

Consciousness 9/23 5TH Lecture

Slide 1

Time

Slide 2

Good morning, welcome, glad to be with you once again.

This is our fifth and final lecture in this series of IFA lectures. Future plans will be announced on abdulist, so if you are not on it let me know so I can hook you up. For proposals of what actions should be taken in Black Studies I have proposed 10 action plans – the link will be in the chat. Let me know what you think of this plan.

We have discussed four key concepts – color, class, culture and gender. Now we will deal with consciousness.

Consciousness is how we think about these four aspects of our lives, so we have been discussing the objective and now we are turning to the subjective.

I want to remind everyone that these sessions have been taped and available on my website – Alkalimat.org.

Also, please use the chat function to share ideas and raise questions.

Furthermore, we hope that these videos and these power point slides will be used, mashed up for your approach. Everyone is needed in our process of consciousness raising.

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Here is the outline for this presentation.

First what is consciousness?

Then we will discuss the objective and the subjective, which will raise the philosophical issue of freedom and necessity.

Then we will turn to the main forms of Black consciousness, five ideological traditions and the great debates that shape the legacy of our freedom journey

Yes, there is always the fear that the oppressed will arise and become a mighty historical agency for change. Here you see the spirit of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, joined by the militant youth of the Black Panther Party.

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Epistemology is a big word, but it merely tries to answer the question how do we know what we know? How does the process of knowledge creation take place? This is a focus on the origin of consciousness.

The basic process is that we perceive and then think about that. The Sankofa bird is the African reminder that thinking involves the past, history, and of course that represents the need to retain memory.

Consciousness is how we think about what we have perceived and therefore know about the world

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More specifically, we perceive by using our five senses as shown in this slide – seeing, hearing, smelling, taste, and feeling. In fact all scientific technology is an extension of these senses – microscopes and telescopes merely extend our sight, and tape recorders extend our hearing, etc.

This is perceptual knowledge.

These are electrical pulses that enter our brain, and then we process them, we think, and that produces rational knowledge. The goal is to have the results of our thinking accurately reflect the reality we have perceived. Does the knowledge of our consciousness fit the facts?

Of course, we act on what we know, what we think, and that helps us figure out if we make good sense. If we have good practical knowledge.

This is important when we focus on our fight for freedom.

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The painting on this slide is about Nat Turner planning his rebellion in 1831. Led by Nat Turner in Virginia, the rebels killed over 50 white people, making it the deadliest slave revolt in U.S. history

Their objective condition was plantation slavery. They well understood their predicament. They had perceived it, experienced it. And, having thought about it, they decided to revolt.

They rose up, but were soundly defeated. In the short run their ideas did not lead their actions to gain freedom. In the long run, down to today, they gave us a powerful historical example we have learned from as we have sought to gain from their legacy.

This is about the relationship of freedom and necessity. Freedom does not exist outside of an objective context, and its this objective context that provides necessity. Freedom is what you do within your context, how you figure out options too get the most out of your situation.

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This is the importance of this model of our history as it is a conceptual clarification of the dialectics of our objective conditions.

During the periods of social cohesion, the objective conditions were trans-generational. Peoples always wanted to be free in their consciousness, but in fact they had to think about what specific changes were possible on the way to that goal, since at every stage while not being free the objective conditions changed so new thinking was necessary.

In political terms this helps us think about the difference between strategy and tactics. Strategy is our general thinking about achieving our long term goals, while tactics are the steps we take to carry out our strategy. An example of this would be to follow the trend of legal

actions and court decisions beating back segregation as we go towards freedom.

Our strategy need was to figure out how to end slavery. The next was how to end the terror of lynching and debt peonage. Finally, how to end the terror of racial capitalism. Everyone of these is a way to target the objective conditions being faced in our search of freedom.

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So we can reflect on how we structured this series of presentations – discussions. We started out with concepts that helped us set the objective environment to understand the Black experience. Now in this fifth session we are looking at the subjective aspect of consciousness.

We take a step at a time, but in the end everything is connected.

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Our first reflection is on color.

