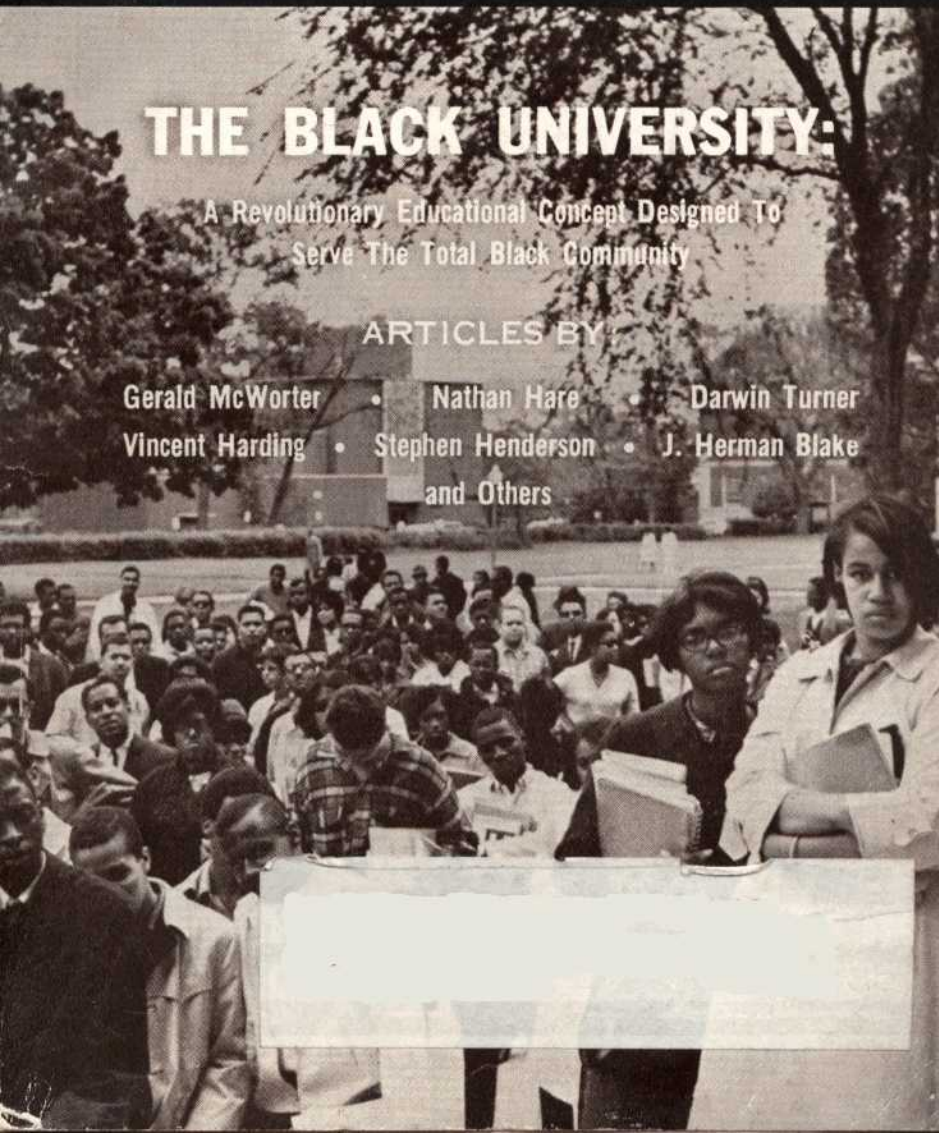
Negro Digest

MARCH 1968 A JOHNSON PUBLICATION 35c

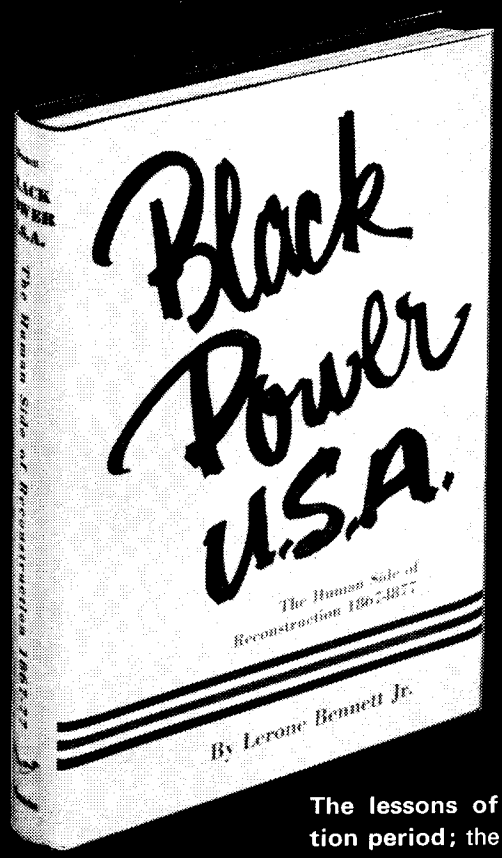


THE BLACK UNIVERSITY:

A Revolutionary Educational Concept Designed To Serve The Total Black Community

ARTICLES BY:

Gerald McWorter • Nathan Hare • Darwin Turner
Vincent Harding • Stephen Henderson • J. Herman Blake
and Others



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MARCH 1968

VOL. XVII NO. 5

Editor and Publisher:
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NEGRO DIGEST is published monthly at 1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616.

© Copyright, 1968 by the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc. New York offices: Rockefeller Center, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York 10020. Los Angeles offices: 3600 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90005. Washington, D. C. offices: 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C., 20006. Paris office, 38, Avenue George V, Paris 8e, France.

Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

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Subscriptions $4.00 per year. For foreign subscriptions add $1.00. NEGRO DIGEST articles are selected on the basis of general interest and do not necessarily express the opinions of the editors.

A Choice of Forms



BY GERALD McWORTER

". . . While we can look to the future, at best, for its full realization, it is quite possible now to suggest a structural outline that reflects the fundamental assumptions about the Black University's social and intellectual role . . ."

(See Editor's Notes, page 97)

REVOLUTIONARY change for the liberation of a people from oppressive social structures is not the special function of one course of action, but, more likely, the result of several. And while education is generally hoped to be a liberating force on men's minds and bodies, ofttimes it has been used as a debilitating tool in the interests of an oppressive society. Accordingly,



Kwame Nkrumah compares the colonial student educated for "the art of forming not a concrete environmental view of social political problems, but an abstract 'liberal' outlook," with the revolutionary student "animated by a lively national consciousness, (who) sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity." So it is becoming rather clear that educational institutions are vital to a liberation movement, a fact of modern times in anti-colonial movements in the Third World.

