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INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORIGINS OF THE DISCIPLINE

Black Studies grew out of one of the most important, politically active and successful periods of Black history in the U.S. and cannot be separated from it without severe damage to analytical clarity. The discipline of Black Studies is rooted in the social visions and struggles of the 60's which aimed at Black power, liberation and a higher level of human life and thus from its inception, it has had both an academic and social thrust and mission. To clearly understand the relevance, objectives and developmental direction of Black Studies, then, a critical review of its history is imperative.

Fixing the starting point of the discipline firmly in the Sixties does not deny the pre-discipline intellectual history which laid fundamental ground for its emergence in the 60's. On the contrary, this pre-60's history represents both a rich resource of data on which to build and reflects a continuity and longevity of Black intellectual history central to both the discipline's self-conception and its mission (Crouchett, 1971; Turner and McGann, 1980; Stewart, 1984; Karenga, 1988; Woodyard, 1991). Thus Black Studies defines itself and its mission in the historically evolved intellectual-activist tradition which extends back to the freedom-directed and life-affirming work during the Holocaust of Enslavement and extends thru other periods of crisis, challenge, struggle and achievement, culminating in the liberational projects of the 60's.

Black Studies, then, evolving out of and building on a long intellectual-activist tradition, emerges as a self-defined academic discipline in the 1960's. It began as both a political and academic demand with grounding in both the general student movement and the social struggles of the 60's out of which the Student Movement evolved (Brisbane, 1974; Pinkney, 1976; Edwards, 1970; McEvoy and Miller, 1969). The 60's was a time of upheaval and confrontation and students, people of color and whites were at the center of the struggles which produced this process. Beginning first off campus in a struggle against the racist structure and functioning of society, students began to see the university as a key institution in the larger system of coercive institutions created by the established order to maintain and perpetuate its role. Pictured as a microcosm of society, the university was defined as racist, sick, unresponsive, rigid and supportive of war, exploitation, oppression and exclusion of Blacks, other peoples of color and the poor from the social knowledge, wealth and power of U.S. society. The decision was then made to take up the struggle against society at the point of its "brain," or put another way, at its "intellectual factory" which produced both its leaders and followers and cherished social myths (McEvoy and Miller, 1969).

The Civil Rights Movement

The Student Movement expressed itself in four different thrusts, the last thrust being the one which more directly demanded and achieved Black Studies. The first thrust of the Student Movement began in 1960 with Black Students who played a central and indispensable role in the Civil Rights Movement in the South (Forman, 1972; Carson, 1981; Morris, 1984; Williams, 1987; Branch, 1988; Chalmers, 1991). Essentially, the Movement sought to: 1) break down the barriers of legal segregation in public accommodations; 2) achieve equality and justice for Blacks; and 3) organize Blacks into a self-conscious social force capable of defining, defending and advancing their

interests. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was obviously the vanguard group in the Civil Rights struggle and the Student Movement. As vanguard, SNCC not only mobilized, organized and politicized thousands of Black students, but also politicized many white students and their leaders thru recruiting and training them and bringing them to the South to work in the struggle. As Clay Carson (1981:129) notes, white summer volunteers in Mississippi "who returned home greatly influenced by their experiences...would bring a measure of SNCC radicalism into the student's rights and antiwar movements." This link would prove valuable for joint action later.

The Free Speech Movement

The second thrust of the Student Movement began with the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley in 1964. It was essentially white student protest against the rigid, arbitrary, restrictive and unresponsive character of the university, in a word, a demand for civil rights on campus (Draper, 1965; Lipset and Wolin, 1965; Rorabaugh, 1989). Mario Savio who had been one of the SNCC summer volunteers in Mississippi was the leader of this movement and expressed a link between the civil rights struggle on campus and in the larger society. He posed the Free Speech Movement on UC Berkeley's campus as "another phase of the same struggle," i.e., the civil rights struggle in the larger society, and expressed the similarity of suppression of powerless Blacks and students by the established order (Carson, 1981:129).

The Anti-War Movement

The third thrust of the Student Movement began in 1965 which was the general student protest against the Vietnam war and university complicity in it thru its cooperation with the government (McEvoy and Miller, 1969; DeBendetti and Chat-

field, 1990). The anti-war movement was launched by New Leftists at the University of Michigan with a teach-in which was duplicated across the nation. On April 17, the largest New Left organization, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), held a massive anti-war demonstration at the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C. SNCC, which inspired leaders of SDS to organized activism, supported the demonstration and participated in it. New Leftists like Casey Hayden, Bob Zellner, Betty Garman, Maria Varela and Jim Monsonis had been SNCC workers. In 1962 SDS at its annual convention drafted the Port Huron Statement, which acknowledged their debt to the Black struggle in the South and SNCC in particular for their new consciousness and activism.

Tom Hayden, who had met with SNCC workers in McComb, Mississippi, in 1961 and helped write the Port Huron Statement, was also very impressed with the achievements of SNCC and the possibility of its model. Likewise, other white activists and scholars on the Left such as Staughton Lynd and Howard Zinn were impressed with and inspired by the SNCC model. Thus, the student protest against the Vietnam war and university complicity was lead by the white Left but informed and supported by SNCC and its theoretical and practical criticism of U.S. society (McAdam, 1988).

To SDS and others, "selective service regulation and revocation of student deferments for dissent, military recruiting and R.O.T.C., corporate recruiting by Dow Chemical Company and other military suppliers and traditional recruitment by the Pentagon" were all evidence of university collusion with the government's war effort (McEvoy and Miller, 1969:4). SNCC supported the anti-war movement, not only from a student position, but also from a Black and Third World position. Thus, SNCC's opposition was to: 1) the government's war against Third World liberation movements and peoples in general and Vietnam in particular; 2) the threat the draft posed to its male personnel not covered by student deferment and especially vulnerable in the South, and; 3) fighting an unjust war for a nation depriving

Blacks of basic civil and human rights. It was Bob Moses, one of SNCC's most distinguished leaders, who represented SNCC at both the Washington massive demonstration and a subsequent one at Berkeley, outlining this basic position making the link between the southern struggle, Third World Liberation and SNCC's opposition to the war (Carson, 1981:183-185). As Carson also reports, Jim Forman, another major SNCC leader, led SNCC's early opposition to the war criticizing "American involvement in Vietnam at a time when the federal government was unwilling to intervene on behalf of southern civil rights workers."