Some so-called white people have acted Black. Here in this slide is Al Jolson who wore Black face as his character “Gus” on Broadway. Years later a European, John Griffin, went undercover as a Black person to expose racism with his book “Black Like Me.” And it is curious that for white people there is a cosmetic move into the tanning parlor, and another into having ones lips enlarged. Wow, what a reversal.

On the other hand Black people have been cursed with the desire to buy skin lighteners, hair straighteners, and other technologies to whiten.

In fact when possible some Black people have passed for white. Some scholars look at census data for 1880 to 1940 to see if race changed for people from one census to the next. The team estimated that, on average, at least 1.4 percent of Black men under age 55 started passing as white per decade, adding up to more than 300,000 men over the study period. However, the estimate is very conservative, and the actual rate could be as high as 7–10 percent, the researchers said. What do you think?

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Our second reflection is on class.

Class consciousness is when people are accurately summing up the conditions of their life, when their self-image connects with the other people who share similar life experiences.

This slide sums up four class positions, with the anti-class representing people who have been tossed out of the economy into permanent unemployment, homeless with no health insurance. Nothing.

In each case they react to the mainstream, to dominate and set its terms, to try and succeed within it, or to make reforms in it. Others have no choice but to transform it.

Class consciousness leads one to act in their own interest. One's thoughts and actions move in such a way as to represent one and one's class brothers and sisters, linking together the fate of the entire class.

Class defection is when the members of the middle class do not advance the interests of middle-class people, but rather take up the cause of the working class. This is what is required when teachers or social workers or even most students get involved in the building of a worker's movement – class defection.

False class consciousness, on the other hand, is when workers get confused and think and act like they are in the middle class. This usually applies to workers who make more money, like refinery workers who make as much as \$50 per hour (\$104,000 per year). They think their consumption level puts them in the middle class while still being subject to the domination of capital. The media promotes this by talking more about the middle class to mislead the majority of us who are in the working class.

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Our third reflection is on culture.

Kenneth Clarke, shown here in this slide on the left, designed a study. The NAACP used it in their desegregation court case. They said the following:

“In the 1940s, psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark designed and conducted a series of experiments known colloquially as “the doll tests” to study the psychological effects of segregation on African-American children.

Drs. Clark used four dolls, identical except for color, to test children’s racial perceptions. Their subjects, children between the ages of three to seven, were asked to identify both the race of the dolls and which color doll they prefer. A majority of the children preferred the white doll and assigned positive characteristics to it. The Clarks concluded that “prejudice, discrimination, and segregation” created a feeling of inferiority among African-American children and damaged their self-esteem.”

By the 1960s, Black is beautiful became a national mandate for Black self-affirmation.

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Black culture became the cauldron of transformation for the Black power movement.

Our music changed, out of Detroit came Aretha Franklin and Marvin Gaye, and so many more of the Motown sound. Max Roach and Abby Lincoln insisted, John Coltrane proclaimed a love supreme, and James Brown called for the big Pay back.

The music was a festival of the oppressed.

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One of the ongoing struggles at the subjective level of consciousness is the acceptance of all genders.

What has been on the quiet is now getting loud, and public opinion is evolving. Transparency is leading to new standards of acceptance as we move beyond old prejudices and stereotypes.

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On this slide we feature Charles White, great painter. Again he connected his art to the struggle for freedom, justice and equality. His view: “An artist must bear a special responsibility. He must be accountable for the content of his work. And that work should reflect a deep, abiding concern for humanity.”

There has been a history of Black ideological tendencies that connect an understanding of the Black experience with movement for Black liberation. These are Black liberation ideological positions. Sometimes they seem to stand alone, but are usually interconnected with each other.

Black liberation theory

Pan-Africanism

Nationalism

Womanism (an Alice Walker renaming of feminism for Black women)

And Socialism

Let's discuss each one

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Religion is a cultural system that has shaped Black life. Religion provided a divine judgment that universalized Black people as part of humanity, and as such beholden to the moral mandates of god

George McGuire joined the UNIA and was appointed chaplain-general for the organization by Marcus Garvey. In this position, McGuire wrote two important documents of the Universal Negro Improvement Association—*Universal Negro Ritual*, and *Universal Negro Catechism*,

the latter containing both religious and historical sections, reflecting his interest in religion and Black history. He became the leader of the African Orthodox Church.