In the United States there is no question about the persistence of segregation, racism, and more subtle forms of neo-racism. As the pernicious oppression of racism is an organic part of the institutions, symbols, and values of Western industrial society, so it is firmly entrenched in the U.S.A. ("as American as apple pie"). An Afro-American liberation movement

must subvert and/or supplant such a well-entrenched social system if it is to be a real source of radical change and not a false one.

My primary task in this discussion is an ideological consideration of the role of a university in the liberation of the Afro-American community. It must be clear that this role has to deal with today's world, as well as with what ought to be. And certainly, it must include the management of whatever social change is required to move effectively from the "is" to the "ought." The university is alive for people in the world (including all of the socio-economic and political hangs-up involved), and so must meet the challenge of responding creatively to whatever needs exist now for those people. But, at the same time, it must project itself as a prophetic institution calling into question all that which is inconsistent with its highest ideals, and organizing its activities to bring about the realization of its ideals. The focus of this discussion is on what *ought* to be, *the prophetic social role of the Black University*, for therein lies the fountainhead of revolutionary liberation.

We must be reminded of this same theme as stated by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois over 50 years ago in the 1910 Niagro Movement resolutions:

> And when we call for education, we mean real education . . . Education is the development of power and ideal. We want our children trained as intelligent human beings should be, and we will fight for all time against any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people. They have a right to know, to think, to aspire. We do not believe in violence . . . but we do believe in . . . that willingness to sacrifice money, reputation, and life itself on the altar of right.

The Booker T. Washington-Du Bois dialectical opposition is relevant here, as it is the important example of the "is" versus the "ought" concerning educational ideology for Afro-Americans. Training people to fit in where they can (think of MDTA, Job Corps, etc.) might be acceptable for short term solutions, though not as Washington thought it to be. But the educational ideology of Du Bois is our prophecy, a rationale to built a Black university—the crucible of definitive social change.

