

Negro Digest

MARCH 1970

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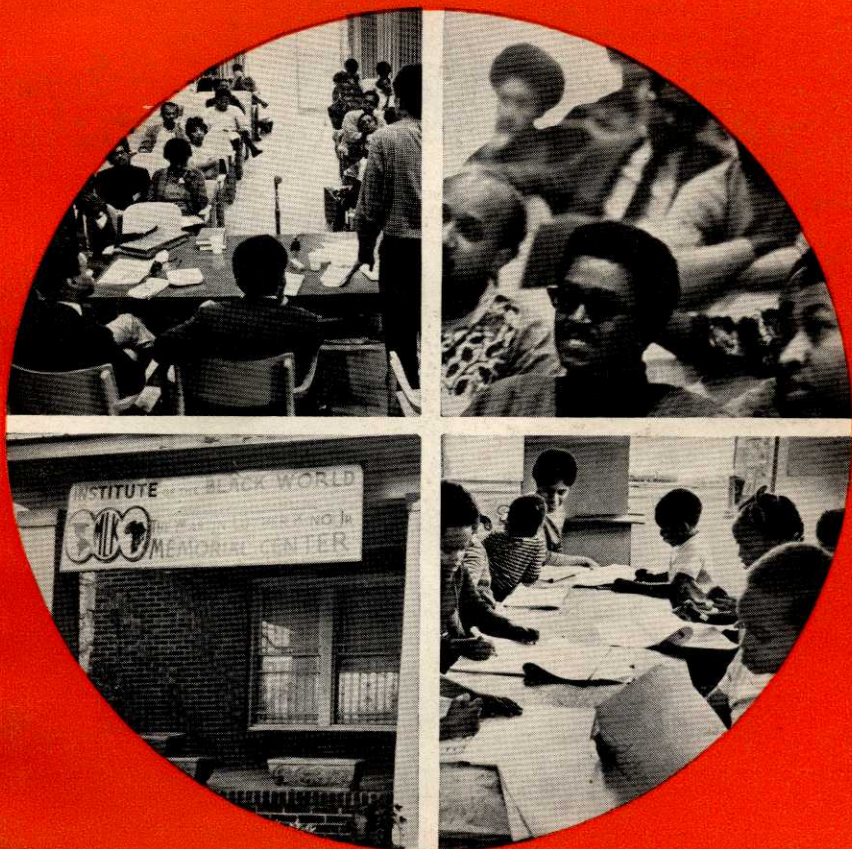
THE BLACK UNIVERSITY

PART III

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Response: Open Letters To Vincent Harding

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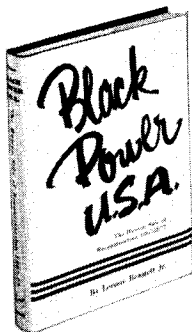
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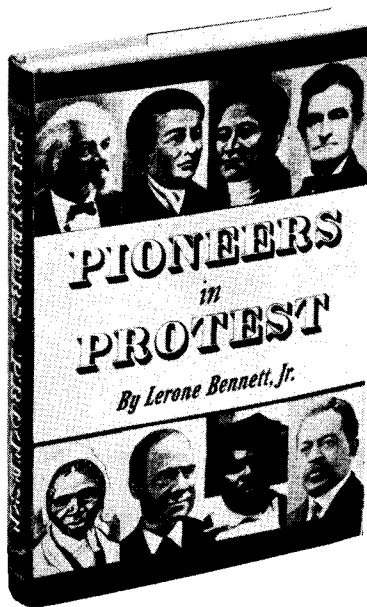
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THE BLACK UNIVERSITY

In the evolving concept of the Black University, *community* is the essential constant. All the laymen, students and scholars who are dedicated to the idea emphasize the centrality of the community. It is to serve the interests of the community that the Black University will exist; indeed, that definition of the Black University which equates it with the dynamics of empowering the community is the most commonly advanced definition. Other aspects of the Black University idea are in debate, as they should be. In two previous issues of NEGRO DIGEST (March 1968 and March 1969), scholars, teachers, students and involved laymen discussed the concept and their own ideas as to how it should be brought into being. Blueprints were offered, pitfalls were delineated, warnings were sounded, and objections were set forth. The problems of the traditional Negro colleges were outlined, along with some of their strengths and some of their failures. In the first Black University issue, Vincent Harding discussed the international implications of the Black University. In the following issue, he brought his focus home again, zeroed in on the dilemma of the Black-oriented educational institution seeking to provide the best in educational plant, curricula and personnel in the face of the white educational institutions' new awareness of the value and potential of the Black scholar and student. Dr. Harding asked of Black scholars and students everywhere, but particularly of those in white institutions outside the South, that they make certain important "sacrifices" in terms of status, income and convenience to contribute time and talent to the establishment and perpetuation of Black Universities. If resistance to the blandishments of the affluent white institutions was too difficult, then Dr. Harding suggested a plan of action wherein certain exchange agreements would be worked out between the white institutions and the Black Universities.

The reaction to Dr. Harding's article, "New Creation or *Familial* Death?", was electric. The article had been billed as "An *Open Letter* to Black Students in the North," but the response to the article was by no means restricted to Black students, North or South. Administrators, editors, laymen and, especially, Black scholars rushed to acclaim or to rebut the article.

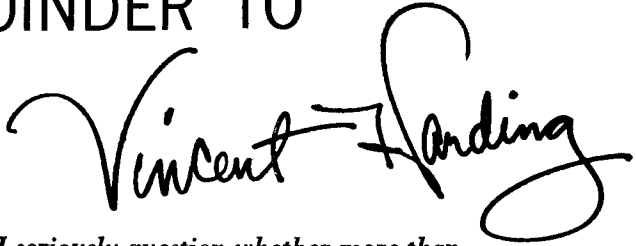
In the following pages, NEGRO DIGEST publishes two of the responses to Dr. Harding's "New Creation or Familiar Death?" In doing so, however, we feel it necessary to reprint at least key portions of Dr. Harding's article to which the responding articles refer. In that connection, we present here, first, the seven questions which Dr. Harding raised for "serious discussion" and, second, the four "concrete suggestions for action" for reaching some kind of viable accord between the Black students and scholars in the North and those in the South concerned with creating Black Universities.

Questions

1. As you assess the total struggle and your own particular situations in the North, in what ways may those of us who teach on southern campuses be of greatest help to you? How much of our energies should be spent in consulting and lecturing in the North at your request when there is so much business to take care of down here?
2. Many of you have been involved in attempts to recruit us to teach full-time on northern campuses, urging us to take the 3-to-5 year appointments which we have been offered. How do you reconcile this position with the needs of the thousands of black students in the South? (Though I have no inclination to play the numbers game, it is important to consider the fact that the black student group usually numbers less than 100 on most northern campuses, and 400 is an unusually large figure—though it often represents a miniscule percentage of the total student body. On the other hand, you ask us to leave campuses with black student populations ranging from 500 to more than 5,000.)
3. If we really intend to make the search for the Black University more than good rapping material for a hundred conferences, then where can we take the best concrete first steps—on a white campus or a traditionally "Negro" one? Especially when we consider the service the black university must render to its immediate community, is it contradictory in the extreme to consider such nation-building service coming from "black universities" in overwhelmingly white institutions?
4. One former professor at a well-known "Negro" University recently announced to the world that he will do his black thing from now on at a predominantly white school. He made this decision, he said, because black schools eventually will be more likely to imitate a good thing if it happens in a white context first. Without using such

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A REJOINDER TO



"I seriously question whether more than a handful of Black institutions could launch an institute that would even remotely approximate the Atlanta University Center model"

BY WILLIAM J. WILSON

IN THE March 1969 issue of NEGRO DIGEST, Vincent Harding wrote a passionate and thought-provoking letter to black students and faculty in the North which seriously challenged the legitimacy of our creating various programs to effect a more meaningful black experience on predominantly white campuses. In Harding's own words, his letter was "written in the spirit of black ecumenical concern as we move towards a new humanity," and he encouraged those of us to whom his remarks were directed to respond. I am, therefore, taking this opportunity to react to Professor Harding's very timely letter.

Since space will not permit an elaborately detailed rejoinder to Professor Harding's arguments, I shall here concentrate on what I take to be the basic points of his statement. If I understand his position correctly, he maintains:

1) That white northern institutions, as a result of black student pressure, have recently discovered the need to enroll more black students, to hire more black faculty, and to establish various levels of black-oriented curricula; and in attempting to deal with this problem they have begun to exploit black schools in the South by recruiting competent black faculty, by entering "into serious competition with the southern schools for the best black students," and by pirating "some Afro-American curriculum which had not been destroyed by 'integration'."

2) That such activities are threatening the survival of black institutions because they are not in a position to compete effectively in terms of the fabulous scholarship and financial aids offered to the best black

students, and the attractive salary figures, assistance for research and other inducements extended to black faculty.

3) That black students and faculty of northern institutions are participating fully in this common destruction (common in the sense that their activities circumvent the concept of the Black University and impede the development of new levels of black solidarity), not only by demanding the enrollment of more black students, the recruitment of black faculty and the establishment of black studies programs, but also by helping to raid black schools to meet their demands.

4) That serious questions can be raised about the fruitfulness of such demands and the contradictions they entail, e.g., if only a few institutes in Afro-American Studies "can live with significant integrity, where should they develop?", and would it not "make more sense to bring 50 black students to a black-oriented professor in the South than to take him away from his campus?"

5) That a program of action to deal with these problems and "make it possible for us to serve—rather than destroy—each other" includes: (a) establishing special visiting professorships "rather than raiding of black schools"; (b) creating a consortium in which one or more black and one or more white schools would pool their funds and jointly participate in the recruitment of black students and thereby provide each student the choice of spending three years at a black institution and a year at a white institution or vice versa; (c) encouraging white institutions "to make long term substantial [financial] investments in the black academic institutions"; and (d) organizing institutes to train future teachers of black studies programs at black colleges; especially those black schools that have the resources to launch such an institute immediately, e.g., the Atlanta University Center.*

Since I shall have to challenge Professor Harding on several points of a fundamental nature, I should like to begin with a brief statement of the no less important arguments with which I find myself in general accord. I agree with Professor Harding that the frantic search by white college administrators for black faculty, if left unchecked, will threaten the survival of black schools, and that many northern black students and faculty are either consciously or unconsciously contributing to this precarious state of affairs. Moreover, I agree that questions may be raised about the practicality of some northern student demands and the

* The Atlanta University Center includes the following institutions; Atlanta University; Morehouse College; Spelman College; Morris Brown College; Clark College; and the Interdenominational Theological Center. The A.U.C. now also includes the newly established Institute of the Black World of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center.

contradictions they entail. Furthermore, I agree that a program of action is needed to correct this unfortunate situation.

My areas of disaccord are concerned with a number of Professor Harding's specific criticisms and recommendations, and, more importantly, his tendency to altogether ignore or to treat in a cursory fashion certain very crucial matters pertaining to the black higher education crisis.

Let me begin by amplifying this point as it specifically relates to the recruitment of black students. If those of us who are involved in increasing the enrollment of black students on northern white campuses were committed to the view that we should only search for the so-called "best" black students, Professor Harding's arguments would have an unshakable foundation and we would be forced to seriously reappraise our efforts. Although Professor Harding seems to confine his remarks to the élitist segment of the black student population, I do not know of any massive recruitment campaign which is designed to enroll hundreds of black students each year that restricts itself in this manner. On the contrary, in response to or anticipation of black student demands, northern colleges have developed a proliferation of programs to enroll "high risk" black students. Attempts to discourage such efforts would, in the final analysis, be catastrophic for the hundreds of thousands of denied black students who were, until recently, virtually ignored by institutions of higher learning. They were the forgotten black students from impoverished backgrounds—concentrated in northern ghettos. They either did not meet the entrance requirements of nearby state colleges, or did not have the financial resources to attend open-door black colleges in the South. In fact, black students who lived in the South had a greater chance of entering colleges than those living in the North. For instance, we know that in 1965 approximately 30 percent of the black high school graduates in the South enrolled in institutions of higher learning (mostly black schools). In the North, however, (except in the state of California which has a large number of open-door junior colleges), the situation for black students was critical.

I would like to focus, very briefly, on the New England area, for here the critical state of black higher education throughout the North is most forcefully exemplified. In 1965-66 there were only 2,216 blacks enrolled in the colleges and universities in New England, including junior colleges, or 0.69 percent of the total student population. Because the few black students attending New England colleges at that time represented largely the managerial and professional segments of the black population, one author was led to conclude ". . . that as far as the economically and socially depressed main body of American Negroes is concerned, it would not matter at all if New England colleges and uni-

versities closed their doors tomorrow." Black students' demands have helped to produce stepped-up recruitment efforts, and although the figure is still pitifully low, there were more black students enrolled in colleges in the state of Massachusetts in 1968-69 (3,019) than there were in all of New England in 1965-66. And, the Massachusetts figure is expected to dramatically increase over the next few years. For example, at the University of Massachusetts we expect to have nearly a thousand black students by the fall of 1970—most of whom will come from the ghettos of Springfield and Boston. We are not recruiting students who would ordinarily go to black schools in the South but students who would have difficulty enrolling in *any* college. In fact, there are presently several "high risk" students on our campus who were rejected outright by black schools because they did not meet the conventional entrance requirements.

The emphasis on increasing the enrollment of black students is certainly not restricted to the state of Massachusetts. Large state universities and colleges in the North are on expansive recruitment campaigns in the ghettos, some enrolling as many as 600 black students a year. These programs (1) assist students in getting admitted to college; (2) provide financial support needed to attend college, and (3) furnish academic assistance needed to stay in college.



In the past, denied black students were measured by the same academic criteria that were applied to other students. No recognition was given to the crippling influence of ghetto schools. By using such criteria, these students were usually rated as academically marginal at best. Being marginal in these respects, however, may have nothing to do with their potential or intellect, it merely indicates that they do not meet the conventional white middle class standards of admission. It is incumbent upon black students and faculty in the North to continue to pressure their respective universities to abandon the system of recruiting only the "best" students which, therefore ultimately leads them to search for students in the South. I think it is ludicrous for black students from, say, Northwestern University to go all the way to Atlanta, Georgia, searching for black students when there are thousands of black students in the ghettos of nearby Chicago just itching for a chance to enroll in college.

As northern universities continue to recruit the forgotten black students of the ghetto, it is entirely conceivable that in the very near future, and unless an equally concerted effort is made in the South, an overwhelming majority of black students will be concentrated in these institutions. And I would be hard pressed indeed to tell a black faculty member who was recruited expressly to satisfy the needs of these students that he should recognize his "true" obligation and teach in a black institution. As the enrollment figures of northern black students continue to mount, their needs cannot be denied. However, I do not feel that, in order to satisfy the needs of increasing numbers of black students in the North, black schools in the South should suffer. It is for this reason that careful consideration should be given to Professor Harding's suggestions. I shall discuss this matter shortly.

I was pleased to see Professor Harding at least acknowledged the fact that many faculty and administrators at "predominantly Negro" colleges have been reluctant to grant "that our experience as a people was worthy of serious academic exploration." In the final analysis, this obstacle has to be overcome if Professor Harding's suggestions are to be seriously entertained. Only a few black schools have the orientation which would permit immediate implementation of his proposal. We cannot ignore the rigid resistance to change described by Nathan Hare, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall and others who have taught in traditionally-oriented Negro colleges. It is ironic that these schools provide a good deal of the opposition to the Black University concept and the creation of Afro-American curricula. (It is additionally ironic that the administrators of "predominantly Negro" schools have now been forced to recognize that they have indeed a valuable commodity in their black professor, and although they are unable to compete with rich white schools for his services, they may now find it necessary to at least give him the same rewards they have traditionally given to their white professor.) I recognize that Professor Harding did not address himself specifically to this issue, but it comes up time and time again in a critical assessment of his proposed solutions, to which I now turn.

"Considering our sadly limited resources," Professor Harding states, "can there be more than a few really excellent programs of institutes of Afro-American Studies?" No doubt many of the premature black studies programs will fail if for no other reasons than a lack of qualified personnel to staff them and a lack of commitment on the part of white administrators to keep them in operation. This is a serious problem that demands a thoughtful and creative formula. We may quickly dismiss, therefore, the rhetorical suggestion that it might "make more sense to bring 50 black students to a black-oriented professor in the South than to take him away from his campus." As the institutions in the North

continue to enroll thousands of black students it would be physically impossible considering the limited space and resources of southern black schools, and financially unfeasible, to ship all of them, or even a majority of them, to the South. Only a small percentage of the total number of black students in the North would be able to take advantage of this opportunity. This would create a most unfortunate situation for those who are forced to remain.

Moreover, unless the receiving southern institutions are "black-oriented," we would be exposing the already "up-tight" northern black students to the traditionally-oriented Negro colleges which, as I emphasized above, have yet to acknowledge the legitimacy of black studies programs.

However, Professor Harding's suggestion of visiting professorships for southern black teachers in northern institutions is a feasible temporary solution to this problem. I emphasized the word "temporary" because I am convinced that even with such visiting professorships the demand for black professors far exceeds the available supply. And the gap will rapidly widen. It cannot be denied, however, that this suggestion would help to alleviate the pressure on white administrators and lessen their frantic search for permanent black professors. As a stop-gap solution then, the visiting professorship idea should be immediately implemented. An arrangement could be made with white institutions to hold a moratorium on the recruitment of permanent black faculty from the South in favor of visiting black professorships (with the proviso that these institutions be permitted to hire as permanent faculty those black professors who personally initiate such an appointment). I should think that if white administrators were assured of the participation of black faculty in this regard, they would be willing to cooperate.

In this connection, Professor Harding's recommendation that white institutions "make long term substantial [financial] investments in the black institutions" can be realistically entertained. More specifically, our historic experiences in this society should certainly make us aware that when men have to choose between protecting their own interests or preserving the interests of others, they almost invariably decide in favor of themselves. Altruism, regardless of how justified, rarely plays a major role in *important* decisions. Black people, in their interactions with whites, have painfully found this proposition to be universally true. Accordingly, in order to assure long term commitment, white institutions have to be made to recognize that they have a vested interest in financially supporting various endeavors in black institutions. For example, in return for an agreement to financially support research programs in certain black institutions, white institutions might receive the cooperation of black professors in accepting visiting professorships to staff their black

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THE BLACK UNIVERSITY: IN PERIL BEFORE BIRTH

BY RONALD DAVIS

“As we have seen so many promises swell and fail to gain the crucial burst needed for an overflow of success, I fear for the ebbing but yet unborn and contained Black University. Pray to all (Damballa first) that we do not fail this time”

DEAR Brother Harding:

The questions and concerns that you raised, although heavily weighted with ramifications for both our present and our future, have for too long eluded our attention. Thanks to you, they now command our attention. I find myself wanting to say: “how right you are!—about everything you said.” But your comments deserve more than that. I feel that we not only have to explain the thinking (or lack of it) and action which led up to the present state of affairs, but that we also have to offer something towards the resolution of our present difficulties and for the realization of our goal—the Black University.

While I do not wish to belabour or lengthen unnecessarily the points I wish to make in this response, I can see no way of adequately explaining what has occurred outside of recalling, somewhat in detail, the rather complex formation of events which preceded the present situation. I do hope that you will bear with me.

Near the end of August, 1968, I was visited by Brother Bill Moore, a representative from the Monterey Peninsula Black Community which is situated near the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California. Bro. Moore had come to inform me that the community he represented

was presently engaged in a struggle to get the University of California (which is committed to erecting some twenty colleges on the Santa Cruz campus) to devote the seventh college erected to the "teaching of the Black Experience." More specifically, they wished the college to be named the "College of Malcolm X" and be designed to reflect the heritage of the Afro-American people; its instructors to be of the Black Experience; degrees up to and including the Ph.D. to be awarded in Afro-American Studies; and a forum room, open to the people, to be built in the college as a center for the expression of the finest minds and talents of the people of color. I was further informed by Bro. Moore that the drive to obtain public support for the proposed college was already underway and that he was presently seeking the support of all Bay Area student groups. My response to the brother had been conditioned by several months of rather intensive thought and action on this and other like subjects. Much of this is also worth recalling.