Howard Thurman's theology of radical nonviolence influenced and shaped a generation of civil rights activists, and he was a key mentor to leaders within the civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King Jr.

Thurman served as dean of Rankin Chapel at Howard University from 1932 to 1944. Thurman was a prolific author, writing twenty books on theology, religion, and philosophy. His most famous work is [*Jesus and the Disinherited*](#) (1949)

James Cone message was that Black Power, defined as black people asserting the humanity that white supremacy denied, was the gospel in America. Jesus came to liberate the oppressed, advocating the same thing as Black Power. He argued that white American churches preached a gospel based on white supremacy, antithetical to the gospel of Jesus. Cone's work was influential from the time of the book's publication, and his work remains influential today.

Cone's theology also received significant inspiration from a frustration with the black struggle for civil rights; he felt that black Christians in North America should not follow the "white Church", on the grounds that it was a willing part of the system that had oppressed black people. Accordingly, his theology was heavily influenced by Malcolm X and the Black Power movement. Martin Luther King Jr. was also an important influence; Cone describes King as a liberation theologian before the phrase existed

So, every social movement has at its base a religious component.

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Part of this is manifested in how religious leaders have been important political figures. The Black church combines the sacred and the secular.

On the left in this slide is Adam Clayton Powell Jr, who was minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem. He was elected the first Black member of the New York City Council in 1941. From 1945-19781 he represented Harlem in Congress.

He used his position to create what was called the Powell amendment, attaching provisions to bills that supported the interests of the Black community. He was one of the first to call for Black Power.

Next in the slide is Jesse Jackson, a young minister who served with Martin Luther King, and led a movement organization called Operation Bread Basaket, and then the organization called PUSH: People United to Save Humanity from 1971 to 2023.

His great political role was in running for president in 1984 and then having two sons serve in congress.

Ona the right in the slide is Raphel Warnock, currently representing Georgia in the US Senate. He is also the minister of Ebenezer Baptist church previously led by Martin Luther King.

The role of the Black minister is all about leadership.

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Of course the vast majority of Black people are Christians, but not everybody. Another important religious group is Islam. The major Islamic group of the 1960s and after has been the Nation of Islam under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad and now Louis Farrakhan.

In the 1960s and 1970s the Black liberation movement was represented by three major newspapers, The Black Panther Party newspaper, the African World newspaper of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU), and Muhammad Speaks newspaper of the Nation of Islam.

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Our next ideological tendency is Pan Africanism. This is a global perspective that connects to Africa and the entire African Diaspora.

Marcus Garvey of the UNIA

WEB DuBois of the Pan African Congresses

Kwame Nkrumah of the first African country south of the Sahara to be liberated, Ghana

This is what Walter Rodney, Pan Africanist from Guyana said:

“We are saying that we identify with the African people of the African continent. We are saying that we are an African people. And when we make this identification, we have no illusions about the fact that this is a very revolutionary initiative; it is a rejection of every other form of identification which the white society has asked us to accept.”

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While Pan Africanism was an ideology at the abstract level it was also at various times an active movement for social change. The ALSC was a major organization that took the ideology into action as a major social movement of the 1970s. Their statement of principles said the following:

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

This is a slide of the ALSC executive committee meeting at Fisk University in Nashville Tennessee. From left top right Owusu, John Warfield, Brenda Paris, Gene Locke, Akinlabi, Amiri Baraka, and Abdul Alkalimat.

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The main annual action was the protest march on African Liberation Day. This slide is the May 25, 1974 demonstration in Washington DC. At this time there was also a conference. The conference was videoed and has been made available at the website of the Howard University Library. Here what they say:

“In May 1974, led by the African Liberation Day Support Committee supporters of Black liberation movements from around the nation and at least six countries convened in Washington, DC for the second African Liberation Day. Over two days activities were held to show support for liberation on the African continent and show solidarity for the global fight for equality for Black people. Activities included a march on 14th street in Washington, DC, a march to the White House and a festival in Malcolm X (Meridian Hill) Park. This footage was filmed for the Howard University Institute for the Arts and Humanities by Mr. Harold Burke.