The importance of this third thrust of the Student Movement against the war and university complicity and unresponsiveness is that it included a general criticism of and struggle against the very structure and functioning of the university itself. This, in turn, had three basic results which were contributive to the Black Studies Movement: 1) it further exposed the university's political character and its reflection of social structure and power; 2) it revealed the university's vulnerability to student power; and; 3) it suggested the possibility of an expanded struggle to change the way the university related to Black students and the Black community as well as to other Third World students and communities. Thus, social change was linked to university change and the students again moved into the vanguard.

The Black Studies Movement

The final thrust of the Student Movement which led directly to the establishment of Black Studies began in 1966 at San Francisco State College (SFSC) and was again initiated and led by Blacks (Edwards, 1970). It came at the rising tide of the Black Power Movement and reflected its sense of social mission and urgency. By 1966, the Watts Revolt and the Black Power Movement had ushered in a more racially self-conscious and assertive activism and Black students at SFSC and on other

campuses began to respond to this resurgence of nationalist activism. Thus, in 1966, the Negro Students Association changed their name to the Black Student Union (BSU) to indicate a new identity and direction. And in the fall of the same year, the BSU produced a document arguing for and demanding the first Department of Black Studies. Continuing their thrust, they established a Black arts and culture series in the Experimental College which was also created in 1966 and became involved in SFSC's tutorial program for the surrounding community. This and other community service activities signalled the social commitment and service Black Studies advocates would place at the center of the academic and social mission of Black Studies.

Since the Experimental College was set up with student money, there was no serious resistance to it, but the demand by the BSU for a legitimate Black Studies Department funded by the college and controlled by Black people brought stiff resistance. Moreover, the BSU demanded a special admissions program which would waive entrance requirements for a given number of Black students. This also was resisted, even though Black enrollment had been reduced drastically from over a thousand to a few hundred by the College's tracking system.

By 1968 the situation had escalated to the point where the BSU launched a strike on November 6th around a series of demands including a Black Studies Department, special admissions, financial aid and decisions on personnel. Influenced by Frantz Fanon's, SNCC's and the Black nationalist emphasis on Third World solidarity, other Third World groups joined with the BSU under the umbrella organization, the Third World Liberation Front. These other Third World groups included the Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), the Asian-American Political Alliance (AAPA), the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), the Philippine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) and the Latin American Student Organization (LASO). Reflecting a common concern for Third World students and Third World Studies, they issued fifteen demands which served as a model for other Black Studies struggles. The

SDS, Peace and Freedom party and white students from the Experimental College formed a strike support committee and worked to join the struggle of Third World students with the struggle against the war, ROTC on campus and other issues which linked the university with the government. In this student thrust, however, it was Blacks (and other Third World students) who again led the way and the whites supported, as in the first thrust in the early 60's.

On February 9, 1968, Dr. Nathan Hare had been appointed as coordinator of Black Studies and been given the task of formulating an autonomous Black Studies Department. By April 16, he had completed his proposal which included, not only the structure for the department, but special admission for Black Students, and a B.A. degree in Black Studies. However, the board of trustees continually delayed implementation of the program and it is this which led to the November 6th strike. The school was closed; students clashed with police; presidents were changed with regularity; and the community became involved in the campus struggle in a way it had never done. Eventually, the students won at the end of 1968 and San Francisco State became the first institution to establish a Black Studies program and department.

As Robert Brisbane (1974:228) notes, Black students paid close attention to the struggle at State and were impressed with the capacity of students to win concessions from the administration. Thus, already "by fall of 1968, the experiences of San Francisco State were being duplicated on dozens of campuses throughout the country." On every occasion, these struggles were seen as linked to the overall struggle for Black liberation and was often led by Black nationalists or Black Power advocates. Among these were members of SNCC, Us Organization and other Kawaida formations on the West and East coasts, the Black Panther Party, Congress of Racial Equality and smaller local nationalist formations. As Alphonso Pinkney (1976:177) observed, the struggle for Black Studies was "seen as a necessary component of Black liberation" and white resistance seen "as an

attempt to preserve (Black) subordinate status in society. . . ." It became important then to break the white monopoly on knowledge and its manipulation and create a new context for the creation and dissemination of a new knowledge directed toward service to the community rather than toward its suppression.

Thus, the struggle to win Black Studies coincided with the general student revolt against the structure and functioning of the university and at the beginning often was supported by other Third World students and whites. Eventually, however, the Black students, in a strong pursuit of self-determination, would reject cooperation with whites. This left only the Black Panther Party, which changed its nationalist philosophy to Marxism, to deal with them. As a result of countless struggles and negotiations, most of the major colleges and universities agreed to establish some form of Black Studies by 1969.

The Black Studies struggle extended also to Black colleges which had prided themselves on being pioneers in teaching the Black Experience. What they actually taught was "negro history" which both in content and consciousness was different from the liberational thrust for which Black Studies advocates struggled. Brisbane (1974:238-239) lists three reasons the Black colleges resisted the challenge: 1) alleged financial problems; 2) assumption that only a militant faction advocated it; and; 3) the "bourgeois mentality" of the staff which was "committed to working within the system (and) completely rejected the notion of Black liberation." However, after a series of struggles and after "Harvard, Yale and Columbia universities provided 'legitimacy' by the adoption of such programs," leading Black institutions like Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, Lincoln, Morgan and Tuskegee initiated Black Studies Programs by fall of 1969.

1.2 RELEVANCE OF THE DISCIPLINE

One of the most important concepts in the general Student Movement and especially in the Black Student Move-

ment which waged the struggle for Black Studies was the concept of relevance, a concept which had both academic and social dimensions. Relevance, as a fundamental category, was inevitably defined as emanating from education's contribution to liberation and a higher level of life for Blacks. Thus, Nathan Hare (1969:42), one of the guiding theorists and founders of the Movement, argued for an Afro-American education, which would contribute to solving "the problems of the race" by producing "persons capable of solving problems of a contagious American society." Moreover, he concluded, "a Black education which is not revolutionary in the current day is both irrelevant and useless." It is this stress on academic and social relevance of education that not only gave Black Studies its raison d'être, but also brought it its major opposition.