In order that the idea of the new university and the notions of how we are to achieve it as a goal will be more clearly understood, it is important to discuss briefly the current social situation. The current situation is one charged with a great deal of expectancy on the part of many Afro-Americans, an expectancy frequently expressed by the emotional connotations of a term or phrase but usually not delineated in structural or programmatic terms. But this programmatic

deficiency is not so much a shortcoming, for the exciting search for innovation and relevance is the first sign of progress. A major question, then, is what conditions give rise to this expectancy, this charged atmosphere crystallized around the term Black University?



A major trend in today's world is that, as oppressed people know that the world offers more than they have, and as they are able to get a little more of it, they also expect to get very much more. This has been called "the revolution of rising expectations." A figurative example: An Afro-American family gets a television set and enters as a spectator the world of affluent Euro-American society. It is not complicated to see that this would lead to the family wanting more than it has, much more. Just imagine how cruel it must be for poor oppressed Black people to watch the give-away quiz programs on which white people win appliances, furniture, and cars in 20 minutes or so. Then think of a scene of ghetto destruction during which people brave armed police to steal appliances, furniture, and cars in 20 minutes or so. Oppressed people see what is going on, and want 'in' in the best way they can get 'in' (yes, by any means necessary to do it right now!!).

Along with this developing desire to get more out of society there also is the increasing saliency of a nationalistic alternative to the system. The general components are militancy, self-determination, and a desire to identify with similar oppressed people throughout the world (who are *not* by accident mostly colored people). This alternative is grounded in communalism and finds its legitimacy from within Afro-America and not outside of it. Nationalism, in this context, means total concern for the community of common experience, so Afro-American Nationalism is grounded in the Black Experience. Communalism, meaning self-help cooperative efforts, is the ethic supporting the new alternative.

These two major trends cannot be viewed outside of the total context of world events, especially those events of particular relevance to the Afro-American community. The military-industrial machine of the Western powers is equally offensive and outraging in Vietnam and South Africa, in Santo Domingo and Ghana. But it seems apparent that peoples can only unite across the world in aspiring for the same universals—peace, freedom, and justice—while focusing their working activities on the social ills as manifested at home. If we are to reap a harvest of world brotherhood, then each man must first tend to his own garden. But for each garden to have its true meaning, the gardener must know his historical role and his relation-

ship with all others working for the same harvest.

The two trends are general social sources of the cry for a Black University. While everyone is more or less for such a thing as a university, for some the quality of Blackness imbues the concept with polemical emotional intensity and conceptual ambiguity (or, in extreme cases, of racism). This must be cleared up if the dialogue is to continue. In reference to a university, Blackness must mean at least three things.

First, Blackness refers to the Afro-American community as the basic focus for the University. This in no way compromises or limits its universalistic orientation or its attempts to contribute to human progress: rather, it frees it to be relevant in the face of an unmet need reflecting the woeful limit of human progress.

A second, and more controversial point, considers the limits placed on participation in the University. Blackness does not categorically exclude all white people from the University; it redefines the standards for their participation and the possibility for their involvement. In much the same way that independent African countries have attempted to redefine the possible role of the European, so in the Black University the role of the white man must be redefined and carefully placed for the maximum good of all. Some white people will be necessary for the immediate future if for no other reason than the black community's own shortage of resources. But unconditional participation will have to be ended. The participation must be based on a commitment to the goals and aspirations of the Afro-American community, and the white participant must possess the sacrificial humility necessary for one historically and socially identified with the beast of Afro-American history and the system of oppression.

Last, Blackness is an affirmation of an identity independent of the historical human evils of modern nation states, and is closely tied to the emerging international identity of man in his struggle for a better life. Consider this revelation by Brother Malcolm X when on his pilgrimage to Mecca:

> "That morning was when I first began to reappraise the 'white man.' It was when I first began to perceive that 'white man' as commonly used, means complexion only secondarily; primarily it described attitudes and actions. In America, 'white man' meant specific attitudes and actions toward the black man, and toward all other nonwhite men. But in the Muslim world, I had seen men with white complexions were more genuinely brotherly than anyone else had ever been."

The relations between people must be allowed to grow and progress without the limiting problem of the national state. Who are we? Afro-Americans, men of the world. Why

are we here? We were sent here to love. Where are we going? Toward the community of love, and if stopped we will continue "by any means necessary," because we must continue.