The debate was a historic ideological confrontation at which every speaker was given 45 minutes to present their views. These tapes are available for study.”

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The next ideological tendency is Black nationalism.

The way to get at this is to define the key word nation: 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

This slide shows the concentration of Black people in the deep south, and it has been argued that this area is where Black people were transformed into a nation out of a diversity of African peoples

In all other places, Black people were subjected to segregation – in housing, in education, and in most other areas of social life. Racism forced Black people to be together, hence the ideology of nationalism became an asset for self-defense.

The Black Power moment of 1966 brought forth a mass turn away from integration. The slogan was “Its Nation Time!”

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Two key people are in this slide.

On the right is Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Ture). On a march in Mississippi after the shooting of James Meredith, Stokely raised the call for Black Power.

On the night of June 16, 1966, Carmichael along with Willie Ricks proclaimed to the crowd, “We been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothin. What we got to start saying now is Black Power! We want Black Power.”

In his 1968 book, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, Carmichael explained the meaning of Black power: “It is a call for Black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for Black people to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations.”

As I just said, the slogan Black Power hit in June of 1966, by October of 1966 a new organization was formed, the Black Panther Party. Huey Newton was a co-founder of the Black Panther Party with Bobby Seale.

Huey said this about Black Power: “Black Power is giving power to people who have not had power to determine their destiny.”

Also: “I dissuade Party members from putting down people who do not understand. Even people who are unenlightened and seemingly bourgeois should be answered in a polite way. Things should be explained to them as fully as possible. I was turned off by a person who did not want to talk to me because I was not important enough. Maurice just wanted to preach to the converted, who already agreed with him. I try to be cordial, because that way you win people over. You cannot win them over by drawing the line of demarcation, saying you are on this side and I am on the other; that shows a lack of consciousness. After the Black Panther Party was formed, I nearly fell into this error. I could not understand why people were blind to what I saw so clearly. Then I realized that their understanding had to be developed.”

Black Power became the critical content of Black nationalism.

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The next year 1967 the entire Black liberation movement was called to Newark for the first national Black Power conference.

I was there co-chairing the Black professionals workshop with Hoyt Fuller.

This was not an isolated event, but in the midst of a great summer of rebellion. During the same month as the conference, there two great rebellions – one in Newark (July 12-17) just preceding the conference, followed by one in Detroit (July 23-28)

Women were involved in this process, but not fully in a representative way.

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There have always been ways for Black women to be leaders in the fight for Black liberation. Here are three key examples.

On the left is Claudia Jones. Marxist scholar activist from Trinidad, then the US and England.

In the middle is Queen Mother Moore who straddled the communist movement and Black nationalism, always a revolutionary

Finally, here is Ella Baker, a key organizer and theoretical leader of SNCC, after the NAACP and SCLC

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Great contributions in the 1960s were made by these four women among many others.

Angela Davis, from an activist in the Che-Lumumba club of the CPUSA, to being an activist supporter of George Jackson and the Black Panther party, to her current work with the abolitionist movement, she is a leading scholar activist

Ruby Doris Robinson, the first women executive direct of SNCC

Alice Walker a leader of Black women's advocacy with her book *The Color Purple*

Ntozake Shange, also a leading writer with her book [For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf](#) (1975)

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This legacy continues today. These sister are the examples we need to hold up to all the young sisters coming along

Kathleen Cleaver, Black Panther now a leading law professor

Barbara Smith, leading lesbian theoretician

Jamala Rogers, activist leader of the Organization for Black Struggle in St Louis

Rosemary Mealy, again former Black Panther now a leader in the support for the Cuban revolution

Amina Baraka, poet activist former leader of women in the Congress of African people, widow of Amiri Baraka and mother of the mayor of Newark Ras Baraka

Judy Richardson leader of SNCC, documentary film maker, and public intellectual focusing on the civil rights movement

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We have covered Black liberation theology, Pan Africanism, Black nationalism, and womanism, now we come to the fifth tendency socialism.

The 1917 revolution in Russia, spread throughout the world as a beacon for freedom. Black people have had socialist theoreticians and activists for the 20th century and even before that.