The push for relevant education in the university was thus joined with a thrust by Black Studies to establish and maintain its own relevance as both an academic and social project. Therefore, in developing a relevant Black Studies, Black Studies advocates expressed two sets of basic concerns, i.e., academic and social ones (Robinson, 1969; Blassingame, 1973).

Academic Concerns

On the academic level, they were concerned first with the quality and usefulness or relevance of traditional white studies. White studies was seen as incorrect, incomplete and exclusive of the majority of humankind, especially the fathers and mothers of humankind and human civilization, i.e., Blacks. Secondly, Black Studies advocates perceived white studies for the most part as so much propaganda for the established order which not only posed the white paradigm as the most definitive of human life and society, but also discouraged study and development of Third World models. Finally, the Black Studies advocates saw white studies as resistant or negative to social change inquiries and models. This they felt could only be countered by a self-con-

scious and viable discipline of Black Studies which would not only seek to study society and the world, but also to change them.

Social Concerns

The social concerns of Black Studies centered around the questions of exclusion, treatment on campus, academic conversions and production of a conscious, committed and capable intelligentsia and on what all this meant for the Black community. Black Studies advocates were first concerned with the low number of Blacks on campus which they saw as a racist exclusion to maintain the white monopoly on critical knowledge and to thwart the rise of a Black intelligentsia capable of effectively leading and serving Blacks. Thus, one of their first demands was special admission and recruitment efforts to correct this problem. Secondly, Black Studies advocates were concerned with treatment of Black students on campus. In fact, a key set of grievances and incidents on San Francisco State's campus centered around what was considered racist treatment of Black students in terms of news reports, counselling, instruction, representation on decision-making bodies, etc. The concern was to make Blacks respected and politically effective on campus and in campus politics in the broadest sense of the word (Hare, 1972:33).

Thirdly, Black Studies advocates were concerned about what they conceived as white academic conversion, i.e., transformation of Blacks into vulgar careerists with no sense of social commitment. Equally feared was that Black students would become what Frantz Fanon called "obscene caricatures" of Europe, pathetic imitators of their oppressors (Fanon, 1968:255). Finally, Black Studies advocates were concerned with the social problems of the Black community and how Black students and Black Studies could address them.

Basic Objectives

It is around these general concerns that Black Studies advocates across the country laid out some basic academic and social objectives which interlocked and mutually reinforced each other (Blassingame, 1973; Hare, 1969; Robinson, 1969). The first and seemingly most urgent objective was to teach what was called the Black experience in its historical and current unfolding. The category "experience" suggested all that Blacks had encountered, done and endured and sought to reflect the multidimensionality of the process. Moreover, this experience was to be greatly focused on the history and contributions of Blacks who were systematically denied history and contribution to society and humanity or relegated to minor historical significance. Finally, it was advocated that the data and instruction include both the Continental African and Diasporan African experience, the Diasporan focus treating first African Americans and then all other Africans spread across the world. Although this was the projected scope, in practice, data and instruction were essentially concentrated on the Continental and African American experience with some curricula offering a few courses on the Caribbean experience.

A second beginning objective of Black Studies was to assemble and create a body of knowledge which was contributive to intellectual and political emancipation. Intellectual freedom was posed as a prerequisite to political freedom. In a word, until the white monopoly on Black minds was broken, it was argued, liberation was not only impossible, but unthinkable. For there would be no categorical referent, no way to conceive it and thus, no way to carry it out. Political emancipation as a social goal, then, was dependent on intellectual emancipation as an academic goal. These contentions were reflective of Harold Cruse's (1967) and Franklin Frazier's (1973) positions on the crisis and responsibilities of the Black intellectual.

Logically linked to the above objective was a third objective of creating a body of Black intellectuals who were

dedicated to community service and development rather than vulgar careerism. Restating W.E.B DuBois' (1961) argument against Booker T. Washington's overstress on vocation at the expense of education for social competence and contribution, Black Studies advocates stressed the need for Black intellectuals who were conscious, capable and committed to Black liberation and a higher level of human life. They argued like DuBois (1969) that the race would be elevated by its best minds, a "Talented Tenth" which did not sell itself for money and machines, but recognized and responded creatively to the fact of the indivisibility of Black freedom and their indispensable role in achieving it.

Fourthly, Black Studies advocates posed as an early objective the cultivation, maintenance and continuous expansion of a mutually beneficial relationship between the campus and the community. This relationship was best posed in Nathan Hare's statement which became a slogan and call to action of the Black Studies Movement, "We must bring the campus to the community and the community to the campus." The intent here was to serve and elevate the life-conditions and the consciousness of the community and reinforce the student's relationship with the community through service and interaction. Thus, the classic alienation between the intellectual and the community is thwarted in an ongoing mutually beneficial exchange, where knowledge is shared and applied in the service of liberation and development of the Black community (Hare, 1972:33).

Finally, an early (and continuing) objective of Black Studies advocates was to establish it as a legitimate, respected and permanent discipline. This was and remains both an academic and political problem. The political problem is to win the battle of acceptance with administrations and other departments who are threatened by Black Studies or incorrectly and reductively translate its relevance and viability. The academic problem is to answer the critics of Black Studies with counter arguments, critical research, solid intellectual production and effective teaching. Afterall, there are really only two basic

arguments against Black Studies, i.e., a charge of academic insubstantiality and its having a political character.

These arguments, however, do not really hold weight given Black Studies' twenty-seven year history of teaching, research, intellectual production and service to students and the university. Moreover, to answer a tired contention, Swahili is no more frivolous or irrelevant to Blacks than Hebrew or Armenian is to Jews or Armenians who were not born in Israel or Armenia and will never go there. And if white studies or traditional college courses seek to produce socially competent and committed leaders for the white community, how does one justify calling such an academic and social mission political for Blacks and proper for whites? Afterall, the basic justification for all education is that it enhances our social competence and, therefore, our capacity to make a more significant contribution to society.