For five years prior to the summer of Bro. Moore's visit, I had been active in Bay Area black student circles. First at San Francisco City College, and later at the University of California at Berkeley. Just as it should have been, we had protested everything at one time or another. Oppressive campus rules and regulations, meager black faculty, discrimination in athletics, American involvement in South African *apartheid* and in Rhodesia, the Vietnam War, the Draft, discrimination in admissions policy and the resulting small number of black students, all earned our contempt and verbal condemnation. There can be no doubt that all these were outrages before which we had to cry out. But once we had cried out, we returned to feeling vain and empty. We felt there had to be more that we could do, but were yet uncertain. Common landmarks and mutual outcries would soon bring us to the same neck of the woods, but at that time we were still trying to define ourselves; trying to delimit the scope, magnitude and horror of our circumstances. And things continued to crumble around us—making our path difficult to trod. The "Civil Rights Movement" folded, Malcolm was murdered, and the first "long hot summer" began to whisk away the people we wanted to save. Then, in 1965, SNCC was reborn black and many of us found new hope. This development was followed by a noticeable concern about reaction and some of us began to see what the other thing was that had to be done. Creative action began to take the place of reaction. Two Merritt College students (Bobby Seale and Huey Newton) left their campus and organized the Black Panther Party. The black students at San Francisco State went into the black community to organize and recruit. (They had already begun to develop black curriculum.) A handful of black students from the University of California went into East Oakland to work for Mark Comfort, a black radical who

was then running for the state assembly. We were all acting on the notion that protest alone would not suffice. It was clear to us that if we were to survive we would have to come forth with meaningful programs of action. We next entered a period in which there was much talk about—and general recognition of—what the “ultimate solution” would be. But there were (and still are) many thousands that we had to reach, train, and prepare for this inevitability. Thus the need for Black Studies loomed large and clear, and almost simultaneously, we responded to it. I should add that at this point, early 1968, our efforts to develop Black Studies, by and large, had not yet gained notoriety or been widely publicized. We were still thinking, talking, writing and organizing. However, one thing was clear to all concerned: if education was to play any part in our survival—it would have to undergo a radical qualitative change. We also realized that we would have to take it to some people while enabling others to come and get it. Thus, in nearly every set of demands for Black Studies there is language which deals with community participation and admissions policies. But there were (and still are) problems that remained unresolved. And this gets us almost back to Bro. Moore.

In June of 1968, the black students at the University of California, having conceptually developed a program of Black Studies the previous spring, began to cast around for someone to head-up the program. This effort greatly expanded our awareness of what was going on around the country. To begin with, we had made a self-defeating concession to our masters at the university. Reluctantly, we had agreed to try to find someone who by understanding and commitment would be palatable to us, and by credentials would be acceptable to the white university. This, of course, is a near irresolvable contradiction—a contradiction about which our worse fears and suspicion would later be confirmed. But, naively and foolishly, we tried. And, in the process, an even greater contradiction (the “real rub”) came to light. Again and again, everybody and anybody who had even the slightest commitment to what we had in mind, was either already committed to some place (school) or had too many offers to consider another one. When this was not the case, the person sought was usually grappling with what has emerged as the central issue that we face today, i.e., “will we be able to develop ONE worthwhile Black University if we all persist in our efforts to develop little ones all over the country?” I specifically recall one scholar’s lament that he had worked for the last several years with the hope of completing his degree and meeting with other scholars at some point of conversion to develop a black university. He was now being torn apart by offers, many of which were so lucrative that he was greatly distressed by having to reject them. But most of all, he was distressed

by a development which he felt would surely result in the dissolution of his dream of a Black University: the wholesale development of Black Studies programs throughout the North. It now appears that he was even more right than he thought. Anyway, as we continued in our search for someone to head up Black Studies at Berkeley, and found more and more people "unavailable," became clearer that black students throughout the North were mustering for a stampede in the direction of Black Studies. Indeed, as I look back, it appears that nothing could have stopped this. The black student "revolts" that occurred on the Northern white campuses in late 1968 and 1969 were in the breach long before Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered in April 1968. This is borne out by the "unavailability" of anyone who could relate to the action of Black Studies both before and after Dr. King was murdered. The stampede did not surprise us; we knew it was coming; we were just in no frame of mind to stop it. The events of the time may or may not have contributed to our inability to arrest our energies and change directions. But I am rather certain that no single event CAUSED our behavior. The overall causes are certainly of a more *ancien* (sic) character.



The basic problem, of course, was that this was no way to build a Black University, which was something most of us agreed should be done. Clearly we were being divided and scattered in as many directions as there are white northern colleges and universities. But we made no concerted move to check it. Instead, we all attempted to corner as much of the terribly limited black talent as we could and to out-strip one another in the development of Black Studies. Not everyone, however, was oblivious to what was happening.

A few people agreed that the most ideal setting for the Black University would be some southern "Negro" college with a surrounding metropolitan black community and a rural black community within reach. Those who favored this model imagined that such a community might, indeed, become the nucleus from which a black nation could spring. I should add that the proponents of this notion were not/are not unaware of the various ideological challenges to this concept. Not the least of these is the Bakunian argument that there should be no building of any kind until the present system of oppression is destroyed, to which proponents of nation-building respond that it is unlikely that this can

be done without some base of support which is controlled by the protagonists. This is, of course, a major question for those of us who favor the creation of a Black University and ought to be decided as soon as possible. But let me go on.

There have always been persons among us who have argued that no black program of any kind should be placed in white schools. The people who make this argument generally believe that we should be setting up schools in the black community. And there are really few people who do not agree that this should be done. The problem here is that there are obstacles involved which many of us feel we are not presently geared to handle. Foremost among these is the aggressive recruiting activities being conducted among our people by major colleges and universities all over the West Coast. Whereas we could match the aggression (which is still minimal), we are in no position to match the lucrative aid and assistance packages that they are handing out. And until we have done a sufficient amount of ground work, we will not be able to compete with the "name" and prestige of these institutions, no matter how unearned and unjustified these "names" and their prestige are. And this is not a fact to be scoffed at. Indeed, recent efforts to force these same colleges and universities to deal with our needs have been seriously hampered by the lack of participation by many students who refused to get involved because they were afraid that "their money" would be cut off or that they would lose the "opportunity" of attending "big name" schools that they had always aspired to attend. We don't like this, but the average "brother" is still more entranced by the notion of attending "Cal" than he is about attending any school that we could get together in the community. This is a problem to which I see no solution until we have begun to be more realistic in our assessment of it.

At Berkeley, we finally decided that the only way we could even hope to deal with this trend, and perhaps reverse the attraction syndrome of which so many students are victims, would be to set up some kind of black program that would act as a kind of "catch" mechanism. This is to say that we had no intention, at this point, of actually institutionalizing any Black Studies program in a white school. Instead, we hoped simply to have enough of a program to "catch" the minds and energies of those students who would surely come to Berkeley, and direct them to where they were really needed—the black community! We had no illusion that just getting black students into the black community was going to solve all—or any—of the problems there. On the contrary, we had actually experienced the fallacy of this notion. We had always encouraged students to go to the community and to offer service. Anytime we managed to get a few of them to actually do this, invariably the same problem would arise: they had no skills or experience that qualified them to deal

with the problems they found there. They were no different from the white social worker. All they did was remind the people that they had problems. But in most cases they could offer no solutions; they could render no positive service, and this turned the people off. So we were aware that we not only had to "catch" people and direct them to the community—we were also aware that we had to give them something to take there. This was our thinking about the "catch" action and Black Studies at the time.

Most important of all, perhaps, was that feature of our thinking on Black Studies which opposed its institutionalization. It was our belief that if such a program was institutionalized it would, at the same time, be de-radicalized and reduced to a purely academic experience. And we could see no good coming from an isolated, sterile dissection of the Black Experience. We refused to consider any program that would not have arms for action. Beyond this, our concerns centered around what happens to people who get caught-up in institutions. We imagined that it would be very easy for concern and enthusiasm to be replaced by indifference and complacency. We saw this as a real threat and made all kinds of arguments against it. We argued, for instance, that instructors working in the program should not be tenured. This, to us, was very important because we saw it killing two birds with one stone. First of all, a number of opportunists who valued the security and prestige of tenure would be discouraged from getting involved from the outset. And second, we would be able to purge the program from time to time of those influences which proved negative. We had not wanted to develop a program with any aspects of permanence. We wanted a program that we could pick up at any time, intact, and sit it down anywhere that we wished. And we were sure that we would have to do just that if the program effectively did what we wanted it to do.

I have bothered to call the occasion of Bro. Moore's visit and some of the thinking that preceded it from memory because it sheds a great deal of light on what we were thinking and what was happening on the eve of the great stampede. We can see by this, rather vividly, how sometimes when we begin to move we abort the ideals of our initial intent. So how did we respond, at that time, to the proposed "College of Malcolm X"? Watch.

Naturally, because of our commitment to the creation of a major Black University in the South and our belief that most northern programs should be of the "catch" type, we were predisposed to believing that the proposed "College of Malcolm X" was a bad idea. Objections were both primary and secondary. The latter centered around what appeared to some of us to be an insidious, even if unconscious, attempt to "legitimize Malcolm X. Our concern about this was based on an unusual

amount of emphasis—both in Bro. Moore's verbal explanation of the proposed college and in the literature written for its promotion—on the conclusions reached by Bro. Malcolm after his trip to Mecca. While we did not wish, in any way, to challenge those conclusions, we still found the amount of attention given them disconcerting. It was as if the entire bitter experience of Malcolm's life had been subordinated in importance to the assertion that "no one who knew him before and after his trip to Mecca could doubt that he had completely abandoned racism, separatism, and hatred." (Such as this never fails to strike me as being weird and specious. I mean, it is as if the problem of racism and hatred in America is primarily one of black racism and hatred and we therefore ought to rejoice when a black man abandons racism and hatred. Kind of reminds you of the common fallacy regarding violence in this country. "If we black folks weren't violent everything would be O.K.") It also occurred to us that any institutionalizing of Malcolm's name, based on such a premise, could only serve to reduce the impact of the revolutionary meaning and significance of his life. Further still, our reservations were enhanced by the subtle but unmistakable connection which was being drawn between this proposed undertaking and the philosophy of non-violence. Would-be patrons were being asked to sign a statement of support which began: "I wish to show proof, in the form of positive action, that I support *non-violent projects* that will give evidence to the black community that we are interested in them and are willing to accept their ideas on what is best for them—." It is possible that our comprehension of this statement was awry, but it appeared to us to clearly imply that the proposed college was expected—either through its realization or its function—to contribute to the perpetuation of non-violence. Our suspicion of this was greatly increased by Bro. Moore's verbal assertion that he believed the college would show "goodwill" on the part of whites. "That's fine," we thought, "if others wished to believe this," but we remained convinced that any effort to further non-violence or to show "goodwill" by exploiting the name of Malcolm X, who again and again cautioned us against trickery and taught that non-violence was suicidal, was both insulting and misleading. (I should like to make it clear that I am not attempting to take on the philosophy of non-violence here. That, indeed, is the subject of another argument.)

As I stated, we had other reservations of a more primary nature. To understand these it is necessary not to forget our stated commitment to the creation of a Black University. In our opinion, this was a commitment before which all other considerations having to do with the higher education of blacks should yield. In light of this, the proposed "College of Malcolm X", it was thought, would affect pre-maturely the develop-

(Continued on page 59)

Atlanta, Ga.

Institute of the Black World: Introduction

This official Memorial Center will . . . like Martin Luther King, emerge proudly out of the heart of the black experience in America, but it will address the experiences of all people, especially those who are broken and oppressed, those who desperately search for justice, liberation and peace. In all of its parts, the Memorial will attempt to meet with uncompromising insistence the problems and needs which face black people today. . . .

CORETTA SCOTT KING
Announcement of the
Martin Luther King Jr.
Memorial Center
January 15, 1969

In January 1970, a year after the widow of Martin Luther King Jr. officially announced the establishment of the Memorial Center for her late husband, ceremonies were held dedicating the Institute of the Black World. The director, of course, is Vincent Harding, professor of History at Spelman College. The Institute's purpose and structure are outlined on the following pages. In keeping with the Institute's principles and emphasis, the appeal goes out to the Black Community to support the Institute's projects, which include a library and a laboratory school for children, as well as research facilities. The Institute's first fellows included historians Lerone Bennett Jr., William Strickland and Sterling Stuckey, economist Robert Browne and sociologist Joyce Ladner. There are associates of the Institute throughout the Black World.

INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD

Statement of Purpose

The Institute of the Black World is a community of Black scholars, artists, teachers and organizers who are coming together in Atlanta under the aegis of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. (It is also a group of more than two dozen Associates of the Institute who are located in various parts of the hemisphere.)

The Institute of the Black World is a gathering of Black intellectuals who are convinced that the gifts of their minds are meant to be fully used in the service of the Black community. It is, therefore, an experiment with scholarship in the context of struggle.

Among our basic concerns and commitments is the determination to set our skills to a new understanding of the past, and future condition of the peoples of African descent, wherever they may be found, with an initial emphasis on the American experience. This seems the least that history, or the present—to say nothing of our children—would demand of those persons who lived the Black experience and have developed certain gifts of analysis, creativity and communication.

The Institute of the Black World in Atlanta is the second element of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center to be brought into being.

Its central thrust is towards the creation of an international center for Black Studies, with strong emphasis on research, broadly conceived.

Some persons have requested a statement from the Institute which would present its own rationale and its sense of direction in the creation of such a living institution. Fundamentally, of course, it is also a request for an *apologia* for our particular approach to a very thorny issue. A response to that appropriate request appears below:

Institute of the Black World: Basic Assumptions

The Institute of the Black World approaches the controversial and highly significant issue of Black Studies in America with five basic assumptions. They affect the character of all that we do and all that we plan to do in the arena of Black Studies. These are the assumptions:

1. That Black Studies is really a field still being born—in spite of all the discussion which seems to take for granted the existence of an agreed upon body of thought. This is not to deny the existence of significant, and often unappreciated work related to Black Studies which has already been done, but it does deny the fact that there is any clear understanding of the specific ways in which a profound mining of the black experience challenges and transforms the basic educational structures of the nation.
2. That the establishing and the defining of the field of Black Studies stand logically as a task and a challenge for black people in America and elsewhere. Others may be called upon for assistance, but the initiative must be ours.
3. That the Institute and its sister institutions of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center (and the Atlanta University complex) are in an excellent position to play a central role in defining the field and creating some of the models so urgently required. In this task, of course, we must find ways of combining the thought and activities of those black persons throughout the nation who are working at the Black Studies task, often in scattered and isolated situations.
4. That a unified, rather than a conventionally understood academic, discipline-bound approach to the creation of Black Studies is not only desirable but absolutely necessary. Indeed, this unified approach is central to the demands of most thoughtful black student and faculty groups across the country.
5. That a serious building of this field is the task of years and not a make-shift program for a few persons to do in several weeks or months.

Institute of the Black World: Basic Program Elements

Against this background of assumptions, the planning staff of the Institute of the Black World has been working towards tentative models for more than a year (benefiting of course, from the older hopes and dreams of such predecessors in Black Studies as W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles S. Johnson, Ralph Bunche and Alain Locke—to mention only a few). Already it has become apparent to us that several elements must be a part of any creative, well-structured approach to Black Studies. We have understandably sought to include them in our own planning. Among these elements are:

1. Serious research in many areas of historical and contemporary black existence which have either been ignored, or only superficially explored (*i.e.*, The Black Church and Its Theology, Comparative Black Urban Development in the New World, Comparative Slavery).
2. The encouragement of those creative artists who are searching for the meaning of a black aesthetic, who are now trying to define and build the basic ground out of which black creativity may flow in the arts. Encounter among these artists on the one hand, and scholars, activists, and students on the other, must be constant, in both formal and informal settings.
3. Continuous research on those contemporary political, economic and social policies which now shape the life of the black community in America and which determine its future. It is clearly necessary to develop a "think tank" operation which will bring together the many varieties of black approaches to struggle and existence in America. This must be done, of course, in a non-polemical, unpublicized black setting.
4. Constant experimentation with the meaning of Black Studies for the surrounding black community, and openness to the possible in-put from that community into the creation of Black Studies. The two-wayness of the experience is essential and must be encouraged.
5. The development of new materials for—and new approaches to—the teaching of the black experience, which must grow out of laboratory situations at every grade level.
6. The training of a constantly expanded cadre of persons deeply immersed in the materials, methods and spirit of Black Studies who can help supply the tremendous demands for personnel in a variety of formal and informal teaching environments.
7. The creation of consortium models which will make possible the constant interaction of black students and faculty on north-

ern and southern campuses around certain selected *foci* of Black Studies. This must also expand to the encouragement and development of contacts among black students, scholars, political leaders and artists from various parts of the world. For it is clear that Black Studies cannot really be developed unless we understand more fully both the unique and the common elements of our experiences in the black diaspora.

8. The gathering and consolidation of those library and archival resources which will facilitate the development of Black Studies as it proceeds towards definition.
9. The establishment of a publishing enterprise which will not only make available the results of the experimentation and study of the Institute, but which will also encourage that increasing number of authors and researchers who wish to present their work from the heart of a black matrix.
10. The gathering, cataloging and critical analysis of those black studies programs and personnel which have already developed across the nation, so that we may begin to gain a fuller sense of direction, possibilities and problems. This process began with a summer-long seminar in June, 1969, and will continue—with monthly seminars of Black Studies Directors and several larger working conferences—at least through the summer of 1971.

The Institute of the Black World sees all of these elements as crucial to the development of creative models for the kinds of Black Studies programs which will not be palliatives, but significant pathways to the redefinition of American education and of the Black Experience. These are, therefore, the elements which have guided us so far in the establishment of our own Institute.

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Chicago

In Chicago, movement toward the Black University is taking place on two fronts: both outside and inside the traditional public educational structure. The Communiversity, though drawing most of its staff and some of its students, from the established system of education, is completely independent and therefore free to divest itself of conventional approaches to education. Its policies and programs, consequently, are designed to deal directly with the problems of the community, with the all-important proviso that the people from the community participate in the generation and the execution of educational programs and approaches. Community cooperation is the keynote. The descriptive paper which follows on the next page, for example, was prepared by a representative group of staff members, parents and students. At the conclusion of their work, the paper's writers made the following statement:

"It would not be sufficient to conclude a proposal for AN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION without making some reference to the most fundamental aspect of this entire treatise: That an ideological seed can now find the nourishment to germinate to take root and grow—as only an ideology can emerge and grow—from out of the myths, out of the rituals, out of the symbols, out of the natural and rhythmical flow of the lifestyle of any people . . ."

Across town from the Communiversity, the Malcolm X Community College operates under very different conditions. The institution is only one of several similarly constituted units in the city's far-flung City College system, and it is, naturally, subject to the general regulations which control all the colleges in the system. Nevertheless, Malcolm X Community College is blessed with a strong and imaginative Black president, Charles G. Hurst Jr., a man who recognizes the ultimate futility of imposing on Black youngsters an educational format which was not created with their needs and prospects in mind, and he is proceeding to recreate—within the limits of his powers—a format which will serve the interests of the Black Community.

Together, the two educational institutions are bringing new hope to Black Chicago.

An Alternative Independent System

THE COMMUNIVERSITY

BY THE STAFF, STUDENTS AND PARENTS

Background:

A National Conference for Black teachers was held in Chicago in April, 1968. Educators came from all sections of the country and from all levels of educational involvement (from wayside rural classrooms to widely acclaimed and distinguished colleges and universities). The primary concern of those assembled was to become united around the causes and effects of crises in education and to recognize that the solutions to these problems could and would only come from Black educators who re-commit and re-dedicate their lives to these ends. A basic structure was put together, specific tasks were delegated and the word went forth that the newly-organized A.A.A.E. (Association of Afro-American Educators) would begin to deal with and search for all means to educate in the Black community, qualitatively.

In Atlanta, Georgia the following year (August 20-24, 1969), the guiding principles were clarified to express that, in order for a real and lasting educative process to have support and acceptance (legitima-

cy), it must have as its base the total involvement and total dictates of each LOCAL area or community. In order to achieve total involvement, with the entire Black community participating, the Madison Avenue style of executive management and hierarchal omnipotence had to be ruptured. This style of management was the cause of the initiation of the conference.

The Black Communiversity evolved from a month-long concentration on the historical evolution and development of the Black man-from-Africa through our present situation in America. During the month of February, 1969, in Chicago (Black Liberation North) many groups and individuals worked in unison to bring culturally-expressive programs to all segments of the Black community. The project was a success!

From out of this endeavor, a Black Congress was formed and from out of this Congress, a Black Communiversity came into being. Classes were scheduled, teachers volunteered and black students en-

rolled. At this time, over 400 students were involved in the curriculum . . .

The question, now, is that a strong demand has come forth to attempt to broaden the scope of the services that the Commiversity offers and to develop a structure that will envision and encompass the totality of the black community

—thereby, unifying all parts—as only an educative process can.

All education-oriented organizations or groups are being called upon to assist in the structuring of a more comprehensive educational system. Toward this end, a week-end conference has been planned for July 3, 4, and 5 in Chicago. The location will be announced later.



It is our intention to review briefly some alternatives to the present systems of education that have been set-up for us by suggesting a separate and independent system of education for colonized Blacks in America.

