gave their votes to Carter, with 91% doing so in the South. These votes were essential to his victory. Carter won 51% of the popular vote—40.3 million—to 48% or 38.6 million for Gerald Ford. Carter's electoral vote margin--
the one that really counts—was 56, the smallest since a 23 vote margin in the 1916, Presidential election. And Black votes provided the margin of Carter's victory in 13 states—Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, and Wisconsin. The significance of the Black vote—and the votes of other people of color—is underscored by the fact that Ford received more votes from whites than Carter, 51% to 48%.

But there is a serious error in this simplistic nose-counting approach, an empiricist error. By this we mean the error of holding up as universal truth one's own investigations, ignoring the larger questions related to it, or how the question has historically developed. This error has led and will continue to lead the struggle for Black liberation and a new society down a blind alley. We will continue to find ourselves betrayed by our so-called friends, consoling ourselves, in the words of Gladys Knight and the Pips, "And we really gave it one heck of a try, but when the laughter had stopped ringing our sin has fallen from the sky...It hurts to think of just how close we almost came..."

Of course there are more serious matters and the stakes are very high indeed. And Black people could never and can certainly not now afford to rely on luck and our wishful thinking when it comes to the question of politics, or how we view the state in relationship to Black liberation. Whether or not this view is a scientific view that is consistent with our history of resistance and struggle, and the history and struggle of the masses of oppressed and exploited people in the U.S. and throughout the world is thus a key question. This
paper will briefly sketch this scientific view of the state and its implications for Black liberation in light of the election of Jimmy Carter, and in particular, his appointment of a Black, Andrew Young as chief spokesperson for U.S. imperialism in the United Nations.
II

What is the state, how did it arise and what fundamentally should be Black people's attitude to the American State? These are important questions that we can only briefly discuss here. Our position is that there are two lines, two views on the nature of the State—one which serves the interests of the ruling capitalist class and one which serves the interests of the masses of Black people and working people in this society. Paul Sweezy, in his Theory of Capitalist Development has provided a useful summation of these two views, which he labels the "class mediation theory" and the "class domination theory":

The former takes the existence of a certain class structure for granted and sees in the state an institution for reconciling the conflicting interests of the various classes; the latter, on the other hand, recognizes that classes are the product of historical development and sees in the state an instrument in the hands of the ruling classes for enforcing and guaranteeing the stability of the class structure itself.

It is this second theory, "the class domination theory," that is at the core of the Marxist theory of the State. In The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels assert that "the executive of the modern state, is but a committee for managing the coming affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." Profound in its simplicity, this brief definition flows from the summation of experience and practice of the State and with the State throughout a long history. The bourgeoisie (as did the slave-owners of antiquity and the feudal lords) utilizes the State apparatus to protect private property, the material basis for the domination of one class over another.
One of the serious errors of the dogmatic leftists of the recent period is that the insights of Marxism on such questions as the class nature of the State have been lost in abstract and often pointless polemics. Marx—Engels, Lenin and other revolutionary socialists were not the first to discuss the class nature of the capitalist state. For our purposes, we need turn no further than the writings of James Madison and other founding fathers in The Federalist Papers:

But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government. (Number 12)\(^{15}\)

Are we to conclude from this recognition of classes and their relationship to the State that the Founding Fathers were Marxists? Of course not. Marx himself provided a clue to the answer to this question when he stated:

...no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society, nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes, and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did was new was to prove: 1) that the existence of classes
is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; 2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.

(Marx to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852)

Extending this analysis, Lenin in The State and Revolution further clarified the point as he battled against opportunist forces bent on "emasculating the essence of Marx's revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it."

Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.

Thus, though both the Founding Fathers and Marxists agree on the role of the state in maintaining class domination in capitalist society, Marxists extend their theory of class struggle to embrace the defeat of the dictatorship of a minority—the bourgeoisie—and the victory of the masses and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or working class.

How—by what method—are we to arrive at a correct under-
standing of the nature of the State? Are we to accept or reject the Marxist view—or accept the view of Jimmy Carter and his spokes-
people, Black and white, or the views of Carter’s capitalist sponsors simply because someone says we can trust them for whatever reason?
Of course not!! The essence of science, of historical materialism or Marxism, is the concrete analysis of concrete things. In addition,
the most reliable thing in any question of social science, one that is very necessary in order to approach the situation of Black people correctly without getting lost in the mass of conflicting ideas and distortions by the mass media and others is to always seek the underlying historical development of the current conditions. To be scientific we should inquire as to how these conditions arose in history and what stages these conditions have passed through. From this standpoint, we can more accurately examine the precise character of these conditions today.
If such an investigation is undertaken, you will discover for yourselves that it is class struggle which shapes the character of the American state, and that the State in all periods of our history have served the interests of the U.S. ruling class in maintaining and deepening our oppression and exploitation.
One of the major shortcomings of the left dogmatists as well as the right reactionaries, and indeed most analysis of the Black political situation in the U.S., is that they all fail to root their analysis firmly in the historical practice of Black people.
Let us briefly mention three areas of study which need to be deepened in this regard to verify the correctness of the Marxist theory of the State.
1) The capitalist class and the origins of the American State

2) Black people and the American political system: periods of development

3) The State in the works of Black intellectuals

1) Origins and development of the American state: We have mentioned the clear views of James Madison and other Founding Fathers on the class nature of the American State. And such views were not confined to Madison. To John Adams, "The controversy between the rich and the poor...will continue, and rivalries will arise out of them." Common interests are impossible in a class society because of "diversity in the faculties of men, from which rights of property originate" and the "protection of these faculties of men and of the private property rights which ensue is the first object of government." In "The Economics of Our Founding Fathers," Abram Harris, a noted Black political economist who we will mention again below, made this observation about the "Founding Fathers" and the common interests that they represented as different wings of the American capitalist class struggled to create a State apparatus which would insure the continued existence of American capitalism:

The proposition that government ought to serve the dominion of property was a cardinal tenet of faith among both the Federalist and Republicans. On this there was no disagreement between them. The great bone of contention was the kind of property on which political power should rest...Thus when viewed in its true historical light, the conflict between Hamilton and Jefferson will be seen as a struggle between small and large capitalists.

This question is more thoroughly documented in Beard's Economics Interpretation of the American Constitution and Lynd's Class Conflict, Slavery and the U.S. Constitution. Every period of American
history has examples too numerous to mention demonstrating how the capitalist class has used the apparatus of the State to further serve its own interests. The role of the State in showing up and saving the capitalist system during the Great Depression and its conduct of imperialist wars are just two examples.

2) Black people and the American political system: periods of development. Throughout the historical experiences of Black people in the US., we observe the consistent and obvious role of the State in serving the interests of the U.S. ruling class in their efforts to exploit us. Using Introduction to Afro-American Studies, we have a framework for periodizing Black history so that our relationship to the State can be systematically studied:

a) Slavery: The role of the government in legalizing the slave trade, leaving both intact in a document that purported to claim a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal." The slave codes passed in many states also prove this role.

b) Reconstruction: DuBois's Black Reconstruction amply demonstrates this same point. The Hayes Tilden sell-out in 1876 in which Northern capitalist realigned their class interests with the former slavemasters and cast aside the alliance that had been established with the former slaves and many poor whites, withdrew Federal Troops from the South, (troops that were immediately used to put down the 1877 rebellions of railroad workers) is a vivid example.

c) Rural: Charles Johnson's Shadow of the Plantation, for example, discusses the role of the State in enforcing the
debt peonage of Black sharecroppers and other farm laborers, false imprisonment and forced chaingang labor, and the stealing of the land owned by Black people. A more sinister example is the role of the U.S. government in facilitating the now famous Tuskegee syphilis experiment in cooperation with the Rosenwald Fund which destroyed the lives of many Black men who were allowed--without their knowledge--to go without treatment to see how the disease affected the human body.

d) Migration: Drake and Cayton, in Black Metropolis, discuss how local state governments in the South were used by Southern capitalists to try to prevent Black workers from migrating North to better economic opportunities. In addition, to a general policy of first the stick (repression) and then the carrot (token reforms), other actions were aimed at Northern labor recruiters. In Georgia, for example, the Macon City Council passed laws demanding a $25,000 recruiting license fee and demanded that labor agents be recommended by ten local ministers, ten manufacturers and twenty-five businessmen. (p.59)

e) Urban: Again the examples are too numerous to mention. The recent and current takeover of New York city by big banks and other institutions of monopoly finance capital is a glaring example where the state is used to reduce the living standards of the masses of people to avoid cutting into the profit margins of capitalists.

Thus, the historical stages of development of Black people in the U.S.
offers an excellent opportunity to study concretely the relationship of Black people to the American capitalist state and to test the validity of the Marxist theory of the State.

3) The state in the work of Black intellectuals: Finally, for people who often talk so much about our history and our ancestors, it is strangely odd that most of us refuse to study and emulate the more scientific thinker in the Black experience and understand their views of the American State. Many Black intellectuals, especially during the period of the Great Depression, were very clear on the question of the state, as clear as when Frederick Douglass intoned: "What is the American slave in your Fourth of July?" While DuBois was on the correct path when he wrote *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States* (1899), he is very clear when he writes in *Black Reconstruction in America*. His self-criticism 50 years later is instructive to our current work as Black scholars: "What I needed was to add to my terribly conscientious search into the facts of the slave trade the clear concept of Marx on the class struggle for income and power, beneath which all considerations of morals were twisted and utterly crushed. Yet it is too much to ask that I should have been as wise in 1896 as I think I am in 1954? For us in 1977, who refuse DuBois' lesson to root our study of Black people, and in this case the state, in the clear concept of Marx on class struggle, there is no acceptable excuse.

We have already mentioned the work of Abram L. Harris, the political economist. His basic view captured the essence of the class character of the American State: "What Hamilton and Jefferson represented was the rivalry of different factions of the propertied
class, not the conflict between distinct classes playing different roles in the process of production. It would be very useful to study more of the work of the Black intellectuals who were gathered around the Joint Committee for National Recovery at Howard University in the 1930's. Ralph Bunche, for example, had this somewhat critical assessment of those Black people who did not understand—or chose to ignore—the class nature of the American State:

Perhaps the favorite method of struggle for rights employed by minority groups is the political. Through the use of the ballot and the courts strenuous efforts are put forth to gain social justice for the group. Extreme faith is placed in the ability of these instruments of government to free the minority from social proscription and civic inequality. The inherent fallacy of this belief rests in the failure to appreciate the fact that the instruments of the state are merely the reflections of the political and economic ideology of the dominant group, that the political arm of the state cannot be divorced from its prevailing economic structure, whose servant it must inevitably be.

Bunche continues to criticize the idealist view that many advocates of political reform advanced, trying to de-mystify the naive faith in the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and the Reconstruction Amendments, pointing again to the economic interests that these documents were intended to serve:

The Constitution is thus detached from the political and economic realities of American life and becomes a sort of protective angel hovering above us and keeping a constant vigil over the rights of all America's children, black and white, rich and poor, employer and employee and, like impartial justice, blinded to their differences. This view ignores the quite significant fact that the Constitution is a very flexible instrument and that, in the nature of things, it cannot be anything more than the controlling elements in the American society wish it to be.

More implicit in Bunche's analysis is the kind of alternative he
The Negro masses are so lacking in radical class consciousness; they are so imbued with a peasant psychology and the lingering illusion of the American dream, that any possibility of large-scale identification of the Negro population with revolutionary groups can be projected only in the future. The immediate task of such movements in this country is to develop radical class consciousness among the working class masses of both white and Negro populations, with a view to the ultimate recognition of an identity of interest and consequent black and white solidarity in a militant labor movement.

In *Case, Class and Race* (1956), Oliver Cox asserts that "any particular State is the child of the class or classes in society which benefit from the particular set of property relations which it is the State's obligation to enforce." It is this pattern of property relations which political class conflict threatens, hence the goal of a political class is always control of the State.

He extends this view of class struggle and the State to his discussion of socialism. "The socialists...do not seek to destroy the State directly. Their end, to repeat, is the liquidation of the exploiting capitalist class and consequently of all political classes. They insist on using the machinery of the State to accomplish this. Having eliminated the exploiters from within and from without, the State naturally becomes obsolete." (213) Thus we see here a clear reformulation of the Marxist thesis that the State remains an instrument of class domination throughout the transition from capitalism to a classless society, only during this socialist transition, the state is an instrument in the hands of the masses of people and not in the hands of a few.
The election of Jimmy Carter as President of the United States must be viewed in relationship to two things: a scientific, historical view of the State and the current situation facing the U.S. ruling class.

First, it is clear that Black people and many others are faced with such tremendous problems that we are quick to grab at anything that glitters hoping that it might—no matter how remote the possibility—turn out to be gold. Such is the case with Carter. A new face, a Southerner even, the first deep South president since Reconstruction. Closely allied with the first deep South Black legislator since Reconstruction and a friend of Black people. His daughter attending a predominantly Black public school and his very special Southern Black as her overseer. A bible-spouting, Sunday-school teaching Cardigan clad, carry his own suitcase, New deal sounding liberal. The list could go on, and it fact it has and will in the mass of media of this country. And its is precisely this list of non-essentials that the U.S. ruling class hopes will over the essential character of Carter's administration—his true representation of monopoly capitalism against the interests of the masses of the American people.

The exposure of Carter's ruling class connections—because they are so obvious—have not just come from the expected left or Marxist circles. As unlikely a source as Ronald Reagan commenting recently on "Rocky's Retirement" in his national newspaper column wrote: "Nelson Rockefeller retire from politics? It's about as likely as the sun suddenly reversing course and setting in the East." Reagan goes on:

Conspiracy theorists are fond of thinking that the Rockefeller, his family, and its institutions are bent on taking over the world. What's more to the point, though, is the fact that a good many influential scholars and administrators owe their patronage to Rockefeller resources. And they are turning out to be as much a part of a Carter Establishment
as they were of previous administrations, both Republican and Democrat.

The information that Reagan provides would result from a close scrutiny of who is in the Carter administration:

REFER TO CHART ON THE NEXT PAGE (179)

But Reagan’s conclusion that "Nelson even in retirement, your magic spell is everywhere" is sheer mysticism, the way the ruling class always attempts to mask the reality of capitalist class rule. More appropriate and useful for our purposes is the analysis just cited: "the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." We would be wise to keep this uppermost in our minds and search out the evidence which reveals in whose interest the Carter administration is likely to serve.

In this regard, there is one last comment. There do exist important contradictions in the U.S. ruling class over domestic policy and over foreign policy. These contradictions are at the basis of many of the exposes which have recently occurred. In other words, "Deep Throat" was no accident, but represents one wing of the U.S. capitalist class blowing the whistle, or pulling the covers off of another wing. The present crisis only intensifies these rivalries within the ruling class and forces them to struggle to put more of the costs of the crisis onto the backs of their capitalist rivals.

This rivalry assumed vast proportions during the Vietnam–Watergate era—very costly one to the capitalists because it temporarily unmasked their skeletons. Thus, the Carter administration should also be viewed as a government of National capitalist unity—better uniting the few to continue to exploit the many. Not only is there Rockefeller’s interests, but there are also many old faces from other capitalist groups, and many new faces in high places.
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James Schlesinger—Hard line anti-Soviet and one of the few holdovers from the Nixon Ford cabinet. Dismissed as Defense sec. because of opposition to Kissinger, and proceeded to brief Reagan, Jackson, and Carter on foreign policy. Former head of CIA and Rand Corp. Division of Strategic Studies who will soon head new energy slot in Cabinet.

Bert Lance—First National Bank of Georgia

King and Spalding law firm in Atlanta

Griffin Bell, Charles Kirbo, and Jack Watson:

Law firm represents First National Bank of Georgia, Coca-Cola (J.P. Morgan), Standard Oil of California, Prudential, Kox Broadcasting

Ray Marshall—University of Texas labor economist

Joseph Califano, Arnold and Porter law firm (Kennedy operative)

Clifford Alexander, Arnold and Porter law firm, member of National Security Council

Kennedy operative

We need to deepen and sharpen this analysis of Who's who in the Carter administration but we think that the main point here has been amply made: The Carter administration is nothing but a committee looking after the common interests of the U.S. capitalist class.
The election of Jimmy Carter must secondly be viewed in international context. The World Situation and certainly the conditions faced by the U.S. ruling class is in a great state of flux. Thus, it is essential for Black people to have some framework in which we can make sense of this rapidly changing world scene—a handle that will help us to link up and make sense of the daily newspaper headlines and news reports. What is the character of the international situation in 1977?