Grounds of Relevance

Through the twenty-seven year old practical and theoretical struggle to achieve and refine these early objectives, fundamental and undeniable grounds of relevance of Black Studies have been established which clearly define the academic and social contributions and purpose of Black Studies. The first ground of relevance of Black Studies is that it is a definitive contribution to humanity's understanding itself. As Samir Amin (1974:5) contends, there is only one possible science, the science of human society, of humans in the process of self, social and world construction. But humanity is an abstraction, a mere construction for the convenience of conversation unless it is seen in its diversity and particularity as well as its unity and universality. Black Studies, then, becomes important because it is a study of a particular people which aids in the study of humanity as a whole. In other words, Black Studies (and other ethnic studies) represents in its most definitive sense, a necessary and significant study of a particular form and part of humanity in certain socio-

historical conditions. Moreover, Black Studies is an important contribution to humanity's self-understanding because Blacks, i.e., African people, are the fathers and mothers of both humanity and human civilization (Jackson, 1970; Diop, 1991). Thus, to omit a study of the parent people of humanity is to deprive oneself and humanity of a holistic and effective understanding of itself.

A second ground of relevance of Black studies is found in its contribution to U.S. society's understanding of itself. It is not an exaggeration to say that Black and other Ethnic Studies are the most trenchant criticism and most definitive mirror of American society. If it is true that one does not evaluate a society by its public pronouncements but by its social practice, then, the study of the Black experience in the U.S. would obviously give an incisive look at American life, from a race, class and gender perspective. U.S. society claims freedom, justice and equality for all, but Black Studies poses a more definitive view of inequalities of social wealth and power in the U.S. Moreover, as Rafael Cortada (1974:41) has argued, the curricular reform in American universities is as beneficial to whites as others "if the U.S. is to be socialized in a world where only 21.8 percent of the population is white" and where U.S. and European power is declining and Third world power is on the rise. It is thus to the credit of Black Studies and the social struggles which inform its focus, as I (Karenga, 1977:50) have argued elsewhere, that they "have provided the U.S. with an essential theoretical and practical self-criticism." Furthermore, Black Studies and struggle "have forced the U.S. into a necessary self-knowledge, unmasked its self-indulgent myths and confronted it with internal contradictions so elemental that only a broad and profound social change can resolve them."

Thirdly, and as a logical consequence of the first two contentions, Black Studies has established its relevance as a contribution to the university's realization of its claim and challenge to teach the whole truth, or something as close to it as humanly possible. No university can claim universality, compre-

hensiveness, objectivity or effectiveness in creating a context for the development of a socially competent and aware student, if it diminishes, denies or deforms the role of African peoples in history and society. Moreover, as has been so often noted:

> Until quite lately higher education in the United States of America has been almost completely under the sway of an illusion shared by nearly everybody of European descent since the Middle Ages -- the illusion that the history of the world is the history of Europe and its cultural offshoots; that Western interpretations of that experience are sufficient, if not exhaustive and that the resulting value systems embrace everything that matters (Wright, 1970:366).

However, a true appreciation of the multicultural character of humanity and human society shatters that illusion and compels a more realistic and thus a multicultural approach to truth and education. Indeed, an academic and cultural provincialism as expressed in a Eurocentric education can only discredit the university's claim of inclusiveness, objectivity and rigor for its curriculum. It also reflects an image of irreality in a world where Africans, Native Americans, Asians and Latin Americans have stepped back on the stage of human history in both dramatic and unavoidably significant ways and roles and must be on the educational agenda. In fact, quality education is impossible without a multicultural character (Karenga, 1992; Asante, 1992; President's Task Force, 1991).

Fourthly, Black Studies has demonstrated its relevance as a contribution to the rescue and reconstruction of Black history and humanity. As both an affirmative and negative academic and social project, Black Studies affirms the truth of our history and humanity and negates the racist myths assembled to deny and deform them. Refusing to answer frivolous racist contentions, it rises to challenge traditional white studies which have intellectualized their biases, omissions and distortions. It realizes

the link between history and humanity and is conscious of the fact that Europe denied and deformed Black history in order to deny and diminish Black humanity. Black Studies, then, begins with rigorous research and critical intellectual production in the key social science, history, which lays the basis for and informs all others and which will affirm the truth of the Black experience and negate the racist myths which have surrounded it.

A fifth ground of relevance of Black Studies is that it is a critical contribution to a new social science and humanities which will not only benefit Blacks, but also the U.S. and the world. Joyce Ladner's (1973) announcement of the death of white sociology can only be answered with the creation of an alternative (affirmative and negative) sociology or more accurately, a new social science which sets a model for others by the standards it sets for itself and reflects. Likewise, Hazel Carby's (1987) critique of the race, class and gender limitations of the cultural production of the dominant society demands the creation of a new humanities not restrained and restricted in such ways. Black Studies, as a contribution to this academic project, has already developed along those lines in the light of Harold Cruse's (1967) and Franklin Frazier's (1973) criticism and the challenges posed by students, other departments and the demands of the discipline itself (Turner and Perkins, 1976; Karenga, 1988).

As a contribution to a new social science and humanities, Black Studies, which is interdisciplinary, becomes a paradigm for the multidimensional approach to social and historical reality. Secondly, it is a model of a holistic social science and an inclusive humanities, not simply focusing on Blacks, but critically including other Third World peoples and whites in appropriate socio-historical periods and places of interaction with Blacks and denying no people its relevance, unlike the case of traditional white studies. Thirdly, as a contribution to a new social science and humanities, Black Studies is critical and corrective of the inadequacies, omissions and distortions of traditional white studies. In fact, it is its severe and uncompromising critique that so disturbs its traditional critics who are secure in old assump-

tions from by-gone eras. Moreover, as a new discipline, Black Studies is not as restricted by old data and methods as white studies. It comes without the burden and baggage of sacred assumptions about society's righteousness and imperviousness to change and thus, it introduces generative ideas which are corrective to social science and stimulate innovation and deeper inquiry (Apter, 1977:36).

Moreover, Black Studies, as both an *investigative* and *applied* discipline poses the paradigm of theory and practice merging into active self-knowledge which leads to positive social change. In a word, it is a discipline dedicated not only to understanding self, society and the world but also to changing them in a positive developmental way in the interest of human history and advancement. In this quest, it challenges the false detachment of traditional white studies which contradicts reality and obscures clarity (Ladner, 1973; Hamilton, 1970).