In this slide are two early members of the communist party, Otto Huiswoud (left) and Claude McKay (right) at the Fourth Congress of the Third International in Moscow in 1923.

When WEB DuBois applied for membership to the Communist Party in 1961 he wrote the following:

Capitalism cannot reform itself; it is doomed to self-destruction.
No universal selfishness can bring social good to all.

Communism—the effort to give all men what they need and to ask of each the best they can contribute—this is the only way of human life. It is a difficult and hard end to reach—it has and will make mistakes, but today it marches triumphantly on in education and science, in home and food, with increased freedom of thought and deliverance from dogma. In the end, Communism will triumph. I want to help bring that day.

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Here are others who choose the communist path to Black liberation:

James Ford: Leading Black activist in the CPUSA, their candidate for Vice President of the US in 1932, 1936, and 1940

Esther Cooper Jackson: Executive Director of the SNYC in the 1930s, and a founder of Freedom Ways in the 1960s.

Harry Haywood: CPUSA leader. Leading theoretician on the Black Belt Nation thesis of the Comintern

Louise Thompson Patterson activist in the communist party who worked with the National Negro Congress and the Civil Rights Congress

Bill Epton; Leading Black communist of the 1964 Harlem insurrection

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The social revolutions in the third world have been great inspiration leading Black activists to become interested in Marxism-Leninism.

Of course this influence has come from African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral, Chris Hani, Muhammad Abdul Babu.

The two most important international connections are shown in this slide.

Malcolm X meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem.

Robert and Mabel Williams meeting with Mao Tse-Tung in China.

You can also see just a few examples of the important publications by Black thinkers and activists.

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Ok we have discussed the five major ideological tendencies, so now we will show how Black consciousness fits into our model that clarifies the objective dialectics of how the Black experience has changed.

Three great debates shape the historical tradition of Black consciousness.

A great Black debate is when all ideological tendencies begin to focus on the objective possibility of change. When change ceases to be an abstract idea but is actually happening. These great debates have a context in what we are calling modes of social disruption.

The emancipation debate

The self-determination debate

And the Black liberation debate

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The central questions of the emancipation debate: how are Black people going to get free and what would freedom mean. This emancipation process involved the abolitionist movement, the slave revolts, the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Two main ways of getting free were the underground railroad by which slaves escaped as freedom seekers heading north to non-slave state and Canada. And, the Civil War. Escape or armed struggle.

Secondary ways were manumission, being set free by a former slave owner, and/or paying a monetary price for your freedom.

An example of this is my great-great-grandfather who purchased himself and 15 other family members out of slavery in Kentucky. He went on to be the first African American to legally establish a town. Last December of 2022 Congress voted to make it a National Park.

Here you can see an imaginary map of the underground rail system, and the African Meeting House in Boston. Here is what the National Park Service says about the African Meeting House:

Abolitionists including [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Maria Stewart](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), Sarah Grimke, and [Frederick Douglass](#) all spoke at the meeting house. The Massachusetts General Colored Association, dedicated to ending the dual forces of slavery and

discrimination across the country, met at the African Meeting House. In 1832 William Lloyd Garrison founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society here.² The New England Freedom Association, dedicated to assisting freedom seekers on the [Underground Railroad](#) also met here. Community celebrations often occurred at the meeting house as well, including annual commemorations of Haitian Independence and the end of the international slave trade. In 1863, the meeting house also served as a recruitment post for the [Massachusetts 54th Volunteer Regiment](#), one of the first African American regiments to fight in the Civil War.

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The organized context for the Black emancipation debate was the organization of the National Negro Convention Movement that existed from 1830 to 1864.

The conventions provided "an organizational structure through which black men could maintain a distinct black leadership and pursue black abolitionist goals." Colored Conventions occurred in thirty-one states across the US and in Ontario, Canada. The movement involved more than five thousand delegates and tens of thousands of attendees.

The minutes from these conventions show that Antebellum African Americans sought justice beyond the emancipation of their enslaved countrymen: they also organized to discuss labor, health care, temperance, emigration, voting rights, the right to a trial by jury, and educational equality. The Colored Conventions Movement antedated the founding of any formal anti-slavery movement in the United States.