First, there are four fundamental contradictions in the world that are getting sharper and causing the great turmoil that we see in all parts of the globe. These contradictions manifest:

1. Struggle between imperialism, led by the USA and USSR, and the oppressed peoples, nations, and countries of the world;
2. Class struggle between the exploiting capitalist class and the working class within imperialist (and socialist) countries;
3. Struggle between capitalist countries and socialist countries;
4. Struggle among the imperialist countries, especially that between the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR;

There is a domestic contradiction and an international manifestation of these four contradictions, and both are closely related. Domestically, the intensifying class struggle in the U.S. is driving the U.S. ruling class toward fascism. The thin veil of bourgeois democratic rights are being ripped away as banks and corporations—openly and through the merging of public and private institutions—assume more direct control of the American U.S. economy. Again, there is perhaps no better case than the way the banks have seized control of New York City and forced cutbacks in social programs, education, etc.—while demanding that billions of dollars in tax money be used to pay high interests on bank loans. These cutbacks are increasing all over the U.S. and the Carter administration is undertaking new policies which will sanction increased cutbacks in living standards.
During the last decade, the struggles of countries, peoples, and nations against imperialism has been the cutting edge of changes in the world situation. The victories in Southern Africa and other African countries' once dominated by Portuguese colonialism and the escalating struggles in Southern Africa, the successes of the patriotic forces in liberating Vietnam, the blows of OPEC and the now dozen or so raw materials producing cartels (coffee, tin, copper, etc.) are important components of this process.

At the present time, however, the contention between the two superpowers—the USA and the USSR—is rapidly becoming as sharp a contradiction and is leading increasingly towards a new world war. The U.S. ruling class, which emerged from World War II as the undisputed leader of the world is now being challenged by its up-and-coming rival, the Soviet Union, for control of the capitalist world. The Soviet Union, because it is a new capitalist power, is now driven by the same laws to expand as the U.S. But because the world is completely divided up, it is forced to challenge the U.S. in a very aggressive way, as did the Germany and Japan and their allies in the first two world Wars. Discussions of war fill our newspapers and televisions and hot spots all over the world become stages where the contention between the USA and USSR is acted out: Cyprus, Middle East, Angola, India, new Zaïre and of course—Western and Eastern Europe.

The foreign policy of Jimmy Carter and especially the appointment of Andrew Young can best be assessed in this context of deepening superpower contention and continuing anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles especially in the Third World. Let us briefly outline several examples of why this is the case.

(1) The Tri-Lateral Council
1. TRILATERAL COMMISSION. A cornerstone in the policy of U.S. imperialism to maintain its domination is to strengthen its relationship with its allies. This is especially necessary given the fact that the European Economic Community, Japan, and Canada have been growing competitors of the U.S. producing and shipping cheaper steel, autos, and other consumer goods to the U.S.; breaking ranks in responding to the just demands of OPEC countries; improving relationships with China and the socialist countries, and reducing oil shipments to the US. as in the case of Canada. The Commission is the brainchild of David Rockefeller of Chase-Manhattan Bank. According to the Los Angeles Times, "it was, in particular, a reaction to the OPEC challenge which say the various developed capitalist countries pitted against each other." We can look at its p

We need only to look at the capitalists who sit with the Commission to get some idea where it is coming from: Chase-Manhattan, Bank of America, Exxon, Wells Fargo, Brown Brothers Harriman, Time Life, Hewlett Packard, Coca Cola, etc. of the United States; Royal Dutch Shell and the Rothschilds of Europe and SONY, Nissan, and Mitsubishi of Japan. Significantly represented also are agents of the U.S. ruling class in the workers movement: I.W. Abel of the United Steel workers, Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers.

A closer look at its personnel and the policy formulations which have been put forward are even more revealing. For example, the following members of the Trilateral Commission members are now high officials in the current administration: Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Z. Brezezinski, Cyrus Vance, Michael Blumenthal, Harold Brown, Lucy Wilson Benson (Asst. Sec. of Defense), Anthony Lake, Richard Cooper, Dick Holbrooke and Richard
Gardiner.

The Los Angeles Times (Jan. 24, 1977) commented: "Indeed, the Trilateral Commission has been more successful as an establishment placement service than as a source of new policy ideas, which was its original stated purpose." The clear implication that there is not a very close relationship between its role as a "source of new policy ideas" and as "an establishment placement service" is misleading. Those who formulated new policy ideas on behalf of the ruling class are more often than not the best overseers of their implementation. As two scholars stated in another context: "inside the this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class, its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting

In only slightly different words, Max Kohnstamm, the first European Chairman of the Commission, similarly described this process:

This, which must be done by absolutely first rate intellectuals will tend to become irrelevant unless it is done in constant checking with those who are in power or who have a considerable influence on those in power. A Trilateral Commission without the intellectuals will become very soon a second class negotiating forum. The intellectuals not being forced to test their ideas constantly with the establishment of our world will tend to become abstract and therefore useless.

Here we have a clear statement of the division of labor among between the capitalists and their intellectuals in a forum that seeks to bridge the gap between the theory of their exploitation
and oppression, and the implementation of it.

Thus, it should be no surprise that the policies which the Carter administration is pursuing are almost verbatim copies of those put forth by the Trilateral commission. Even Carter himself never missed a meeting and had this to say: in his book Why Not The Best: "Membership on this commission has provided me with a splendid opportunity, and many of the other members have helped me in my study of foreign affairs." A few of the major policy formulations include:

(1) Z. on Trilateralism

(2) The World Bank should encourage the OPEC nations to lend money to the poor nations. Recently, Saudi Arabia and others have provided $1.4 billion to African countries.

(3) We have too much democracy, especially too much freedom of the press. The U.S. is inflicted by a disease called "democratic distemper," and more centralized power is needed." Applied to the energy crisis the Commission has said: "Economic factors will by themselves induce certain changes. But the situation will call for a considerable degree of voluntary cooperation and of acceptance, voluntary or involuntary, of governmental regulation of an increased sector of American life." The remarks of former CIA/Defense Department head James Scholesinger who is slated to be the first cabinet energy tsar indicates that the Commission policy are well on the way toward implementation.
(4) We need a Palestinian ministate in which the PLO will play a leading role in exchange for a guarantee of Israel's borders. Carter's "surprise" announcement at his recent press conference (3/9) that the U.S. favored a compromise Middle East peace arrangement in which Israel would leave most occupied Arab territory but keep defense forces stationed beyond its borders of land conceded to the Arabs.

The almost dizzying pace that the new administration's foreign policy apparatus shifted into high gear tells us a lot about how serious the crisis of imperialism is and what parts of the world are focal points of attention and contention. Before the Peanut Special was back in Georgia and the hangovers had subsided, Vice President Mondale was off on a ten day jaunt to reassure NATO allies that the U.S. would meet the growing Soviet threat of world war; Andrew Young was off to Africa and Cyrus Vance to the Middle East in the month which followed. We

Tjus, though the administration has changed, we are simply witnessing the unfolding of the most recent strategy and tactics of U.S. imperialism to shore up its slogging empire.
(2) Contention with the Soviet Union: "U.S. Senators Warn of Nuclear War in Europe unless the U.S. Beef Up NATO." "Huge Soviet Base Built During Detente." "New CIA Estimate Finds Soviet Superiority in Arms." "Soviet Close to Neutralizing NATO Deterrent." Anyone who has watched such headlines as these over the last few months and cannot see that there is growing contention which threatens a new world war does not understand the history of imperialism and is deliberately trying to mislead the masses of people in serving as cannon fodder in another imperialist war which will only serve the interests of the ruling classes of the USA and the USSR.

This contention is clearly at the center of the Carter administration's foreign policy. Brezhevinsky is known to be a hardliner on the Soviet Union. James Schlesinger was dismissed from Nixon-Ford's cabinet because he criticized Kissinger's stand on the Soviet Union. Time pointed out: "The administration seems to be moving in two opposite directions in dealing with the Soviet Union." (2/7/77) There was on the one hand, the optimistic pledge to resume the stalled SALT talks on strategic arms limitation. At the same time, however, there was sharp criticism of the treatment of dissidents in the Soviet Union, criticisms that Kissinger would have considered as meddling in the internal affairs of the USSR.

This reflects the dual character of the U.S. relationship with the Soviet Union. By far the dominant is contention and many new U.S. policies will reflect this increasing competition with the Soviet Union: increased spending on war preparations, increased aid and penetration of countries where there is strong Soviet influence in the areas (Kenya neighbor Somalia and Ethiopia, Egypt and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East...
Zaire near Angola, and of course the NATO countries and Japan, and attempts to improve relations with countries like Cuba, abstaining from vetoing Angola's admission into the U.N., an all-out push for repeal of the Byrd amendment to get on the right side of the moral issue in Southern Africa, etc.

At the same time, however, there will be collusion: a cover of cooperation with the USSR to try and hide their intensified war preparations from the masses of the world's people.

We should carefully scrutinize these developments, especially the upcoming visit of Cyrus Vance to the Soviet Union and the trip of Podgorny of the Soviet Union to Southern Africa, what he devoted to most African nations: I will have no difficulty...

(3) Sidetracking the Revolution: The Use of Andy Young in the UN: "The only people who will win in South Africa if change is not peaceful are the communists." At the December Lesotho conference where Young made this statement, he also said that he favors U.S. investment in South Africa and believed that the Carter administration will support peaceful rather than militant change. This non-violent, pro-corporate investment, gradual reform, anti-communist, support the moderate faction line is at the core of U.S. imperialism's attempt to sidetrack the revolutionary struggle in Africa and the entire Third World.

Young's (and Carter's) continued mouthing of this line of "peaceful transition" flies in the face of self-determination in Africa. The presidents of the front-line states bordering Zimbabwe—Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia—and most of the OAU have all united to support armed struggle led by the Patriotic Front—which claims to be Marxist Leninist—as the...
only path to achieving independence in under majority rule.

Young's view on U.S. investments in South Africa does the same thing, especially when most Africans have called for the economic isolation of the racist regimes. "My notion is that if revolution is the transfer of goods, and services and opportunities, then capitalism has produced a lot more in the way of revolution than Communism." He continues: "multinationals involve the U.S. in the affairs of other countries. Why not incorporate a sense of political direction with the profit motive." Young also speaks about American corporate power as a potential force for good in the world. He would not directly confront it in Chile.

Young also opposes the political isolation of South Africa that is favored by most African nations: "I will have no difficulty voting against bombastic resolutions or casting the America veto to keep South Africa in the United Nations." The General Assembly was almost unanimous in such a decision last year and the Olympic boycott was also support for this position.

But what is most important to understand about Young's role as U.S. imperialism's spokesperson in the U.N. is that not only does he help to sidetrack revolution, but he is also contributing to the growing contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union which threatens a new world war. Many of Young's statements reflect the view of the U.S. ruling class that it is not the liberation of African people from imperialism and racist colonialism that is the driving force of the struggle in Southern Africa. Instead, the red menace and concern with Soviet advances in the area become prime considerations.
According to Young

"Racial strife in South Africa could play into the hands of the Russians. By taking a strong stand, the South African are forcing the blacks into the Russian camp." The same is true with Young's statements that "in a sense, the Cuban troops bring a certain stability and order in Angola." While Vance and others hurried to clean up this statement, the presence of Cuban troops is in fact viewed as a stabilizing of Soviet imperialism in Southern Africa, a blow to U.S. imperialism designs.

Finally, there is Young's statements on Amin in Uganda.

One needs no warm feelings for Idi Amin to condemn the racist statements by Carter Young and others. When Maynihan did it he was roundly rebuked by the OAU and the masses of Black people. Given the growing Soviet influence in Angola and Somalia—and now Uganda—such statements are a perfect cover for increased U.S. intervention in the area. The presence of the U.S. Seventh Fleet of the East African Coast and the new push for a major naval base on Diego Garcia have been opposed by many African countries. One needs only to remember the dangerous Entebbe raid to understand the threat to Africa. Calling Amin a savage and a gorilla is nothing more than a pretext for escalating contention with the Soviet Union in East Africa, again increasing the danger of a new world war that we should oppose.
Finally, we would point to what we think is the basis of Young's enthusiastic acceptance of his role of imperialism's servant, though surely this is not his own self image. It is rooted in the petty-bourgeois democratic illusions of the Civil rights era—a reformist, idealist approach to Black liberation that was unable to see that the real cause of the racism and exploitation facing Black people was to be found in the nature of the capitalist system. It was not simply a question of morality. Young opted for reform and opted out of the (revolutionary) struggle which is necessary to serve the interests of the masses of Black people.

I'm an admitted, confessed and deliberate reformer. People have been thinking about South Africa for years. I refuse to think about it philosophically, I want to think about it tactically."

Said the New York Times reported about this statement": "It seemed a perfect description of the way his mind works."

This short-run, "pragmatic," anything goes as long as it get us along in the shortrun approach is characteristic of capitalist society. By rejecting philosophical thought, clearly Young means that he is not interested in the increasing theoretical and practical criticisms being leveled at imperialism around the world. His interest is in non violent tactics of reform. His interest is not in understanding why so many people in the Third World are turning to socialism and revolution; his interest in shoring up U.S. imperialism.'
This anti-theoretical, pragmatic stance serves the interest of the U.S. ruling class and we are certain that they are delighted to have it pushed by a Black person and not a Moynihan. But DuBois has answered this kind of backwards advice:

There are those who would have admis the Black man to pay little attention to where he is going so long as he keeps moving. They assume that God or his vice gerent the white man will attend to the steering. This is nonsense. Conscious self-realization and self direction is the watch word of modern man, and the first article in the program of any group.

Finally, a view that is widely stated is that Andy Young bears the legacy of Martin Luther King and the masses struggle of Black people for democratic rights in the 1960s. It is surely this image of legitimacy that the U.S. ruling class is counting on to make thax imperialism more palatable, in the Third World and at home, especially among Black people. First, we doubt that the Third World will fall for this ploy.

Second, we disagree with this image. One needs only to look at King's militant anti-imperialist speech in opposition to the imperialist war in Vietnam to see where he was and where he was headed. Not into bed with U.S. imperialism, but toward pulling the covers off of it. Not toward collaboration with monopoly capitalism, but toward open confrontation and struggle against it. No, Brother King was not headed for Congress or the
U.N. His arena was that of struggle against evil, not just one of "non-cooperation" with it", as Young has declared. Vietnam, Memphis, and South Carolina, and the history of struggle starting with the Montgomery Bus Boycott clearly indicate this.

The real bearers of the legacy of Martin Luther King are the militant freedom fighters in Southern Africa who have been forced to take up armed struggle as the only way to liberate their country from imperialism. The real bearers of King's legacy are the very freedom fighters like King who Andrew Young is helping U.S. imperialism to oppose.

Down with U.S. Imperialism and its lackeys
Superpowers out of Africa
Victory to the African people
IMPERIALISM AND BLACK LIBERATION:
THE LESSONS OF THE AFRICAN LIBERATION SUPPORT COMMITTEE (ALSC)

DRAFTS FOR REVIEW #1

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PART IV
LIASON WORK
Start with 1 & 2 from recent Handbook of Struggle
1. What is the scientific formulation of the historical and dialectical development of the Afro-American national question in the USA? What has been the relationship of the exploitation of Black workers to the exploitation and oppression of white workers by the USA bourgeoisie?

Black people have made a substantial though often unheralded contribution to the development of capitalism and imperialism in the United States. In our ongoing investigations of the American-African slave trade, colonial commerce, and the development of the early textile industry, we are developing a fuller view of the tremendous exploitation of white workers played in the rise of capitalism and the role that this exploitation of whites played, as well as the exploitation of Blacks. Whites were exploited as peasants who were dispossessed of their land to form the early manufacturing working class, as seamen, as craftsmen, as migrants forced to migrate in order to find work, and as the industrial workers during the early period. This is not to downplay the pivotal role played by the slave trade and slavery but it is to be all sided in our investigation of historical reality and to raise up both aspects of the dialectics of the national question--class exploitation of both Black and white workers.