A sixth ground of the relevance of Black Studies is its contribution to the development of a Black intelligentsia and professional stratum whose knowledge, social competence and commitment translate as a vital contribution to the liberation and development of the Black community and thus as a contribution to society as a whole. It is at this point that the academic and social missions of Black Studies merge most definitively and become an expression of knowledge self-consciously placed in the service of community, society and ultimately humankind. It is also an effective response to DuBois' (1969) call in his seminal essay, "The Talented Tenth," for the academic and social cultivation of a body of conscious, capable and committed men and women who would assume leadership of the Black community, set its ideals, direct its thoughts and aspirations and lead its social movements in the struggle for social change. It is also reflective of Mary M. Bethune's (1939:9) call for service oriented professionals and intellectuals who would "discover the dawn and to bring this material within the understanding of. . .the masses of our people." Thus, such stress reaffirms the historical,

intellectual and activist thrust of Black education and reflects a vital continuity of thought and practice.

This goal of Black Studies, however, is also reflected on one level in the educational philosophy of American universities which have historically structured curricula and instruction to produce the social servants and leaders of society. Black Studies, then, as both an investigative and applied social science, follows a similar tradition. It simply focuses more intensely on a particular part of society, the Black community and self-consciously defines itself as an emancipatory project as distinct from the oppressive managerial project of the dominant society. And in this focus which seeks to cultivate persons capable of critical thought and problem-solving, Black Studies not only benefits the Black community, but society as well. For in essence, the problems of the Black community are the problems of the larger society, and their collective solution is clearly in the larger society's interest.

A seventh and final ground of relevance of Black Studies is that it is a vital contribution to the critique, resistance and reversal of the progressive Europeanization of human consciousness and culture which is one of the major problems of our times. By the Europeanization of human consciousness and culture is meant the systematic invasion and effective transformation of the cultural consciousness of the various peoples of the world by Europeans thru technology, education, and the media so that at least three things occur: 1) the progressive loss of historical memories of these people; 2) the progressive disappreciation of themselves and their culture as a result of a conscious and unconscious assessment of themselves using European standards, and; 3) the progressive adoption of a Eurocentric view not only of themselves, but also of each other and the world to the detriment of their own humanity and the increasing degeneration of the cultural diversity and exchange which give humanity its rich variousness and internal creative challenge.

The established tendency is to use the category "westernization" to express this process of the Europeanization of human

consciousness and culture. But in fact, "westernization" is a cultural category that camouflages the fundamental racial reality of European dominance. Afterall, when one refers to western culture, it is not to indicate Hawaiian or Inuit cultures, the most western of peoples. Nor is it meant to suggest the various other cultures of peoples of color in the western hemisphere, i.e., Native Americans, Africans, Latinos or Asians. What one encounters then is a Eurocentric cultural hegemony camouflaged under a cultural category that hides more than it reveals.

Black Studies challenges both the cultural content of what is called western and the definition itself, arguing for a multicultural interpretation of the western hemisphere rather than a Eurocentric one. Moreover, Black Studies joins with other ethnic studies scholars in creating and posing paradigms for multicultural discourse and exchange and possibilities of a just and good society. This, of course, presupposes and necessitates respect for each people's right and responsibility not only to exist but also to speak their own special cultural truth and make their own unique contribution to the forward flow of societal and human history (Karenga, 1988:406ff).

1.3 SCOPE OF THE DISCIPLINE

The scope of Black Studies is expressed in its definition and by the parameters it has set for itself as an interdisciplinary or multi-field discipline. *Black Studies is the systematic and critical study of the multidimensional aspects of Black thought and practice in their current and historical unfolding.* It is systematic in that it is structured and coherent; critical in the sense of its focus on the search for meaning and concern with detail and bringing forth the hidden; and multidimensional in its thrust to examine the many-sidedness of each issue, process or phenomenon. This stress on the many-sidedness joined with concern for historical and current unfolding points toward emphasis on a holistic approach and contextualization in terms of both time and

place. The thrust, then, is to view each thing in the context of the whole, to always ask historical as well as current questions about it and to identify, where possible, tendencies, directions, patterns and possibilities.

As a discipline dedicated to an inclusive and holistic study of Black life, Black Studies contains subject areas in social science and in humanities as well as any other subject areas within the Black experience. As Article II of the National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) Constitution states, the discipline "include(s) any subject area that has the Black Experience as the principle object and content of study." Thus, although the bulk of Black Studies focuses on social science and humanities subject areas, it includes other areas such as education, the care professions, athletics, the physical, natural, technological and applied sciences, and any other subject of concern and encounter in the Black experience.

In fact, an important exploration of the idea of including the so-called "hard" sciences has begun. Stewart (1992:5-4) argues that this inclusion of physical and natural sciences in the realm of Black Studies is vital to the ongoing development of the discipline. The inclusion of these fields, he maintains, does not require the development of a "Black Chemistry" or "Black Physics." Rather, he continues, it requires (1) "the exploration of the potential insights from the new field of 'science, technology and society' into a Black/Africana Studies framework," (2) exploration of the value and use of "new information technologies. . .to accelerate development of the field" as exemplified in Hendrix et al's (1984) discussion of Black Studies and computer use; and (3) the development by theoretical mathematicians and statisticians of "empirical techniques based on circular rather than linear models." Stewart is correct to reject a Black science which suggests a biological or racial base. But if he extends the prohibition to include cultural emphasis, which he does not seem to do, then, he undermines the very meaning of Black Studies, i.e., to speak African people's special cultural truth and make

their own unique contribution to the forward flow of human history.

Thus, Black science like Black sociology will, of necessity, reflect a cultural context and conception. A primary task of the Black Studies scientist will be to ask is there a uniquely African as well as general human approach to science? And if so, is it of value today and again, if so, in what ways? In this regard, a key task of the Black Studies scientist will be to develop a philosophy of science rooted in and growing out of an African worldview. It will raise not simply epistemological questions but equally important, ethical ones about both the concept and use of science as an instrument of human good. This was the suggestion of Bethune's (1939) and DuBois' (1969) challenge to bring the fruits of science and other knowledge to the masses who most need it. Moreover, a history of African science -- Continental and Diasporan -- placed in the context of the development of science in the world is also important. The point here is that as a multi-field or many-subject-area discipline, Black Studies borrows from and builds on invaluable achievements of other disciplines which parallel various fields or subject areas in Black Studies. But Black Studies must and does bring its own critique, challenge and contribution or it is not a specific discipline only a variant discourse within other disciplines.