WHITE PEOPLE HAVE INSTITUTIONS WHILE BLACK PEOPLE HAVE INSTITUTIONALIZED LEADERS. (This paper could have been called: An alternative to Black Charismatic Leaders). You can kill a Black Charismatic leader, but how do you destroy the white institutions which produce Black Charismatic leaders? **AN ALTERNATIVE IS TO BUILD OUR OWN INSTITUTIONS.** Institutions are created to perpetuate the system that sets them up. Therefore, if a racist system creates institutions, the institutions must reflect racism. Understanding this one concept makes it very clear that all schools attended by Black people are doing exactly what they are supposed to do—perpetuate the idea of white superiority and Black inferiority. Even when some Blacks are led to believe they have reached Europeanization, they are rejected, because rejection devices for all non-whites are built into the institutions. Two of the most important things about institutions are: 1) they are self-perpetuating, and; 2) they *never* produce an alternative for outsiders.

Today, Black schools are structured so as to be both reactionary and repressive—to both Black teachers and Black students. Our new school system must serve as the instrument for Black resistance to white dominance, and as this immovable force propel Black people toward self-understanding and clear directions of goals. Our new schools must provide us with alternative solutions for arriving at our newly defined and newly-accepted goals—for our students and our teachers are our future!

It is within our new system of education that our children may receive

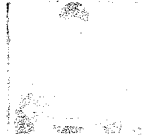
the assistance and acquire the stability to forge our new life-styles. This system must enable them to recognize, respect, resurrect and create new and positive images, for from out of this will come the rhythmic, dynamic, and future-oriented base for total and lasting access to power.

This new system will become established as the fundamental cornerstone upon which all other institutions will be solidly built. These new institutions will become our first line of **COLLECTIVE DEFENSE** against white cultural oppression.

Other educational institutions have withdrawn even their semblance of support for Black people . . . and we are left to build our own. This is a challenge but not an impossible dream when one considers the timeliness of this necessity and when one operates within the confines of a properly-changed frame of reference.

The basics are already present to begin to build. The last two decisive social groups (yet intact and caught up together), our students and our teachers (two strangers in a world unknown and to be explored), will create this new system of education—**WITH**, and not for, the Black Community.

Therefore, we suggest an independent educational system—totally accountable to the Black community and financed, supported and controlled by Black people.



THE PURPOSE OF AN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM

1. To help Black people (students, parents, professionals, *etc.*) understand what is being done to them and, at the same time, reveal to them the drama of everyday local, national and international events.
2. To help Black people understand the relationship of the Black colony in America to the white metropolitan society in America, by studying Euro-American colonialism.
3. To help the Black professional, who is confused and now stands helplessly by as the white colonial world—and—the Black resistance movement prepares to destroy him.
4. To help Black students, who are presently struggling without a proper frame of reference.
5. To help Black parents and their children, who shoulder the total weight of victimization and exploitation.
6. To help Black community organizations, which have attempted to

stand and serve as a bulwark, or retaining wall, between the white oppressor and the Black oppressed . . . To also help community organizations understand all methods of mobilization, to cope with the fundamentals of "true" and victorious resistance, to acquire all of the basics for Communal survival, and to become fully acquainted with a definitive difference between *organization* and *MOVEMENT*.

STEPS TO AN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

I. LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS

A. Identification and communication with local leaders

1. Identify, communicate and meet with organizational leaders or their representatives at an appointed time and place.
2. The purpose of the meeting should center around the possibilities of total community alliance (or, at least, total community cooperativeness and legitimization), strengthened by the membership of each individual group. All concerned should aim for a unified, tactical goal (independent system of education) which, in this case, will be the search for an answer to the problem of urban inner-city education.
3. The head of each organization, or his representative, should submit an oral synopsis of his organization's activities, goals, accomplishments and strategies.
4. An overview of views and concepts about an alternative system of education should be made. With sanction and a cooperative acceptance, from as many groups as possible and necessary, plans should be made for a citywide conference.

II. STUDENT GROUPS

The same or similar procedures as suggested for community organizations should be used. Contact existing Black student organizations in:

- A. High schools
- B. Universities
- C. Other educational institutions

III. PARENTS

The same procedure should be followed with parents, only parents should be organized within a given school district or specific school. ALL, however, should be invited to attend and participate. individually (until organized) or from any private or parochial parent-child school involvement.

IV. TEACHERS AND OTHER PROFESSIONALS

Teachers should be organized by school districts at the elementary, high school, or college level—public, private or parochial.

Other professionals should be organized according to the dictates of their particular field of endeavor and according to how their expertise can best be meshed with the total program.

Example:

Profession	Parents	Teachers	Students	Comm. Org.
MEDICAL	Community-wide orientation programs on all aspects of health and total survival techniques—via workshops and voluntary service conducted by medical professionals	Well-oriented, transferring adequately to students and parents and aid and assistance to students seeking Medical careers	Absorb and Observe and Transfer	Aid in the dissemination of all facts and material and implementation for facilities for massive Medical care.

V. PUTTING ON THE CONFERENCE (THIS IS HOW YOU DO IT)

A. An Ad-Hoc Committee on *Relevant Black Education*, which is composed of representatives of community organizations, parent groups, student groups, and professional groups, will host a citywide conference wherein the major or focal point of interest will be a unified approach to collective involvement in the need for an alternative system of education:

1. To identify the crises facing the Black community;
2. To prepare Black people, mentally and physically, to survive and to redirect human resources toward liberation of the Black community;
3. To create an independent Black System of Education, whose governing board—composed of parents, students, community organization representatives, professionals and residents of the community-at-large—will assist in both the establishment and implementation of policies that will be dictated by the needs and demands of the larger Black community.

B. Format (Workshops, Lectures and Discussions)


1. This conference will be concerned with the various aspects

(Continued on page 72)

MALCOLM X: A COMMUNITY COLLEGE WITH A NEW PERSPECTIVE

BY CHARLES G. HURST JR.

“ . . . Never losing sight of the individual, the contemporary educational institution must be concerned at all times with massive changes of social and economic conditions which may enhance the community's potential for successful self-determination . . . ”

HE deplorable state of public education in the United States leads to the conclusion that the future is bleak and unpromising for millions of Black Americans who are being told constantly that education is a ticket to freedom. To coin a term familiar to all in the Black Community, education in the United States from kindergarten through college is in a mess. From the standpoint of a community that is witness to the many failures of education to do what it claims as its job—namely educate—an insidious hypocrisy is being perpetrated, compounded by a callous white public that does not seem to care. Moreover, the Black Community is becoming painfully aware of the high level of undesirable waste occurring as more and more students emerge ill-fitted to serve themselves or society. The results may be seen through serious erosions in community confidence and a reluctance of the community to participate in educational programs that demean without teaching.

Recently released statistics by the Chicago Board of Education showing that attempts to teach reading are exercises in futility, even at the eleventh grade level, are carbon copies of those released sporadically

by Boards of Education in all parts of the United States. These statistics document the absolute inability of public school systems and programs as presently constituted to meet the urgent needs of a large majority of Black children and youth, and for that matter the needs of the poor generally, Black or white.

The over-all verbal level for eleventh grade students in Chicago is 20 percentile points below the national norm. The reading level for vast numbers of Black students in high schools such as Crane High School in Chicago is 40 points below the average, and only slightly better than the zero level—or complete illiteracy—at the eleventh and twelfth grades. Strangely and tragically, attempts to pinpoint responsibility for the failures of public schools expose one of the most sophisticated systems of buck-passing in existence. The end result is to place the blame on the student or, more insidiously, to recreate the myth of Black inferiority. Such practices are not only unfair, but also destructive as well. Simply as a matter of self-preservation, this country can no longer afford to permit the managers of education to miseducate or not to educate at all and to escape the consequences of their failures.

Hopefully, it is not too late for education to put its own house in order. But for this to happen, education must be willing to take a new view toward itself, the students, the community, the curriculum, and teaching practices.

To begin with, we in education can no longer hold ourselves above reproach for the failures we produce. We must be willing to readily admit that our record in urban education is a sad one with little, if anything, to recommend it or us. Further, we have lived too long on the records of the past and upon the achievement of a few who “make it” in spite of us, not because of us. Finally, we must face squarely the fact that many students get absolutely nothing out of their school experience. Even many who graduate are unable to read or write at a literate level.

We are obviously in an educational crisis—a crisis more subtle than a “hunger” crisis or “military” crisis, but a crisis nonetheless. The dangerous potentialities of the educational crisis are demonstrated through the anti-social behavior of many of education’s rejects and the fatal consequences ensuing from their attempts to survive in a world where the odds are stacked against them.

Anyone seriously interested in analyzing the etiology of the “crisis” must be well aware of the causes and of what we must do. Since 1945, our country has undergone almost unbelievably swift revolutions in science and technology, economic and political affairs, and demographic and social structures. But despite revolutionary advances that have made

travel to the moon a routine miracle, education in the United States has adapted to space age demands with lethargic reluctance. Five specific problems appear to be paramount:

1. The demands of a space age and computer paced society for the certifications provided by education.
2. The sharp increase in the number of people seeking an education, especially Black people.
3. The unwillingness of the society to meet the costs of mass education.
4. The inherent inertia of the educational system.
5. The inertia of the society itself and the racism that is so deeply embedded in every aspect of American life.



To meet challenges to the nation of current crises in domestic as well as foreign affairs, education will need—more than money—ideas, courage, determination, and a new will for self-appraisal reinforced by a will for creatively conceived change. As matters now stand, education has not shown either the ability or the willingness for searching self-criticism. Neither has it been able to seize opportunities for innovations that will help teachers achieve more in classrooms filled with distractions and angry students. It has failed to infuse the needed knowledge and methods required to meet the current crisis. While exhorting everyone to change, education has remained stubbornly resistant to innovation and new ideas.

In a larger sense, the crisis of education is the crisis of the greater society and, thus, it is the urgent concern of all citizens committed to the perservation of our present way of life. I firmly believe that the crisis of education in the Black community can be overcome. A critical self-analysis is a beginning; a re-education and sensitizing of teachers is a second step; a relevance and upgrading of curriculum is a third; an effort to truly involve the community in school affairs is a fourth; application of some new theories of teaching and learning, as suggested by repeated research findings, is a fifth; and a new responsiveness to conditions and to the people education purports to serve is the last I list here, but far from the last in possibilities, if education is to provide the answers we need so urgently.

Rather than faulting its critics who are engaged in an exercise of love and faith, the managers of education would do better to take stock

of education's obvious weaknesses and move to do something about them. Continuation of programs and techniques that do not work is wrong and a breach of public trust. The Black people of America deserve the best that education can produce, not the worst. Essentially, therefore, it is to the thousands of Black youths and disenfranchised adult poor to which a community college in an urban ghetto must address itself. The following statement of philosophy, representing the *raison d'être* of Malcolm X College, should make it abundantly clear how this can be done. Limits of space will not permit a full discussion of proposals for each educational level. Thus, the present paper must be limited to a delineation of *a relatively new kind of institution, the community college, that is serving as a reclamation center for the human problems created by callously inefficient public schools*. Yet, many of the principles and philosophies are basic to contemporary education at any level.

Malcolm X College is a concept of the future whose past is rooted in the enslavement of Black people. So pervasive is the heritage of slavery in this society that we must constantly struggle to keep from unconsciously allowing to develop at this institution situations which serve to enslave and to exploit rather than to develop and actualize human potential. The processes by which "ideal" slaves are made have been described as follows:

Step 1—" . . . establish and maintain strict discipline . . ."

Step 2—" . . . implant in the bondsmen themselves a consciousness of personal inferiority . . ."

Step 3—" . . . awe them with a sense of their master's enormous power . . ."

Step 4—" . . . persuade the bondsmen to take an interest in their master's enterprise and to accept his standards of good conduct . . ."

Step 5—" . . . impress them with their helplessness, to create in them a habit of perfect dependence upon their masters."

Clearly, if we do not wish to perpetuate the systematic psychological and social enslavement of Black people, we must develop, articulate, and practice counter mechanisms which will serve to liberate ourselves and our students. Such mechanisms as the following have been instituted at Malcolm X College:

Step 1—Discipline follows from a precise understanding of what must be done and why: it generates from within the individual and the group and is enforced by each individual in the group;

- Step 2—A deliberate effort is made to develop a capacity to master whatever one aspires to learn, to succeed in whatever one aspires to do;
- Step 3—Those in positions of authority endeavor to empower their colleagues and subordinates, teaching them how to use power for the good of all;
- Step 4—The enterprise is viewed as belonging to the people; specifically, to those people in the community who voluntarily express an interest in it—and hence, the standards, norms and values permeate from the base to the apex in terms of the kind of institution desired by the students and the community;
- Step 5—People are helped to help themselves—to learn from failures rather than seek to avoid them; to be honored more for having tried than for having succeeded.



The educational model to which we subscribe is built upon a different assumption about the nature of potential human ability than is typical of most educational institutions. While we recognize variation, we know that the ability potential of the average Black American is well beyond the normal demand level of the most rigorous academic programs and, hence, we justify a maximum social effort to develop the abilities of all people. Concomitantly, any failure to achieve high levels of performance constitutes a group (social) failure rather than an individual's failure.

We propose to educate our students for three goals: freedom, individuality and service:

(1) *FREEDOM* in a very general sense refers to a freedom from external constraint. Malcolm X College is characterized by free access to the resources of the institution, the city, the world. The role of staff and student body is to remove the obstacles which block the path of those seeking the more specific freedom defined as "the capability to deal creatively and effectively with one's situation." We take the position that in order to achieve positive freedom, students must be encouraged to actively and consciously attempt to utilize their personal resources, their life style, and their experiential background in the classroom. The student must become skilled at identifying needs, problems and issues which affect the nature and quality of life in his environment and then use them in his research. Hopefully, he will learn to relate his learning to the prob-

lems of his community, with a view toward ultimately finding solutions to the community's problems, as well as his own.

(2) *INDIVIDUALITY* cannot genuinely exist without the freedom described above. The thrust of this perspective is to resist any simple accounts of what a person "really" is or intends to become, and allows for distinction between one's *real* self and one's *apparent* self. The real self is, in our judgment, dynamic and expanding and defies *prima facie*, or merely quantitative, assessment. Individuality presupposes a social context and, yet, underscores the uniqueness of each person in that context. Our notion of individuality is characterized by built-in capacities (not necessarily apparent) for good which are inseparable from the good of the community and ultimately of all mankind.

(3) *SERVICE* involves being a contributing member of society by bringing one's unique resources to bear upon human problems, particularly the problems confronting the Black community. As with the others, this concept recognizes that the truly educated man is also a learned man; but more than that, he is one in whom learning is combined with an understanding of social injustice and a commitment to correcting it.

At Malcolm X College we reject the educational process which places didactic instruction at the core, and we propose that the time has come for us to control our zeal for imparting knowledge and skills and to concentrate our efforts on developing the individual student. By education for individual development, I mean a program consciously undertaken to promote such qualities as flexibility, creativity, openness to new experiences, responsibility, accountability, and commitment. Education no longer can be a *pouring into*; it must be a means of providing the climate and conditions in which the greatest possible development of potential can take place. Further, we reject organizational structures which tend to be paternalistic: "administrators and faculty know best, students know least." We propose organizational structures in which power is shared and the participation of all is guaranteed.

Finally, we must emphasize that Malcolm X College is a Black institution—one in which the educational services are designed to serve in a unique way the goals of Black people. As the community becomes more clear about the kind of society it is trying to build, we will design our educational programs to promote the Black agenda. There is emerging a degree of consensus among Black People that our educational system has to prepare our young people to play dynamic and constructive parts in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars or other material things, whether privately or publicly owned.

In essence, we believe that our kind of College, with a Black oriented

curriculum and philosophy, is in a unique position to deal both with the ills of our society and with the human consequences of its derelictions. As an integral part of the community itself, the institution can and must be creatively and flexibly responsive to the community's needs, as well as to those of the individual inhabitants. Where necessary, the College must serve as a catalytic agent to synthesize the varied components of the community into a viable force for liberation. Never losing sight of the individual, the contemporary educational institution must be concerned at all times with massive changes of social and economic conditions which may enhance the community's potential for successful self-determination.

Creative response to educational needs becomes, in consequence, only one, even if the most important, of the educational institution's responsibilities. Leadership, where there is a void, and unlimited supportive assistance, where there is a need, represent the basic tenets of a practical philosophy of commitment that views liberation of any oppressed people as the specific charge for all democratic institutions. If education can not participate enthusiastically in achieving this aim, it does not deserve to exist. Finally, if education does not begin to educate for the kind of humanness implicit in some of the foregoing paragraphs, education will cease to exist, a victim of its own inertia.*

"Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and people rediscover their identity and thereby increase self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today."

—Malcolm X

* I wish to acknowledge the contributions and inspiration of Staff and students at Malcolm X College.



Charles G. Hurst Jr., author of "Malcolm X: A Community College With A New Perspective," is president of the college he describes in the article. A former professor at Howard University in Washington, D. C., Dr. Hurst has brought to a tax-supported institution the revolutionary principles aimed at preparing Black people to deal with their *real* problems. He is a pioneer.

Mass Confusion

With his big bad self
Da chief pimps into da fort
To tell us dis:

“Trust White-eye. He ain’t all bad.”

So some of us in da fort drop our sneers
and stop sticking out our tongues at The Man.

Some bring their blondes down front
while others just grin cause they were right all the time.

“White-eyes will fight they daddies and stand shoulder
to shoulder with us.”

And some yawned and let the white-eyes play lookout for **them**

Pick their brains, too, did white-eyes,

and wake us all each morning to blue-eyed soul music
doing the fly Fly down the straight and true path of our hopes.

But it was Willie Wine

Who wasn’t fooled by their mojo

It was Willie Wine

Who knew that blood is thicker than Mao and bush.

It was Willie who pulled our coats early one morning

to the dust clouds dying on the horizon

and all the arms gone from da fort.

—JOHN McCLUSKEY
12/27/69

Durham, N. C.
Washington, D. C.

Charlie Cobb, one of the key organizers of the Center for Black education in Washington, D. C., makes it very clear that, in spirit, the Center for Black Education is the northernmost branch of the Malcolm X Black Liberation University in Durham, N. C. The men and women involved in operating the two educational units are in frequent contact, sharing information and ideas, as well as vision. Both schools have small, but steady and growing, numbers of students and competent dedicated instructors who, reversing the usual arrangement in the educational process, contribute a portion of their income from other sources to the running of the universities.

On the following pages are "position papers" clarifying the reasons for the establishment of the Black Universities in Durham and Washington and defining the universities' roles and relationships with the community of which they are a part.

Since the Center for Black Education began operations last October, some important changes in emphasis have taken place within the curriculum. To begin with, emphasis is placed less on curriculum than on work areas, thus heightening the community involvement character of the institution. Each student must do actual field work in whatever subject he is pursuing. Also, science and technology are emphasized over the humanities (Humanities have been consolidated into a required broad political education course), mathematics is required, and Saturday seminars focus on nation-building.

The Center's course of study is organized into four program areas: African World Reality; Communicative Skills; Culture and Consciousness; and Human Development.

MALCOLM X LIBERATION UNIVERSITY

BY CHUCK HOPKINS

"The over-riding purpose of the University is to provide a framework within which education can become relevant to the needs of Black people"

IN OCTOBER, 1969, in Durham, North Carolina, the Black community saw its dream of a relevant Black educational institution become a reality with the opening of Malcolm X Liberation University in an old warehouse which had been cleaned out and renovated. On the 25th of October, over 3,000 Black people from Durham and communities around the country gathered in front of the building site to listen to the dedication message of Sister Betty Shabazz, widow of Brother Malcolm X. Sister Betty charged the participants in the ceremonies and Black people around the world with the task of

organizing for Black unity and building for the Black Nation.

With the opening of the University have come several questions concerning the need for such a venture on the part of Black people. Why Malcolm X Liberation University? Why Durham, North Carolina? Why in 1969? In order for us to answer these questions, we must understand somewhat the political struggles of Black people in Durham, as well as in other communities around the country.

In the Spring of 1965 a concentrated effort was started in Durham to organize Black people to bring about better living conditions. The effort had two basic objectives:

1. The involvement of Black people in the decision-making apparatus of the local O.E.O. (Office of Economic Opportunity) poverty agency.

2. The creation of neighborhood organizations to press for improvement in such areas as the lack of traffic stop signs, playground equipment, street lights, *etc.*, in the Black community.

Initial organizing efforts proved quite successful. Neighborhood councils were formed. The community action agency granted representation to these groups. For a while it seemed as if the "democratic process" might actually work for Black people.

But the optimism was short-lived, for Black people ran into a brick wall when they pressed for more substantial changes, such as housing repairs, street paving, and public housing reforms.

When Black people met continuous opposition in their efforts to bring about change, the tone of the movement became more and more militant. The next two years saw important changes in the thinking of the community people. The neighborhood groups pressed for autonomy from the O.E.O. poverty agency. Tactics for change accelerated rapidly: petitions changed to pickets; picketing evolved into mass marches; mass meetings gave way to protests characterized by violent confrontations—all this in two years.