The views expressed in several of the documents of the collective are, in our view, one-sided, undialectical, or mechanical in the discussion of the simultaneous and equally as important exploitation of white workers in the development of capitalism. For example:

"As a result, the slavery of African peoples in the US helped in the development of the white industrial proletariat and to what ever better living, working, and social conditions they enjoyed over that of Black people. Not only did they experience these better conditions over the Afro-American population but also over the world proletariat." (Epton, 14)

"The superprofits made from the exploitation of Black slave laborers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers laid the foundation for the billion dollar banks and industries which exist today." (ENYAC,

"At the same time that US imperialism was extracting super-profits of the backs of the African slaves, it was maximizing its profits off the backs of white working class" (Epton,
But there is also a contradictory position put forth:

"White workers are materially better off because of the higher rate of productivity and many years of intense class struggle to win these better conditions." In addition, U.S. imperialism is better able to make certain concessions to the U.S. working class because of the super-exploitation of the peoples of the world that has brought it super profits. "(Epton, 15).

What is meant by these statements? Do you mean that the exploitation of the white industrial proletariat was quantitatively less than the exploitation of the slaves? How is this determined—by the quantity of surplus value appropriated? Does not the last statement contradict the others and put forth the correct view: that a substantial share of whatever "better terms on which to be exploited" (Lenin, What is to be done?, p. ) derive from the surplus value taken from their own labor (which is the essence of "the higher rate of productivity) and that these crumbs which were returned to white workers were no more than necessary concessions by capitalists in the heat of class struggle?

In part, the problem is that the principle contradiction in society—that of class exploitation, and the principle aspect of the contradiction between class exploitation and national oppression—again class exploitation—are not correctly and consistently identified. Is it the class exploitation of all workers which pits all workers against the bourgeoisie that is the principle contradiction; or is it the extraction of super profits which in essence pit worker against worker (or workers in advanced capitalist countries against workers and peasants in the Third World) that is the principal contradiction?

From our investigations, we have not been able to empirically prove that more surplus value was squeezed from Black workers (as slaves, etc.) than was squeezed from white workers (when the proportions are considered). On the basis of perceptual knowledge, harsh brutality of the Middle Passage and the political and social restrictions of slavery, not to mention the absence of wages which were paid to free labor. Marx commented on the deceptive nature of perceptual knowledge on this question:

In slave-labor even that part of the working day in which the slave is only replacing the value of his own means of existence, in which, therefore, in fact, he works for himself alone, appears as labor for his master. All the slaves' labor appears as unpaid labor. In wage labor,
on the contrary, even surplus labor, or unpaid labor, appears as paid. There the property-relation conceals the labor of the slave for himself; here the money-relation conceals the unrequited labor of the wage-laborer. (Capital, I, 591.)

The study of political economy—especially the classics of Marxist-Leninist thought—is essential in making this kind of determination about the differential in the exploitation of Black and white workers in the development of the US. economy. We are deepening our study in this area and hope to continue to have exchanges with you on these questions.

Certainly the question is not the revisionist line of ending income and wage differentials between white and Black workers as the main issue—though this and all forms of racist discrimination against Black people must be resolutely struggled against by Black people and the entire working class. But not as a way of backing into socialism. Neither is the main question the quantitative aspect of how much surplus value (though this is an important question) It is rather the (qualitative) question of the class exploitation: the principal contradiction between the working class (the black and white sectors of it) and the capitalist class. The contradiction between Black and white workers is a very important contradiction but not the principal one.

We think that Lenin made a correct class analysis trying to demonstrate the unity of interest between the masses of the proletariat in Europe and the masses of colonized people as against the interest of the bourgeoisie and the bribed labor aristocracy. He pointed out that "a handful of wealth countries...obtain superprofits running into the hundred, if not thousands, of millions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight among themselves for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils." (Imperialism and the Split in Socialism). But only a few crumbs are given to these few workers while increasing oppression characterized the lot of the masses: "For the trusts, the financial oligarchy

The bourgeoisie of an imperialist Great Power can economically bribe the upper strata of"its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its super profits most likely amount to about a thousand million... For the trusts, the
financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., while enabling the bribery of a handful in the top layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the mass of the proletariat and semi-proletariat.

Lenin's summation of the effect of these worsening material conditions speaks to the kind of situation we face today and points to the kind of working class unity that must be built and the conditions which make it more possible:

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the bogey of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapons of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the masses, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialism wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop.

Given the reality of the deepening crisis and its impact on all working class people, claiming a "special" contribution to capitalism for Black people instead of applying dialectics and raising the role of the exploitation of the entire class reinforces bourgeois nationalist sentiment—the kind of my nation first" or something close to it—that Lenin and all communists must struggle against. This ideological line deviation is the basis for the nationalist demand for "reparations," hardly a proletarian solution to the problems facing Black people.

In discussing how "to combat nationalism when its is masked and unrecognizable beneath its (socialist) mask," Stalin says in Marxism and the National Question that "implanted among the workers, its poisons the atmosphere and spreads harmful ideas of mutual distrust and segregation among the workers of different nationalities.... It prepares the ground not only for the segregation of nations, but also for breaking up the united labor movement."

We agree with Comrade Epton that "to raise the nationalism of the black masses in the same breath as the racism of white people is to deny
the oppression of Black people." (p. 17). But as communists, our position is that communists should not promote nationalism which represents the ideology and interests of the bourgeoisie. Instead, we should strive to transform nationalism consciousness into class consciousness and to make the struggle against all forms of national oppression a thorough going aspect of class consciousness.

While Marx is quoted by Epton to the effect that "Direct slavery is as much the pivot of our industrialism today as machinery, credit," out of context this quote might not convey the dialectical treatment that characterizes the work of Lenin. He concludes the passage by saying that "We find slavery in every nation since the world began. Modern nations have merely known how to disguise slavery in their own countries while they open imported it into the new world." In Capital, Marx is even more pointed in his dialectical treatment of the enslavement of Blacks and the simultaneous exploitation of whites: "Whilst the cotton industry introduced child-slavery in England, it gave in the United States a stimulus to the transformation of the earlier, more or less patriarchal slavery, into a system of commercial exploitation. In fact, the veiled slavery of the wage-earners in Europe needed, for its pedestal, its slavery pure and simple in the New World." (Capital I, 833). Finally Engels in Anti-Duhring: "Slavery in the United States was based far less on force than on the English cotton industry...." (222)

In conclusion, we feel that the key issue is how to formulate the presentation of a proletarian line on how the objective factors of the Afro-American national question (class and nation, class exploitation and national oppression) have historically developed and how they have interpenetrated. This is an essential point. We think that the ideological deviations in your application of Marxism Leninism to these questions of material development are the basis for important deviations in aspects of your political and organizational line on the Afro-American national question,
2. What is the scientific formulation—the correct proletarian line—on Black peoples national development?

As stated, our view is that the essence of the national question hinges on class exploitation and class struggle and that the Afro-American National Question (AANQ) is essentially a proletarian class question. But we also recognized that "the most important thing in order to approach this question (or any question) scientifically is not to forget the underlying historical connection, to examine every question from the standpoint of how the given phenomenon arose in history and what principle stages this phenomenon passes in its development, and from the standpoint of its development, to examine what the given thing has become today." Lenin, "The State"

This historical perspective is especially important in the study of the national question, especially since the experience of the world revolutionary movement has demonstrated that "the solution of the national question is possible only in connection with the historical conditions taken in their development.... To repeat: the concrete historical conditions as the starting point, and the dialectical presentation of the question as the only correct way of presenting it—such is the key to solving the national question.

It is therefore essential that we develop a proletarian line of the AANQ. We see several factors and contradictions which must be carefully studied to arrive at a correct view:

(1) The objective factor of classes, class exploitation, and class struggle which has manifested itself is changing forms;

(2) The objective factor of national development, national oppression, and the struggle for national liberation which has manifested itself in changing forms;

(3) The dialectical relationship (i.e., the contradiction) between these objective factors of class and national development;
(4) The contradiction between these objective factors and subjective consciousness—"the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—
+the ideological forms in which man becomes conscious of this (class) conflict and fight it out." (Marx, A Contribution to the Critique

(5) Because "the mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life" (Ibid) we view the study of political economy—"the science of the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence in human society" (Antti-Duhning)163—as being the most essential aspect of our theoretical work in coming to a proletarian view of the question.

In the speech, "Dependency versus Dialectics: Two Lines of Analysis on the Afro-American National Question" especially pp. 22-30) we have stated our general formulation:

"our basic approach results in a determination that Black people constitute a nationality, within a complex network of social forces, the main one being the overwhelming proletarian character of Black people. The objective fact of fade, genetics, etc., is not a proven historical force, but the subjective phenomenon of racism is and has played a major role in Afro-American history. In broad terms, we view the dialectical process in three stages:

(1) Slavery and the origin of Afro-American people

(2) The Rise of the Afro-American Nation

(3) The Proletarianization of the Afro-American masses.
Of course this is our current view and is subject to the dialectic of knowledge-ignorance which can be resolved through deepening our study and the contradiction of being correct or incorrect which can be resolved through criticism and self-criticism.

Comrades we again invite your careful study and response to this formulation so that we can use the strength of our collective insights and practice to push this analysis to a deeper level of clarity and comprehensiveness.
II. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUBJECTIVE FACTORS

(1) Here we deal with the forms of consciousness that develops on the basis of and interacts with the objective factors discussed above. In our view, there are two kinds of consciousness:

(a) spontaneous—a formative, episodic or sporadic phenomena in which one's real interest is usually not reflected in one's ideas and the action one undertakes (e.g., trade union struggles for better wages, sporadic violence in response to racist attacks, etc.).

(b) scientific—a deliberate and systematic phenomena in which one's real interests are consciously understood and reflected in one's ideas and in one's practice (e.g., the struggle for socialism and the abolition of the wage system and not just for better terms on which to be exploited, and the struggle for socialism as creating the material basis for the destruction of racism). For the working class, this scientific consciousness is represented by the science of dialectical and historical materialism—Marxism—Leninism.

(2) Both national consciousness and class consciousness result and grow up on the basis of real (objective) things: from the objective existence of classes, class exploitation, and class struggle; and the objective existence of nations, national oppression, and the struggle for national liberation.

With regard to national consciousness and class consciousness, there is a dialectical relationship (i.e., the "identity, unity, coincidence, interpenetration, interpermeation, interdependence, (or mutual dependence for existence), interconnection or mutual
cooperation"). But class consciousness (from the stand of the proletariat) is the principal aspect of this contradiction. In order to make a revolution, class consciousness must be principle aspect though at any time (as is the case today) national consciousness—bourgeois nationalist ideology—can be the principle aspect.

The same analysis applies to national chauvinism and racism among white workers. Both represent bourgeois nationalist ideology (of the dominant nation bourgeoisie) and only the development of thorough going anti-imperialist class struggle and class consciousness and class struggle against the capitalist class will and will the fight against racism be taken up with fervor.

(03) Finally, the standpoint of dialectical and historical materialism is that being determines consciousness, though a dialectical relationship exists here:

"Political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic, etc. development is based on economic development. But all these react upon one another and also upon the economic basis. It is not that the economic situation is cause, solely active, while everything else is only passive effect. There is rather, interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself.

(Engels to Borgius, 1894)"

"The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political structures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. ...With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

A Contribution to the Critique of Pol Econ
From this we raise these questions about your line as put forward in the documents: what is the material (objective) basis of racism (subjective)? What is the scientific formulation of the relationship of racism to class struggle? What is the relative importance of objective factors (i.e., deteriorating economic conditions, increased national oppression, etc.) to the ability of the ruling class to foster racism in its strategy to divide and dominate the working class? How does the correct line on the above questions guide the formulation of tactics, of political and ideological line.

In the MNYAC document we find what we see as an incorrect application of Marxist-Leninist principles, particularly on the relationship of subjective to objective factors. Instead of dialectics and materialism, we find metaphysics and idealism. In discussing the "unfortunate" circumstance of it not having been possible "to identify many people in the white working class who have consistently taken a principled stand in opposition to racism," the document mechanically recites the exploitation of white by capitalism (3) but no sense of the dialectical character of this real historical situation (and how it is concretely linked to the exploitation of Black people and the entire working class. It is summed up dialectically but on the abstract levels of the occasional ideas of some whites: "In the history of the country, periodically, their oppression has forced some of them to realize that along with Black people, they face a common enemy."

While the role of U.S. capitalism "to spread racist ideas and values among white workers," which "promotes a false bond between the capitalist and the white laborer against all Black people," and by preventing working class unity, in the long run, racism oppresses white workers as well as Blacks." But a serious ideological error arises in not using dialectics:
Racism in the number one problem of the white working class. This reality defines the task of white activists; they must work and struggle to eliminate the pervasive racism attitudes, values, and behavior that exist in the white community.

What is racism's relationship to capitalism? What is the principle contradiction in the USA? BNYAC states "Racism, which has relegated us to the bottom of society, can never be eliminated under capitalism, it is vital to the functioning of the system," do we assume that the class contradiction is principle and that in the contradiction between class exploitation and national oppression, the class contradiction is principle, since resolving it will have the greatest impact on national oppression and all other contradictions in society.

Socialism must become the focus and goal of our struggle for liberation. Racism, which has relegated us to the bottom of society can never be eliminated under capitalism, it is vital to the functioning of the system. All of the evils we suffer from are merely symptoms of a much deeper problem. Band-aids won't do, the problem must be dealt with at the root.

If socialism—which will provide the basis for the elimination of racism is our strategic goal, then achieving working class unity is a strategic task that must be considered as we formulate our tactics. But because racism subverts working class unity, it is therefore a main problem of the entire working class. Since Comrade Epton states that "white racism is a noose around the neck of the entire working class in the U.S.," (24) is the BNYAC formulation that "racism is the number one problem of the white working class" a new formulation? What is the basis for this change.
Our view is that capitalism in the number one problem of the entire white working class and that racism is a particular ideological form which is fostered among white workers to serve the interests of capital (as is nationalism fostered among Black people for the same purpose.). For us this means that workers can be most united around the struggle against the principle contradiction—class exploitation—and in the context of this unity, greater unity in struggle can be forged around the absolute necessity of eliminating racism.

Thus, to say as ENYAC does, that "racism...defines the task of white activists; they must struggle to eliminate their pervasive racism attitudes, values and behavior that exist in the white community" is idealist. We think that capitalism defines the task of all revolutionaries. Comrade Epton's speech lays out what we see as the essential dialectic between class struggle and anti-racist struggle.

In the process of grinding U.S. imperialism into the dirtm the entire working class and its allies will be brought into the fight and will see that they can never be fully liberated unless they give all out support to the BLM.... Only when the oppressed minorities can unite with the white workers can the entire working class unite and achieve its liberation. (22, 24)

The role of racism in preventing unity is pointed out: "This weapon is used to prevent the working class from uniting, it is profitable ...and it confuses[] the working class as to the nature of its real enemy. But dialectics speaks to the changing character of all things and there are changes in the forms of racism and in the material conditions which foster it."
(1) "Sharpening contradictions are preventing [the capitalists] from maintaining the economic and social differentials that exist between Black and white workers."

(2) "The white working class has a long history that goes back to the American Revolution, where they have fought bloody battles in their own class interests against the ruling class." (15)

These two tendencies are the material basis for building the united struggle of the entire working class with the anti-racism struggle as a central focus. For this reason we sharply criticize the idealist formulation of BWYAC. It is similar to the logic of the Kerner Commission report.

The formulation in the Epton speech is essentially correct.

White workers must be brought to understand through class struggle, political education and ideological remoulding, that racism is slowing down human development, including their own. ... It must be shown to them in direct confrontation with the ruling class that U.S. imperialism is also their mortal enemy. They must learn that they will never really free from exploitation unless they come out and fully support the Black liberation movement. ...(Shops, communities, organizations and unions) must become battlegrounds and living classrooms in the study and application of how to wage battles against white racism and support for the Black liberation struggle....
Finally, there is a view of the relationship between objective and facetrs and subjective soncsiousness that aare in agreement with.

Even if to many the white working class seems to be backward", that is only looking at it one-sidedly and not properly analyzing thex inherent contradiction between capitalism and the working class. What will emerge and come nto being is will be a closer unity between the white working class and the BL,. We therefore view the white working class as a revolutionar force. Thus, there can be no proletarina revolution in the U.S. unless the BLM and the white working class unity under one banner led by the entire working class and is Marxist-Lenâist Party.

