

## **PART II.**

# **FOUNDATIONS OF BLACK SOCIAL THOUGHT**

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

## RATIONALE

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

## METHODOLOGY

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

# WRITING A RESEARCH PAPER

## 1. SURVEYING THE LITERATURE: THE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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



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

### 3. University and Public Libraries--

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **2. INVESTIGATION, ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION: THE RESEARCH PAPER**

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

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

### **STYLE**

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



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

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

## GRADES

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

**WORK HARD!**

**FURTHER THE ANALYSIS!**

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

## REQUIRED READING

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

## DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: RECONSTRUCTION

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

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

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



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

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

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

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

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

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

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

#### **SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS**

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



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

### REQUIRED READINGS

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

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

### DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: RURAL — URBAN LIFE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

### C. Questions for Discussion and Research:

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

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

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

## SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

### RURAL

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



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

## URBAN

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

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

#### REQUIRED READINGS

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

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

#### DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: SOCIAL CLASS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

## QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

### PROLETARIAT

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



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

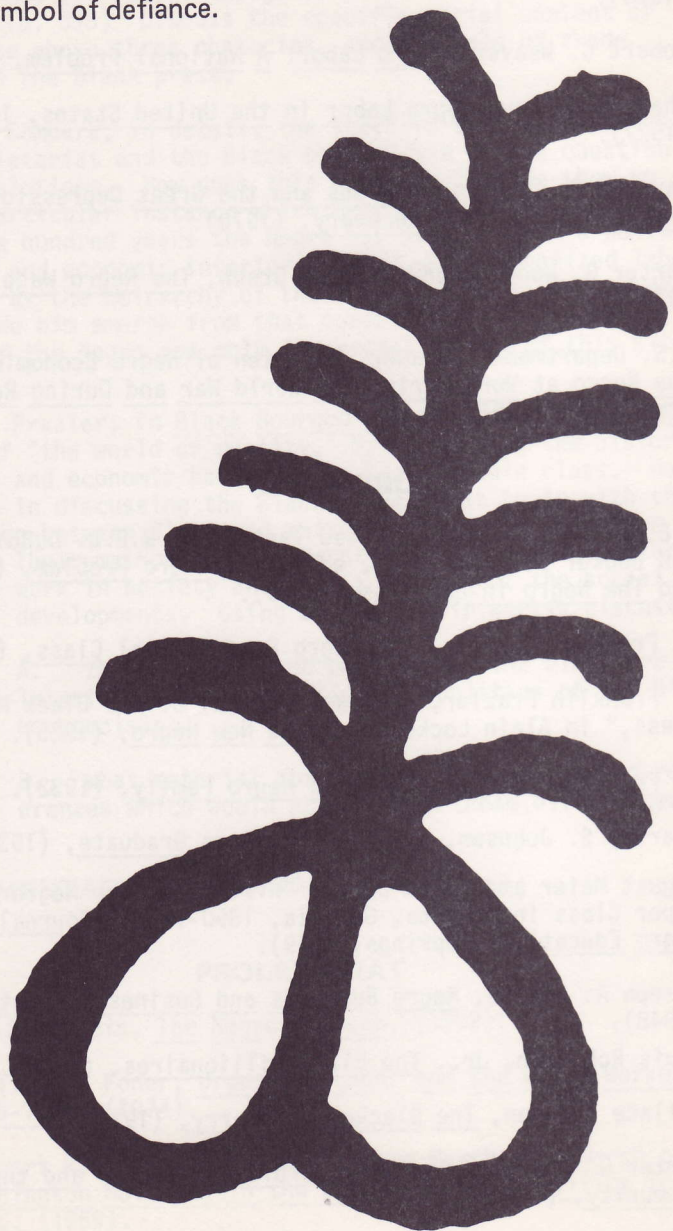
### BOURGEOISIE

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

AYA (the firn).

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

A symbol of defiance.





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



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

# RESOURCES PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH CENTERS

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



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

## **SOURCES FOR AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS**

### **AUDIO-VISUAL RESOURCES**

(Write each for up to date catalogue and prices.)

#### **TRICONTENTAL FILM CENTER**

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

#### **IMPACT FILMS**

144 Bleeker Street  
New York, N.Y. 10012

#### **NEW YORKER FILMS**

43 West 61st Street  
New York, NY, 10023

#### **AUDIO BRANDON FILMS**

8400 Brookfield Ave.,  
Brookfield, IL 60513

#### **THIRD WORLD NEWSREEL**

26 West 20th Street  
New York, NY, 10011

#### **AFRICAN WORLD RESROUCE CENTER (Films)**

P.O. Box 2413  
Washington, D.C. , 20013

#### **PAREDON RECORDS**

P.O. Box 889  
Brooklyn, NY, 11212

#### **FOLKWAYS RECORDS**

701 7th Avenue  
New York, New York 10036