The militancy of the community drew the attention of Black students at Duke University and North Carolina Central University. In addition, links between the community and students were formed during a Summer Intern Program in 1968, in which Black college students from throughout North Carolina lived and organized in the neighborhoods. This involvement created a new atmosphere of co-

operation between Black college students and neighborhood people.

During this time, Black students at Duke University underwent some important ideological changes. They began to work more in the community and with the Black non-academic employees on campus. The students began to think and talk in terms of the critical question of the relevance of the entire educational process to the needs of the Black community. They concluded that the process as it exists is, in fact, irrelevant. Events on campus at this time began to move in rapid succession. There were a series of protests and confrontations which culminated in the students seizing the administration building and demanding that a Black Studies Program be established and controlled by Black people. Throughout these confrontations and protests, the students found that they had the strong, immediate and active support of the organized neighborhood groups. It was all of these ingredients, and of course, the subsequent refusal of Duke University to speak to the question of relevant Black education, which led the students and the community people to take a second look at their efforts. A simple truth was realized throughout the movement: that those who are oppressed cannot look to those who oppress them to deal in any way with the nature or source of the oppression. If Black people in Durham, North Carolina, wanted a rel-

evant educational institution, they would have to build it themselves.

It was decided that the next logical step was the development of Malcolm X Liberation University. Ideas for the University's development were obtained in a series of meetings with students, faculty, and Black people from communities throughout North Carolina. These meetings ended in the late Spring of 1969. At this point, an outline of the University had been developed which served as the base for its continued development.

During the summer months of 1969, a task force of former students headed by Brother Howard Fuller worked with the community people in Durham, and other Black people around the country, in order for the University to open in the fall.



So we can see that the answers to the above questions can be simplified thusly: Malcolm X Liberation University opened on October 25, 1969, in Durham because it was an idea whose time had come. It had come because of a logical progression of events which had occurred both in the Black community and on the campus of Duke University.

The overriding purpose of the University is to provide a framework within which education can become relevant to the needs of

Black people. Training at the University, therefore, is geared toward the analysis of the American system, and of all other institutions of colonizing societies, which serve the process of Black dehumanization. Beyond this, however, the University represents an attempt to develop a functional Black ideology, which will serve as a guideline for Black people and will further define and develop a program to build self-reliance.

It is the feeling of those at the University that if we are in fact serious about Black liberation, then we must be speaking ultimately of Black independence. And if we are speaking of Black independence, then we are speaking basically about these things:

1. The control by Black people of our goods and services;
2. The control by Black people of our consciousness;
3. The control by Black people of the mechanisms of force and violence.

Malcolm X Liberation University, then, is essentially concerned with the building of Black self-reliance in order to help bring about Black independence.

The curriculum of the university is broken into two sections, running for approximately 10 to 12 months each. The first section, broadly defined as the ideological and cultural part, includes five basic topics, plus physical development and language classes. The five topic areas are:

1. Independent African Civilization
2. Slavery
3. Colonialism
4. Neo-colonialism
5. Independent African World

Each of the areas is designed to provide the student with a knowledge of the historical, social, economic and political framework of Black existence both in this hemisphere and on the continent.

The second section of the curriculum is set up to give intensive training in some of the basic skills needed to build self-reliance for Black people. These skilled areas are:

1. Food scientists
2. Architects
3. Medics
4. Engineers
5. Black Expressionists
6. Teachers
7. Communications technicians

There are also community seminars which are offered weekly by students or instructors at the University.

The student body at Malcolm X Liberation University is made up of 40 regular day students and approximately 25 who attend the night seminars. These students represent a wide range of geographical areas from Massachusetts down the East Coast and into Mississippi. There is also a wide range in their educational backgrounds. Most of them have had some experience working in the Black community, organizing neighborhood problem

groups or organizing youth groups. Students with rural backgrounds have worked in such enterprises as co-ops and simple farming. Many of the students' backgrounds show that they dropped out or were asked to leave their former schools and colleges for political activism. Because of these varying backgrounds, innovative teaching and learning methods are of a necessity at the University.

The Malcolm X Liberation University experience is a young one still. There have been, and there are still, some difficult hurdles to overcome. But those who are attending and working with the University are very serious about Black liberation. This seriousness is reflected in a statement which was made public prior to the official opening by Howard Fuller, the main organizer and present head of the University:

"We view Malcolm X Liberation University as an integral part of the Black community; therefore, we will be involved in any activities affecting the community. . . . There will be neither guns nor drugs of any kind in the building . . . therefore, if this building is invaded by so-called law officers of a federal, state, or local variety on the pretext of looking for guns and dope, it will be just that—a pretext. . . . We will be about educating Black people. This building will serve as a base for that education. We will not take any invasion of it lightly. We will consider any

invasion as an act of aggression against our people and we will respond accordingly.”

Thus far, no response has been necessary. But the concept which the above statement embodies is always kept in the minds of the University participants. This concept is that in order to build institutions to bring about a better

future for Black people, we must be constantly aware of the present day forces which seek to blunt such efforts. We think that Malcolm X Liberation University will not be stopped, but we recognize the need for the spiritual as well as the physical support of Black people wherever we may be.



Chuck Hopkins, author of the report and position paper on the Malcolm X Liberation University, is Information Officer for the University.



Jihad Productions

Jihad Productions in Newark (the “New Ark”) has a number of publications available. Among them: *Afro-Arts Anthology*, featuring new work by **Ed Spriggs**, **Joseph White**, **Sonia Sanchez**, **David Henderson**, **Yusef Iman**, **Ameer Baraka**, **Ben Caldwell**, **Q. R. Hand**, **Larry Neal** and “anonymous yellers”; *Black Art*, new poems by **Ameer Baraka**; *Not Forever Tears*, poems by **Clarence Reed**; *Slave Ship*, a one-act play by **Ameer Baraka**; *Arm Yourself or Harm Yourself*, a play by **Ameer Baraka**; *Militant Preacher*, a one-act play by **Ben Caldwell**; *Praise the Lord, But Pass the Ammunition*, a play by **Yusef Iman**; *Something Black*, poems by **Yusef Iman**; *Black Revolutionary Songs*, by **Yusef Iman**; and a collection of posters. All the volumes listed above sell for \$1.00, except *Slave Ship*, which sells for \$1.25. Jihad Productions also rents the following films: *Black Spring*; *Dutchman*; and *The New-Ark*. Jihad recordings include the following: *Black and Beautiful*, an album (\$5.00); “Black and Beautiful,” a 45 rpm disc (\$1.00); *Sonny’s Time Now!*, an album (\$5.00); and *A Black Mass*, an album (\$5.00). Information on prices, etc., is available from Katibu at Jihad Productions, Box 663, Newark, N.J. The Spirit House Players and Movers are available for engagements by arrangement.

CENTER FOR BLACK EDUCATION

BY THE CENTER STAFF

“... The fundamental task before us is that of building a nation which will be responsive to the needs and interests of African peoples ...”



WITH the rape and penetration of the African continent by the Europeans, resulting in the destruction of African independence, the ability of African people to determine, establish, and control an education that functioned in their behalf was destroyed. A dependent relationship between African people and European people has since then been maintained in three areas:

- 1) they control our minds and instill white consciousness
- 2) they control the ability to provide goods and services (agriculture, health, industry, etc.)
- 3) they control the mechanisms of force and violence (from the local cops to NATO)

One of the results of this dependency has been the growth of

the assumption that the only valid and legitimate standards of well-being are those of white supremacy, white power, and white nationalism. White consciousness is always equated as human consciousness. Education is the primary instrument used to instill consciousness. The educational process that we are forced to undergo demands a commitment to white standards and values. It insists that we become white of mind if not white of skin, and that our commitment be to the assumptions, practices and priorities of white supremacy and white nationalism. This assumption is usually expressed in such phrases as “the struggle for equality.” Other examples include, “equal” employment, “equal” housing, “equal” pay, “equal” toilets, etc. This, of course, avoids the question of equal to what. This catechism of “equality” only addresses itself to the ever-changing specific manifestations of our oppression. It avoids the question of independence, maintaining that “America is my home”—contrary to all historical evidence.

The question for us is whether to be "equal" or to be free? To be dependent or to be independent? To be integrated or to be liberated? The history of the "equal rights" mode of struggle shows that this mode of struggle has only resulted in the maintenance of domination and the continuance of dependency. As "Justice" Roger B. Taney of the U. S. Supreme Court said in 1857, "The black man has no rights that a white man need respect."

We are an African people. As a people our struggle is one for independence. There are three stages in the struggle for independence: 1) self-reliance; 2) liberation; 3) independence.

Self-reliance is the condition of relying on our resources as a people in order to accomplish any number of specific tasks and responsibilities that contribute to our liberation and independence. This can mean, for example, the ability to develop our oil resources in Nigeria, our minds in a school in Washington, D. C., our bauxite in the Caribbean, our gold in South Africa, or our water resources in the Sahara. There are countless specifics. In essence, it means proceeding to utilize all of the skills that exist among our people. Self-reliance concretely begins to break the dependence forced upon us by Europeans for the last 500 years. It begins to consolidate the collective strength of our scattered nation and to focus this strength on the tasks of reclaiming our natural and hu-

man resources which will lead to our independence. The hand and mind begin to function in a liberated and liberating manner.

Independence is the ability to possess our minds and consciousness, the ability of our people to produce the goods and services necessary for the well-being of our people, and the ability to protect and defend what is ours.

We have said that the first step in our struggle for independence is to become self-reliant. A critical area in this regard is education. It is necessary that we begin to assume responsibility for our own education in order that we begin to determine what our interests are and what responsibilities we have to collectively assume. We cannot realistically expect the institutions and programs committed to white power to meaningfully commit themselves to the interests and priorities of African people.

We have the responsibility to begin to establish schools that function in the interests of African people. Such schools will:

- 1) outline a course of study that will develop the body, the mind, and scientific and technical skills that will be used in the interest of African people;
- 2) each member of the school will be expected to fulfill a teaching responsibility within the larger African community;
- 3) establish and encourage

standards and values that commit our people to the struggle for African independence.

In fact, the educational process undergone in this school will intensify the never-ending conflict of interest between European peoples and African peoples. It is not our intention to prove with this school, and others that will be established, that we are able to provide the credentials necessary to function comfortably within the framework of white America. It is not our intention to occupy students' minds with pass/fail or Ph.D.is-the-road-to-success delusions. We are not charting a route to mainstream America. As J. J. Jones has said, "Harvard and other freak factories has ruined more good niggers than bad whiskey."

This is the task before us: To teach the truth of our situation and what we must do.

- A) We are an African people. Our history has been that of an African people, and our future will be that of an African people.
- B) African people are at war with European people and have been for the last 500 years.
- C) The struggle of African people is for an African nation. While it is important that a number of battles for self-reliance be waged in the Americas by African people, we should always politi-

cally see those battles in relation to the struggle for an independent African continent.

- D) We must use our human resources for the development of the physical resources of Africa. We must use our political resources to advance the independence of Africa.
- E) In any society, education has two functions: 1) to carry on the culture and traditions of that society; and 2) to provide the skills and training necessary for the development of that society. Our education must function in this way, as an integral part of society, in the interest of the total society as opposed to the interest of the individual.

As a people, we are fragmented geographically (*e.g.*, we live in the U. S., Brazil, Caribbean, Senegal, Gambia, *etc.*), and we are fragmented in terms of our consciousness (*e.g.*, Afro-"American", Afro-"French", Afro-"Jewish", Afro-"Greek", *etc.* That is to say, we define ourselves and our interests within European frameworks). Given this fragmentation, we find ourselves in an indefensible position as a people at this point in our history. We *must forge* our fragmented people into a strong nation. As Edward Blyden said, "We need some African Power, some great center of the race where our physical, pecuniary, and intellectual

strength may be collected. We need some spot whence such an influence may go forth in behalf of the race. . . . We need to collect the scattered forces of the race, and there is no rallying ground more favorable than Africa.

“An African nationality is our great need. We should not content ourselves with living among other races simply by their permission or their endurance.”

Our school, therefore, begins to extricate our people from the American nation and focus them on the development of an African nation. This requires:

- 1) A knowledge of the African past and a commitment to the African future.
- 2) The development of the scientific and technical skills that will be important to the capacity to deal meaningfully with the resources within the African world.
- 3) The development of language skills (Important in order to communicate within the African world and also in order to broaden the range of available information).
- 4) Travel to the African continent, in particular, and, more generally, to the various parts of the African world.

- 5) That the educational process not be allowed to be contained within any single physical facility. There is a teaching responsibility to be directed towards meeting the educational needs of the community.
- 6) A special concern is given to the ways and means of communicating varying kinds and amounts of information within the African community; whether it be from Northwest Washington to Southeast Washington, or from New York to Nairobi, or from Texas to Trinidad.
- 7) Physical fitness and training be an important concern. We must understand that strength in body is as important as strength in mind, and that there is a relationship between the two.

Let us, finally, repeat that the fundamental task before us is that of building a nation which will be responsive to the needs and interests of all African peoples. We must begin now to integrate the vast body of skills that exist among African peoples into the work of nation-building. We must put our total being into this task, with total commitment to the establishment of independence for African people.



(For additional articles dealing with educational projects theories related to the Black University, see the index.)

Humor in Hue

By Morrie



"Ah thought he would be grateful for the advancement"

Perspectives

International Black Writers Conference

Non-American writers invited to the International Black Writers Conference scheduled for Fisk University April 16-19 include **Wole Soyinka** of Nigeria, **Bloke Modisane** of South Africa, **Aimé Césaire** of Martinique and **George Lamming** of Jamaica. **Shirley Graham**, the American-born widow of the late **W. E. B. Du Bois**, also has been invited, as has **Chester Himes**, the American novelist who now lives in Spain. Miss Graham makes her home in Cairo, Egypt. In addition to the above writers, some 50 writers now living in the United States have been invited. The Conference will be the largest and most important of its kind ever held. Additional information is available through **John O. Killens**, who is coordinating the Conference from New York, or from the Office of Information at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.



Publishing: The first book off the presses at Drum and Spear Press is a handsome reprint of **C.L.R. James' *A History of Pan-African Revolt*** (\$2.50). The book can be ordered directly from the press at 2001 11th Street in Washington, D.C. (20001) or it can be purchased at Black book stores across the country . . . In Chicago, the new Path Press made available a posthumous novel by **Frank London Brown**, author of *Trumbull Park*. The new work: *The Myth-Maker* (\$5.00). The company's second book is **Herman Gilbert's** novel, *The Uncertain Sound* (\$6.00). The address: 223 E. 79th Street . . . Still another precedent was set when **Gwendolyn Brooks**, one of the nation's most firmly established poets, selected the Detroit-based Broadside Press as publisher of her latest volume, *Riot*. The collaboration between poet and publisher was designed partly to make the book available at a reasonable price to the Black community. It sells for \$1.00 at Black book stores or at

Broadside Press, 12651 Old Mill Place in Detroit . . . In Chicago, Third World Press and Free Black Press continue to bring out inexpensive volumes by Black poets. On tap: collections by **Barbara Mahone** and **Sterling Plump** . . . Also in Chicago, the "veteran" Johnson Publishing Company is planning two editions of an anthology dedicated to Gwendolyn Brooks. There will be a "limited" hardcover edition of the book and a less expensive paperback edition. The book developed out of a December tribute to Miss Brooks at the Afro-Arts Theater. Dozens of writers contributed poems and pieces, and a number of out-of-town writers journeyed to Chicago for the occasion. Contributors will include **John O. Killens**, **Lerone Bennett Jr.**, **Sarah Webster Fabio**, **Larry Neal**, **Eugene Perkins**, **Sonia Sanchez** and **Margaret Burroughs**. Editors are **Patricia Brown**, **Don L. Lee** and **Francis Ward**. The idea of the book developed out of the Kuumba Workshop, under the direction of **Val**

Gray Ward . . . Historian **Benjamin Quarles' Black Abolitionists** (Oxford U. Press) has been issued in a paperback edition (\$1.95) . . . **Earl Anthony's Picking Up The Gun: A Report on the Black Panthers** (Dial, \$4.95) is the first black-authored book on the besieged Panthers. Mr.

Anthony was one of the members purged from the party in March 1969 . . . **John Oliver Killens** is author of the introduction to International Publishers' reprint of *An ABC of Color*, by the late **W.E.B. Du Bois**. The book's cover is by **Ollie Harrington**, the price \$1.35.



The Art Scene: The Studio Museum of Harlem's exhibition of traditional African masks, figures, musical instruments, jewelry, textiles and artifacts (also with some Africa-influenced Western art) will remain on view through April 19. The exhibition was organized with the cooperation of the Philadelphia Museum of Art . . . Over in Brooklyn, the Community Art Gallery faces a bleak future if its director, **Henri Ghent**, fails in his efforts to raise funds. The gallery is located in the Brooklyn Museum but is not included in the museum's annual budget. Since its establishment two years ago, the gallery has served non-professional artists and the community . . . **Dr. Richard A. Long**, director of the Center for African and African-American Studies at Atlanta University, is arranging an art exhibition in "Homage to Alain Locke," which will be presented in New York in May under the joint auspices of the United Negro College Fund and the Center for African and African-American Studies . . . In Baltimore, the Association of Black Arts/East presented its second annual art exhibition in conjunction with the Thirdworld Museum . . . In Chicago, original art work reproductions by six Black artists was featured by

Academy Arts, a division of Inter-craft Industries Corp., during the annual International Home Furnishings Market. The reproductions included pen-and-ink art, lithographs of pastels and pills, prints of original oils, and silk-screened graphics. The artists were **Yadundé, Don McIlvaine, Omar Loma, Clifford Lee, Sylvester Britton and Kush Bey** . . . The 1970 Black heritage calendar produced by the Du Sable Museum of African American History features Black artists—a sample sketch and a brief biography of the artists. The calendar was edited by **Margaret Burroughs**, executive director of the museum, and **Felicia Ford**, a museum staff member. It sells for \$1.65 per copy and \$11.50 for lots of 10. They are collectors' items. The museum is located at 3806 S. Michigan Ave. in Chicago . . . New York's prestigious Whitney Museum of American Art is planning an exhibition of the works of top Black artists for the 1970-71 season as a consequence of talks with the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition. The museum also agreed to establish a fund to purchase works by younger and less well known Black artists. Members of the Coalition were **Benny Andrews, Cliff Joseph, Reggie Gammon, Mahler Ryder and Henri Ghent**.

(Continued on page 94)



A History of Pan-African Revolt

The real truth of history is not expressed in descriptive accounts of historical events; rather, it is only conveyed in the meaning of historical action. Events occur by accident or at random, as well as by design. The everyday particulars of life do not add up neatly, but must be pieced together like a giant complex puzzle. In fact, one might think of a historian like a movie producer faced with the task of trying to present reality so that it is understandable, fits the facts, and conveys the essential meaning of the historical action. But the major difference is that between science and art, because the historian must submit to a validity test based on historical fact. In the end, the historian is a story-teller with the kind of understanding that enables him to capture the essence of historical forces in man's behavior, using a rigorous empirical methodology to gather the facts, and systematic theory to order and interpret the meaning of the facts.

The trust of the past decade of Black revolt has caused many Black people to question the historical validity of the reform orientation of the civil rights movement, integrationism. Malik Shabazz (Malcolm) guided us through the warm embrace of Black Nationalism into the vision of Black revolution. This historical vision is growing among all black people, people who are suffering colonial racist oppression all over the world. The colonial form of nationalism common to all Black peoples is being challenged once again by a

powerful international progressive force, the movement toward Pan-Africanism. This movement is based on the notion that Black people everywhere have common problems and need common solutions.

As is the case with every historical stage Black struggle has gone through, we have redefined our identity from Negro to Black, from Black to African. We now know ourselves for what we are; we are an African people. But we also know that this identity is only valid if it fits the historical action for Black people everywhere. We are forced by our own movement of struggle to raise the question of a Pan-African history. We need now to enter a serious period of analysis, of seeking to understand the history of our struggle so that we might wage it more effectively, more decisively, and more successfully.

This is the context within which we turn to *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Drum and Spear Press, \$2.50), by C.L.R. James as an important and challenging primer for our historical understanding of Pan-African action toward liberation. This is a valuable text for those who would move to reorganize their way of looking at the world and focus on a new Pan-African historical reality, a reality of revolt. We must come to this awareness, for then we can intelligently make historical decisions about our own action and our future direction.

This volume is a historical survey of nearly two centuries of African

liberation struggle against European colonization. It illustrates the types of revolt that African people have waged, spiced with interpretive comments to probe the meaning of the revolts. James writes "The African bruises and breaks himself against his bars in the interest of freedom wider than his own" (p. 100). Brother James has focused on the Pan-African revolt to demonstrate that world revolution of tomorrow is inextricably connected with the African struggle today. He is quick with insight, as a man who works within a clearly defined ideological framework, although he chooses not to clarify the theoretical notions guiding his analysis. This work is clearly a primer for historical understanding, because James limits himself to analysis by illustration rather than comprehensive coverage of all relevant events and actions.