Comrades, we see this a a serious contradiction in your line on this important question. Is it that one is the line of communist forces and one is intended for mass work? What factors enter into your assessment of the objective and subjective conditions of the masses and lead you to the BVM, Bissal, and a similar formulation in the Sales article?
III. STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Summation of our general line on strategy and tactics to be inserted here from the handbook of struggle. Add the Leninist definition of strategy and tactics and of tactical leadership.

Under the section "the BL and the BLM is a strategic ally of the proletariat in the UFAI, add the sections from the handbook on

- What is the essential character of the Black peoples movement?
- What role can intellectual play in the struggle?
- What is unity and why is it a central issue?

While we criticize the dogmatists for disconnecting theory from practice, and the rote quoting of Marxist-Leninists classics out of context, we don't want to make the right error of throwing the baby out with the wash, and not using theory at all. Thus, we quoted Stalin on strategy and tactics because of the clarity of his summation of the revolutionary experiences of the international proletariat. This is the Marxist-Leninist ideological basis on which we sum up our own work and the work of other comrades. Since we do not have access to the summaries of your practical experiences--something that we hope that we can rectify through continued discussion and joint work--we have used the theoretical formulations in the documents we have reviewed and raise the following questions and criticisms.
On the Strategy for Revolution: The Party

Comrade Epton states: "Therefore, the only correct strategy for the revolutionary movement is armed struggle adopted to the concrete conditions of a highly concentrated industrial country. And finally none of the above can be accomplished without two fundamental ingredients—the science of Marxism Leninism, applied to the concrete conditions of the U.S. and a Marxist-Leninist party." Earlier we find the view that "it would be sheer folly not to actually unity and support the entire Black masses—all levels and strata that can be united in the battle against U.S. imperialism (p. 17) and "only when the oppressed nationalities can be unite with the white workers can the entire working class united and achieve its liberation."

Thus, we see basic unity between us on the three strategic weapons for making our revolution—the party, the United Front Against Imperialism, and armed struggle. We want to deepen our knowledge and seek your views on how the first two of these weapons—the party and the United Front Against Imperialism—are to be forged.

* What is the relationship between them? What is the relationship between your current mass work you are engaged in (BNYAC, BISSAL, etc) to the consolidation of a single communist party? What is the history. What are the lessons to be learned from the history of the communist movement in this country—before and after the turn of the CPUSA to revisionism. What are the main obstacles standing in the way of Black communists and white communists merging into a single communist party?

Related to this is how do we assess the anti-revisionist communist movement in terms of their "failure to take a principle stand in opposition to racism," a charge that you level in the BNYAC statement. If the main contradiction is the class contradiction, do we build unity with forces which are bold in waging the class struggle and struggle with them (based on our knowledge, and experience as summed up using Marxism Leninism) to raise the level of their practice (and their ideas) about the anti-racist struggle to a higher level? Or do we not build unity and wait until they are successfully conclude the process of ridding themselves of their own racism."

We believe that "all ko
We believe that "all knowledge comes from experience"—direct and indirect and it is only the experiences of united struggle between Black and white or summations of those experiences that white people will learn to take a principled stand against racism. This is the view that correctly allows Epton to state that "we therefore view the white working class as a revolutionary force" because "even if...the white working class seems to be backward;...what will emerge and come into being...will be a close unity between the white working class and the Black liberation movement." But this will happen only on the basis of united Struggle, not a tea group, touchy feely sessions as the bourgeoisie would have us believe. "The international type of organization serves as a school of fratern sentiments and is a tremendous agitational factor on behalf of internationalism. The national type of organization is a school of national narrow-mindedness and stagnation." While recognizing that at this stage of our struggle Black organizations are a vital component of the full development and...x participation of Black people in the United Front. we think that these words by Stalin do apply to the unity of communists—Black and white—in a single communist party.

In raising these questions, we of course do not negate the powerful historical lesson of the involvement of Black people in the left, the legacy of racism and chauvinism of the revisionist CPUSA, and the current manifestation of these attitudes among some (many? most? few?) white communists. Comrade Epton covered much of this history in his talk at the PCOI conference. In general we stand by the formulation put forth by Abdul at the ALSC conference in D.D. (page...)

Monopoly Capitalism and imperialism not only socialized the means of production...and socialized the process of production to a very high degree. In the face of increasing wealth for fewer and fewer capitalists, its also socializes the impact of the deepening crisis of imperialism. More and more people are feeling the impact of this crisis, especially the working class, though all classes are affected. Quote from Manifesto on the impact of crisis on the various classes—paga 35, 42, 43, 44

As with classes, so with nations. "Developing capitalism knows
two historical tendencies in the national question.

Of course we make a distinction between the assimilation of economic, political and social life—the proletarianization of Black people and "the nationalist bogey of assimilation" raised up by people like Haki.

The point we are trying to make here is the importance of recognizing how the current and developing material conditions—deepening crisis—are creating the conditions under which great headway can be made in building working class unity to fight not only the economic crisis but also the increased incidence of oppression coming down on oppressed nationalities. It is our view that this advance can be made best by building unity in struggle with sectors or the new communist movement and white workers and other white organizations that we see as advance elements and not by waiting for some magical renunciations of historically conditioned ideas and attitudes.
2. From a discussion of our strategic tasks, we find it useful to discuss tactics in terms of reaching three main goals:

(a) building working class unity and struggling against racism/white chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism which stand in the way;

(b) Building Black peoples movement and struggling against all attempts to liquidate this movement as an essential ally of the working class;

(c) Building the movement of marxist-leninists forces toward the political and organizational hegemony of a single communist party, defeating both left and right deviations.

What is the relationship of our strategic task of building a united struggle of the entire working class and its allies led by a single communist party to the tactics we employ in our day to day work. We have raised our most serious criticisms of your line on this question. While we agree with the formulation of black mass organizations as a tactic, as communists we questions raising color rather than class to the level of principle.

"BISSAL is a Black coalition; white individuals may not joint..."

What is your assessment of the objective and subjective factors which make such a call for a Black only clause in your mass propaganda. Does this not strengthen the ideology of reactionary nationalism -- "poinsoining the atmosphere and spreading harmful dieas of mutual distrust and segregation among the workers...." Does this principal of Black only extend to other non-Black groups. eg, Puerto Ricans? Why or why not?

How do we build strong Black mass organizations without feeding reactionary bourgeois nationalism which works against working class unity. We do not thing it is themechanical application of "my nation first", es- pecially when communists forces are in the leadership of mass work. Rather we think the answer is found in the line which is advance; whether the line is a proleatrian line which puts forward the class contradiction as the
principal contradiction even through the organizational form may be one of all Black people. Our experience in Nashville (with the United Front to Save TSU, the Justice Now Coalition, etc) as summed in the the PC Speech at the D.C. ALSC conference and in the ALSC Handbook of Struggle for African Liberation Month) bears this out. Quote from speech

This question is also related to how do you see racism being destroyed among the working class and what tactics should be used.
December 22, 1976

COMRADES:

As we have discussed with you, the Santa Barbara Consultation of Black Activists is planned for the week-end of February 24th. You will be receiving at least two additional general mailings, and some specific correspondence in preparation for this meeting.

We hope to put together conference study materials in preparation for the conference. It will include the following:

A. An overview of the movement, including points of unity and disagreements among conference participants to be prepared by the conference conveners;

B. documents that represent the current positions of the participants in the conference, organizational and individual;

C. conference agenda with readings for study in preparation for the discussion;

D. draft resolutions by the conference participants on line questions, or action to be implemented as a result of or simply after the SBCBA in February.

As should be obvious, the above material can only be pulled together with full support from everyone. We can duplicate the documents, up to 40 pages, so let us have what materials you want people to read in order to know where you are coming from. Also, send suggestions for the agenda, and any draft resolutions that you would like to submit for consideration.

Basically, we see the following types of concerns as being central to our discussions:

1. The Movement
   a. the development of the left, particularly the general aspects of ideological and political line, and the specific development of Blacks within the Left
   b. the Black liberation movement, both the leading forces and the spontaneous mass struggles

FURTHER THE ANALYSIS, HEIGHTEN THE CONTRADICTIONS
2. The Contradictions:
   a. the international situation, with particular emphasis upon Africa
   b. the class contradictions in the USA, Carter, etc.
   c. the oppression of Black people in the USA, its twists and turns, etc.

3. What is to be done?
   a. the left
   b. the Black peoples movement
   c. how to build greater unity
   d. forms of unity

But, of course, there are many other things, and the ones listed here are too much for our limited time. So by the time we send you the basic conference document, the agenda will be focussed and pointed to the main things.

This is a low point in the struggles of Black people over the country, although in several specific places there is definite resistance at points of attack. Moreover, the Carter administration appears to be making great efforts to co-opt Blacks, women, and other oppressed groups by making "cosmetic" appointments to conceal the imperialist nature of his regime. The appointment of Andrew Young to the United Nations is a good example of this, transforming this lackey of the Bourgeoisie from a pacifist reformist to a blatant spokesperson for the hegemonic aims of USA imperialism. This is surely an important case of things turning into their opposites; in this case, the content remains the same, but the form has changed. Whatever positive efforts that might have unintentionally come from Young's earlier work, he is now the enemy of the people of this country without any question.

We feel that this meeting being planned is important in that our discussion can bring more clarity and unity of will to the progressive forces within the movement for Black liberation. We hope that you will be able to come and play a creative role. However, we want to emphasize what we have said earlier: the value of this discussion will be a function of what goes into the meeting. Therefore, please respond to this letter so that we can move forward with dispatch.

The next letter will have the preliminary political statement and agenda for your review and criticism. Please respond to this letter so that we will have some concrete indication of your interest and will not assume that silence means no interest. We look forward to
our coming discussions, and until then express solidarity and support you in your efforts to achieve Liberation and Revolution for our people and our class.

for Peoples College

Please note the following temporary address:

117 Dearborn
Apt. 124
Goleta, Ca. 93106
COMRADES!

We are pleased that you are able to accept our invitation to have a vigorous and lively discussion on the current state of the Black liberation movement. These times require the greatest possible effort in a struggle to unite around a correct line, to forge a unity of will and action of all communists, revolutionists, and progressives.

As you know, we are having an open and public conference dealing with Black studies. Some of you will participate in these discussions as well. Our political consultation is closed and private—by invitation only. In order to insure the fullest exchange of ideas, please regard this political conference as a confidential matter. Prior arrangements are absolutely necessary for any additions to the list of scheduled participants.

The general timetable in this follows:

1. Black Studies: Thursday night to Saturday noon sessions open

2. Politics of Black liberation: Saturday late afternoon to Sunday evening sessions closed

As our friends have said, the future is bright but the road ahead is torturous. We look forward with great anticipation to our discussions, not with the naive expectation of a harmonious consensus, but with a view of intense and principled struggle for the correct line!

THE POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING!

BUILD THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

FORWARD TO THE CONFERENCE!

, for Peoples College
SESSION #1. Summation/Discussion of Work/Experience (political experience on the local, national, and international levels)

a. time: Saturday evening

b. Our decision to begin here is rooted in our belief that theoretical discussion is most useful when it arises out of concrete practice.

c. We uphold the critical anti-liberalism posture of Mao Tse-Tung and Amilcar Cabral: "Tell no lies, Claim no easy victories"

d. Each person or group will be asked to present a brief summation of political experience/practice to be followed by questions and open discussion. This is intended to be a broad, open and lively discussion towards clarity on points of agreement and disagreement based on concrete experiences. The main focus is intended to be on the general lessons learned from the past to serve as a guide to action.

e. We suggest the following questions guide the preparation of these summations:

1. What have you experienced as the necessary and sufficient conditions for unity of a significant sector of the Black movement, of the entire Afro-American people?

2. What have been and continue to be the major issues facing Black people in the USA?

3. What have been the major shortcomings of the "left" in the USA?

4. What are the greatest dangers to "unity"?

5. What is the best way to struggle for a correct line and to build unity?
SESSION #3. Building the United Front Against Imperialism Among The Afro-American People

a. time: Sunday afternoon

b. The building of unity (unity of action and the unity of will) is a concrete process involving struggle over ideological principles, political strategy and organizational tactics in direct relationship to day-to-day struggle. 1977 is, relatively speaking, a low point of unity in the Black liberation movement. What can we do about this?

c. Some important questions to take up are:

1. How can we contribute to a higher level, more productive (theory and practice) national dialogue between Afro-American activists?

2. What should be our collective response to the continuation of African Liberation Day, an annual day of mass demonstration and protest?

3. Are there any concrete programs we can unite around right now?

4. Should meetings like this occur more frequently? If so, how? when? where? with what agenda?

5. How should we sum this meeting up?
To: Comrades in Detroit

From: Peoples College

Re: Conference Summation

We wanted to share with you as soon as possible our summation of the recent AHSJA conference. First, however, let us congratulate you and thank you for on heluva job in pulling it off. It was as tight as any that AHSJA has held (and we have been to six or seven of the nine). We know that it took a lot of energy and time and a lot of contradictions emerged. But we came back re-energized and more fully committed to struggle and study and to building unity through struggle. We hope that this note communicating the sincere appreciation of some of your comrades for a job well done might be a little boost for yall on that end. We have criticized ourselves for not getting this to you sooner and for our failure to sum up and share our recent conference on "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility in Black Studies." We have learned some lessons from that failure and we are trying to implement them in this letter to you. We hope that we can continue to build on each other's mistakes and failures so that our future work will be more on the mark.

Peoples College has summed up the recent conference as a major success, a victory for progressive forces, and a decisive step toward linking the work of Black intellectuals with the concrete struggles of the masses of Black people. But this victory is only a step. The majority of people have not been won away from the ideological hegemony of various petty bourgeois forces (whether the AHSJA board or Stokely Carmichael), though this conference was successful in putting forward a correct and clear proletarian political line (in theoretical and practical terms) in three sessions of the Friday plenary and in the two workshops on Introduction to Afro-American Studies and EAG.

In making this summation, we think that it is essential to avoid focusing primarily on the petty bourgeois vacillation and petty problems presented by the national leadership of AHSJA without clearly approaching this is a sound theoretical manner. This means grasping the basis of these problems so that we can really determine who are our friends and who are our enemies, not particular peoples, but in class terms that will prepare us for dealing in situations with people we don't know. This will also help us in continuing to build unity in struggle with people who are serious and who are willing to work hard to make a contribution to struggle.

General Observations:

Strong Points:

It is obvious that the debate on Friday was at the heart of the main issue facing people. There was popular spontaneous support for continuing it twice. This has tremendous implications for all of our work in the future. We think that the majority of people were generally under the influence of nationalism and Pan Africanism, but the intensity of the ideological struggle puts something on the agenda and provides the basis for further gains at the next juncture.
(8) The workshops were good in that they were instrumental and led to some concrete follow-through. This is the context for consolidating people, and proving to our detractors that we are serious, that our words lead to acts, and that these acts when grasped as lessons by people in struggle can be used to change the world. This is the lesson for us, the challenge for our future work.

(9) The AHS.A Board retreated from the conference, and this proves that the ideological and political struggle was greater than they could handle or were prepared to get down with. First, we criticize ourselves for not organizing our division of labor so that important ideological and political issues as well as the important organizational questions facing AHS.A could have been taken up more forcefully in the Board meeting. Our relocation back in the Midwest should facilitate on-going work and struggle in AHS.A on our part.

As a result of what was happening outside the Board meetings, they attacked where they could; for example, criticizing the management of the conference which was only weakened by their sloppy behavior. But the local committee was also weakened by its failure to hammer out internal contradictions, forge unity in struggle, and unite around a clear proletarian political line.

Weak Points:

(1) Local involvement by the masses was weak. This reflects, in part, the organization of the schedule. For example, having BAG on Sunday morning. We see this as a grave class error in that if it had been held on Saturday, more workers would have been able to attend! Also, there was not enough publicity on the Wayne State campus which contributed to the absence of the local base. This failure attributed the responsibility of Center staff to deepen links throughout Detroit and missed a good opportunity to consolidate new people and young people.