Black Studies, then, is both a particular and general social science and shares with the other social sciences similar foci of inquiry and analysis. It shares with political science the concern with the problems of gaining, maintaining and using power, especially as it relates to Blacks, and with economics, the concern of the relationship of race, class, and gender to economic opportunities and distributive inequalities. Likewise, Black Studies shares with psychology a critical concern with questions of identity, alienation, self-concept and mental health and development from a Black perspective, and with sociology, concern with social problems which range from crime, educational opportunities and race, class, and gender relations to interest group organization, family and male/female relations.

Also, Black Studies shares with history a profound concern for critical interpretation of events, issues, important personages and social units of the past which illuminate understanding of current thought and practice and its concern for heritage and contribution to human advancement. As a humanities discipline, Black Studies shares with other humanities disciplines a concern for and commitment to creative production. It shares with literature, art, music, and dance a definite concern with ongoing issues of aesthetics, i.e., the nature of the artistic enterprise, art as social and personal message and meaning, standards of creativity, issues of artistic freedom and social responsibility, questions of critique, of deconstruction, dislocation, cultural hegemony, representation, transcendence, border crossing, text, subtext, marginality and centrality, recovery and reconstruction. Likewise, it shares concern about the race, class and gender articulation, language use and misuse, and its ability to reveal the nature and structure of social relations, and with signs, literature and other art forms as contested terrains. But again, Black Studies brings its own vision and voice to the discourse in humanities, contesting the given, crossing boundaries and calling for a new way to understand and approach the human experience.

Black Studies in sharing similar concerns with other social sciences and humanities disciplines draws from them and strives at an ongoing synthesis and utilization of the most incisive and productive theories, methods, techniques, models, strategies and research designs. Since it has come into being as a critique of and a corrective for traditional white studies, it is compelled to produce generative ideas to encourage new ways of thinking about and handling theoretical and practical problems. Thus, it is committed to challenging the old and developing new analytical frameworks for the study of the Black and human experience, new techniques for the continuous acquisition of knowledge and new criteria for the validation of claims both in and outside the discipline.

Black Studies as an interdisciplinary discipline allows for and encourages both a *specialized* and *integrative* approach to

subject areas within the discipline. Such approach not only satisfies Martin Kilson's (1973) concern that Black Studies students and teachers have a specialization in a traditional discipline, i.e., economics, political science, literature, art, but also Phillip Daniels' (1981) concern that Black Studies maintain its autonomy as a valid and valuable discipline. It is obvious that Black Studies cannot and should not be subsumed under a traditional discipline. Therefore, both Maurice Jackson's (1970) early suggestion to subordinate it to sociology and Martin Ijere's (1972) early suggestion to subsume it under economics are more discipline preferences than substantive recommendations for the development of the discipline. Likewise, if by "curricular control of an established discipline," Kilson means choosing one at the expense of Black Studies rather than as a subject area for specialization within the discipline of Black Studies, he too is incorrect and non-contributive to the developmental and autonomy demands of Black Studies.

Like all disciplines, Black Studies has subject areas of specialization which do not replace the discipline, but sharpen its focus in the given subject area. Thus, international relations, the study of parties or the politics of developing countries do not replace political science as a discipline, but rather sharpen its focus in given subject areas. Moreover, each discipline is integrative as well as specialized. This is necessary to check excessive specialization which can make sublevels of research alien, narrow and even counterproductive to the holistic thrust of a given discipline. Therefore, Black Studies, while allowing and encouraging specialization in one or more subject areas, demands as a coherent discipline the linking of these subject areas within it to the overall principles and fundamental thrusts of the discipline.

Black Studies, then, as an interdisciplinary discipline has seven basic subject areas. These intradisciplinary foci which at first seem to be disciplines themselves are, in fact, separate disciplines when they are outside the discipline of Black Studies, but inside, they become and are essentially subject areas which

contribute to a holistic picture and approach to the Black experience. Moreover, the qualifier Black attached to each area in an explicit or implicit way suggests a more specialized and delimited focus which, of necessity, transforms a broad discipline into a particular subject area. The seven basic subject areas of Black Studies then are: Black History; Black Religion; Black Social Organization; Black Politics; Black Economics; Black Creative Production (Black Art, Music and Literature) and Black Psychology.

This volume is structured around these subject areas for they represent core courses in most Black Studies programs and departments and thus serve as excellent foci for a survey course in Black Studies, i.e., a broad but substantive introduction to the discipline of Black Studies. Furthermore, this conceptual framework is taken from *Kawaida* theory, a theory of cultural and social change, which has as one of its main propositions the contention that the solution to the problems of Black life demand critiques and correctives in the seven basic areas of culture (Karenga, 1980). These areas of culture are: religion, history, social organization, economic organization, political organization, creative production and ethos. The categories spirituality, creative motif and ethos were changed to coincide with course titles, but the definition and analysis of these subject areas in this volume are essentially the same.

It should also be noted that Kawaida theory "defines culture in the broadest sense to equate it with all the thought and activity of a given people or society" and focuses on the seven areas of culture as core areas of analysis and problem-solving, or in Kawaida terms, of critiques and correctives (Karenga, 1980:16-17). The Kawaida seven-area focus and definition of culture obviously coincides with the core focus of Black Studies on the totality of Black thought and practice. The similarity would not appear as amazing and coincidental, if we remember Cruse's (1969:6-7) contention that the historical "demand for Black Studies...falls under the heading of the movement, tendency (and) ideology of 'Black cultural nationalism.'" This theoretical

and practical thrust of Black cultural nationalism emerged among "young Black intelligentsia, young Black students and young Black activists" and was, as Cruse states, "in response to the feeling that at (that time) there (was) no viable intellectual approach to the problems facing both Blacks and whites in American society." Black Studies was then posed as a critical alternative intellectual approach to the development of critiques and correctives necessary to understanding and changing the Black community and the larger society. As the guiding theory of Black cultural nationalism and the Black Cultural Revolution of the 60's, then, Kawaida theory played a key role in the definition and defense of the foci and academic and social mission of Black Studies (Pinkney, 1976: Chapter 7).