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Here are some of the well-known people who served as delegates and officials of these conventions. Each of these people needs further study

Richard Allen

Charles Knox Redmond

Mary Shadd

William Still

Frederick Douglas

Henry Highland Garnett

Martin Delaney

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After slavery had ended and the reality of segregation and institutionalized racism had normalized, the emphasis shifted to finding agency for the betterment of Black people.

Black leadership began to think in terms of taking responsibility for the Black community, especially in the form of institutional development.

Freedom wasn't the ultimate freedom, but there was an opportunity – the question is what road to take?

Here we have two organizations in the alternative paths – The Niagara Movement and the National Negro Business League. Led by WEB DuBois and Booker T Washington. But there were others

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W.E.B. DuBois, The Niagara Movement led to the NAACP and DuBois also moved into the Pan-African Congresses

Booker T Washington, was also the leader of Tuskegee Institute an important HBCU

Marcus Garvey, the leader of the UNIA, the first largest global organization for Black liberation

T. Thomas Fortune, leading journalist, founder of the National Afro-American League, also editor of the UNIA's newspaper *The Negro World*

Ida B Wells, fearless fighter against lynching

Anna Cooper (1858-1964), great Black intellectual with PhD from Paris and foremost female leader at a time of great patriarchy

Of course there are many more people to mention and study, but these are one way to start. Please add your choices into the chat.

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After the great migrations into the northern industrial cities, after building institutions within the segregated Black community, and after being an active part of the working class movements and trade unions, Black activists raised their focus to changing the overall system, being part of the global anti-colonial movement by transforming the capitalist democracy of the US.

The slogan of civil rights was replaced by the Black Power demand for Black liberation.

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The Black liberation debate was personified by these two leaders – Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

Martin Luther King wrote this to his wife to be: "I imagine you already know that I am much more socialistic in my economic theory than capitalistic... [Capitalism] started out with a noble and high motive... but like most human systems it fell victim to the very thing it was revolting against. So today capitalism has out-lived its usefulness."

Malcolm said: It is impossible for capitalism to survive, primarily because the system of capitalism needs some blood to suck. Capitalism used to be like an eagle, but now it's more like a vulture. It used to be

strong enough to go and suck anybody's blood whether they were strong or not. But now it has become more cowardly, like the vulture, and it can only suck the blood of the helpless. As the nations of the world free themselves, capitalism has less victims, less to suck, and it becomes weaker and weaker. It's only a matter of time in my opinion before it will collapse completely....

Clearly this is unity about the big picture of Black oppression and exploitation.

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Another site of the Black liberation debate was the convening of the Black radical congress in Chicago in 1998.

These are the five who pulled the BRC together – four scholar activists in Black Studies (Barbara Ransby, Leith Mullins, Manning Marfable and Abdul Alkalimat) and a trade unionist (Bill Fletcher, who by the way graduated from Harvard)

The BRC drafted a mission statement:

“The purpose of the Black Radical Congress (BRC) is to promote dialogue among African American activists and scholars on the left; to discuss critical issues on the national and international scene that pertain to the Black community; to explore new strategies and directions for progressive political, social and cultural movements; and to renew the Black radical movement through increased unified action.”

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So we have covered three great debates:

1. The emancipation debate
2. The self-determination debate
3. The Black liberation debate

But given these three great Black debates, and how they continue to serve us as needed memory, we now live in another period of great change.

1. The language of the past is insufficient because people have changed – check the opinion polls. Black people are now more open to socialism for example.
2. The ideologies of the past continue as the foundation of Black social thought.
3. How can we change our thinking from what was relevant in the industrial society to relevance in the information society?

If the objective conditions are changing, and class relations are changing what do we think the new debate will be about.

One big possibility is for it to be the Social Revolution debate aiming at a post capitalist society. How do we prepare for this new debate?

That's a major question we need to think about and being discussing as a fundamental issue for Black Studies.

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Summary

1. Black consciousness made a paradigm shift after the 1960s
2. It has reflected the Black Experience: color, class, culture, and gender
3. There have been five Black ideological traditions: Black liberation theory, Pan Africanism, Black Nationalism, Womanism, and Socialism
4. There have been three great debates: Emancipation debate, self-determination debate, and the Black liberation debate