(2) The staff was reduced to technical functions, and did not have a good chance to put forth an ideological face. Of course the BAG workshop provided that opportunity, but it was not well attended by local folk. The local committee thus lacked an ideological identity, and therefore, was merged with the identity of the national AHS.A elite. Moreover, the struggle with AHS.A could have been the place for ideological struggle, in which the petty issues should have been defined in terms of elitism, commandism, etc., and rejected as viable methods of how Black intellectuals should deal with each other. This kind of summation and the resulting criticisms and practice would have been more important than hassling and being hassled over each petty point. When or if some East Coast delegation "took" conference materials without local approval this should have been made as issue of principle!

(3) This summation is weakened by lack of a planned collective summation. Even though people were tired and run ragged by the time Sunday came, it is a grave loss for us not to have kept on getting up and summed the conference up, let it all hang out so that we could get beneath the surface and grasp the important and fundamental issues and their class basis.
LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING
Lyric by James Weldon Johnson
Music by J. Rosamond Johnson

I
Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty,
Let our rejoicing rise, High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us;
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

II
Stony the road we sing, Bitter the chast'ning rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet,
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed.
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered;
We have come treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

III
God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might, Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God,
where we meet Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world,
we forget Thee,
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, May we forever stand,
True to our God, True to our native land.
BLACK COMMUNITY UNITY SERVICE
in commemoration of Black History Month
February 27, 1977
Friendship Baptist Church
912 East Cota Street
Santa Barbara, California
11:00 a.m.
ORDER OF SERVICE

THE PRELUDE . . . . Mrs. Joyce Grigsby,
Organist
Mrs. Ann Williams,
Pianist

THE PROCESIONAL. . . "Lift Every Voice and
Sing" 
Audience Standing

THE OBSERVATIONS . . Rev. Lee N. May,
Pastor, St. Paul
African Methodist
Episcopal Church

THE CALL TO WORSHIP . Rev. L. Leander Wilkes,
AND CANDLELIGHTING . Pastor, Second Baptist
Church

THE OPENING HYMN . . "Try us, O God, and
Search the Ground"

THE INVOCATION . . Rev. J. B. Ficklin,
Pastor, Greater Hope
Baptist Church

THE CONGREGATIONAL . "Blessed Assurance"
HYMN

THE UNITY MESSAGES
Fraternal Organizations
Mr. Jeremiah Garrett, Worshipful Master,
Unity Lodge No. 22

May thy rich grace impart
Strength to my fainting heart;
My zeal inspire;
As thou hast died for me,
Oh, may my love to thee
Pure, warm and changeless be,
a living fire.

***

THE CLOSING HYMN
"Leaning on the Everlasting Arms"

What a fellowship, what a joy divine,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms!
What a blessedness, what a peace is mine,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms!

Refrain:
Leaning, leaning, Safe and secure from
all alarms;
Leaning, leaning,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms.

What have I to dread, what have I to fear,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms!
I have peace complete with my Lord so dear,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms!

Leaning, leaning, Safe and secure from
all alarms;
Leaning, leaning,
Leaning on the Everlasting Arms.

* * * *

May the Lord watch between me and thee
when we are absent one from another.
THE OPENING HYMN
"Try us, O God, and Search the Ground"

Try us, O God, and search the ground
Of every sinful heart:
Whate'er of sin in us is found,
O bid it all depart!

When to the right or left we stray,
Leave us not comfortless;
But guide our feet into the way
Of everlasting peace.

Help us to help each other, Lord
Each other's cross to bear:
Let each his friendly aid afford,
And feel his brother's care.

Help us to build each other up,
Our little stock improve;
Increase our faith, confirm our hope,
And perfect us in love.

*****

THE CONGREGATIONAL HYMN
"Blessed Assurance"

Blessed assurance, Jesus is mine!
Oh, what a foretaste of glory divine!
Heir of salvation, purchase of God.
Born of His Spirit, washed in His blood.

Refrain:
This is my story, this is my song,
Praising my Saviour all the day long;
This is my story, this is my song,
Praising my Saviour all the day long.

Perfect submission, perfect delight,
Visions of rapture now burst on my sight,
Angels descending, bring from above
Echoes of mercy, whispers of love.
(Refrain)

Perfect submission, all is at rest,
I in my Saviour am happy, and blest,
Watching and waiting, looking above,
Filled with His goodness, lost in His love.
(Refrain)

*****

THE RESPONSIVE READING

Minister: Sing unto the Lord, all the earth; show forth from day to day His salvation.

People: Declare His glory among the peoples; His marvelous works among all nations.

Minister: Fear not: for I am with thee:
I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west;

People: I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back:
bring My sons from far, and My daughters from the ends of the earth;

Minister: Even every one that is called by My Name: for I have created him
for My glory, I have formed him; yea, I have made him.

People: Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears.
THE RECENSION.


THE BENEDICTION.


THE PRAISES AND HOMESTEADS.


THE ASSURANCE.


THE SONG.


THE CHRISTIAN TRAPPING.


THE SERMON.

Miss Mabel Meany, soloist.

"Through it all..."

THE SERMON SELECTION.

Rev. J. B. Pickton.

"I praise God for ever..."

THE RESPONSIVE CHORUS.

"Come, let us sing unto the Lord..."

THE CHORAL SELECTION.

Rev. L. F. B. Wiltz.

"Let us break forth together..."

THE CHORAL SELECTION.

School candidate.

Educational Opportunity Program-U.S.B.


Mr. A.J. Jackson, Assistant Dean of Students.

Service Organizations.

MISSED MUSICAL DONATION, soloist.

"Though it all..."

THE SERMON SELECTION.

Rev. J. B. Pickton.

"I praise God for ever..."

THE RESPONSIVE CHORUS.

"Come, let us sing unto the Lord..."

THE CHORAL SELECTION.

Rev. L. F. B. Wiltz.

"Let us break forth together..."

THE CHORAL SELECTION.

School candidate.

Educational Opportunity Program-U.S.B.


Mr. A.J. Jackson, Assistant Dean of Students.

Service Organizations.
UNEX WORKER SEEKS JUSTICE

AFSCME member Elizabeth Jeromin, an employee at University Extension (UNEX) for 1½ years, is fighting for a fair performance evaluation. At the end of her first six months, her overall evaluation was rated as "more than satisfactory". Nine months later, the same supervisor, Larry Nicklin, gave her a "less than satisfactory" rating. In between these two widely different evaluations, Nicklin told Elizabeth that she was the best key-punch operator they ever had; Nicklin offered her a job with greater responsibilities; other supervisors rated her work as "superior"; and Elizabeth received no serious complaints about her work.

Because she knew her performance had not deteriorated, Elizabeth went to John Maxwell (acting director of UNEX) and Jose Escobedo (of the Personnel Office). The result was a letter from Maxwell to Escobedo concluding that "...I believe that Larry Nicklin acted appropriately and was justified in his evaluation." Elizabeth then brought her problem to AFSCME Local 673.

After preliminary investigation, Shop Steward Peter Shapiro found that Nicklin had not even followed the basic policies and procedures of performance evaluations. Furthermore, his assessment of Elizabeth's work was unfair, inaccurate, and unsubstantiated. After questioning co-workers and other supervisors, Peter found that although Elizabeth is classified as a senior typist clerk, she has, in fact, been coordinating the DUIL (Driving Under the Influence of Liquor) program. Her duties include scheduling instructors, providing verification of participation to courts and judges. She has also been acting as an assistant to the registrar at UNEX as well as doing keypunching.

Many of Elizabeth's coworkers have provided statements that Nicklin's evaluation was unfair. One person wrote "...since Elizabeth and I have worked together for over a year, I would like to say that her performance on the job is quite satisfactory in all respects." One of Nicklin's chief complaints was that Elizabeth did not adequately perform a function which is not even in her job description. If Elizabeth is responsible for this function, she would have to be promoted several steps.

Peter, acting as Elizabeth's AFSCME shop steward, filed a request for an administrative review of the performance evaluation. The first step of this appeal process was to present the evaluation to Maxwell again to review. Peter and Elizabeth presented much of their substantial evidence but,
as expected, Maxwell maintained his support of Nicklin. This was despite the fact that Maxwell has received numerous complaints from other workers about Nicklin's incompetence as a supervisor.

A request for the second step of the review procedure has been submitted to Vice Chancellor Alexander. Considering the obvious weight of the evidence, AFSCME is optimistic about a favorable decision. Elizabeth is determined to continue to fight for justice. She feels that it is because she stood up for her rights that Nicklin gave her a poor rating in the first place. AFSCME will continue to support Elizabeth and fight the administration until she does receive a fair performance evaluation!

FIGHT FOR RECLASSIFICATION CONTINUES

Joe Leyva, employed for eleven years at the Physical Plant at UCSB, is still being stalled in his attempt at reclassification. Joe, an AFSCME member, is currently classified as a building maintenance worker. His job description, however, calls for him to perform skilled work which means that he should be at a higher classification. AFSCME has tried to work out a new arrangement informally.

A tentative reclassification agreement was reached in November with Joe's supervisors, but this has never been carried out. The Physical Plant, with the help of the Personnel Office, is stalling. They have not even responded to requests for meetings. Joe and AFSCME have decided to take formal steps. We are requesting immediate reclassification to Senior Building Maintenance Worker, establishment of irrigation maintenance as a skilled trade with appropriate pay levels, and opportunities for further training.

Joe is an irrigation maintenance worker. He, along with two other irrigation maintenance workers on campus, attended a school to be trained in irrigation maintenance. He currently has to work at two jobs to support his family. The solution worked out in November was to reclassify (at higher pay) all three irrigation maintenance workers.

Joe said, "I've been fighting to be reclassified for five years. I don't intend to give up now. With the union's help, I know I can win!"

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

by Skip Shands

During the last few months our local has undergone some changes in the Executive Board. Sunny Baner has agreed to become our Secretary. This is a much needed position as records of what we do are most important. Sunny, who works at the Graduate Division, was previously an elected member of the Exec Board at-large. With Sunny assuming this new position and with Ron Reynolds (another at-large member) leaving the university, we now have two Executive Board positions to fill by appointment. The term expires in August, 1977. If you are interested, please contact any exec board member or shop steward. Better yet, attend one of your local's meetings to see how helpful you can be to your union. Also try to attend our general membership meeting on Feb 17th. More on this in other articles.

Your president is in the process of getting a progress letter together for the membership. We have had some interesting things happen in the last six months, as I will report.

Staff and students at UCSB are forming a "committee to investigate the UCSB police". I would also like
to see our local support this committee. I will make this information available when I receive it. The committee should be fully formed during the month of February.

We are also starting a local membership organizing job. One new option we have is that members can submit their monthly dues to their shop stewards or mail them to the local instead of taking the dues deduction from their monthly paychecks. If you need more information on this, please feel free to call me. We will also be leafleting on campus regularly. We could use your help if you have a little extra time.

I thank all of you for your continued support and on behalf of the Executive Board and the shop stewards, we pledge our commitment to serve the needs of UCSB workers.

THE BAKKE CASE

Allen Bakke, a UC Davis med. student, recently won a suit against the University of California. Claiming that his denial into Davis medical school was a direct consequence of UC Davis special admissions programs, he decided to sue the university on a reverse discrimination charge.

Bakke felt his application was denied over less qualified minority students as a result of Affirmative Action programs. His suit resulted in a California Supreme Court ruling that a qualified white cannot be refused admission so that a less qualified minority person can be educated. This decision, should it be upheld by the Supreme Court, could have detrimental effects on Affirmative Action and Special Admissions programs all over the Country. This is important to staff members as well in that the decision could also threaten job programs for women and minorities.

Minority recruitment in job situations could deteriorate because of fear of law suits charging reverse discrimination. AFSCME, both locally and nationally, continues active support for Affirmative Action programs for both students and workers.

OFFICERS

It's been a while since our elections in August. We wanted to remind you who your officers are.

President: Skip Shands
Internal Vice-president: Lorraine Kierce
External Vice-president: Gail Tennen
Treasurer: Larry Romsted
Secretary: Sunny Banwer
At-large: Dan Weidman
At-large: VACANT
At-large: VACANT
Chief Shop Steward: Gail Tennen

**as you can see, there are two vacancies on the Executive Board which we will fill by appointment. If you are interested, please let Skip Shands know. (685-2357)

Every member also has a shop steward. If you need to know who your steward is, call Gail Tennen (964-4601)

REGIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE MEETS

A meeting was held in L.A. of the locals on all southern University of California campuses on Jan 23. Organizing techniques used by the different locals were discussed. At UCLA, the emphasis is on additional publicity; at UCSD, the emphasis is on shop elections. One suggestion brought out was that the present Conference of University of California Employees (CUCE) become a service council. This would mean a more formal structure on a state-wide basis between all the
UC locals of AFSCME. This suggestion was forwarded for the consideration of all the other locals in the northern region.

The next meeting between the UC locals will be on Feb 26th & 27th, in Berkeley. This will be at the meeting of the CUCE Executive Board. A representative will attend from our local.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

As you all probably know, no one gets paid for doing any work for Local 673; we all do what we can when we can find time. There are always things to do for anyone who is interested. If you have some extra time (or even if you don't) you can help.

Publicity We need people who can write, draw, type, do layout, etc. We put out this newsletter once a month. We are also trying to write several leaflets that we can distribute to people all over campus. We would like to do some posters too. We have enough money right now to do these things but we need people with ideas and a little bit of time.

LEAFLETING Many people on campus still don't know who we are or what we can do. We are going to be passing out leaflets on a regular basis at different points around campus. We need people who can spend part of their lunch hour or a few minutes before or after work.

STEWARDS Stewards help fellow workers solve problems. They make sure UCSB follows its own rules. The Stewards' Council meets once a week to discuss current problems. Let us know if you're interested in becoming a shop steward.

NEW MEMBERS Do you know anyone who would be interested in joining? We are always willing to talk to anyone, even if they don't belong, to advise them of their rights. Let us know if you know anyone who needs our help.

OUR GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING FOR FEBRUARY WILL BE ON THURS, FEB 17th.

We will have a potluck dinner in the Cafe Interim between 9:30 and 11:00 P.M. This time is to accommodate the custodial workers who have their lunch breaks at that time. All members and friends are greatly encouraged to attend this meeting. Our last one was well attended (and we had lots of great food!) Please come. We'll be talking about work loads.

A.F.S.C.M.E. LOCAL 673
P.O.Box 13869
Santa Barbara, Ca 93107
NEW LOCAL PRESIDENT ! !

SKIP SHANDS, WHO HAS BEEN PRESIDENT OF AFSCME LOCAL 673 SINCE THE ELECTIONS OF AUG-UST 1976, HAS LEFT UCSB. SKIP RECEIVED A FULL SCHOLARSHIP TO PURSUE HIS EDUCATION IN LAW. HE HAS MOVED TO MASSACHUSETTS AND PLANS TO SPECIALIZE IN LABOR LAW.

WE HAD A GOING-AWAY PARTY FOR SKIP ON HIS LAST DAY, MARCH 11. MANY OF HIS FRIENDS AND FELLOW UNION MEMBERS WERE THERE FOR THE BAR-BECUE AND CHAMPAGNE.

THE STRONG DEDICATION TO UNION ACTIVITY AND TO PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF ALL UCSB EMPLOYEES THAT SKIP DISPLAYED WILL BE MISSED BY ALL. WE WISH HIM LUCK IN ALL HIS FUTURE ENDEAVORS.

LORRAINE KIERCE, FORMER INTERNAL VICE-PRESIDENT, IS NOW ACTING AS PRESIDENT. SHE WILL FILL THIS POSITION UNTIL OUR GENERAL ELECTIONS IN AUGUST. LORRAINE IS A SENIOR COOK AT ORTEGA DINING COMMONS. SHE INTENDS TO CARRY ON THE AFSCME TRADITION OF ACTIVISM ON THE UCSB CAMPUS. YOU WILL BE HEARING FROM HER IN OUR NEXT NEWSLETTER'S "PRESIDENT'S COLUMN.

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CAREER STATUS WON ! !

Barbara Pearce, a senior typist clerk at the Graduate Division, has been granted regular status after her supervisors had tried to extend her probationary period. Barbara had been due to go on career status on March 1st. Her three months performance evaluation was satisfactory; her six month evaluation did not state any areas that needed improvement. When Barbara went in to talk to her supervisor, she was simply told that her "attitude" was unsatisfactory. She had not received any complaints about her work or her attitude since she started at the Grad Division.

