Organization is the Central Task, Radical Education Is the Key Link

“The first step in emancipating oneself from political and social slavery is that of freeing the mind”
–Antonio Gramsci

Study! Teach! Organize!

7th Convention:
Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism

Antonio Gramsci
1892-1937
How Did We Come to Radical Politics?

- The Teach-In Movement
- ‘Movement’ Schools & Conferences
- Study and Discussion Groups

U of Pitt antiwar teach-in, 1965; SNCC workshop at Highlander School in Tennessee, about 1960
Organized Politics, Organized Pedagogy

- Why do we need to learn together? Knowledge is power; but knowledge must be social for power to become democratic
- Knowledge must be organized to become powerful, and organizations are built through organized knowledge, through organized study and teaching rooted in struggle

Great teachers & organizers: Ella Baker, Arizmendi, Gramsci
Organizing in order to Expand Learning,
Learning in order to Grow Organization

- **Ella Baker**, with roots in the Workers Education Project of the New Deal and the Harlem Renaissance, stressed action, participation and group leadership at the grassroots to change consciousness.

- **Father Arizmendi** placed democratic education and cooperation, especially in the workplace, as the center of both individual and wider social transformation.

- **Antonio Gramsci** advanced the radical idea that all men and women are intellectuals, even philosophers, including the workers and the oppressed.

Mao at Yenan, Seeger at Freedom School
Gramsci’s Key Insight: Two Kinds of Intellectuals, Traditional and ‘Organic’

- There are no independent intellectuals. All are part of a social group, and organic to it.

- Traditional intellectuals try to separate themselves as autonomous from the dominant class, but they still serve to organize and uphold its ideology. Gramsci uses the Pope, his clergy and supporting thinkers like Croce as reinforcing the hegemony of the Italian ruling classes.

- Since all work, however menial, requires some thought and organization, all workers are also intellectuals to some degree, ‘organic’ to their social position. And to the degree that they also reflect on their fate, they are also philosophers-in-the-making.

Organic Intellectuals: Fred Hampton, Angela Davis, Rudi Dutschke
The Critical Task: Growing Stronger and Greater Numbers of ‘Organic Intellectuals’ of the Working Class

- The upper classes rule by manufacturing intellectual consent among the masses as ‘common sense’
- Without a strong and powerful contingent of intellectuals organic to the working class, there is no counterforce to the hegemonic bloc of the ruling class
- Becoming ‘organic intellectuals’ starts with enhancing workers’ skills, but does not end there. It also must ask. ‘Who is to be master?’ It means not only running your factory, but also, as a citizen, running your society collectively, becoming the ‘Modern Prince’ of a new order.
Gramsci’s Starting Point: ‘Common Sense’ vs. ‘Good Sense’ as Conflicted Consciousness

- The ‘Common Sense’ of everyday life divides into two:
- First, the old truisms and rules, old history and Bible tales, ie, the ‘ideology' of the old order
- Second, the skills we have learned through work, especially teamwork, and other social practice in our communities
- The second is the source of ‘Good Sense,’ and can be drawn out shaped into a critique of the former, which can then turn into a new view of the whole, into revolutionary class consciousness

‘Wide Awakes’ campaign for Lincoln
Conclusion: The ‘Modern Prince’ is more than a Political Organization

- A school for the wider militant minority, helping them become ‘permanent persuaders’
- An embryo of the new order, wherein the working class and the oppressed, as a the core of a progressive majority, learn to become the new ruling class
- A revolutionary project of open inquiry for ‘educating the educators’ in changing the world