So much for prologue. What is the Black University idea all about? What are its goals? And what might it look like? The university focusing on the particular needs of the Afro-American community will be a center of learning. But, recognizing the alternatives noted above by Nkrumah, it must be based on an educational ideology grounded in an uncompromising goal of psychological independence from the oppressor (and his oppressive system), and as much structural independence as is necessary not only to survive in the world, but to prosper. So, education must be defined to specify these purposes as most important.

The American (U.S.A.) ethic of individualism is inclusive of both basic needs of men and the essence of a social style. All men are, to some extent, self-centered. But to build a social group process on self-centeredness is to hope for a just order through "antagonistic cooperation." The thrust of the Black University must be to overcome this subtle social warlike-state with the ethic of communalism. This means that instead of hoping for social progress through the individual merits of its students or faculty *qua* individuals, progress is to be viewed as a social process through which the community is uplifted with the aid of its contributing people. This then means that while students and faculty play a very vital role, they are co-workers alongside the equally important others, *e.g.*, the community organizer, the artist, the union organizer.

Moreover, the goal of the university must be one of service to the community. The students, faculty, and administration of the Black University must consider themselves as servants to the broader Afro-American community. Being a member of the University must be considered an honor, but more important this honor must be one involving responsibility to the total community and not simply focusing on the "I-made-it-because-I'm-smarter-than" kind of thinking. Being servants, status is not based on the academic credentials university people create for themselves; rather it is on the extent to which the total community is able to reap benefits from the service provided.

The service of the Black University must not be one transmitted through mass communication or ritualistic ceremony but through a concrete programmatic movement toward liberation. The time when the Afro-American community must be arms-length from its institutions of higher education is over.

The pimps, prostitutes, preachers, and Ph.D.'s must find a common bond to change themselves and weave an organic unity as the basis for liberation and a better life for all.

These goals must redefine two dangerously-pervasive patterns found among Afro-American faculty and students today. One of the patterns is for education to be simply a process of acclimation and adjustment to the white world. One goes to a white school to rub shoulders with *them,* "because, son, you got to make a livin' out in their world." Another pattern is the play-culture of friendship cliques and fraternity life. Whether it is mimicry of whites (think of Fort Lauderdale in the spring), or defection based on hopelessness, we must find the recipe for a revolutionary discipline consistent with our desire for immediate radical change. A free man is also (and must be) a responsible man, and so must Afro-American students and faculty be responsible to themselves by being responsible to the Black community.

The values of the Black University must support the liberation movement of Afro-Americans, oppressed people around the world, and all that prevents man from leading the good life. We must find a synthesis of efficient reason and purposive compassion. The value placed on scientific methods must be joined by an equally important value placed on empathy, *i.e.,* scientific detachment must be limited to method and technique, complemented with involvement and commitment. The students and faculty must be evangelical in their social roles and give new meaning to being a missionary for freedom. And finally, the Black University must impart to all who are associated with it the strength to be alone. The struggle against ignorance, just as with the struggle of power, is one within which the forces of good are often small in number and sparsely placed. An Afro-American of the Black University must have inner strength, positive historical identity, and a vision of the good, for only in having these traits will he be able to stand up in a world dominated by evil and be secure even in being alone.

Among its many functions, the university is most concerned with knowledge, both the accumulated information and insights of human history and the vision and process of new discovery. And it is knowledge about Afro-Americans that is most lacking, or biased and wrong, in all these respects. The Black University is based on the fundamental assumption that the Afro-American community is, in E. Franklin Frazier's words, "a little social world," a human universe heretofore misused or ignored by higher education. Consider these autobiographical comments by Dr. Du Bois:

> "When I went South to Fisk, I became a member of a closed

racial group with rites and loyalties, with a history and a corporate future, with an art and philosophy.

Into this world I leapt with provincial enthusiasm. A new loyalty and allegiance replaced my Americanism: henceforth I was a Negro."