Barbara went to her AFSCME representative. Together they held a meeting with Barbara's supervisors. Neither of them could say why

(continued on page 2)
Barbara was having her probationary period extended. They could not justify their actions at all. It is interesting to note that many of the people who work under these supervisors have had their probationary periods extended without cause or explanation. Barbara and her AFSCME steward decided to fight this unjustified and illegal action and they won!

As a result of their protests, Barbara was granted career status as of March 1st. We hope that this will be an example to these and other supervisors who arbitrarily decide to take actions against employees. Although extending probationary periods is a common practice, it is usually against University regulations. Barbara's case has proved that!

There are still some problems at Barbara's job. She did not get her 6 month merit increases and she has been threatened with frequent performance evaluations. AFSCME will help her fight these other unfair and illegal actions.

* * * * * * * * *

TREASURER'S REPORT

The following is a fiscal report for AFSCME Local 673 for the 12 month period of March 1, 1976 to Feb. 31, 1977; it will show you how and where our money was spent.

INCOME/ TOTAL DUES COLLECTED

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EXPENDITURES

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JOE LEYVA WINS RECLASSIFICATION

Joe Leyva has won reclassification to lead groundskeeper. Joe, who has worked at UCSB for several years, requested reclassification from Building Maintenance Worker to Senior Building Maintenance Worker. He does a skilled job and is getting paid as an unskilled worker. As the result of a job audit, Personnel decided that he was misclassified. They did decide to reclassify him, but not to the level he originally requested. This reclassification is a partial victory since he does get a monthly raise and there is recognition of the nature of the job he performs.

However, Joe and AFSCME still feel that he is underclassified. An additional problem is that he is already at the top of the salary range for Lead Groundskeeper and will not be able to get any merit increases at this level.

AFSCME has appealed that decision. Not only do we want him at a higher classification now, we also want irrigation maintenance to be recognized as a skilled trade and to be paid for accordingly. This will affect all the workers on campus who do this work. In the meantime, Joe did get a raise as a result of his and AFSCME's actions.

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DISCONTENT AT PHYSICAL PLANT GROWS

The Physical Plant Department has long had the reputation of being one of the worst places on campus to work. Employees are generally treated with a terrible lack of respect and consideration.

The situation is getting worse. Custodians are being subjected to frequent and arbitrary inspection reports. These reports are used to evaluate performance. Workers have no input into these reports and are often marked down for not doing something that they were told not to do.

Some custodians who have consistently received excellent inspection reports are now getting poor reports. Why the change? Most of the custodians AFSCME has talked to blame the change in supervisors. The person most often mentioned as being unfair is Rudy Romero. He has given bad reports to several long term employees. AFSCME intends to fight this trend.
Management Performance
Still "Insatisfactory"

Earl Wordlaw, the manager of the campus bookstore, has established an almost perfect record for callous treatment of bookstore workers. Wordlaw became manager of the bookstore some 4 years ago and many employees have felt his wrath during his reign. At least ten non-student employees have left the bookstore because of Wordlaw (Arnie, Ron, Bonnie, Janet, Al, Bill, Jack, Marie, Patti, and Mike). Student employees have considered piceting the bookstore at least twice since Wordlaw took charge. His treatment of student workers has been so negligent that he was suspended for thirty days.

Wordlaw, however, remains in power; in fact, his empire is growing. This survival is due, in no small part, to the support and assistance he has received from Bob Lorden and Doug Jensen, the director and assistant director of the UCen.

Wordlaw's supervision of personnel at the bookstore has been so poor that Al Takada was hired to act as a buffer between Wordlaw and other bookstore employees. One of Earl's favorite methods of coercing workers has been to give them poor performance evaluations and a small merit increase.

This year Al Takada became the conduit through which performance evaluations were funneled. Bob Bacon and Jim Soukup, two AFSCME members, both received evaluations which were much better than last year's. Takada indicated that he originally intended to give them both full step merit increases, but then he was convinced (or confused) by Wordlaw and Jensen, that they only deserved a half step increase.

Bob, Jim, and some other career employees then met with Geoff Wallace (campus ombudsman) and Jose Escobedo (Personal Office) to discuss this controversy. Ultimately, Vice-Chancellor Birch arranged for Escobedo and Takada to meet with each of the employees involved.

On Friday, Feb 25, 1977, AFSCME Shop Steward Peter Shapiro attended the meeting with Bob Bacon in the morning and with Jim Soukup in the afternoon.

At Bob's meeting, Takada indicated that he had been "generous" and that he wasn't "fully satisfied" with Bob's work. AFSCME pointed out that his performance evaluation was satisfactory and that this is normally accompanied by a full step increase. (Escobedo indicated that this is only true "about 85% of the time") Takada noted that the bookstore is "different" from other departments on campus. AFSCME concurs—the bookstore, as it is run by Wordlaw, certainly is different from other departments on campus.

Jim's evidence was even more convincing than Bob's since Bob had written both performance evaluations on Jim. This year's evaluation indicated improved performance. Takada and Escobedo did not seem able to explain this.

After all these meetings and conversations and complaints, AFSCME is happy to report that BOTH JIM AND BOB RECEIVED THEIR FULL STEP MERIT INCREASES as they should have in the first place.

This case is a good example of how employees can suffer because of "insatisfactory" management performance. Jim and Bob were not at fault; the management of the bookstore was. There is no reason that Jim and Bob or any other bookstore employee has to suffer because Earl Wordlaw is incompetent.

Vice-Chancellor Birch has initiated an "investigation" of the bookstore personnel situation. We hope that some changes will result from this investigation. In any case, AFSCME will continue to fight for the rights (and the raises) of bookstore employees.

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GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

OUR NEXT GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING WILL BE ON MARCH 29 (TUESDAY) at 5:30. REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED. Please come.

We will be discussing our membership drive, retaining a lawyer, our relations with AFSC International, and the problem of performance evaluations for clerical workers. We will meet at the Cafe Interim (Bldg 431) on campus.
VICTORY AT PHYSICAL PLANT!!!

Sean Schiemann, a senior custodian at the Physical Plant, is a career status employee as of March 1, 1977. Sean was initially denied regular status and had his probation extended for two months. The claim was that his attendance had been unsatisfactory.

This claim was ridiculous since Sean had only been out sick for four hours in Nov, 4 hours in Dec, and 8 hours in Jan. Each absence had been a legitimate sick day; he had the accumulated sick time.

He had also been charged 8 hours loss of pay in Feb, instead of sick leave, when he called in to say that he would be out to take care of his sick wife and baby.

Sean and AFSCME Shop Steward Gail Tenmen filed a formal grievance about this situation. On March 22, they went into a meeting with John Gabe, (administrator of the Physical Plant, John Wilson (custodial supervisor), and Jose Escobedo (Personnel).

Gail and Sean pointed out that his absences had all been legitimate and that it is his right to use those sick hours. Gabe almost immediately agreed that he had been wrong!!

He agreed that Sean should be put on career status and get his merit increase retroactive to March 1st. This is a major victory for Sean, for AFSCME and for all UCSB custodians. We have proved that PPD can be made to give workers their rights, that custodians can successfully stand up for what is coming to them. PPD has used extension of probationary periods for too long!!! We hope that other custodians will now protest unfair extensions.

Sean and Gail also protested the 8 hours loss of pay. They pointed out that employees are entitled to up to 5 days of sick leave for illness in the family. Gabe also agreed to this. Sean is being compensated for that day and will get the money in his next paycheck.

Restricting employees' use of sick leave has also been a common practice at the Physical Plant. Hopefully, this victory will help other workers use their sick time when they need to without fear of punishment.

Congratulations to Sean for standing up for his rights and for winning!!!

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SHORT NEWS ITEMS

***Elizabeth Jeromin's request for an administrative review of her performance evaluation and merit increase is still in the appeals stages. AFSCME is confident that this review will ultimately be successful.***

***Gary Webb's termination is being appealed. This action is a gross violation of both University policy & state law. We are confident of victory.***
AN AFSCME TRIBUTE TO JOHN GABE

In this issue, AFSCME would like to pay special tribute to John Gabe, retiring head of Physical Plant Division for over 25 years.

To all custodians and groundkeepers, the name of John Gabe is infamous; his history at PPD can only be compared to that of a dictator, a feudal king. During his tenure, Gabe made few friends among the workers, and many, many enemies. He was a "successful" boss primarily because he surrounded himself with many supporters who carried out his increasingly ruthless command -- men such as John Wilson, William Dolby, Ernie Parsons, and most recently, Rudy Ramero. Thus, most of us workers never even knew John Gabe -- we only felt the effects of his reign of terror and intimidation.

But things weren't always as bad as they are today. Many of the older workers remember the times when a sufficient number of workers were employed to handle the work loads at the university. Then, there was far less tension and less intimidation necessary to make the workers perform.

Not so today. It all started about a year ago, when PPD was finally beginning to feel the effects of an economic crisis that many of us know all too well. Money became less and less available to hire an adequate staff of workers and PPD had to find ways to accommodate this crisis, a crisis that brought fixed wages but contractual profits for corporations and big businesses (like the UC system) It had to find ways of getting more work done by fewer men who would be allowed fewer benefits. It also meant restructuring the Physical Plant department in order to make sure that workers who complained or slowed down on the job (because they knew what was happening) would be pointed out and terminated if necessary (usually for concocted reasons). Thus, rather than cut back in management areas, PPD began to

(continued on page 2)

CUSTODIANS SPEAK OUT

Custodians let AFSCME know what they thought about their jobs in a questionnaire we passed out to them. We were interested in finding out more about their problems and complaints as well as the good points of the job. The major questions we asked were about inspection reports, work load, attendance, probation, and supervisors.

Inspection reports - 77% of those answering did not like the idea of inspection reports; 77% also did not feel that inspection reports helped them do a better job; 57% felt that their inspection reports had been unfair.

Work load - 45% did not think their routes were the right size, 67% felt their work loads were too big; 51% had to double up too much, but 31% did not see this as a problem; 59% felt that they had sufficient written standards for what they were supposed to do. Opinion was divided about whether custodians should work in teams, but a large majority (70%) felt they would prefer to have smaller routes and be responsible for all their own floor work.

Attendance - 42% of custodians responding had received a letter for unsatisfactory attendance; 65% had come in to work when they were sick -- of those, almost half felt that they would be fired if they called in sick!! 55% had been given Loss of Pay when they had stayed out sick; of these over half had sick leave coming to them.

Supervisors - Opinion was divided about whether they had good supervisors -- 39% answered yes and 34% answered no. Positive comments included "I can talk to him" and "He is fair." Negative comments included "He lacks knowledge"
overload the custodians, hire more supervisors to "check" on them, and look for or even create excuses to fire employees, especially during the critical probationary period. The whole point was to increase the production within PFD with no consideration of the workers. Just like the speed-up on a factory assembly line!! All of this has been accomplished within the watchful eye of the university administration who had a trusty friend in John Gabe. Have we tried to do something about this deplorable condition? Yes!!! On behalf of UCSB workers, AFSCME has gone to Gabe continuously to request reasonable treatment of individual employees, but Gabe has remained uncompromising, paternalistic, performing as if he were a prison warden. Men must obey his orders (or those of his flunkies) or else they go. And many have gone. Yes, it is this very same John Gabe who retired on April 26th.

Now that Gabe has gone, it might be the end of an era, but we have reason to believe that it is not. There are men like Gabe still around, who learned from him and who will carry on his tradition. These are men who oppose the worker and beat him back at every turn. These are men who do none or little of the work and have all the power while the workers who do all the work have no power at all.

As all our efforts to seek "reasonable" treatment have failed, workers have realized that we cannot go to the lion and ask him not to eat you. We must be prepared to rise up and fight for our rights as workers.

Gabe and company will not be victorious forever. The end of an era is coming. In commemoration of Gabe's retirement, we say to all workers:

FIGHT AGAINST UNFAIR INSPECTION REPORTS
FIGHT AGAINST OPPRESSIVE SUPERVISORS
FIGHT AGAINST ARBITRARY FIRING
FIGHT AGAINST FREEZING OF WAGES
FIGHT AGAINST EXTENDED PROBATION PERIODS
FIGHT AGAINST INCREASED WORK LOADS

REMEMBER GABE MAY GO, BUT OUR STRUGGLE GOES ON!!!

******************************************************************************

RUTHLESS PUNISHMENT CONTINUES AT CUSTODIAL DIVISION - P.F.D.

Gary Webb, a Senior custodian at Physical Plant for more than three years, was terminated on March 18th for allegedly "sleeping on the job." This "sleeping" incident occurred because Gary was taking codeine and aspirin, (and an antibiotic), in order to reduce the pain and infection of an abscessed tooth. Despite this obvious medical problem, Gary continued to work, refusing to remain at home for fear of losing his job or getting a bad report for attendance.

On the night of February 24th, Gary's body began to react to the codeine. He was unable to get up from his rest period at 8:15 PM. When aroused some thirty minutes later by his supervisor's yelling he proceeded to finish his route. For his efforts to do his job despite a severe toothache and medication, Gary was given a "letter of intent to separate." In a follow-up meeting on the Webb case, the then Physical Plant head, John Gabe, had his own ideas about the effect of such medication and insisted that the tooth (which was clearly still in Gary's mouth) had been removed. A few days later, Gary was officially terminated.

A formal grievance has been filed and replied negatively to. The position of PFD is not only unjust and incorrect, but has resulted in a complete denial of Gary's rights as an unemployed worker. Physical Plant has succeeded, for example, in blocking Gary's unemployment benefits. Jose Escobedo, known to most UCSB employees at an "employees relations officer" clearly demonstrated his allegiance to the university—and not to its employees—when he would not assist Gary in collecting unemployment insurance.

At the present time, AFSCME, as Gary's representative, has requested a hearing before a non-university hearing officer. Gary Webb's situation typifies the ruthlessness and negligence of PFD, and its consistent efforts to bring an employee to his or her total ruin. WE WILL NOT LET THIS HAPPEN! We encourage everyone to support the fight against the practices of PFD and especially the struggle of Gary Webb. His fight is our fight.

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RUDY ROMERO TRANSFERS FROM SUPERVISOR TO CUSTODIAN

We have received word that Rudy Romero, probably the most "famous" supervisor in Physical Plant, has chosen to return to a custodial position. AFSCME would like to take this opportunity to welcome Rudy back to the rank-and-file. We hope to have a full story about the situation in next month's newsletter.
of the job" and "He doesn't know how to relate to workers." 52% felt that there aren't any foremen or supervisors who are very good; 34% felt that there were. George Williams was cited most frequently as a good supervisor; Al Jones was a close second; Larry Montano was mentioned by three custodians. 66% of the custodians responding felt that there were supervisors who were very bad. Rudy Romero was most often mentioned. Dock Price was mentioned by four people and George Brooks by two as being bad supervisors.

The main problems appear to be in the way administrators abuse inspection reports, in procedures on attendance, and in bad supervisors. We hope to start having meetings very soon with custodians and supervisors and AFSCME representatives to talk about these problems. John Wilson has agreed to have area-wide meetings. We will probably meet on a department-wise basis in the very near future in order to get some procedures changed.

***************

SLEEPING ON THE JOB THE CAUSE OF DISMISSAL FOR SEVERAL PROBATIONARY EMPLOYEES

Within the last two months, two probationary employees, Chris de la Torre and Ken Persons, have been terminated for "sleeping on the job." Although each case is slightly different, the fact remains that Physical Plan jumps at the opportunity to "separate" custodians for what is often a single, minor, or even disputed offense. No consideration is given to good job performance, attendance or general conduct. This hard line position has forced AFSCME to seek further clarification of the policy 7.30, which provides some protection for the probationary employee; but which PPD has conveniently re-interpreted to suit its own ends. If there are other custodians who are in danger of dismissal for "sleeping" or similar "serious misconduct", please contact your AFSCME representative.

WORKING CONDITIONS AMONG CLERICAL WORKERS FAR FROM BEING THE "BEST"

As you know, AFSCME has active stewards who cover most areas across the campus where they are busy fighting unjust management practices. AFSCME has been particularly concerned with the general treatment and working conditions among a fairly large segment of campus employees, the clerical workers. From these workers who have sought advice and help from AFSCME, we have been able to outline some of the oppressive aspects of clerical work.