In summing up, the scope of Black Studies as a discipline is the systematic and critical study of the totality of historical and current Black thought and practice, but expresses itself most definitively in seven core subject areas: 1) Black History; 2) Black Religion; 3) Black Social Organization; 4) Black Politics; 5) Black Economics; 6) Black Creative Production (Black Art, Black Music and Black Literature); and 7) Black Psychology. As an interdisciplinary discipline concerned with the coherence and unity of its subject areas, Black Studies, of necessity, has core integrative principles and assumptions that serve as thematic glue which holds together these core subject areas. This volume, the survey approach it employs and the subject areas it includes are all given coherence and informed by four of these integrative principles and assumptions.

The first of these assumptions is that each subject area of Black Studies is a vital aspect and area of the Black experience and, therefore, contributive to the understanding and appreciation of its wholeness. Secondly, the truth of the Black experience is whole and thus, any partial and compartmentalized approach to it can only yield a partial and incomplete image and understanding of it. Thirdly, effectively integrated into the pattern of the discipline as a whole, each subject area becomes a microcosm of the macrocosm, the Black experience, which not only enriches

our knowledge of the Black experience, but also enhances the analytical process and products of the discipline itself. Finally, all the subject areas mesh and intersect not only at the point of their primary focus, i.e., Black people in the process of shaping reality in their own image and interest, but also in their self-conscious commitment and contribution to the definition and solution of the social and discipline problems which serve as the core challenges to Black Studies.

1.4 SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

If the 60's marked the definitive founding of the discipline of Black Studies, the 70's and 80's represent a multidimensional thrust toward consolidation and expansion (Young, 1984; Turner, 1984; Aldridge, 1988; Harris, Hine and McKay, 1990; Anderson, 1990). In this multifaceted process several new developments have occurred which have defined both the course and character of the discipline. Among these are the emergence of and focus on: 1) professional organizations of the discipline; 2) the concept of Afrocentricity; 3) Black Women's Studies; 4) Multicultural Studies; and 5) Classical African Studies.

Professional Organizations of the Discipline

African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA). The founding of the African Heritage Studies Association evolved in the context of the general thrust toward self-determination of the Freedom Movement in the 60's and the parallel efforts of Black Studies scholars within the Africana Studies movement to do likewise in the academy. The AHSA emerged from a year of discussions within the Black Caucus of the African Studies Association (ASA), the major professional organization of African Studies at that time, and simultaneous negotiations with the leadership of this organization. During the 11th Annual Convention of ASA held in Los Angeles in 1968, Black members met to discuss

grievances against ASA and to list demands for it to change its Eurocentric treatment of both the subject matter of Africa and of them (Rowe, 1970:4). Moreover, they decided to form "a new organization to cater to Black scholars and to correct the teaching of Euro-Africa rather than Africa in U.S. colleges and universities."

In addition to the decision to form a new organization "to serve Black scholars and Black communities," several other decisions were made. Among them was the decision that the new organization act as a clearing house and liaison among Black scholars all around the world, "exchanging information, and establishing networks to correct the present monopoly of information about Black cultures and histories in white hands." Thirdly, it was decided that members of the new organization would "link with Africanists in Africa through embassies." Fourthly, the new organization was to "encourage active participation of its members in all Black conferences at home or abroad." And finally, a decision was made to meet in December of that year in New York to consolidate agreements reached in Los Angeles.

After a follow-up meeting in December 1968, AHSA held its first convention in June 1969 at Federal City College in Washington, D.C. However, AHSA still maintained its links with ASA, defining its relationship with ASA as one "of a symbiotic nature." Thus, at ASA's conference in Montreal, October 1969, its Black Caucus inside petitioned ASA for equal representation in all decision-making committees, an equitable number of ASA fellowships, adequate representation at all national and international conferences relating to African or Black Studies, and encouragement of the involvement of Black scholars in various roles according to their expertise and interests. ASA, however, rejected these requests. John Henrik Clarke (1976:8), the first president of AHSA, read the rejection as resistance of the white majority to giving Blacks "the means of changing the ideological and structural bases of the African Studies Association." According to him and other AHSA members, ASA enjoyed its

monopoly on the authoritative interpretation of all things African; "resented" the stress on the Pan-Africanist perspective and were threatened by the intellectual and practical challenge posed by African Americans claiming a special relationship with Africa and independent grounding in African Studies.

The Montreal conference was for Black Caucus members of the ASA a decisive point of rupture. They left the conference convinced that the leadership of ASA did not wish collaboration but monopoly and that only a totally independent African organization could do the practical and intellectual work necessary to serve the interests of Black scholars and Black people. Thus, they formed AHSA as an indispensable "association of scholars of African descent...committed to the preservation, interpretation and creative presentation of the historical and cultural heritage of African people, both on the ancestral soil of Africa and in the diaspora in the Americas and throughout the world" (Clarke, 1976:11).

Within this context, according to Clarke (1976:3ff), the Pan-Africanist scholars and activists set themselves several fundamental goals. Among these were: 1) "to examine every aspect and approach to the history and culture of African people in this country and throughout the world;" 2) "to project (AHSA) influence into every organization that relates to Africans and the people of African descent;" 3) to challenge and question all who claim authority on African life and history; 4) "to use African history to effect a world union of African people;" 5) to establish "a new frame of reference in all matters relating to Africa," i.e., a critical pan-Africanist perspective which stresses especially the interrelatedness of African peoples and the linkage of the intellectual with the practical; and finally, 6) to define African heritage and "to put components of (this) heritage together to weld an instrument of liberation."