There are several questions that must be raised in order to focus in on basic issues. The first question is about the meaning of Pan-African. After calling the U.N.I.A. "pitiable rubbish," Brother James says of Garvey: "He made the American Negro conscious of his African origin and created for the first time a feeling of international solidarity among Africans and people of African descent" (p. 82). But earlier he wrote of Black people in America: "There is no question here as in Africa of alien civilizations. The American Negro, in language, tradition, and culture is an American." Viewed after the revelation of the 1960's, we must question this conclusion because recent research has documented the viable cultural basis of a Black reality. African people are the same people all over this planet.

A second major question has to do with the study of Pan-African action. James suggests several important in-

gredients for this type of analysis. He clearly sees the need to analyze particular events within the life of the colonial nation, but carefully includes the necessity of examining the metropolitan country as well as Pan-African action within other colonial settings. He correctly places the revolt of Santo Domingo within the context of revolt in France, as well as the internal dynamics of the island, ". . . 1789 is a landmark in the history of Negro revolt in the West Indies. The only successful Negro revolt, the only successful slave revolt in history, had its roots in the French Revolution, and without the French Revolution its success would have been impossible." The early experience of slave revolt in the United States gives a good example of how Black struggle has been a part of the changing forms of western capitalism, how Black struggle in the Caribbean islands (*e.g.*, correspondence between Denmark Vesey and Haiti), and how the internal contradictions of western powers have been exploited by the slaves' need for support.

But it is clear that James is working with categories that have been generated by revolution in the West. He is concerned with how closely the African basis of social organization for struggle approximates the European proletariat, or merely the extension of a native bourgeoisie. This question is central to what constitutes the correct road to revolution, according to what James calls "fundamental laws of revolution." James appears not to be totally restricted by ideological doctrine, and suggests that so long as something is organized for the people against their oppression, to that extent it is progressive. He suggests that whatever Black organization can articulate concrete grievances of the people, demands

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Fiction

SKETCH IN BLUE



What went on around 18th and Wash had nothing to do with Boy Scouting, and old red-conked Jake was the kind of cop who preferred Boy Scouts

BY E. VAN HIGGS

WE HAD just finished a bottle of white port and kool-aid in a dark corner of a hallway and moved out onto the baseball field.

“Do it to me one time!” Cody sped the ball toward me. My palms burned as the cowhide slammed against my skin. I quickly stepped forward and fired the ball to Juicy at first. He whupped it to Cheetah at the mound.

Blue stepped up to the plate and

swung the bat slicing the air super-sonic-like.

“Lemme see duh mutha, bout heah!” He indicated chest high.

Blue wuz a hulking mass of blue-black flesh who dipped low on the right side as he slewfooted it on down the street. He wuz an expert at baseball and head whupping. And he wuz no shortstop. Being with the nigga wuz a mixture of fear and love. He wuz walking terror. I dont know how many heads he whupped other than mine, but

his reputation tramped in front of and behind him.

I remember one night we wuz at the Roller Derby and Blue wuz high. He turned to me. "Buy me sum pop, youngblood!"

"Gimme duh money!" I wuz frontin to see how far I could go. And anyway it wuz better to get yo head whupped than to suck ass.

"My money is in yo pocket," Blue run back.

"If it is, it gon stay dere too," wuz *my* rap.

All the other dudes had been watchin the game, but when the conversation started to lead to some serious raps, the other dudes jumped in and started to push the stuff.

"I know lil Willie aint gon take dat," Tutti dropped in.

"What you got tuh do wit it half-white nigga?" I screamed on Tutti to throw things away from myself.

At that moment one of the female Westerners hit the floor and slid off the rink. The crowd roared. The humor of the moment saved me, for Blue along with the crowd wuz crackin up as the skater kept losin her footin at the edge of the rink. Blue wuz in such a happy thang that he put off my whuppin for the moment.

After the game we slid down Wabash, headin south, looking for some drunks to roll. We were almost at Eighteenth Street when we heard a familiar voice. "Hey!"

We looked on the other side of the street and saw Jake. He sat in his dingy grey Ford. Jake wuz a

red conk-head nigga who served as Youth Officer. He seldom missed an opportunity to send us through changes.

"Cmon ovah heah!"

"We wuz goin home!"

"I didnt ask you where you wuz goin, git ovah heah to duh cah!"

We checked the traffic and trotted across the street to the car.

"Where you goin?"

"We wuz goin home," Tutti answered.

"Where you comin from."

"We just left the Derby, heahs a program and a pennant."

"You stole em, huh?"

"Naw I bought dese," I said.

"Yeah, well git yo asses on home befo I catch you wrong and start hangin my foot in em!"

We started away from the car feeling relieved that Jake had let us slide, even though we hadnt done nothing.

"Cmere boy!" Jake yelled flashin his spot on Blue. Blue drug over to the car. We stopped and waited.

"I didnt call all yall, but if you got sum bisness back heah JUST WAIT THERE!" Spit sprayed through his yellow teeth.

We moved on down the street lookin back cautiously.

Blue leaned over to talk to Jake; his head wuz lost to us inside the car. We heard a loud thud and saw Blues body tremble with pain. We knew that Jake had pulled off his specialty. Tell you to put your head in the car; hit his electric window button letting the window up on your neck; he would then tell you

to take your head out when he finished talking and when you couldn't he'd club you in the head with his blackjack or his fist depending on his mood.

Blue rejoined us rubbing his head, "That muthafucka gon git his ASS kilt!" We nodded in agreement. I had no strong love for Blue, but we were in total agreement on Jake.

At the plate Blue stood in a stance that wuz something between Ruth, Mays, and Bushman. His sweaty charcoal-blue muscles rippled as he gripped the bat and waved/swung it on some practice swings. The crack of the bat split the air when he connected with the ball.

"Dont hit on the trademark, Monkey," somebody'd yell from the side.

"Tell it to yo Granmamma's man!" he'd snarl over his shoulder. Home-runs wuz an automatic thang for Blue. We used to say the nigga gotta hit a home run, cause he so slewfoot he caint walk, know he caint run.

"Hey Blue, Hey Blue," voices rung from a window of a building near the baseball lot. "Cmere." The voices belonged to two of the Archer Captivators, Duck and Bunky.

"You cmon down heah if you wanna see me," Blue yelled back at the window.

The Archer Captivators were so-called because they usually met at the triangle formed with Archer Avenue's diagonal cut through

Wentworth Avenue. The other base of the triangle was formed by a dirt road, Dearborn Street. At the Dearborn base stood the Archer building, a huge dirty rusted structure that had stood at least three quarters of a century. It wuz four stories and housed anywhere from four to five hundred people. The odd shape of the triangle building created long hallways which were seldom lighted by anything other than daylight dashed through the dirty, sometimes paneless, windows or trickles of light that crawled from over/under the apartment doors. The first floor contained two store-front churches, one penny candy store, one auto supply store, one gypsy fortune teller, and one herb and sacraments store that doubled as a policy station. Duck and Bunky were standing in front of the building when Blue got there followed by we hanger-on-ers.



"What you dudes up to?" Duck pulled a small shiney blue steel revolver from under his shirt.

"Check this out, nigga," as he handed the gun to Blue. Blue carefully checked out the piece as we peeped for the man.

"Where'd you cop?"

Duck spoke with a grip, "I copped from Warshawsky last night."

"Did you git any dough?" Blue licked his lips as he asked.

"Naw, the cash draw wuz clean, but sumbody musta forgot duh piece."

"I guess sumbody lef you a birth-day present Duck," Bunky grinned.

"Lets celebrate yo birthday," Blue said, pointing the gun at the feet of us young dudes who had been standing around.

"All right lil niggas, lets see you dance."

We jumped up and down hoping the crazy nigga wouldn't shoot, cause we knew he would, with no sweat.

"Gimme duh gun fo duh poleece bust alla us!" Bunky rapped. "I'll stash the mutha at my crib."

Blue took one last look at the blue steel death-dealer and handed it to Bunky who moved quickly back into the darkness of the hallway.

"How old you Duck?"

"Eighteen."

"Lets whup a nigga eighteen times for yo birthday," Blue suggested. Duck nodded and looked away for a stick. A piece of two-by-four lay in the dusty road. Behind him. He walked over and picked it up.

"I guess this'll do."

At that moment two young white boys came into view. They were heading south on Wentworth Avenue.

"Who dem white boys?" somebody asked.

"Dey aint from duh hood," Tutti said. "Les gitem."

When they noticed that we were near them, they started to run. The railroad embankment made escape difficult, if not impossible. One of them outdistanced us and made the corner. He stood there at the corner watching us quiz and hold his friend.

"Please let me go, I didnt do anything to youse guys."

"Today yo birthday, hunky," Blue shouted.

"It's not my birthday," the white boy said with puzzlement in his voice.

"It might as well be, cause we gon beat yo ass wit this stick."

Juicy and Cheetah held him while Blue started to slam the two-by-four into the seat of the squirming boy's pants.

"You dirty Black Bastards!!!", he screamed.

Tutti's fist caught him in the "bastards" that screamed from his lips. Blood and spit flew.

During the whole thing I was sooo happy that these boys had happened along at the right moment. Almost a miracle. I decided that the moment was a good time to vacate the scene while the white boy wuz the brunt of the hostility.



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studies departments. From the black colleges' point of view, such an arrangement would be healthier since it would eliminate the patronizing and condescension which invariably accompanies unilateral white donations or gifts.

Although the above suggestions would help preserve the black institutions and alleviate some of the pressure on white institutions to recruit permanent black faculty, the long range problem in regard to the shortage of black faculty still remains. Therefore, we may take a critical look at Professor Harding's suggestion that Afro-American institutes to train future teachers of black studies programs should be organized on black campuses.

Professor Harding is correct in asserting that the Atlanta University Center has the potential manpower and resources to become the model for such a training institute. Colleges and foundations around the country would be well advised to make substantial financial investments in helping to organize and fully staff an institute which is designed to provide a significant percentage of the future teachers of black studies. However, I seriously question whether more than a handful of black institutions could launch an institute that would even remotely approximate the Atlanta University Center model.

Since an overwhelming majority of major colleges or universities (and also a significant number of minor ones, including junior colleges) are establishing or contemplating the establishment of black studies programs, the demand for black faculty will reach extreme proportions. I am not convinced that the concentration of good graduate programs on a few well-equipped (in terms of staff, library resources, *etc.*) black campuses will ultimately satisfy this demand. We need only consider the fact that even with hundreds of graduate training programs in other disciplines, *e.g.* Sociology, English, *etc.*, the supply of college teachers is still limited. It is therefore inevitable, if a black studies program is to become a permanent fixture in our academic curricula, that graduate training centers also be organized at appropriate white institutions. I acknowledge that we run the risk of jeopardizing the integrity of black studies graduate departments by establishing them on white campuses, but I think that there are ways of reducing such risks. The most appropriate way would be to press that a black professor head each of these graduate institutes to insure that the black experience is meaningfully incorporated. He would, among other things, organize the curricula and

screen out those professors, white or black, who do not have the proper orientation. I recognize that this suggestion further complicates problems of the already acute shortage of black professors and might increase the black brain drain from southern colleges, but we could still retain the idea of the visiting professorship for the non-headship positions in these graduate training institutes and recruit black professors from northern institutions for the headship positions.

Finally, in regard to the recruitment of black students, Professor Harding's proposal of a consortium is a good one. However, certain qualifications should be introduced. Considering the fact that tens of thousands of black students in the North will be attending college as a result of the accelerated recruitment campaign, the consortium model could not be instituted across the board. If all black students were confronted with this proposal and a substantial percentage decided to spend three of their four years at a black institution, where could we conceivably find the space to accommodate them? This question is very appropriately applied to the massive recruitment efforts of some large state universities that could enroll, say, 500 black students with little or no difficulty. It might be wise, therefore, to restrict the consortium idea to small white private schools and black colleges. For example, a school like Morehouse College in cooperation with Amherst College, could accept 50 students who decide to spend three of their four years on the Morehouse campus, but it would not have the space to accommodate the 700 black students who were enrolled in the fall of 1969 at San Fernando Valley State College in California. Moreover, recruitment programs organized by state institutions are generally based on state funds, and their use and distribution have certain built-in limitations; northern private colleges, on the other hand, could easily take their funds and finance a student's three-year stay at a black institution. Furthermore, it would appear that the most successful programs of this nature would be those that involved southern schools with a black orientation and white schools with Afro-American curricula. In short, the consortium idea, although a good one, has limited application.

One last comment. There is some indication that black students at a few white institutions are pressing for the establishment of separate branches of their respective institutions in the black community. These divisions, they argue, should be designed to meet the needs of the black community and should be financed by their white institution and organized and controlled by black students. It could very well be that the next chapter in our tense struggle will be a move from the scholar-oriented black studies program on white campuses to a community-oriented Black University. Accordingly, rather than undermining the concept of the Black University, as Professor Harding suggests, it is

quite possible that the proliferation of black studies programs could, in the long run, contribute to its ultimate realization.



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In Peril—

(Continued from page 18)

ment of the Black University. This made all kinds of sense when we considered such things as: our limited resources—human material—the distribution of the black population, and the most fertile site(s) for the Black University. As I have already stated, rightly or wrongly, many of us agreed that the Black University—at least the mother campus—would be best situated in the South. Assuming that there were others who would agree with this (again, rightly or wrongly), we naturally balked at what sounded like a major development outside of the South. We could not help but view any such development as being premature. We were also concerned about what appeared to us to be a purely "academic" approach to the many problems of the people of color. Neither could we overlook the fact that the college would ultimately be controlled by whites, as it was to be part of a white university which is controlled by a racist board of regents and a reactionary governor. Even more disturbing to us was the fact that the college would be at Santa Cruz, which is certainly not an area with any significant number of black people

relative to other areas in California, and at the time of the proposal, there were less than a dozen black students on the Santa Cruz campus. We couldn't buy the "College of Malcolm X" but, unknowingly, we were getting ready to stake our lives on another bill of goods.

I now recall how some of us shivered with fear for the Black University when the Santa Cruz people spoke of setting a "national example." Perhaps some expert on mass psychology can tell us how, ironically, even those of us who opposed such developments and had perceived some of the dangers would soon come to speak the same language. Less than three months went by after Bro. Moore's visit before the cry of "Black Studies, now!" was raised across the land. Many of us who had been the opposition found ourselves leading the charge.

In Berkeley, after nine months of fruitless negotiations over our "catch" action, we issued an ultimatum in January. For several months prior to the ultimatum, Asian students, Chicago students and Native American students had been engaged in a crash effort to develop their own programs. These were nearing completion when the ultimatum was issued. When it became clear that we would have to go down—and that the other groups would probably have to do the same at some future date—we joined hands and asked for a Third World College to house the four programs. It might be said that our "catch" action died a natural death, but the memory of the "College of Malcolm X" and our response to it three months earlier was/is extremely painful. **CONSTANT VIGILANCE! CONSTANT VIGILANCE!**

Now, Brother Harding, I must attempt to deal with your letter more directly.

I too believe that some of our actions have placed us in bad company. In trying to assess what might have been our greatest mistake, I seem unable to avoid thinking that it was to assume that every white school, which had even the smallest number of black students, ought to have Black Studies. Most white schools will never make a **WORKABLE** adjustment to such programs. Still, more of them simply do not deserve such programs. But I'm getting ahead of myself. This is something that I should return to.

All black students are not interested in Black Studies—let alone a Black University. "*Au Naturels*", *dashikis* and *bubas* have caused us to become presumptuous. Traditional motives for going to college are still very much alive. The students want "in", and college is still the gateway. When they came in different attire and coiffured differently, many of us assumed that they wanted out. For the most part—we were wrong. But it is true that you can never fool everybody. In this case it was mainly the so-called Negro teachers who were not fooled. They seemed to recognize immediately the difference between a change in style and a

change in motive. The new black thing was clearly a case involving a change of style and the so-called Negro teachers recognized this. One might think that they would have immediately called a conference (as they so hurriedly have for a thousand other reasons) to warn the students that they were dealing with style instead of substance. But no, for obvious reasons this was not in the cards. What did occur instead was that—PRESTO!—hundreds of so-called Negro teachers suddenly became BLACK INSTRUCTORS. Out the window went Murray's, Tuxedo, Royal Crown and straightening combs. The *buba* business had a new market; books dealing AROUND black folks were rushed into print; course outlines were developed (others were borrowed, sold or stolen); and letters and circulars carried the good tidings of JOBS FOR BLACK INSTRUCTORS! ! The students were told to "keep on pushin'." When schools were not sending out such letters and circulars, various other "programs" were. The entire country is now literally crawling with "black programs." And everywhere the end result is division and confusion. But we face an even greater danger.



What must be one of the greatest dangers we now face—if not THE greatest danger—is the obvious creation of a class of opportunists who are determined to make off Black Studies what Texas millionaires have made off oil. In common parlance, I would call them "hustlers." Like the story of the ship at sea without fresh water, we are fast approaching a situation where there will be "black experts" everywhere and not a drop of expertise. This, Brother Harding, is what many of us are presently "in league" with. And it is a league that we must break with very soon if we are ever to have our own.

On many occasions the central issue in our struggles with white administrators has been that of "autonomy." And in most cases we have not gotten it, although in many cases they have acquiesced in such a manner as to offer the illusion that we have gotten it. This is of the utmost importance in assessing fully the danger of the aforementioned problem. Because we do not have autonomy over the "programs" we are creating, quite often when we discover that we have a "dud" on our hands (which may be the whole program or someone in it) we are unable to get rid of it/them. This, of course, is very risky monster-making and has considerably stiffened the demand for "self determination."

There is yet another unseen danger in trying to operate without the

power to purge when necessary. Quite often we do not really know the people we bring in to teach and administer us. If no struggle occurs which calls for a demonstration of their commitment, it is safe to assume that we never really know where they are. Alas, in many cases when struggle has occurred, more often than not, we have discovered that our **BLACK AND THIRD WORLD INSTRUCTORS** were on the other side. At best, they were for themselves. (This was graphically illustrated during the strike at Berkeley when only **SIX** Third World faculty and administrators out of approximately **SEVENTY-FIVE** would agree to go on strike when we asked them to. Of course, there were all kinds of reasons why they couldn't, many of which could have been offered by the students who were on the line. But then it's O.K. if students get offed. They should "keep on pushin'" so that faculty and administrative people can continue to multiply and give credence to the lie.) But I really didn't wish to get into all this. I only meant to say that we have learned that it is extremely dangerous to act as the head of a house when you can't bring people in or put them out when it comes to that point. I should like to suggest right here that one simple way of dealing with this problem—while checking the over-all shotgun approach to the development of Black Studies—would be to rule out from the "git go" any development of Black Studies in those institutions where we are unable to gain the autonomy necessary to control them. I fear if we fail to do this now we shall all suffer for it later. But the total solution of this problem calls for more than one move. The other moves, I feel, represent a partial response to your questions regarding our sense of vocation.

As is clearly borne out by the problems we face regarding "programs" and personnel, there is an urgent need for us to begin to identify both faculty and students who have a serious, long term, vocational interest in developing a Black University and getting them to work on it immediately. If successfully carried out, this alone would probably kill two-thirds of the non-functional Black Studies programs in the country. Somehow, at some time, we have got to make it clear that Black Studies is not a mere cultural phenomenon which one relates to by parading around in the latest nationalist garb and talking bad. Sooner or later, there just has to be a parting of the ways between those who just want to be "in" (either the "thing" or the "know") and those who want to aid in our liberation through education. We are simply no good for one another! It will also have to be made clear that Black Studies has not come about to guarantee jive-time, boogaloo, opportunistic students degrees by padding their grades. At present, there is an immense amount of outright "shuckin' and jivin'," *i.e.*, students expecting grades of excellent for writing papers which, in essence, say only, "I've got my shit together" (which is doubtful) or "I'm doing my thang." Others expect good

grades for simply reaffirming the fact that "whitey is doing his thang." This is not the way to liberation and I think we should stop letting people believe that it is. Students who want to play football, basketball, go to Europe, become stockbrokers, get into the movies, become "black capitalists" or playboy bunnies, should be taught/warned and left alone. Most certainly, they should be identified. We have committed some regrettable mistakes because we failed to identify them in the past. Many of us saw them walking around looking "militant" and felt compelled to create campus "revolts" in their behalf. This was certainly not the least of our mistakes. But let me move on.

I had hoped that I could deal with the questions that you raised at the end of your letter in the order that you raised them. However, as I have attempted to respond to—rather than just answer—your letter, a large part of the order has already been pre-empted. But I will, at this point, attempt to go beyond the body of your letter to those numbered questions that remain. You will, I hope, permit me one exception: questions numbered 5. I see no way to proceed without first dealing with these.