The vehicle of this oppression, it seems, is usually the same. It is often delivered by the office supervisor "in charge." Harassment, however, has many varied forms and is often linked with other critical problems: small or no merit increases, extended probationary periods, working out of a job classification, and the general problems related to performance evaluations.

In some cases, it is difficult to fight the management to win a re-classification, a higher merit increase, or an improved performance evaluation. But AFSCME has had and continues to have more and more victories in these areas. Extension of probation has become a most common practice throughout the university, especially during this period of cutbacks. Often used as a disciplinary measure, this practice is illegal and is being fought successfully by AFSCME.

It is necessary to expose the conditions of clerical workers and not to view this important group as "any better off" than other segments of the UC working population. AFSCME membership is currently growing among the clerical workers. We encourage all clerical workers to report all incidents of harassment and unfair practices. The clerical workers fight is part and parcel of the fight of all workers.

SUPPORT AFSCME
AFSCME IS A WORKERS UNION
AFSCME IS A FIGHTING UNION
JOIN TODAY!!
UNQUALIFIED VICTORY FOR CLERICAL WORKER !!

In last month's newsletter (March, 1977), we reported that AFSCME member Barbara Pearce was granted career status as a result of AFSCME'S protests regarding the unjust extension of her probationary period. Barbara's case proved that supervisors cannot arbitrarily decide to take actions against employees. But there's more!! When Barbara

AFSCME SOLIDARITY NOTES

AFSCME believes that its struggle on the UCSB campus is not isolated from the struggles of all workers. Because we do believe this, we would like to express our solidarity, on behalf of our members and readers, with particular struggles currently being waged. We think these struggles are important because they reflect the unity and dedication and commitment of workers who must persist, and never give up their fight for a better life. The Newsletter will gladly report information regarding other struggles that our members are aware of.

Sanitation workers (AFSCME) in Atlanta, Ga. On March 28, 1001 city workers presented just demands to the city administration (and mayor, Maynard Jackson). All 1001 were subsequently fired!! In their place, scabs were hired, along with some of the original workers who came back. Under the strong leadership of AFSCME, the sanitation workers have continued a well organized strike, and have received the full support of the working people in the Atlanta community in addition/Local groups and associations, including the Atlanta University Ad Hoc Committee in Support of the Striking Workers. Efforts to destroy the AFSCME local have failed as protest against the city administration rises. AFSCME local 673 stands in full support of these striking workers.

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was presented with her merit increase at only 2½ percent, she protested again, and was awarded— without resistance from her supervisor—her full 5 percent. Because Barbara (with the help of AFSCME) was willing to stand up and fight for just treatment, she was victorious. AFSCME salutes Barbara Pearce and encourages other workers to follow her example!!

************************************************************
WORKERS CELEBRATE MAY DAY !!!
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY !!!

AFSCME joins in with the millions of workers across the US and world to celebrate May Day, historically the day when workers come together from factories, mines and fields, from unemployment lines and welfare offices, to demonstrate their unity as workers and to put forward common demands.

May Day grew out of the massive struggle for the eight hour work day. For many years now, workers have used May Day to sum up and proclaim demands that reflect their most immediate concerns and that mark the sharpest battlefields and questions of the day.

This year, May Day celebrations and demonstrations around the country united around four slogans. We repeat them here so that AFSCME members and workers in our area will declare our unity and determination to fight against and to change the oppressive and exploitative conditions under which we live:

FIGHT, DON'T STARVE
FIGHT THE RICH, DON'T FIGHT THEIR WARS
WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT AGAINST ALL OPPRESSION
DOWN WITH THE SYSTEM OF WAGE SLAVERY
MEDIA EQUIPMENT RECLASSIFICATION

AFSCME members in the Media Equipment division of Learning Resources have asked for a department-wide job audit as they feel they are underclassified. Media equipment operators, who are generally involved in classroom operation of audiovisual materials, have been dissatisfied for several years over their misclassifications, rates of pay, and their powerless situation. Within the last few months, however, when many operators joined AFSCME, action has been taken. Discontent has been voiced at all classifications, up to Level Four where operators capable of running the entire Ellison Hall and Campbell Hall complexes are paid only $3.68 per hour.

AFSCME's proposals for an across-the-board upward reclassification are "being studied" by Learning Resources boss Kent Bishop; in the meantime a formal job audit has been requested. Shop steward Tony Safford said, "We expect Personnel and Mr. Bishop will find out just what we do here and will begin to appreciate it. If not, we'll take this thing right to the Chancellor." AFSCME will continue to support Media Equipment workers until they receive a fair reclassification.

A.S. PRINTING ELECTS BOSS

In mid-May, Mike Bartfield resigned from his position as lead person at A.S. Printing. Mike is a long time AFSCME member and supporter who has, with AFSCME Local 673, vigorously defended the Print (continued on page 3)

SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF CUSTODIANS

"We are working under intolerable conditions...We are punished for talking to one another and terminated for resting, even after we've finished our work... We cannot tolerate these militaristic conditions of work any longer... Faculty! Students! Workers! We must unite in struggle to change things!"

These statements reflect the attitudes of many UCSB custodians. AFSCME Local 673 has written a leaflet and a petition in order to encourage students, staff, and faculty to support custodians in their efforts to improve working conditions. At this time AFSCME 673 stewards are fighting the grievances of at least six custodians who have been penalized with refusal to grant vacation time, termination, etc.

AFSCME had requested a departmental meet and confer with the management of the Physical Plant Department as part of the process for obtaining better working conditions for custodians. In addition, custodians need the support of the whole campus community.

At our last meeting, on May 19, 40 custodians unanimously endorsed this leaflet and petition. We are getting further endorsements from other campus groups. We will soon have the petition available, probably around the Ucen. If you can help in this struggle, please contact Mary Emma Graham or Peter Shapiro.
As usual, it seems, spring has brought much activity to campus. Of course, we realize that it is not the weather that is responsible for demonstrations, rallies, etc., but increasingly oppressive conditions. Just as custodians have begun to speak out, other parts of the campus community have responded to cutbacks and tightening budgets. On our campus, this has taken many forms, some of which are listed below. AFSCME expresses solidarity with these struggles of students and faculty at UCSB; WE MUST UNITE TO CHANGE THINGS!!

English Compensatory Writing Program
Evolving out of the struggles of the 1960's, this program provided teachers and training for students, mostly minority, who had received inadequate preparation for college work. Now the University and the English department want to cut out the program and the instructors (who have never really been considered for tenure, despite their many commendations and accomplishments). For example, Michael Fernandez, 8 year veteran teacher of the program, is being terminated after having been refused "Security of Employment" (a variation of tenure). The struggle to save this program is being linked to the Bakke issue (which may effectively negate affirmative action) and to the fact that minority faculty are hired at the lowest academic ranks (meaning that they are constantly faced with the threat of termination). AFSCME stands in full support of the ECWP and its instructors.

Asian American Studies -- The Asian American Studies program is facing liquidation by being merged with another department. Also, the University has continued with the selection of an Asian American studies instructor who would not necessarily have to be qualified in Asian American studies.

Not only have Asian students been left out of this selection process, but the current instructor, Nobuya Tsuchida, has not been included as a candidate. Asian students have demanded of Dean Rickborn that the selection process be halted until these questions have been clarified. AFSCME supports the struggle of Asian students and their right to determine the future of their program.

African Liberation Day -- On May 28, thousands of people marched on the White House protesting U.S. investments in southern Africa and supporting the liberation of the people of southern Africa. In support of this stand, students and sympathizers throughout the University system have been demonstrating and demanding that UC pull its investments out of southern Africa. These investments come from workers' pension funds. AFSCME 673 spoke at a UCSB rally on May 18, supporting the demand that UC withdraw its investments out of southern Africa.

Protest at UCLA -- Proposed cutbacks in teaching assistant positions, possible elimination of many first year language courses, and general reductions in minority support programs have been cause for work actions at UCLA (teach-ins, demonstrations, rallies, pickets, and classroom boycotts). Those T.A.'s participating belong to the Academically Employed Students Union. Their demands: (1) rescind all proposed cutbacks of T.A.'s; (2) increase the number of T.A.'s at UCLA, and (3) rescind all plans to cutback programs for minority students. AFSCME Local 673 supports the T.A.'s at UCLA. You can demonstrate your support by writing to Vice-Chancellor Gerberding at UCLA.

Remember that cutbacks on any campus, in any department, affect all staff, students, and faculty.
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING???

The right for University of California employees to negotiate for their working conditions and wages may become a reality. There is a bill in the state assembly, the Berman Bill, which would give UC employees the same rights now held by statewide educational workers (teachers and staff) in the elementary, high schools, and junior colleges. Collective bargaining is, of course, a reality for all workers in private industry. The bill is going before the Assembly Ways and Means Committee; this looks like the best chance in a long time for passage.

The Berman Bill would give UC employees (faculty & staff) the right to elect bargaining agents, who could sit down and negotiate contracts with the Regents. As things stand now, employees have no right to negotiate; they just have to accept what the Regents say. AFSCME will be going around with petitions asking you to support collective bargaining. Please sign these so we can start talking to our bosses as equals.

* * * * * * * * *

A.S. PRINT SHOP (cont’d)

Shop during this troubled year. To replace Mike for the rest of the fiscal year, the staff of the Print Shop (all AFSCME 673 members) elected Becky Price. It is not the norm at UCSB for staff to have any say at all as to who will be their supervisor, but because of the organizing efforts of members of AFSCME 673, the administration agreed that the staff’s candidate was the best person for the job. Naturally, we all look forward to having Becky Price named as the permanent replacement when the final hiring takes place in the fall.

This is a concrete example of how UC employees can have a real say in major decisions in their workplace. With the union we can all achieve this.

ORGANIZE IN YOUR OWN SHOP!!!

TEN MONTH APPOINTMENTS ??

Two months without a paycheck? Could be. A proposal has come down from systemwide administration to transfer career status employees to ten months appointments. This policy provides for “involuntary transfer”; a department head may be told to cut costs and the employee will have no choice other than quitting or taking it. The most likely candidates are people who work in student affairs. Other possibilities are the clerical staffs of academic departments. And from there it can affect all of us.

This 2 months off is being called a “furlough”; IT IS A LAYOFF. It means 2 months less pay for the same amount of work. You could get laid off during Christmas, Easter, any time you “are not needed” -- you do not necessarily get off 2 continuous months during the summer. No sick or vacation credit is earned, the worker must pay his or her share of insurance premiums, even if he or she does not get a paycheck, and the employee may not even be eligible for unemployment.

This is also an attack on seniority. Department heads can choose who gets laid off and who doesn’t by deciding that their favorites have “special skills.”

AFSCME has demanded an immediate systemwide meet and confer on this outrageous proposal. This will take place in Berkeley on June 27th. AFSCME will continue to fight until the University recognizes our rights to job security, decent pay, benefits, and working conditions.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

NEW CUCE OFFICERS ELECTED

New officers were elected to the Executive Board of CUCE at the annual conference in Berkeley. Local 673 had 4 delegates there. The new officers are:

Pres. --Art Lightfoot (UCLA)

Vice Pres -- Mike Suchoff (Berkeley)

Treas. --Linda Amezquita (Riverside)

Sec'y -- Abby Thomas (Santa Cruz)
STATEWIDE RESTRUCTURING?

A lot of discussion has been going on recently about restructuring the organization of AFSCME locals in California. Local unions around the country usually belong to councils; in California many do not. AFSCME Local 673 does not belong to a council. We are a member of the Conference of University of California Employees (CUCE), which has given us a great deal of help both in dealing with UCSC administrators and the Regents, our common employer. CUCE is not, however, and official AFSCME council. A committee appointed by AFSCME International President Jerry Wurf recommended that all the UC locals join together with locals of statewide rehabilitation workers, state hospital workers, and labor commissioners to form a statewide council. (Most other councils are on a geographic basis.)

The purpose of such a council would be to provide service to the local unions. Each local would be represented on the executive board of the council. Some of the services which could be provided by a service council are clerical and bookkeeping assistance, publishing of newsletters and leaflets, legal and organizing advice, information gathering, etc. These councils do cost money, usually between $2.50 and $3.50 per member per month.

Alternatives were considered at the executive board meeting of CUCE in L.A. on May 21st & 22nd. One suggestion was that CUCE form into a statewide council by itself. The temporary decision was that CUCE will be meeting with representatives from the International and from other statewide AFSCME locals to discuss the question.

The major advantages of a statewide council are that it would provide greater strength and efficiency, which would be important when collective bargaining passes. We will be letting you know what happens and will be asking for your opinions.

CUSTODIAL STEWARDS ELECTION

For all AFSCME members who are on the PPD's custodial staff, the election of a shop steward will be held at our June monthly meeting. We hope you will be talking to each other and selecting candidates. So far, one custodian has announce his candidacy -- FREDERICK J. WILLIAMS, 2nd floor computer center. All interested custodians should make themselves known to the rest of the custodial staff and to the AFSCME stewards' council. Contact Gail Tennen or Mary Emma Graham for more information. Any AFSCME member can run for this office.

NOTICE --- Our newsletter needs a name! If you have any suggestions, please let us know.

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FROM THE PRESIDENT
Lorraine Kierce

The month of July is now upon us. Aside from the fact that summer is in full swing, it is election time for AFSCME Local 673. We will soon be voting for the officers who will represent us for the coming year. I can't put enough emphasis upon the importance of your vote.

We hope you will agree with us that our local has been very active this year and has quite a record of successes. We are growing and we are growing fast. It is important, therefore, that we think seriously about those whom we will want to meet the challenges of our union and the various offices that must be served.

We charge you to make your voice heard. We hope you will vote for the candidate of your choice, but do vote. Your vote will be helping to strengthen our organization; you will be helping to shape our policies. We know that you want to participate in making decisions that will help improve all of our lives, so please vote.

This year, the nominations and elections meeting is planned in conjunction with a picnic on Saturday August 6. (Time and place to be announced.) You and your families are encouraged to partake of this pleasurable affair and meet many of the AFSCME members whom you may not know. We will eat, then take care of the business of nominating and electing officers.

You will be receiving a memo as to the time and place of the picnic/meeting as well as the details regarding the nominations themselves.

SEE YOU ON AUGUST 6.

AFSCME MEETS WITH SPB

Peter Shapiro represented local 673 in a regular meeting of the Staff Personnel Board on June 17, in Santa Barbara. The SPB is an advisory board to the President Saxon. Three topics were presented by local 673: (a) that the UC sick leave policy be modified so that no employee would be punished for legitimately using sick leave; (b) that "misconduct", as noted in "corrective action" (policy 270), and "dismissal" (policy 710), be defined clearly enough so that employees can determine what "misconduct" is; (c) that the "ten-month career" proposal be liquidated. (A more detailed discussion of this proposal appears in another article in this newsletter.)

REPORT FROM MEET-AND-CONFER

On June 14, three custodians, John Castillo, Scott Kaufman, and George Davis, along with three AFSCME stewards, Maryanna Graham, Peter Shapiro, Gail Tennen, met for a scheduled and long-awaited meet-and-confer with PFD administrative staff to discuss some of the major problems that plague custodial workers here at UCSB. The meeting, a somewhat formal procedure, had a specific agenda that had been submitted to PFD in advance of the meeting. These were all old issues of concern to us all: inspection reports; work load; attendance; and probation. The information for AFSCME's presentation came primarily from discussions among custodians, a questionnaire that was distributed sometime ago (thanks to all who responded quickly and thoroughly) and extensive research that was done. We felt that it was necessary to be as thorough and prepared as possible for this meeting.