In the 23 years of its existence, AHSA has essentially served several functions. First, and foremost, it has served as a ground and context for scholarly encounter and exchange. Its annual conferences bring scholars from all over the world African

community in fruitful exchanges and creative challenge. Secondly, AHSA has served through its individual members, an organizational role for other professional organizations. In her inaugural presidential address in 1989 titled "Agenda for AHSA: 21st Century," Charshee McIntyre (1989:3) listed several organizations in which AHSA members played a founding role, i.e., TransAfrica, a lobby for African interests, the National Council for Black Studies, the National Association of Black Educators, the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations and the National Congress of Black Faculty. Thirdly, AHSA has been an advocacy organization for Black interests in education in general as well as on larger social issues organizing forums, engaging in demonstrations and participating in governmental and institutional policy discussions. It has been also a major participant in the overall thrust to link African peoples intellectually and practically in ongoing projects.

Finally, McIntyre (1989:5ff) has noted several other on going projects to which AHSA is committed. These include: 1) focus on transnational and international African world interests and cooperative relations among scholars throughout the African world as outlined in Locksley Edmondson's 1985 memo "Redefining the Role of AHSA;" 2) strengthening and expanding the AHSA student commission to mentor and support young scholars; 3) a publishing project to aid Africana Studies scholars in publishing their work and produce regular organization literature; 4) sustaining and expanding the AHSA newsletter; and 5) building a Pan-African research institute dedicated to the pursuit of truth and the reaffirmation of African heritage.

National Council for Black Studies (NCBS). The National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) was founded in 1976 and has since become the preeminent discipline organization. The process which led to its founding was initiated in 1975 by Bertha Maxwell, who was then the chair of the Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Calling on Black scholars around the country to

engage in dialog on critical issues of Black Studies, she created the interest and opportunity for the building of NCBS and played a central role in its formation and development. In 1976 at the founding conference, women and men of the discipline developed programs and strategies for organizational and discipline development and Maxwell became NCBS' first chairperson. She was followed by chairpersons William King, William "Nick" Nelson, Carlene Young, Delores Aldridge, Selasé W. Williams and now in 1992, Charles Henry. It is important to note here that since its inception NCBS has not only had an equal number of female and male chairpersons and leaders, but also a similar distribution of key players in its founding and development. This has helped produce, as argued below, a positive and productive male/female dialog and exchange and has thus expanded and enriched the organization and the discipline.

In a paper titled "A Synoptic History of NCBS and Its Future Direction" and presented at the NCBS Summer Faculty Institute in June 1991 at Ohio State University, then president Selasé Williams outlined the role of the organization in defining, defending and developing Black Studies. He (1991:1) noted the unique role of NCBS as a professional organization for a discipline which "always insisted on the inclusion of both the intellectual and political dimensions of the Black Experience in its curriculum, its research and other professional responsibilities." Thus, he (1991:2) calls attention to Article II of the NCBS Constitution which shows its commitment to both academic excellence and social responsibility, building on and drawing from not only educators but also students, interested citizens and other professionals. "The purpose of this Council," the Article reads, "is to promote and strengthen academic and community programs in the area of Black Studies. The Council believes that Black Studies academic programs should include any subject area that has the Black experience as the principle object and content of study."

Under successive administrations, NCBS emerged as the preeminent professional organization of the discipline. Having

established its national office at Indiana University, Bloomington under the auspices of Herman Hudson, Dean of Afro-American Studies, it proceeded to produce its organizational voice, *Voices in Black Studies* and to expand its regional structures. Moreover, it began in the early 80's to produce a series of documents which defined its goals and informed its practice. Among these are: *The Black Studies Core Curriculum*, (The Hall Report) 1981; *The Black Studies 4-Year College and University Survey* (The Daniel and Zike Report) 1983; and *The Short-Range and Long-Range Goals Report* (The Williams Report) 1984. In addition, NCBS chairpersons Carlene Young and Delores Aldridge produced special Black Studies issues of journals on the state, future and direction of the discipline. Young (1984) edited a special issue of the *Journal of Negro Education* and Aldridge (1988) edited a special issue of *Phylon*, both of which deepened and expanded Black Studies discourse.

Important also to NCBS' development has been its establishment of an accreditation process for Black Studies programs, its creation of specialty caucuses, its workshops on multicultural education and Black women issues, its joint activities with AHSA, the Congressional Black Caucus and other academic, professional and community organizations; and its recent establishment of its discipline journal, *The Afrocentric Scholar*. Also, among its most significant programs has been the foundation sponsored projects such as the Summer Faculty Institute, the Administrative Training Workshop and Curriculum Development and Data Collection. Especially central are the Summer Faculty Institute which introduces new Black Studies faculty to the history, philosophy and varied discourses of the discipline, and provides them with a context of creative challenge and exchange with peers as well as major scholars in the discipline.

Finally, Williams (1991:4) lists as the future direction and goals of NCBS: 1) continued production of discipline literature and organizational documents; 2) ongoing and expanded grant and research proposals for development of the discipline, faculty,

students and community -- NCBS projects; 3) continuing organizational professionalization and reorganization for improved performance and service; and 4) increasing and enriching contexts for discourse and exchange, i.e., conferences, symposia, workshops, etc. In addition to these goals, certainly the pursuit of curriculum development to meet new challenges and expand the discipline to include new discourse and issues, i.e., Black women studies, classical African studies, multicultural studies and international studies, also stand at the core of the NCBS mission (Aldridge, 1992).

The Concept of Afrocentricity

Clearly one of the most important recent developments in Black Studies is the emergence of Afrocentricity as a major conceptual framework within the discipline. As an intellectual category, Afrocentricity is relatively new, emerging in the late 70's and finding its most definitive treatment then in a work by Molefi Asante titled *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* and published in 1980. In this initial work Asante (1980:66) described Afrocentricity as the indispensable perspective of the Black Studies project and he has continuously maintained this position.

One could argue that the Afrocentric emphasis in Black studies is not new and that it reaches back to much earlier periods in Black intellectual history (Morgan, 1991). For example works on education by W.E.B. DuBois (1975), Anna Julia Cooper (1892) and especially, Carter G. Woodson's (1969) *Mis-education of the Negro* could certainly be called in part or whole Afrocentric works. But it is Asante (1980, 1987, 1990) who provided the category Afrocentricity and an accompanying literature which contributed definitively to establishing the concept as a central element in Black Studies discourse and practice. Since the introduction of the category, the discourse around both the category and its meaning to Black Studies has been extensive and varied. Thus, it is important to note that