Clearly, there cannot be more than a few really excellent programs in Afro-American Studies in this country. The scarcity of our resources leaves no doubt about this. (Take, for example, what is happening in Northern California: in the San Francisco Bay and surrounding area there are some 20 major and minor colleges and universities. All of these are presently in the process of developing Black and/or Ethnic Studies programs. Really! I can think of only a dozen or so black instructors who may have more than an elementary understanding of what is actually meant by Black Studies. Of these, I can think of less than half a dozen who have demonstrated or expressed any genuine interest in developing a Black University. Further still, if we started to speak of less than \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year in salary I would be afraid to bank on more than three of these. On the brighter side, if we can call it that, the situation is somewhat better with concerned students. But this glimmer too is dulled when you consider the task at hand: the development of some 20 college programs, not to mention the demands being made by local and surrounding high schools.) Given these circumstances, not only in California but across the nation, it is easy to appreciate the absurdity of trying to develop Black Studies at random. But even if this could be done, it would be certain to weaken, if not totally dispel, any effort to develop one or two major programs anywhere. So the question of where such programs should be developed becomes key.

Perhaps, for a change, we are actually in need of a conference to decide where we should or should not attempt to develop Black Studies. And if such a conference were to be called, it should be made clear to all concerned that the purpose of the conference would be to bring together

all of those persons who are not only concerned—but WHO WISH TO DEVOTE THEIR ENERGIES TO THE CREATION of a Black University. If this is not done and we bring an amorphous group of people together to discuss black education in general, we run the familiar and often catastrophic risk of lapsing into needless oration and generalities. This is not to say that we do not need or appreciate the support that we presently have—only that someone must actually do the work.

Now, something is implied here which ought to be dealt with. What is implied is that some differentiation is being made between black education in general and the Black University. In my opinion, this is a necessary differentiation. It is my understanding that we who wish to work towards the development of a Black University are not saying that we wish to dictate or control everything educational that has to do with black people. Instead, we are simply saying that we believe that there should be a Black University. In other words, I do not believe that we are implying that no school other than the Black University should attempt to have its curriculum reflect the presence of black people. Indeed, I think we all agree that this should be done. I think, however, that we ought to be saying to our own people that any MAJOR program developed should, in some way, be either directly related to, or at least complimentary to, the development of the Black University. Otherwise, such programs are bound to do a disservice to the Black University by contributing to our already disturbing state of diaspora.

Once we have decided where the mother campus of the Black University is going to be, I can see no difficulty in then determining where other programs should be developed.

You raised the question (1) of how you, our brothers in the South, might be of the greatest help to us in the North; how much of your energies should be spent in consulting and lecturing in the North at our request when you have so much business to take care of down there? I am tempted to answer this question by saying that you should do nothing with respect to the North—just continue to do your thing “down there.” But that would be too blatant an expression of my bias for what you are doing there as opposed to what we have gotten involved with here. Then, too, there are some things that you can do for us without adversely affecting what you are doing there. First of all, you can help all of us by using your influence and ideas with other sincere black educators to help us form some kind of an accrediting association to deal in the area of Black or Afro-American Studies. It seems our only chance of insuring some degree of integrity when so many things are happening. I think we could also expect such an association to be able to determine which programs (schools) in the North are worthy of your attention (visits, consultation, lectures, *etc.*) and which ones are

not. (The National Association of African-American Educators should facilitate an easy start in this direction. All we have to do is relate to it.) Other than this, I urge you all to persist in your loyalty to the 125,000 black students who study with you in the South, even in the face of tempting salary offers and the handful of us who have been farmed-out as window dressing for the "prestigious" institutions of the North. You have the ball (essence) and "they" are simply waiting to steal it after "we" have tackled you.

In answer to question no. 2: it is my opinion that you should refuse any offers from either us or "them" until some arrangement regarding the above has been formalized.

4. There is presently nothing in white institutions that is worth "imitating." Anything that we could create in them to imitate might just as well be created in the right place to begin with.

6. It would make a great deal of sense, in my opinion, for us to attempt to provide as many serious Northern black students as possible with exposure to the black-oriented brothers in the South and the Southern Black Experience in general. Indeed, many of us have already developed a vision of our circumstances that is tunneled because we lack such exposure.

As is evidenced by the tone of this letter, I found your suggestions for action wholly appropriate and in keeping with our needs. Of these, I do not believe that enough can be said for the usefulness of a scheme such as the Consortium that you suggested. Unless some such arrangement is effected, we may reasonably expect not only a continuation of the present rape and deprivation of southern black institutions, but it appears that we can expect an escalation of this situation. Whether or not we are able to create such consortiums may be largely determined by our ability, or willingness, to communicate the sordidness of these circumstances and to move constructively to prevent them. Still, there is the need to be more specific about what to do and where to do it. And it is here that I wish to offer some further suggestions.

It is a fact that we are still in the midst of a general stampede in the direction of Black or Afro-American Studies. It is equally a fact that this approach (Black Studies everywhere/anywhere) is not conducive to the construction of ONE really good program anywhere. Therefore, we ought to decide where such programs are really needed/can function/ and devote our time and energies to these alone. The 30 to 50 million people that we are concerned about are spread across the country; West Coast, East Coast, Midwest and South. The task, as it appears to me, is to construct some program(s) that will bring as many of us together as is possible to insure that at least FOUR major programs—directly related to the Black University—are developed in the country.

Broken down, here is how I see this: On the West Coast (and Pacific Northwest), California has the largest concentration of black people. This concentration is primarily in the Northern and Southern parts of the state. Within the northern and southern parts of the state, the black population is dispersed in such a manner that to speak of an educational endeavor expected to affect all of them is to speak of at least two sites in both the northern and southern parts of the state. Say, two in or around the Los Angeles area and two in or around the San Francisco Bay area. On the East Coast, the black population is concentrated primarily in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Here, any action expected to affect a majority would probably require three sites, possibly four, because of the unusually large number of people in this case. I cannot guess about where these sites should be because of my limited knowledge of the areas involved. I merely wish to convey that an expanded effort will be required in this area. In the Midwest the folks are primarily in Illinois, Michigan and Ohio. Again, the action should probably be triple. Then, of course, there is the South, where more than half the souls still are. As I have already related, many of us feel that this is where we should attempt to do our main thing: the mother campus of the Black University. Other than the fact that you have already made a notable start there, which probably exceeds anything that we have done in integrity, I am inclined to believe that there are many more reasons for this decision that are rather obvious. I am further convinced that the South is the place when I look and see not only beautiful potential sites for the mother campus but so many beautiful sites for extension programs of all kinds! !

Now, what I am saying here should not be construed to mean that we ought to undertake the establishment of nine universities, at least not at this time. I am, instead, suggesting that we attempt to create ONE university and eight "catch"/related to/type actions to support it. I mean, this is my vision of your consortium, ideally constructed. We name the sites/the schools, choose the people, see that the money is pooled, recruit the students and faculty, and send the kindling down South!!

As we have seen so many promises swell and fail to gain the crucial burst needed for an overflow of success, I fear for the ebbing but yet unborn and contained Black University. Pray to all (Damballa, first) that we do not fail this time. But there must be something that we can do to lessen the possibility of a failure? One thing that we have not done in the past is to be specific enough—both in terms of our interest and our commitment. We can think, talk and write about everything, but we can only ACT (effectively) on one thing at a time. Nearly everyone among us can recall attending meetings, conferences, *etc.*, where we dealt with so many things; we were told so many things to do that we seldom

accomplished any one of them in our haste to do them all. Possibly we can avoid this if we remember that our goal is the Black University. We can/must and will be concerned about everything else, but some of us **MUST WORK** towards the establishment of the Black University if it is ever to become a reality. It may, at this point, sound foolishly ambitious, but the best possible assurance we could provide to see that our dream is not stillborn would be to find a way to pay a small, but devoted, group of people to work full-time towards the development of the Black University and the aforementioned supporting actions. Otherwise, the risk of failure that we run is incalculable.

Your commentary regarding finances hardly calls for any response, save a resounding "amen" and an affirmative nod. You are certainly correct in assuming that the time has come for the northern white institutions to do something more than attempt to destroy the black institutions of the South. There are so many ways in which they might begin (or be forced) to contribute positively that I could hardly begin to list them. But I should not pass one of these. Many black graduate students across the country are being paid to act as teaching assistants in their respective schools; but who really needs these teaching "assistants," many of whom are already qualified instructors? Are there not enough white graduate students in white northern schools to teach introductory courses and to grade papers? Surely these guilty, "committed" and "concerned" white institutions would not mind paying the salaries, or some part of them, of those black students who wished to do their "assisting" in the black institutions of the South where they are really needed. This is something that "militant" black students and black teacher recruiting programs should look into.

The autonomous black foundation of which you speak is long overdue. (Why did we not think of this at a time less pressing for its need?) Most of us know about foundations; who establishes them, supports them, operates them and keeps them going. Black professionals, the "middle class" ("bourgies"), artists and others whose faith, taste, style and nerves hope that they will not be offended by the jargon—or "INTIMIDATED" will not allow them to do anything else must be urged to get going. (I—such is a common excuse for doing nothing).



Ronald Davis, author of "The Black University: In Peril Before Birth," is a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley.

words, other black faculty persons have evidently taken a similar point of view. How does that way of producing blackness fit into our rhetoric concerning the needs of the community? Is it really *more* imitation that we must have now?

5. Considering our sadly limited resources, can there be more than a few really excellent programs or institutes in Afro-American Studies in this country? Is it possible that the recent announcements of the creation of at least two dozen such programs will lead to even more dispersion of our black talents, rather than to the consolidation we so badly need for this period? If only a few such black research and teaching centers can live with significant integrity, where should they be developed? Indeed, where will they find nurture during a period of prolonged struggle?
6. To move to an even more directly personal level, have any of you considered the possibility that it might make more sense to bring 50 black students to a black-oriented professor in the South than to take him away from his campus? In other words, have you questioned your own locations seriously in the light of our need to gather ourselves together?
7. Have you given serious thought to your own sense of vocation? The building of the Black University, whether it be realized in one or a dozen locations, demands totally committed teachers, organizers and administrators who have moved beyond jiving to real work. What about you? (Perhaps you don't know that Black students in the South on the "Negro" campuses, are also calling for more Black faculty. Where will we find them?)

Concrete Suggestions for Action

1. On the recruiting of black faculty for northern schools: If this must be done during these days when the supply of well-equipped, black-conscious brothers and sisters is so limited, then why not work for the establishment of special visiting professorships rather than outright raiding of black schools? Under such an arrangement, faculty from the South could be invited for one year, we could teach one course in our specialty each quarter or semester and be available for many kinds of counselling. There would also be freedom from the many ordinary academic pressures of our southern campuses, and time (as well as secretarial and research assistance) could be made

available for more research, writing and publication. At the same time we would not be wrenched away from the southern schools on an indefinite basis. In a sense, this would be no more than a token presence, of course, but it represents a temporary measure which might have some mutual benefit while we discuss the questions above and while we seek to increase the supply of brothers and sisters who can do the job.

2. On the recruiting of black students: There are obviously hundreds of thousands of black students outside of the colleges who ought to be involved in some meaningful experience of higher education. Since your institutions have obtained funds from many sources for some of this task, why not make at least part of that money available in more creative ways? For instance, a consortium of one or more white and one or more black schools could be created solely for the purposes of recruiting black students. Through some pooling of funds (mostly yours in the North), black students could then be approached with this offer: Here are the funds you need to go through college. You can use the money to attend (for example) Morehouse, Dillard, Cornell or the University of Illinois. If you choose a black school we ask only that you agree to spend one of your years on the predominantly white campus, strengthening your brothers there. If you choose an overwhelmingly white school, you will have the privilege of going "home" for a year. In this way black students could take the money from white schools and use it in any way they choose. Besides, under the new conditions now prevailing in both black and white institutions, the exchange could not help but be fruitful.
3. The issue of finances is a crucial one, especially as it relates to the future of black colleges. Some institutions would obviously serve the cause best if they merged with other schools to create new strengths and expanded facilities. But even those which remained need to be enlarged and endowed in ways that black schools have not known up to now. Why, for instance, should it not be possible for prestigious northern schools to use their prestige to help obtain special research grants for certain work which can be done well only by black scholars? Or why should your more affluent northern institutions not be pressed to make other significant financial contributions to the life of these schools they now so blithely seek to rape? The United Negro College Fund might be one general depository. Others can be found. Perhaps an autonomous but well funded black educational foundation ought to be established, with its single mission the financing of creative ventures in black educa-

tion. (This would not exempt the existing white foundations, of course; it would simply mean that this black institution would be able to give all of its time and energies to the task.) So far it has been relatively easy to get white institutions to perform certain kinds of money-producing acts on behalf of black education on their own campuses. Perhaps the time has come to press them to use part of their budgets, even sections of their endowment funds, to help establish such a foundation, or otherwise to make long-term substantial investments in the black academic institutions. These would, of course, constitute no more than preliminary steps towards restitution. (Certainly it is no accident that such proposals, fit the pattern of what the former colonizing nations must do to be of significant assistance to the areas they crippled.)

4. Finally, it is apparent in the current rush to blackness on the part of white institutions that there simply is not the beginning of an adequate supply of persons trained in Afro-American studies. It is imperative for us—and for you—that we move urgently to fill that gap in ways other than the stripping of the southern black campuses.

The various Institutes and Ph.D. programs in this field which have appeared over the past year are obviously meant to meet the need (as well as to satisfy you and to keep you off certain backs) but I would argue that most of them cannot and will not do the job. (Indeed some of them may die as soon as you stop blowing.) On the other hand, it is only logical that black institutions in the black community, if properly funded, organized and led, could probably do the best job of creating new scholars in the field of Afro-American studies. This seems especially likely in those places where traditions, libraries and faculties seem at least adequate even now, and where students are pressing sometimes reluctant “others” towards blackness.

In Atlanta, that has been our basic assumption, and a group of us have moved towards the creation of such an Institute for Afro-American Studies. We think that black students throughout the nation should know this, and should ponder its possible meaning for your own presents and futures.

As some of you know, there are in the Atlanta University Center six “Negro” institutions in various stages of their search for blackness. On the faculties are more than 30 persons whose training, experience and teaching in the field of Afro-American life and culture are at least significant. The Slaughter Collection of Negro Literature, the Georgia State Archives and the newly begun Martin

Luther King Memorial Library (a documentation center for the Movement) combine to present unusual library and archival resources on the black experience. Apart from such tangibles, we are also beneficiaries of the spirit of the great pioneering work in black studies done in Atlanta by such persons as W. E. B. Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, Rayford Logan, E. S. Braithwaite, Ira DeA. Reid and many others.

It is against this background of past and present resources that we are now in the process of creating an Institute for Afro-American Studies under the umbrella of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center. Research, teaching, celebration and action are to be the central driving forces—all focused on the life and times of the peoples of African descent. I mention the Institute here because it will need many things which you can help provide. It will need millions of dollars, the best staff from every part of the African diaspora, students who are ready to take care of business, and it must have continuous exposure throughout the black community. The schools you attend could help raise funds for this Institute. For they will need our products (both human and informational) if they are to be transformed into viable situations. Some of you will ultimately comprise the staff and student body. The plans you now have for the Afro-American studies in white settings must be reexamined and challenged by Atlanta.

In short, I am proposing that you help this Institute become the major black educational creation of this generation. You have a kind of leverage in the white world which must not be dissipated in minor, ambiguous victories. More importantly, you have a power which must not be turned against meaningful black institutions. The challenge to help create such an institute, to break down the many brittle assumptions of conventional American education, to move consistently towards our intellectual roots in the struggle for liberation—this is, I think, a challenge more appropriate to your power.

As you ponder these matters, I trust you will remember that my questions and proposals are meant to be only some of the ingredients in a dialogue which must take place among us. The letter is written in the spirit of black ecumenical concern as we move towards a new humanity. The words are my own, but the concerns are shared by many other persons on the southern campuses. We look forward to appropriate response from the North, East and West.

Vincent Harding,
Atlanta, Georgia, March, 1969

On pages six and 12, responses to Dr. Harding's questions and suggestions are presented.

of curriculum development at the elementary, secondary and higher levels of education and with possible sites for conducting a program of education.

2. Workshops and panel discussions will be held on such topics as:
 - a. Independent Black Educational Institutions
 - b. A Black Umbrella or Black Curtain or Black Curfew (The formation of committees to investigate "the white take-over" of Black Studies programs, Black History, *etc.*)
 - c. Community-run Schools
 - d. Church (Black Community)-supported Schools
 - e. Private Schools
 - f. A White Studies Program (research, statistics, and complete in-depth analysis of systems)
 - g. Adult Education Programs
 - h. Governing Boards and Councils on Education
3. Lectures will be given on socio-psychological problems of the Black Community and their effect upon:
 - a. Black education
 - b. Black organizations
 - c. Black students
 - d. Black parents (home, family and community)

C. To implement this program the planning committee has scheduled a conference that will convene on: Friday, July 3, 1970.

VI. A BLACK BOARD OF EDUCATION (ANTICIPATED GOAL OF CONFERENCE)

A. Rationale

The things our black community MUST have in order to survive and be totally-liberated (*e.g.*, self-identity, self-acceptance, self-actualization and, then, group consciousness and collectiveness, out of which will come solidarity) will NEVER be given to us through/from the present stranglehold Establishment which chokes and renders educational systems into a state of asphyxiated ineffectiveness.

Black parents will forever attempt to bear the onerous and unbearable burden of guilt (feelings and expressions) that the blame for the so-called low achievement of their offspring lies somewhere between themselves and the black community; and, will therefore accept unexplored, misunderstood and perilous

goal-directions ("integrated" schools, headstart programs, etc.) as panacea.

Black teachers will forever attempt to impart and instill the true ingredients of quality education—against insurmountable odds (lack of sufficient cohesiveness in the black community to guarantee and provide immunity).

Black professionals will forever attempt to bridge the gap between what is unreal and what is real in the rendering of professional services in a process of socialization that respects and includes them, at best, only at peripheral points of contact and access.

Black community organizations will forever attempt to arouse the conscience of a society that is suicide bent and chronically-afflicted with the muteness of racism; will forever attempt to arouse, stimulate and appeal to a black community that (subconsciously and innately) knows that it is powerless to win any real battles until a base for power is built.

Black students, against this backdrop and with the legacy outlined in preceding paragraphs, will forever engage in almost solely peer-supported campaigns and confrontations. High schools and elementary schools become battlegrounds instead of educational reservoirs for instilling and preserving a social and cultural process.

A similar form of control exists within the colleges and universities. They will teach Blacks how to separate and, at the same time, be dependent upon white society for our livelihood—and NOTHING more.

A BLACK BOARD OF EDUCATION can bring an end to this crippling process of *Acculturation*.

B. Board Rules

1. This Board was organized to develop the *power to carry out* the *new values* of the black community.
2. This Board will not attempt to manipulate, force, control, "trick-up," or persuade the people to act against their own will. This Board will be an expression of the WILL OF THE PEOPLE—in fact and in deed.
3. This Board WILL NOT (nor will the new Black Educational System) make demands, bargain, compromise, petition, or beg from the present white system of education.

VII. ONE-DAY SCHOOL (SATURDAY)

A. Community Elementary and High Schools

1. *Community Board of Education*

Each community will select/elect a community board for the purpose of giving direction and guidance to the newly-emerging school system within the community.

2. *Church Sites*

Churches will be responsible for providing space and for conducting breakfast and lunch programs.

3. *School Administrator Teams*

The school administration will be composed of a committee of one parent, one student and one professional.

B. City-wide Board of Education (see Black Board of Education)

This Board will take orders from the individual community boards and will be the only organ by/through which outside groups may address the new school system.

C. Communiversity (Saturday College)

Teachers, parents and college students, after having finished their morning task of instruction to the pre-school, the primary and secondary schools, will attend (or teach) afternoon classes at the communiversity—where the following subjects will be taught:

1. African History
2. African-American History
3. Political Science
4. Colonial Anthropology and Sociology
5. Survival (medical)
6. Swahili
7. French and Other Languages
8. Black Arts
9. Black Literature
10. Teaching Techniques

D. Future Programs

1. Food program for the black community
 - a. Feasts for the purpose of redistributing food in the black community.
 - b. Food Cooperatives
2. Housing program
3. Family and social program (extended family concepts, etc.)
4. Employment program (coping with cybernetics, automation)
5. Health program
6. Technology program



Toward A Definition

BLACK STUDIES AS AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

BY PRESTON WILCOX

“Black Studies . . . is that body of experience and knowledge that Blacks have had to summon in order to learn how to survive within a society that is stacked against them . . .”

Introduction

CLAREMONT College is to be commended for convening a conference on the subject issue: Black Studies as an Academic Discipline. Consider-

ing the amount of ivory tower energy that has been invested in proving that the only way Black Students can achieve is to deny any association with their own cultural heritage—and the historical inequities designed to destroy it—this is an important step in the right direction. Claremont College's efforts to explore this subject in a systematic fashion may be the first step in the direction of its own re-humanization.