Our arguments as presented can be summed up in the following: (a) The average work load of a UCSB custodian is over 27,000 square feet (and will be increased come 1977 school term), which exceeds that of any custodian in the UC system (based on the information we have received from systemwide personnel) and is certainly well over the 13,000 recommended standard. Elaborate statistics were provided to substantiate this position.) "Doubling up" is totally unsatisfactory. (b) Inspection reports are vague and subjective; they do not contribute to improved work and can easily be used (as they often are) as a tool of intimidation. (c) The policy on earned sick leave is not being observed correctly by all in PFD. Sick leave is used punitively, a fact which many custodians have experienced. (d) Currently, PFD starts probation when it gets ready to, usually this means after the training period or after an employee has been transferred from casual to permanent. As a result, many employees stay on probation for long periods of time, have extended probationary periods, or are fired before they get off probation. AFSCME had specific recommendations for each of the above. PFD, who was far less prepared with answers to the questions put forward, and who rejected the statistics regarding the work load, stalled for a time. What did come from them was their concern about the (Continued on page 2)
**REMEMBER: NEXT GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING -- Thurs, July 7th; 9:30 P.M. CAFE INTERIM**

AFSCME SOLIDARITY NOTES

J. F. STEVENS BOYCOTT:
AN IMPORTANT UNION STRUGGLE

The nation-wide boycott of J. F. Stevens is becoming the single most important union struggle of the mid-seventies. The corporation is a billion dollar textile concern with over 44,000 employees in 85 plants, almost all of them in the South. It is also the company with the worst record of labor violations in the history of the United States. One can cite the innumerable convictions of the company, its long history of racism and its oppressive anti-union tactics, but the most telling story is in the lives of the workers. One woman there said: "The way they treat me, I can take that. But I'd kill a man if he treated a child of mine the way I been treated." Another commented, "It's like being on the chain gang... except its not guns. Just pressure. Pressure all the time." A third wrote, "After you give all your life to 'em, then... when you start getting old they start tryin' to get rid of you. I'm really afraid of getting old, workin' in Stevens." Safety is nonexistent in the plants. After a 17 year old worker lost all his fingers on one hand they just fired him. No rehabilitation. No assistance. So what is the answer? Caroline Brown, another long-time worker at J. F. Stevens put it eloquently, "Stevens never gave us anything. But in spite of themselves, they did give us one thing: and that was the union. That is one thing they cannot take away from us. The union and our respect for each other." This respect demands a day-to-day fight. Workers are now turning to us for help. It has always been the rule that working people can't get anything without unity, without standing up for each other and insisting that our voices be answered. It is a question of life and death. "It is too late for us that are sick. But for the people still working in the plants, and for our children and our grandchildren that come on after us, we ask you to help us. Boycott J. F. Stevens."

J. F. Stevens products include the following:
Sheets & Pillowcases: Beauti-Blend, Beauticale, Fine Arts, Peanuts (comic strip figures), Textemaker, Utica, Utica & Mohawk, Designer Labels: Yves St. Laurent, Angelo Donghia; Towels: Fine Arts, Textemaker, Utica; Blankets: Foretmann, Utica; Carpets: Contender, Gullstan, Merryweather, Textemaker; Table Linen: Simtex; Hospitality: Big Mama, Finesse, Hip-Lets, Spirit; Drapery: J. F. Stevens.

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AFSCME IS A FIGHTING UNION
JOIN TODAY!!

COORS BOYCOTT MOVES OUT WEST

Joe Coors has so often deserved the animosity of unionists that his name is synonymous with right-wing politics in general. This year he has decided to strike a death blow to his own plant in Golden, Colorado. His brewery is located there and the victims are local 366 of the Brewery Workers representing 1,500 workers in the plant. The battle does not center primarily around wage rates, but on the continued existence of the union and the right of the workers to organize. The "proposed" contract includes the following demands: layoffs without regard to seniority; company discretion in making shift assignments; company discretion in setting any five days as the work week with no prior notice of change required; mandatory lie detector tests for new hires and all other employees, given at any time and covering any issues related or unrelated to the job as management wishes; unlimited search and seizure against employees by Coors security police with immediate discharge of the price of refusal; and right to fire for "incooperative employee attitudes." Many of these same issues are at the heart of the trouble the USB management is making for the custodial workers on our campus. No union can hope to work effectively with lie detector tests the option of management. The immense pressure that these clauses will allow management to bring to bear against workers is obvious. In the hands of a right-wing character like Joe Coors, they will make Golden, Colorado once again the private world of the company.

The union's members have decided that only a nation-wide boycott can hope to stop the implementation of the contract (which is not taking place) and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has endorsed the effort. It is crucial that we make clear to everyone concerned that we do not tolerate attacks on our freedom either in Washington or the workplace. We do not let people like Joe Coors profit from destroying unions.

BOYCOTT COORS.

* * * * * * * * * *

(Continued from page 1)

problem of "recruitment", that is of hiring and maintaining of quality workers. All of us, of course, recognize the correlation between the above, e.g. poor working conditions, and the ability to maintain good employees, who are reasonable satisfied. While we did not succeed in getting a commitment to change the present operating procedures as they apply to the working conditions in PFD, we did get a commitment that the problems will be investigated and resolutions will be sought. Specifically, PFD agreed to the following:

(Continued on page 3)
**REMEMBER: NEXT GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING -- Thurs, July 7th; 9:30 P.M. CAFE INTERIM** **

FINAL REVIEW ATTEMPTED FOR TERMINATED CUSTODIANS

The administrative review process is in its last stages for Chris De la Torre and Ken Person, both terminated custodians. This will be the third attempt to investigate the conditions surrounding their arbitrary firing for allegedly sleeping on the job. (Chris was fired in February, Ken, in April.) So far, the university has managed to avoid a meeting and has accepted the brief and totally ineffective meetings that were held with PFPD and Chris and Ken, respectively. Neither meeting hit the issues that lay at the heart of the matter: arbitrary and illegal termination.

As we submitted our request to Chancellor Cheadle, new information was added that causes us to suspect the PFPD of out and out deceit and discrimination. It seems that Chris was fired without oral or written warning (which is in itself a policy violation) in order to cover up for the behavior of a PFPD supervisor. The supervisor had kicked Chris and threatened him into not pressing charges when the police were brought in. In order to scare Chris into not taking any action, he was conveniently and arbitrarily fired. Conveniently, because he had indeed fallen asleep at 2:30 after his route was completed and near the time for his shift to end; arbitrarily because PFPD does not, as a standard procedure, fire custodians who are found sleeping—they have, in the past, sent letters of warning, oral warnings, or no warnings. In order to prevent any suspicion that might arise, PFPD found it convenient to fire another custodian, this time a black one, Ken Person. With two custodians fired, for sleeping, how could anyone say it was arbitrary or discriminatory? These trumped-up cases were soon seen for what they were, however, and AFSCME has pursued the situations consistently. After some digging, we have been told that a supervisor has admitted, in the presence of two witnesses, that he was forced to lie in order to make the "sleeping" stories stick. In point of fact, Ken Person was not sleeping at all, but the university had to find a means to cover for its unjust firing of Chris De la Torre. In other words, PFPD tried to cover a lie with a lie and has gotten caught.

Certainly, this new information should cause the university some concern. AFSCME intends to go all the way with Chris and Ken. We need your support! 

**MEET-AND-CONFER (Cont'd)**

1. A review of the present workload for custodians to take place in the near future. Whatever standards are being used to determine workload will be presented and explained. 2. Custodial input will be sought as a part of this review. 3. Meetings which occur on a regular basis (safety, area, and general meetings) will be scheduled and announced well in advance of the meeting to allow custodians time to pace their work accordingly. 4. Some method will be devised to compensate for "doubling up" (i.e., either custodians will be held responsible for doing less or given more time to complete the required work.) 5. Staff Personnel Policy #10 ("sick leave"), will be communicated to all custodians. 6. Inspection Report forms will be reviewed and possibly modified, so as (Continued on page 4)
U. C. SYSTEMWIDE ADMINISTRATION SAYS LAYOFFS NECESSARY WITHIN THE NEXT FEW YEARS!!

The U. C. systemwide administration is proposing a new staff policy which could mean that thousands of 12 month employees will be involuntarily transferred to "ten month career positions". This means a loss of two months of pay for those who are forced to go on furlough. The university hopes to avoid paying unemployment benefits by using the term "furlough" instead of "layoff". Only people officially laid off are automatically eligible for unemployment benefits. "Furlough" indicates a voluntary leave of absence. This proposal, as it stands now, means that an employee can be involuntarily "furloughed" by a department head.

The most insidious part of this policy is an attack on seniority because department heads will be allowed to play favorites by retaining employees with "special skills" while placing on forced lay-off or "furlough" others, even though they might have more seniority.

AFSCME representatives met with Jose Escobedo, a representative for the UCSS Personnel Department, who said that the Personnel Department was only opposed to the involuntary portion of this proposal. The next day Walter Stover*, a member of the UC systemwide administration, said, at a Staff Personnel Board meeting, that layoffs will be necessary within the next few years. We believe that his proposal should be resisted. Our local is working with all of the other UC locals in order to prevent the implementation of this policy.

*Walter Stover is the Assistant Vice President Staff Personnel, at University Hall in Berkeley, California.

MEET-AND-CONFERENCE (Continued)

To allow for employee comments, and to reduce the importance of personal and social attitudes, which have little if anything to do with job performance, AFSCME also requested from PFD and the university the following items: (1) one copy of whatever "standards" are used to determine custodial workloads; (2) a statement of the revision of Custodial Department Rule #2 such that it conforms to Staff Personnel Policy 410; (3) one copy of any and all revisions of the Inspection Report Form; (4) statistics concerning: Percentage of new hires that are "casual", percentage of probationary periods that are extended, and the average length of time before a new employee attains regular status.

In a letter to PFD, we stated that we felt the meet-and-confer was a step in the right direction and that we looked forward to the implementation of changes. We applaud the cooperative attitude of Mr. William Dolly, acting administrator of PFD. At the same time, we must stress the importance of uniting all custodians in this struggle to improve the working conditions and our lives.

Further developments will be reported to all.

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JOIN TODAY!!

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

AFSCME LOCAL 673
P.O. Box 13869
Santa Barbara, California 93107
UCSB WORKERS!!!

___ Do you feel powerless when your supervisor complains or harasses you?

___ Do you disagree with the results of your performance evaluation?

___ Are you unsure about your rights as a UCSB employee? About your probationary work period, vacation or sick leave?

___ Are you working more than your load or performing duties outside your job classification?

___ Have promotions passed you by?

JOIN AFSCME AND LEARN HOW TO DEAL WITH AND SOLVE ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS AND MORE!!!

JOIN YOUR AFSCME LOCAL TODAY
LET THE WORKER HAVE A SAY

For information on AFSCME Local 673

Call: GAIL TENNEN 9644601
       PETER SHAPIRO 9686595
       MARYEMMA GRAHAM 9684028
WORKERS GAIN VICTORY!!

AFSCME FIGHTS FOR WORKERS RIGHTS

A.S. Printing's 15 workers, including chief worker Michael Bartfeld, were to be terminated on March 3, and the Shop closed permanently. The announcement came a mere two weeks before the scheduled termination date. No provision was being made for the workers. Here is the story of what happened.

Founded in the late '60's as a response to the censoring being done by Central Duplicating, A.S. Printing was and is an invaluable service to individuals, student groups and the general university staff. With its inception, the Shop became one of the most powerful and effective vehicles for airing student and staff concerns quickly and without censorship.

After a fall '76 audit, the Shop was asked to reorganize. Its management and over-all operation were criticized. The changes were approved and implemented. Then, suddenly it was decided to close the shop without an investigation and to terminate 14 student workers and one staff supervisor. AFSCME union member Michael Bartfeld was committed to the rights of the Shop employees and to the right to keep a valuable service functioning. Bartfeld was further convinced that the shop did not represent significant monetary losses, especially since it was the only student agency required to pay rent to the University Center.

AFSCME, representing all 15 Shop workers, took the lead in this struggle, battling against an insensitive Leg Council and infamous UCan administrators. AFSCME demanded a full investigation, resulting in the retraction of the Leg Council's proposal to close the Shop. Today, A.S. Printing remains open and 15 workers remain in their jobs. According to Bartfeld, "Without the union's help, the Shop would have definitely been closed."

Right now AFSCME is involved with major struggles over job classification, performance evaluations, job harrassment, probation period extensions, and merit increases. YOU NEED AFSCME.

AFSCME SUPPORTS ALL WORKERS!!!!!!

AFSCME LOCAL 673
Post Office Box 13869
Santa Barbara, Ca. 93017
There are many questions and problems that you have raised about the working conditions at Physical Plant. You want to get things changed and have a stronger voice in the way things are run.

AFSCME can help you do this.

In order to get a better idea of what your concerns are, we are asking that you answer these questions and mail them to AFSCME in the stamped addressed envelope or bring them to our meeting next week.

We do not need your name.

These questionnaires will be completely anonymous. You do not need to be a union member to answer. We want to know what all custodians think. If there are any questions you don't want to answer, leave them blank—but the more information you can give us the better. We will continue to talk about all of these things at our meeting on Wednesday or Thursday next week (Time and Place to be announced). Please remember to mail this questionnaire back to us as soon as possible or bring it to the meeting.

* The meeting will talk about your concerns
* We will have hot food there
* You can talk to AFSCME representatives
* Please pass the word on
* Bring the questionnaire

Custodians unite

Win the fight
(circle your answer or fill in the blanks)

QUESTIONS ABOUT INSPECTION REPORTS

1. Do you like the idea of inspection reports? YES NO

2. The head of the physical plant claims that inspection reports are a good way to help custodians do a good job. Do you agree? YES NO

3. How often do you get inspection reports? ________________

4. Do you think your inspection reports have been fair? YES NO

5. Have there been any changes in the inspection reports you've been getting? YES NO
   If there have been changes, what have they been? ________________

QUESTIONS ABOUT WORK LOAD

6. Do you think your work load (your route) is the right size? YES NO
   Is it too big? YES NO
   Is it too small? YES NO

7. Has the size of your route changed recently? YES NO
   If yes, how has it changed? ________________

8. How often do you have to double up? ________________

9. Do you have written standards for what you are supposed to do? YES NO

10. Do you think that custodians should work in teams? (2 or 3 custodians doing one large route) YES NO
QUESTIONS ABOUT WORK LOAD (continued)

11. Do you think there should be a special floor crew to do waxing, stripping, and buffing?  
   Yes  No
   Do you think they should get higher pay?  
   Yes  No
   Do you think custodians should get smaller routes and do their own floors?  
   Yes  No

QUESTIONS ABOUT ATTENDANCE

12. Have you ever received a letter for unsatisfactory attendance?  
   Yes  No
   If yes, why? ____________________________________________
   ________________________________

13. Have you ever come to work when you were sick?  
   Yes  No
   If yes, why? ____________________________________________
   ________________________________

14. Have you ever been given L.O.P. instead of sick leave when you stayed home sick?  
   Yes  No
   If yes, did you have sick leave coming to you?  
   Yes  No

QUESTIONS ABOUT PROBATION

15. Are you on probation?  
   Yes  No

16. How long have you been working as a UCSB custodian?  
   (include the training period) ____________________________

17. Was your probation period ever extended?  
   Yes  No
   If yes, why was it extended? ____________________________
   ________________________________

QUESTIONS ABOUT SUPERVISORS

18. Do you think you have a good supervisor or foreman?  
   Yes  No
   Why? ____________________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________
QUESTIONS ABOUT SUPERVISORS (continued)

19. Are there any supervisors or foreman who are very good? YES NO
   What is good about them? ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   Who are they? ____________________________
   ____________________________

20. Are there any supervisors or foremen who are very bad? YES NO
   What is bad about them? ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________
   Who are they? ____________________________

OTHER QUESTIONS

21. Are there any other things you think the union should talk to supervisors about? YES NO
   If yes, what are they? ____________________________
   ____________________________
   ____________________________

22. Are you a member of AFSCME Local 673? YES NO
PART V
APPENDIX
January, 1977

Guide to Resources: Research Materials in Santa Barbara About Afro-Americans (U.S.A.)

BLACK STUDIES

University of California at Santa Barbara
Selected Texts Of Afro-American History (U.S.A.)

February, 1977

CENTER FOR BLACK STUDIES

University of California at Santa Barbara
Selected Works
Of Black Sociologists

1. Kelley Miller (1863 - 1939)
2. Monroe Work (1866 - 1945)
4. George E. Haynes (1875 - 1960)
5. Charles S. Johnson (1893 - 1956)
6. E. Franklin Frazier (1894 - 1962)
7. Oliver C. Cox (1901 - 1974)

March, 1977

BLACK STUDIES

University of California at Santa Barbara