This observation is made because of the ease with which a large number of white-controlled institutions of higher education have dodged the intellectual issue. They did so by setting up separate and sometimes autonomously-controlled Black Studies programs without taking one step to de-colonize their core curricula. The organized resistance to courses such as Swahili is a case in point. Not only were efforts undertaken to invalidate Swahili as worthy of location within an academic curriculum, several mainstream scholars challenged its relevance to descendants of Africa. All this took place in the shadow of "Freshman Orientation" courses which function mainly to acclimate students to the campus but not necessarily to education for meaningful survival and liberation.

But, one can not permit himself to be carried away by the opportunity to explore this question. Recall that the concept of "academic discipline" as perceived by most scholars does not include authentic

Blacks as full participants—nor does it seek to define them as equals. It is a creation of a white supremacist society; one in which scientific colonialism was utilized both to conceal the reality of racism and also to label Black scholars as "unqualified." The criteria by which most white Americans have earned their Ph.D's has had little to do with white merit. It has had more to do with white oppression. White scholars have not had to compete with Black scholars as students or as co-definers of the social fabric of this society.

I call this phenomena the "Satchel Paige Syndrome": Satchel Paige's very excellence as a baseball pitcher increased the possibility that he would not be admitted to the major leagues until he was thought to be "over the hill." This reminds me of a white friend who was the Florida State champion in the 100 yard dash while in high school. He graduated the same year as did Bob Hayes, now of the Dallas Cowboys. Bob Hayes may not have the trophy in his home—since he was prevented by the white segregationists from competing—but everybody in Florida knows who the real champion is.

A corollary to this analysis is the content and style of the "academic format" shaped deliberately to include and deepen white control over Blacks and to exclude authentic inputs. Such an academic concept can only be fully understood as being politically and intel-

lectually oppressive, colonialistic in action and white supremacist in content. The Ph.D.-ing process, which is similar to that of the making of a priest, requires that candidates surrender the right to think for themselves to the doctoral committees—in the same way that a candidate for ordination takes a vow with the pope.

The political nature of “academic disciplines” as applied by main-

stream scholars raises a further question. The so-called “apolitical stance” of mainstream scholars is in fact a fabrication. Such a policy merely conceals the politics behind it under a façade of scientific objectivity.

To apply the same criteria to Black Studies as has been applied to white studies is to ensure that Black Studies will become white studies.



A New Social Contract

That Claremont College has raised this issue to the level of intellectual inquiry is a commendable effort only to the degree that such an inquiry respects certain basic understanding about the issue being engaged:

a) White-controlled institutions of higher education have survived as full members of a society in which it is “illegal” to be human: herewith defined as being a positive relationship with one of minority group status, a poor person, or one who is different from oneself.

b) White-controlled institutions of higher education have survived not as instruments to re-shape society but as tools of the same society that has assigned “illegal” status to the groups mentioned above.

c) The thrust of Black Studies Programs must remain at the level of a movement. They must resist institutionalization and any partnership which is not pluralistic, humanistic in function, and integrally related to the liberation and restoration of all Black people. More than anything else, Black Studies Programs must be viewed as instruments for the development of the Black community—they should not become token instruments for the legitimation of white institutions of higher education.

d) The *scientific colonialism*—defined by Galtung as:

“that process whereby the center of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about a nation is located outside itself”¹

—must be replaced by scientific humanism wherein the center of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about Black people is collected, controlled, managed and distributed by Black people.

Before this issue can be systematically approached then, a social contract involving the following points must be made:

- a) *The powers-that-be in the white controlled institutions must get involved in overcoming the racist practices that benefit them in economic and educational terms to the disadvantage of Black and other minority group students.* Recall that most such institutions are organized as though we reside in an egalitarian society when, in fact, the democracy they espouse is a hypocrisy. Blacks are not treated as equals by whites because of the essential meaning of being non-black—in style, habits, behavior, etc. Part of the meaning of being white is to define Blacks as being inferior; an active manifestation of white superiority.

Stokely Carmichael raised this question for whites when he wrote: "It must be offered that white people who desire change in this country should go where that problem (racism) is most manifest; the problem is not in the Black community. The whites should go into white communities where whites have created power for the express purpose of denying Blacks human dignity and self-determination."²

- b) *The Black Studies Institute must be involved systematically in redefining, understanding and codifying the Black experience to ensure that a body of relevant and transmittable knowledge is developed.* This effort must involve the development of new definitions of old perspectives, an increasing reliance on Black self-accreditation and the planful use of instinctual understandings—such as self-concept, functional anger and the like. The old perspectives have assigned inhuman status to Blacks. The efforts of Blacks to integrate with whites has led to a new level of white paternalism: whites keep the real power; Blacks become acting colonial relations agents. Traditional Ivory Tower intellectualism is, in fact, a higher form of anti-intellectualism: it isolates theory from practice; separates apprehension from comprehension, thought from action; and conceals the politics of social control behind a facade of "a political intellectuality."

This new social contact should be characterized by a *pluralistic approach* to curriculum development and management and institutional governance. The white segment of the institution should be involved in getting its house in order while the Black segment does likewise. The interface between these two should involve a continuing identification of shared curriculum and decision-making and opportunities to increase the possibility that a legitimate integrated institution will result.

A white-controlled institution can never achieve the status of authentic integration. Neither can a predominantly white institution achieve that

status. Such a status can only be achieved within a racist society if the student body is predominantly minority group and the control, at the least, is multi-racial with clear divisions of labor and responsibility.³

Significantly, the meaning of education and the educational goals of the university system should undergo a process of re-ordering. Student orientation should engage students in beginning to learn about that particular contribution they want to make toward the betterment of the society of which they are a part. The traditional plan orients students into participant-consumer roles into the system rather than as participant-producers. A second order of business is that of enabling students to learn how to think for themselves, rather than the way we would like to have them think. Part and parcel of the process is enabling students to begin to view education as a tool for their own liberation; as a political instrument, if you will, rather than as a means to "make it."

- This new social contract will foster a different set of social relationships
- a) an identification of a *shared responsibility*—Black and white—in defining the role of an educational institution within a democratic society (and how to achieve such a society).
 - b) an identification of those decisions which are the *exclusive purview* of the participating partners as they relate to the various components—admissions, course requirements, faculty status, curriculum content, etc.—of the university system.

This new social contract will foster a different set of social relationships between the participating partners. Rather than competing with each other to define and re-define the white and Black positions, each will be assigned to defining a human position in his own terms. Rather than competing with and confronting each other, they will find themselves competing with and confronting themselves: the first rung on the road to meaningful self-education. Whites will not have to feel like patrons; Blacks will not have to feel patronized. Importantly, white administrators will not have to *learn* how to make relevant decisions about Blacks. Instead, they will be called upon to give up their need to do so. Blacks, in turn, will not have to expend decision-making energies teaching whites to understand the Black experience. These energies can be better utilized deepening its implementation.

The rationale for proposing such a social contract is based on the following:

- a) Among the many consequences of our racist society is not only its impact on the Black-white encounter but its impact on how people feel about themselves, others and their frames of reference. White unity is a factor, then, of the common negative attitudes toward Blacks. Whites perceive each other positively largely because of their common disdain for Black people and not because

of a positive identity with whom they are. To make a humane decision affecting Black people is anti-white in the view of most white people.

Black "unity" thus far has derived from common oppression and exploitation and less from a development of positive group self-interests. This pattern is gradually being reversed by the Black power ethos. Black people are relying less and less on a humane response from whites. They are utilizing their skills and resources to increase the degree to which they control and define their own lives.

- b) As most institutions of higher education have operated, they have systematically overlooked the legitimate concerns of Black people, the communities in which they reside and their legitimate aspirations. Black students, until very recently, were significantly absent on most such campuses. As a consequence, large numbers of students have been educated not to be able to perceive and deal with Black people and their experiences on a humane level. Not only is there a "missing" body of knowledge, but effective ways and means of collecting, interpreting and understanding it have yet to be developed.



Toward a Definition

Before Black Studies can earn the status of an academic discipline, white-controlled institutions must recognize their inability to so accredit them. Black Studies should not become a replica of white studies—nor should they be perceived as being a reaction to the failure of institutions of higher education to include such programs as an integral part of their curricula.

The thrust for Black Studies Programs developed not on white college campuses but at Selma, Birmingham and at the March on Washington. It was on the civil rights battlefield that Blacks learned that an appeal to the white conscience had to be replaced by an appeal to Black consciousness; that the alternative to white oppression was not integration but the mounting of Black power; that white people could not save Black people from exploitation and degradation as long as white people benefited from them.

In order to fully understand this movement one must understand Jim Forman's "Black Manifesto" as an attempt to define a new socio-eco-

conomic contract between white donors and Black recipients.⁴ It is based not on white philanthropy but Black restitution. Grants made to Black students should be perceived not as white charity but as the return of "legal entitlements" to a group on whose backs this nation was built. The concept of reparations must be fully understood as a prerequisite then to understanding the subject at hand. "Black Studies can not be perceived as an "academic discipline" as long as the program resources are white-controlled and/or managed.

James Boggs has discussed the subject of Black Capitalism as being mythical and irrational.⁵ He has raised the question in order to warn Blacks against displacing whites as economic exploiters of Blacks as a means to urge them to develop a new set of socio-economic relationships—non-exploitative in nature and collectively income-producing in operation. His point seems to be that racism and capitalism are so deeply intertwined that they shape and are shaped by each other. This behavior on college campuses is seen in the pattern of utilizing federal grants and special programs as a way to increase the inventory of Black students. Whites continue to get paid to serve as gatekeepers for the one-by-one admission of Black students on criteria established by whites and not Blacks.

As Forman has put it:

"... we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist attempts to make us capitalists."⁶

The reparations concept based on the articulation of a humanizing socio-economic contract between white donors and Black recipients and the recognition of a need to develop a humanizing socio-economic network of relationships within the Black community are important to understand. This external-internal relationship construct became the basis on which the National Association for African-American Education began to develop an educational paradigm addressed to an understanding of the Black condition. It began by defining the Black educator as follows:

"Students, parents, community leaders, clergymen, businessmen, activists, moderates, college professors, teachers, educational administrators and all who are actively involved in the educational liberation and survival of the Black people."⁷

It attempts to avoid exclusion on the basis of social class, ideology, age, occupational role and/or organizational affiliates.

The paradigm under discussion focused attention on education for life rather than education for scholarship. It was based on the interrelationships between the phases of psycho-social development and the social systems under which the change and growth take place: the family, the neighborhood, the city, the nation and the world. Threaded throughout the paradigm was a concern with the physical and mental health of Black people and a positive association with their own cultural heritage.⁸

This paradigm was to provide the foundation on which education for Black humanism was to be based. The concept of "academic discipline" was to include these considerations as a *sine qua non*. Importantly, it was to provide the framework on which new and substantive bodies of knowledge about the Black condition were to be linked. It would require that such issues as self-concept, reparations, cooperative and collective economic enterprises, psychological and political liberation, a re-ordering of given values be systematically addressed and understood.

Many Black scholars have begun to address these questions from a variety of perspectives and as they would operate within a functional Black University.⁹ James Boggs has sketched out some guiding principles as they affect *relationships* (between student and community, research and community, theory and practice, intellectual studies and manual work, studies and social change, students and teachers and students to one another) and *subject matter* (productive or technical skills, Black culture, social change) and *interdisciplinary relationships*.¹⁰ As he views it, the educational process must re-structure Black-White relationship and internal relationships among Blacks as it operates.



Scientific Colonialism vs. Scientific Humanism

Any serious and studied review of the writings and productions of mainstream scholars will reveal three major shortcomings. One is the tendency to define Black people as being in need of white accreditation before earning the right to be perceived as humans. The white supremacist policies which undergird such efforts are concealed behind a façade of objectivity. This tendency is observed as follows:

- a) the practice of *comparing Black and white statistics* without taking into account differences in opportunities emanating from the reality of white institutional racism.
- b) the concealment of the *exploitative nature* of the relationships between social class groupings, Blacks and whites and less chance communities and the larger systems in which they are embedded.
- c) the labeling of the *same behavior* by whites and Blacks by the use of different sociological terms.
- d) the tendency to treat Blacks as "equals" only as it relates to negative criteria such as crime statistics, drug addictions, *etc.*
- e) the tendency to view the problems of Blacks from the perspective of negative individual and group characteristics rather than per-

ceiving such problems as being one consequence of their treatment within a white racist society.

Thinking Black scholars are aware of the fact that:

- a) William Whyte's *Organization Man* should have been labeled the *White Uncle Toms*.
- b) the only effective analogy between white and Black families has little to do with the role of the woman. It has more to do with the presumption of white male superiority and actual Black male genocide. The fact of the matter is that white suburban families are matriarchial even though the man is in the home.
- c) the residential patterns of this nation have less to do with land use, choice, and income than they do with discrimination, minority group exploitation and the over-protection of the vagina of white women by white men.
- d) the ghetto cannot be understood as an orientation ground for becoming middle class. Its structure approximates that of a plantation or a prison system, controlled externally and internally by outsiders. The problems of the ghetto are white-generated, white-proliferated and white-controlled.

Flowing from this recognition should be an understanding of how the judgments of many scholars and those of their students have been systematically screwed up. Many of us cannot distinguish missionaries from mercenaries, clergymen from con-men, nuns in habits from prostitutes in habits, teachers from wardens, students from inmates, policeman from the *gestapo*, criminals from philanthropists, and pimps from able parents. This phenomena has increased the possibility that the perceptions of the student submit him to easy external control—and that he, too, will be educated to use knowledge to manipulate rather than to liberate.

This phenomena is further characterized by the rhetoric of oppression in the use of words to present the illusion of a democracy that does not exist.

Urban Renewal	<i>really means</i>	Negro Removal
Model Cities	<i>really means</i>	Model Colonies
Human Relations	<i>really means</i>	Colonial Relations
Culturally Deprived	<i>really means</i>	Illegally Deprived
Public Welfare	<i>really means</i>	Public Starvation
Code Enforcement	<i>really means</i>	Tenant Exploitation
School De-Centralization	<i>really means</i>	School Re-Centralization

A third shortcoming is the failure to draw upon the natural shrewdness of the Black community to define its own problems and aspirations. The current proliferation of autobiographies, biographies, novels, posi-

tion statements and social studies produced by Blacks themselves are characterized by:

- a) a lesser degree of intellectual fragmentation; such writings are marked by a discussion of the impact of white institutional racism, an awareness of the political realities and the interrelationship between separate concepts.

Iceberg's Slim's biography of Otis Tilson, a Black homosexual, describes male castration and homosexuality in one person as it has been seldom understood. Otis writes:

“. . . my reason for telling my story is not money. I'm telling it for my poor dead Papa and myself and the thousands of Black men like him in ghetto torture chambers who have and will be niggerized and de-balled by the white structure and the thrill kill police.”¹¹

He further links the degradation of the Black man as it occurs both down South and up South:

- a) “Papa had some importance and a sense of worth down South even though living conditions were subhuman. Up North, poor Papa would become a zero, unimportant to everyone even to his wife and children.”¹²
- b) “the use of the subject of study both as the sources and interpreters of the data. Not only has this provided a new source of data but a body of missing knowledge. For instance, very few libraries have a category ‘white institutional racism.’ Most libraries still view the race problem as the ‘Negro Problem’ as ‘Discrimination,’ as ‘Racial and Cultural Minorities.’¹³



Heading Home

It may appear that I have refused to confront and examine the subject issue: Black Studies as an Academic Discipline. It only appears that way. The crucial issue requires a redefinition of the concept, such that Blacks are perceived as and treated as humans with a common heritage (African descendancy and victimization by white institutional racism). To discuss such an issue in the setting of white-controlled institutions requires several prior actions. It is these prior actions to which this statement has been addressed:

- a) the articulation and implementation of a new co-equal and parallel social contract—extending from admissions to governance.
- b) the replacement of the philanthropic socio-economic contract be-

tween Blacks and whites with one which is based on the legal entitlements of Black restitution.

- c) the development of the technology leading toward the establishment of a cooperative and collective socio-economic network of relationships among Blacks.
- d) the replacement of scientific colonialism with scientific humanism.
- e) the development of a systematic and transmittable body of knowledge about the Black condition.

Black Studies is an "academic discipline" fully accredited within the Black world. It is that body of experience and knowledge that Blacks have had to summon in order to learn how to survive within a society that is stacked against them. The white campus, then, is a means to an end, not an end in itself. It is a place to learn the man's language as a second language; to understand his institutions so as to be able to subvert and humanize them; to hone one's mind to apply one's intelligence to an understanding and alleviation of the Black condition; to internalize a need to participate in one's own liberation; to contribute to a sense of Black nationhood.

In the last analysis, this nation can not be a human nation until Black people and other minorities say and behave as though it is. In the same sense, any white institution which seeks to evaluate Black Studies Program on white oppressive criteria can never be a great institution until Black students so accredit it.



¹Galtung, Johann, "The Lessons of Project Camelot: Scientific Colonialism", in *Transition* 30, 1967. pp., 11-15.

²"Excerpts from Paper on which the (Black Power) Philosophy is Based", in *New York Times*, August 5, 1966.

See also Carmichael, Stokely, "What We Want" in *New York Review of Books*, Sept. 22, 1966. pp., 5-8.

³For definitions of terms such as integration, desegregation, Humanization, Black-controlled Schools Movement, Segregation, and Separation, see Wilcox, Preston. "Integration or Separation in Education:— 12." *New York: Afram Associates, Inc.*, July 3, 1969. pp., 14.

⁴Forman, James, "Total Control as the only Solution to the Economic Problems", in *Renewal*, 9:6, June, 1969. pp. 9-13.

⁵Boggs, James. "The Myth and Irrationality of Black Capitalism." *New York: Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization*, April 28, 1969 (mimeo)

⁶Forman, op. cit. p. 10.

⁷"Report of the NOPC: St. Louis." *New York: National Association for African American Education*, Sept. 23, 1968. p., 31.

⁸Montgomery, M. Lee. "Draft: Black Humanity." *New York: National Association for African American Education*, June, 1969.

⁹Wilcox, Preston. *The Black University: A Bibliography*. New York: Afram Associates, Inc., July 12, 1969. pp., 8 and Sources of Publications. (mimeo)

¹⁰Boggs, James. "Curriculum Studies for Black Studies Institutes." New York: National Association for African American Education, Feb. 12, 1969. pp., 3.

¹¹Iceberg Slim (Beck, Robert). *Mama Black Widow*. Los Angeles, Calif. Holloway House Publishing Co., 1969. p. 6.

¹²Ibid. p. 55.

¹³Havrilesky, Catherine and Wilcox, Preston. *A Selected Bibliography on White Institutional Racism*. New York: Afram Associates, Inc., July 1, 1969. p. 3.

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Black Studies At This Juncture

BY J. FRANK YATES

"It is incumbent upon those seriously committed to Black Studies to seek out the ideological positions that would be most beneficial to Black people"

 YEAR ago the entire country was being swept with demands by black students for more "relevant" educational institutions. What were those demands about? What has been done? What remains to be done?

Only after hundreds of black studies programs have actually begun has the real message of that movement made impact. Many have thought—indeed, hoped—that the black studies movement of 1968-69 was simply a fad. To be sure, there was definitely spontaneous contagion in the movement; this is a necessary part of any mass action. There are, however, underlying issues that will either sustain the work of the se-

rious black studies programs or lead to new crises if they fail.

Simply stated, a school or educational system justifies its existence in a community by fulfilling two functions. First, it must impart the skills needed by the people to maintain their physical existence. Second, it must cultivate and transmit traditions and ideological concepts that meet the people's psychological and "moral" needs. To perform satisfactorily, a school must be able to deal with both issues simultaneously. The rebellious black student of 1968-69 was saying essentially that his schools—black and white—were adequately fulfilling neither function, but especially the second.

We should examine that second function closer. What, really, is ideology? The concept has various facets. Milton Pokeach (*The Open and Closed Mind*) and T. W. Adorno (*The Authoritarian Personality*) isolate several of the core ideas. They stress that ideology represents an institutionalized set of beliefs that one just "picks up," "an organization of opinions, atti-

tudes, and values—a way of thinking about man and society.” Other students of social movements emphasize another essential feature. Applied to this discourse, they imply a fundamental relationship between the two functions of a school. In the words of Daniel Bell (*The End of Ideology*, pp. 320-371), “Ideology is the conversion of ideas into social levers. . . .”

In essence, the ideology running through a society does much to determine how the people perceive themselves, the perspective from which they evaluate all issues, even the very alternatives they imagine. Clearly, the course of human events is determined largely by just such factors.

I submit that the creation or development of a new ideology permeating the lives of black people is one of the most important if not *the* most important issue facing us today. If such a black ideology already existed, we would not see hundreds of agencies and organizations operating in our communities with all of them getting essentially nowhere. If such an ideology already existed, it would no longer be necessary to keep in stock a thousand and one powerful black orators to stir the black masses to action. If such an ideology already existed, it would not be necessary to create crises to solicit black support that soon peters out.

We are not the first group of people to experience the need for a new ideology. The very group we

recognize as our nemesis, the white Americans, have experienced such a crisis. In fact, the resolution of their crisis has had much to do with the creation of ours. Winthrop Jordan (*White Over Black*) chronicles the identity or ideological conflicts felt by the white American people during and shortly after the Revolutionary War. The American ideology that evolved from that period had at its core the notion that a true American was essentially a slightly modified Anglo-Saxon. The definition of “American” consciously excluded non-English European influences. The incorporation of blackness into the recognized concept of Americanism was so absurd that the idea was never seriously considered.

Reality and the official ideology of Americanism could not and cannot be reconciled. Consequently, white America has had to maintain two ideologies. The official ideology incorporates all the ideals expressed in the country's official documents. The “real” ideology provides the foundations for racial oppression. Since a society's ideology serves as a basis for the attitudinal and belief systems of its people, the duality and inconsistency of the American ideology implied a corresponding duality and inconsistency in the model American white personality. All the various notions of cognitive balance can be applied toward understanding the probable result. That result has most often been denial

and compartmentalization.

We cannot deny that to some extent black people too have internalized aspects of the dual American ideology. This is the crux of the issue dealt with here. The situation is more complex than that involving whites in that neither portion of the American ideology has been adequate for black Americans. There have always been the rudiments of a functional black ideology in our communities. However, it has had to contend with tremendous odds for its mere survival, let alone growth; we control few instruments of communication and education. The result has been three distinct and often inconsistent constellations of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs permeating black society. Small wonder that so many black individuals experience "hang-ups" and, more important, there is little to maintain our programs for change.

Many, including Harold Cruse (*Crisis of the Negro Intellectual and Rebellion or Revolution*) and

other cultural nationalists, have recognized the ideological need of which I speak. Their proposal that cultural nationalism is necessary to fill the void does not seem adequate. The American political, economic, and cultural apparatus seems far too complex for cultural nationalism to be sufficient. The final resolution may, however, involve some aspects of cultural nationalism.

It is incumbent upon those seriously committed to black studies to seek out the ideological positions that would be most beneficial to black people. Black thinkers, especially black psychologists, must aid in the development and transmission of the new black ideology. This is the challenge of black studies at this juncture. Unless it is met, we have simply added another "agency" to the pile and the next explosion will be just a bit stronger. Perhaps then we will deal with the gut issues of a black ideology and, ultimately, a truly "American" ideology.



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that can be escalated to the heart of the problem (“the end to imperialist rule”), is the organization that is most progressive. This he sees as inevitably connected with the organization of the poor workers in the western metropolitan countries. However, he cites Frantz Fanon on the limitation of Black Nationalism but fails to deal with the racist colonial exploitation enjoyed by the European (white) working class. He applauds the African innovation of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, but fits all his analysis into models of European revolution. In fact, we look at this analysis as glimpses of Black revolution as defined by James’ version of Marxist-Leninism. But this is not a criticism as much as a clarification.

This volume calls us to develop an analysis of Pan-African action. Black people in the United States must begin to look at the world through their African eyes. Along with this work, Black people ought to read books like *Not Yet Uhuru*, by Ogin-da Odinga, in order to deal with the specific national developments in African affairs. We ought to read *Handbook for Revolutionary Warfare*, by Kwame Nkrumah, to consider an ideological plan of action to liberate and unify the entire continent of Africa. And we ought to read *Zambia Shall be Free*, by Kenneth Kaunda, and *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, by Julius Nyerere, to probe more fully the positive development of African models of revolution today. This is the beginning of a people conscious of their world, living in thought and emotion the everyday struggles of African people everywhere on the earth. We must be a united African people, and for that we need to have a united all-

African analysis of African affairs. Brother James provides us with a provocative beginning for this new step forward.

But more than this is needed from brothers like C. L. R. James because relevant literature is so sparse. He has been involved in the history of the history of the Pan-African movement, and he has been intimate friends with outstanding figures like W. E. B. Du Bois, George Padmore, Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and many others. We need an informal history of how these men came together and worked as they did. We need a detailed analysis of the way they dealt with problems that are plaguing the Black struggle today. We need an analysis of the relevance of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky for the Pan-African struggle of today as compared with the 1930’s. We need no autobiography from C. I. R. James.

Nearly as important as the substance of this book is the organization that published it. Drum and Spear Press is a new development in the current historical turn to Africa. It is connected with a book store-information center, an educational center, and other services designed to heighten the consciousness of Black people to an African awakening, and it is organizing Black people to develop skills that will concretely contribute to the Pan-African struggle. It is significant that the exploitative decision of white publishers to reprint out-of-print volumes has lured and seduced so many integrationist brothers in academic-intellectual circles. But that is merely white people rendering Black Studies meaningless by flooding the market with 19th century writing and making a big fat profit. All of this with the consent of the Black literary estab-

lishment. Drum and Spear Press is a real alternative to the sell-out offers of the white companies. All Black people must applaud such an effort and support this, the first African publishing house in North America to be founded within this current period of political revolt. Our cultural publishing is well established (Broadside Press, Third World Press, Journal of Black Poetry Press (Atomic Books, etc.), but Drum and Spear Press is the first all-African Press to address itself to political considerations of analysis.

And this is what time it is now. We have proceeded through art to sciences, from identity to analysis. We must have a clear understanding of the historical process if we are to mount our forces to change this process from one of oppression to one of liberation, from slavery to freedom. We must become so scientific that we move from science back to art again, the artistic action of creating a new history. James said it when he wrote: "The analysis is the science and the demonstration the art which is history."

—Abd-al Hakim Ibn Alkalimat

Black Arts

Black Arts (*Black Arts, an anthology of black creations*, edited by Ahmed Alhamisi and Harun Kofi Wangara, \$3.00) is a fairly slim volume, but gives a fairly comprehensive view of the direction and contour of the black revolutionary art and literature of today. Many people are represented here who have become familiar to us largely through non-Establishment, non-commercial media (Keoraptse Kgositsile, Ed Bullins, Askia Muhammed Touré, Joe Goncalves, Don L. Lee, Sonia Sanchez, Bobb Hamilton, Marvin X, Ed Spriggs, Larry Neal, Nikka Giovanni, Carolyn Rodgers, Eldridge Knight, Ameer Baraka). Many other less widely-known black artists and writers are represented as well. If this partial listing of names is not enough to give an idea of the tone of the book, some excerpts from Kgositsile's Introduction—succinct, beautifully written (in a style which he might call "manifesto poetry," which he has practiced elsewhere, and which is in evidence in other writers such as Ameer Baraka, Joe Goncalves, Ed Spriggs, and seems more and more to be evolving as a typical genre in the Black Awareness school of writers)—will at once plunge you into the mood and the spirit of these artists:

This anthology is one of our many attempts at self-examination (a process of building up) and self-assertion (an aspect of support). These creations attempt to capture the mood, the spirit of a people engaged in liberatory struggle. Some of these Brothers and Sisters can also shoot a gun or fix a righteous cocktail. Our Time, Our Survival Reality, demands that of us and no respect for any 'artist' who will not put his creative talent and ability to work in the street along with the people.

These are transitional men and women moving to the 'elemental rhythms of Our Time.' Transitional, because they are trying in our time, through their rhythms, to deniggerfy us, to bathe our pulse in revolutionary passions; . . .

The editors—one primarily an artist and poet, the other primarily a scholar—are not outside observers of this process. Rather, both can

be counted among the people of whom Kgositsile speaks, and samples of their work are included in the anthology.

There emanates from the book a oneness of tone and of purpose, if not a uniformity of excellence. (We find perceptive, well-executed pieces side by side with carelessly done work whose perceptivity is marred by an overriding system of rationalization. And there are poems of every level of artistic sophistication.) The projection of purpose and attitude is, however, constant, and is perhaps the strongest feature of the volume, which, after all, aims at a synthesis of all black art. As the subtitle states, the anthology is one of black "creations." An attempt has therefore been made to give glimpses of the developing black aesthetic through drawings and through photographs of sculpture, paintings, black scenes (e.g., the Wall of Respect, Chicago, 1967). The format (8½ x 5½) makes it at times difficult to appreciate the illustrations, which have been scaled down and photographed. Although the illustrations are interesting, there is by no means as wide a representation of artists as of writers, and the book must be considered as primarily a literary anthology with graphic interludes which give it a rare added dimension.

Brief biographical information, which for the most part seems to have been written by the writers themselves, given at the beginning of most of the selections, and photographs of a fair number of the poets, writers and artists, are also included. These momentary portraits make it possible for the reader to see the contemporary black artist movement from still another point of view: the artists come alive as individuals, each with his distinct personality, though united in purpose.

Books about blackness, written by blacks *and published by blacks*, as is this one, represent a still-new phase of beginning for us. The errors pointed out above (as well as the misprints which crop up now and then) are things we will rectify with time, because we will only improve by doing, and this book is a conscious and sincere act of doing. Although much in it has been previously printed, the collecting, in book form, of the articles, stories, plays, poems, illustrations and photographs, will provide wider diffusion for many points well made but not sufficiently heard, much black soul not yet sufficiently shared. In volumes such as this, writer and reader are relieved of the strain of articulating blackness under the tutelage of white publishing houses.

But in the final analysis, neither the weaknesses nor the para-literary aspects should blind us to the fact that much of what's here is excellent in its own right, and none of it is irrelevant to us as black people. For all these reasons, *Black Arts* is a book well worth reading.

—CAROLYN F. GERALD

In Memoriam

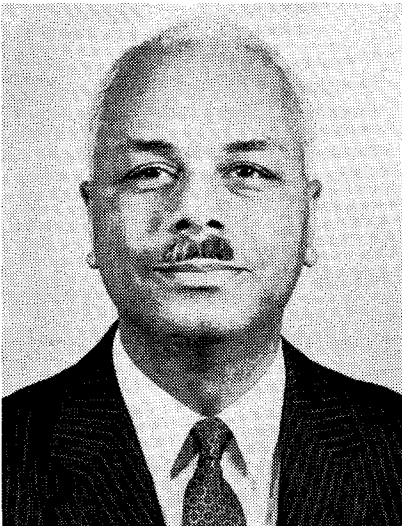
Horace Cayton

April 12, 1903
Seattle, Washington

January 22, 1970
Paris, France

On writers and writing: The University of Iowa Press will publish in June the first book by **Cyrus Colter**, a Chicago lawyer who has been quietly writing for years and publishing occasionally in the literary quarterlies. A collection of his stories, *The Beach Umbrella and Other Stories* won the \$1,000 Iowa Prize for Short Fiction. The vote for Mr. Colter's work was unanimous by the three-man final jury (**Kurt Vonnegut**, **Vance Bourjaily** and **Gina Berriault**). One of the judges said the following of the Chicago writer: "Cyrus Colter is what a writer is and always has been—a man with stories to tell, a milieu to reveal and people he cares about. The reader becomes absorbed, learns, and finally cares in the same way" . . . Two collections of the works of the late **Henry Dumas** are in the works. **Eugene Redmond** and **Hale Chatfield** are the editors. The books

will be published by Southern Illinois University Press . . . October House has agreed to bring out a collection of Redmond's poems, *The Eye In The Ceiling* . . . **John A. Williams'** fine, under-rated novel, *Sissie*, is now available in an Anchor paperback edition (\$1.45). In a new introduction, Mr. Williams writes: ". . . Although it may not always appear so, I wished to offer a testimony of love to the members of my family, known and unknown, dead and living, good, bad or indifferent, black, white, and red, and to say in some crude way (how could one even begin to say it with precision?) that I understand; that it has been hard, but fair, because that was the challenge, that was the way things were, and we accepted the challenge and still lived, though we were not expected to. Although guilt for living may drag at our feet, it is our physical presence that most causes our elation. And you could not feel guilt if you did not have a presence, if you were not alive and *functioning*." *Sissie* is about the travails of a black family . . . Poet **Julius E. Thompson's** collection of poems, *Hopes Tied Up In Promises*, is available from the poet (3226 Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.) or from his publisher (Dorrance & Company, 1809 Callowhill Street, Philadelphia, Pa.) . . . **Addison Gayle Jr.'s** second book, a collection of personal essays, *The Black Situation*, is scheduled for April publication.



CYRUS COLTER



On the educational front: The National School Public Relations Association (a non-black group) published a special report entitled "Black Studies in Schools," which details

the spread of Black studies programs across the country. According to this report, "nearly all educators believe that the ultimate and ideal way to handle material on blacks and other ethnic groups is to weave it into the regular curriculum as an integral part of everything that is taught from kindergarten to grade 12." The report is available from the Division of Press, Radio and Television Relations, National Education Association, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., 20036 . . . In Chicago, a number of law firms formed the Legal Opportunities Scholarship Program (LOSP) "to increase the number of Black and other minority group persons in the legal profession by encouraging and assisting them to follow a career in law." According to a press release from LOSP, "The program is designed to: find and encourage Black and other minority group students who wish to go to law school, assist the students in gaining admission to law school, render financial assistance and provide summer employment in the Chicago area law firms

for those LOSP students who are attending law school." It turns out that although Blacks represent 35 percent of Chicago's population, less than two percent of the city's lawyers are Black. Not only that, but fewer than three percent of the students in the city's four major law schools are Black. **Edmund A. Stephan**, of the law firm of Mayer, Friedlich, Spiess, Tierney, Brown & Platt, is chairman of the board of directors of LOSP. Information on the organization can be obtained by writing to 208 S. La Salle Street, Chicago . . . Chicago's Du Sable Museum of African American History offers a correspondence course in Afro-American History. For details, contact the museum's director, **Mrs. Margaret Burroughs**, at 3806 S. Michigan Ave. . . . The Center for Black Education in Washington, D. C., sponsored an educational field trip to Trinidad for a number of the students enrolled at the Center. The Center publishes a newsletter, the Pan-African. Address: 1453 Fairmont Street, N.W.



Literary Award Winners

Pictured on the next page are the four winners of the Literary Awards which were announced in the January issue of NEGRO DIGEST. Two of the winners are teachers. **Mrs. Eugenia W. Collier**, who received the Gwendolyn Brooks Literary Award for fiction, teaches literature at Community College in Baltimore. She presently is co-editing a fiction anthology. **Herbert Clark Johnson**, winner of the Broadside Press First Publication Prize, is a public school teacher in Philadelphia. He has pub-

lished one collection of poems, *Poems from Flat Creek*. **Mae Jackson**, recipient of the Conrad Kent Rivers Memorial Fund Award, is a SNCC worker in the New York area and a resident of Brooklyn. She has published a collection of poems, *Can I Poet With You?* **Brenda M. Torres**, a native of Tennessee, lives in Chicago where she and her husband are students.

In January 1971, two additional literary prizes will be offered through NEGRO DIGEST. Awards for Criticism



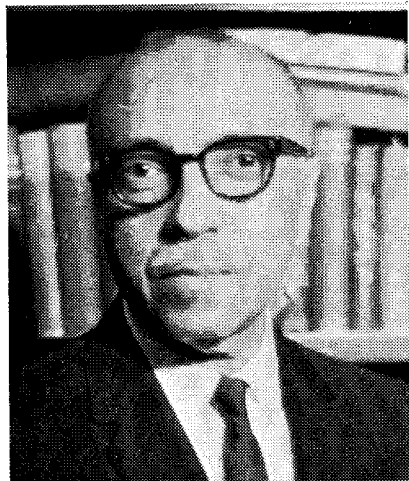
MAE JACKSON



EUGENIA W. COLLIER

will make available \$100 cash prizes each for literary and drama criticism in **NEGRO DIGEST (BLACK WORLD)** magazine. The Richard Wright-Le

Roi Jones Awards will be made possible through grants from **Addison Gayle Jr.**, critic and anthologist, and **Clayton Riley**, drama critic.



HERBERT C. JOHNSON



BRENDA M. TORRES

NEGRO DIGEST

A Magazine Of Negro Comment

Round 1
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NOVEMBER 1942

25c

Negro Digest

BOOK DIGEST: THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

By C. Eric Lincoln

Sarah Vaughan
 Tells Why—

PLAIN GIRLS
 CAN MAKE IT TOO



A NEGRO
 PRESIDENT
 BY 1999

BY SENATOR
 JACOB JAVITS

THE
 WHITE MAN'S
 FUTURE IN
 AFRICA
 BY KWAME
 NKURUMAH

1942

1961

All In A Name

When NEGRO DIGEST was founded back in 1942, the world was very different. The United States was at war with Germany and Japan, and even most Americans of African descent accepted the contention that the American involvement in the war was aimed at "saving democracy" although, in fact, we had never experienced that highly prized way of life. We somehow managed even to accept that the Nazi brand of racism was somehow more virulent than the American brand that we knew first-hand. Perhaps we reasoned that, under the circumstances, it was better to bear the oppression and the psychological maiming imposed on us by the American system than to permit the ascendancy of a nation which herded its hated humans into gas ovens. It was a time of danger and struggle for us, just as all our times on this continent have been, but the appearance of NEGRO DIGEST was one of the events which signalled a hopeful new beginning: it marked the first time in the history of this country that a commercial magazine unrelated to any supporting national organization had been successfully launched for a non-white audience. The magazine was frankly patterned on the very popular Readers Digest, and neither that fact nor the fact of the name itself brought anything other than a glow of pride from Black people.

But times and the world have changed. When the Nazis unleashed their terror upon Europe, the British flag waved over a disproportionate portion of the world. In Asia, only Japan and China were free of white dominance; and only tiny, impotent Liberia held high the banner of political independence in Africa, proud Ethiopia having been ravaged and betrayed into submission to fascist Italy. Americans of African descent wanted only to be accepted as Americans, having no vision at all of the imminent break-up of the great British Empire and the rise to political power of such nation-states as India, Indonesia and Egypt. An independent Africa remained only a dream in the hearts of a vanguard of her sons in America. But the moment had now come, and change was swift. The Third World emerged and flexed its young muscles, and a new image of modern man crowded old white-faced Hamlet on the international stage of politics and power. In the United States, which inherited the mantle of Western leadership dropped by the British, the sons of Africa understood, at last, that it was not Allah or Buddha or Krishna who had inflicted upon them "the mark of Cain"; in rejecting the notion that they should forever remain demeaned, they also rejected the god who had ordained it so.

When NEGRO DIGEST was revived in 1961 after a hiatus of 10 years, it resumed the old name—but it was far from being the same old magazine. The new magazine sought to reflect the new black spirit wafting gingerly across the land and to provide it room in which to expand and mature. It was no longer a "digest," for it actually digested no material and only occasionally published reprints. The emphasis was on original ideas, fresh talent, untried directions. The new black spirit fomented a full-fledged revolt, and Black Consciousness flashed like lightning into every corner of America. Many of those who read NEGRO DIGEST and approved it wondered why, in the new age, it did not make the extra step which would have brought it into full harmony with the times. "Change the name," they urged. The editors of NEGRO DIGEST think that the moment has come to do the bidding of the magazine's friends and, at the same time, to reflect the actual character of the publication. Beginning with the May issue, NEGRO DIGEST will have a new name, in keeping with its character and the times: The new name:

BLACK WORLD

HOYT W. FULLER
Managing Editor



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Mod, Modish and Militant

Keeping on Top of the Scene



For some people, game-playing is a full-time preoccupation. Not only does it keep them on top of things: it also has solid benefits. Playing the Black intellectual Game, for example, actually encourages them to read the books everyone is talking about, making it possible for them to rap with authority about important current topics, and that is definitely a plus. That game neatly ties in with the Black Militant Game, which is all the rage just now and which has merits of its own in attention-grabbing: a brother can come on like gangbusters with a boss 'fro and a hand-tailored dashiki, set off with a soft silk turtle-neck and a big brass pendant. And that game dovetails beautifully with the Swinger Game, allowing a brother to make the scene in imported bell-bottoms direct from Carnaby Street and expensive Italian-made boots, shined to a gloss. Name the game, and some brothers are right on top of it.

But the Black Revolution is not a game. Nor are the legitimate aims of the Black Revolution served by assorted poseurs and hustlers playing revolution. Across the country, a small but determined body of black men and women are dedicating their

energies—and, in many cases, their lives—to the task of liberating black people from the psychological shackles which have rendered them powerless for centuries. In whatever they do—in education, in art, in music, in literature, or in community service—they are concerned with shattering the old ikons of whiteness and with validating in the minds of black people regenerative black images and black idols and a black perspective on the world. These serious men and women know that intensive and unwavering vigilance in the cause of Black Consciousness is necessary to break, for all time, the debilitating cycle of hope and despair which has characterized black life on this continent for 400 years. Their task is monumental, and it is not made easier by the diversionary tactics of the game-players. It is imperative that the black community know the difference between the committed and the comedians.

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