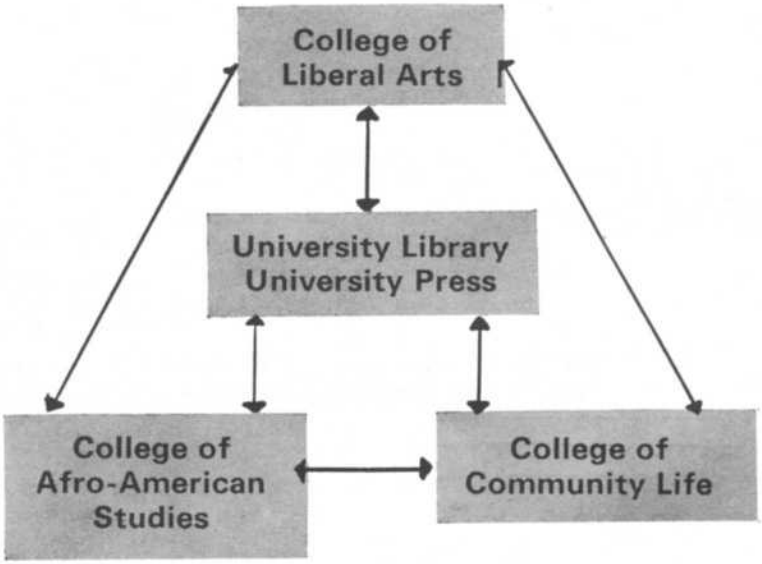
The Black University must respond creatively to just these realities which were true for Du Bois in 1880, and equally true for this author in the 1960's.

The knowledge of Afro-Americans, just as with Africa, is yet to be fully reclaimed. With the full scope of University activities (research, teaching, *etc.*), revision is needed to secure for colored peoples of the world their proper place in human history. This revision of educational materials is a process as much political as it is scholarly. With scholarly work a text of U.S.A. history can be written, but only with political influence will it be made available by getting it published, placed in a library, or adopted as recommended reading. However, in the present it would be foolish to think of throwing everything aside. Revision of *what is* must be a thorough job of systematic and rigorous scholarship backed by the concerted political efforts of Afro-American students, faculty, and the entire community.

But more important (and more difficult), there is a need to find new styles of scholarship, new forms of knowledge, new ways of knowing. These new developments must be consistent with what is to be known, and have utility for the liberation movement. There must be research on all aspects of the Black Experience, research necessarily not limited to traditional scholarly disciplines, but open to the demands of the subject. For example, the "Blues" component of Afro-American culture demands a historian, musicologist, literary historian, sociologist, *etc.* The soul of a people must be reflected in the results of the research as well as the life style of the Black University. We must be in search of the "funky" sociologist, the "soulful" political scientist, and the University president who can "get down."

These are some of the necessary ingredients of a Black University. And while we can, at best, look to the future for its full realization, it is quite possible now to suggest a structural outline that reflects these fundamental assumptions about its social and intellectual role. The diagram (on page 12) suggests three related colleges concerned with distinct areas, though bound together in the idea of the University. Each would be organized around research, teaching, and practice. For every part of the University community there would be

THE BLACK UNIVERSITY:
An Unfinished Design



1. Centers for International Study (Asia, Africa, Latin America)
2. International Conference Center

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an advisory board of community representatives from all walks of life, with the task of providing policy suggestions and guidelines. This would insure the community of ties to the specific parts of the University.

As one enters the University he will be faced with a variety of degree programs and alternative courses of study. It is quite clear that the standard four-year college degree meets only a partial need for the Afro-American community. But even the student entering the College of Liberal Arts would have to work at least a year in one or more of the other two colleges in order to meet the requirements for graduation. The general principle

might well be that, to meet the needs of today, the new programs will have to take less time; but those set up to meet the needs of tomorrow will have to take more time.

As a national institution engaged in activities found nowhere else, the component colleges of the Black University would be of great service to a wide variety of groups. Service professionals working with Afro-Americans face a challenge supported by sparse research and little experience. The College of Afro-American Studies, being a center of innovation and discovery concerning these problems, will conduct special courses and training programs so that students can supplement their training and experience with a concentrated program. There is a desperate need for social workers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, psychiatrists, *etc.* And the same kind of function is planned for the entire University.

There also must be connected with such a University a set of centers of International Study. They will be small centers specializing in specific areas in order that, together, they might constitute an international program without superficially missing the peculiar character of each part of the world. In addition, no such University could hope to function without an international conference center available to the University community, and accommodating other activities consistent with the aims and purpose of the University community and liberation movement. Afro-Americans are moving onto the international scene and so must have at their disposal a center where such meetings can be held.

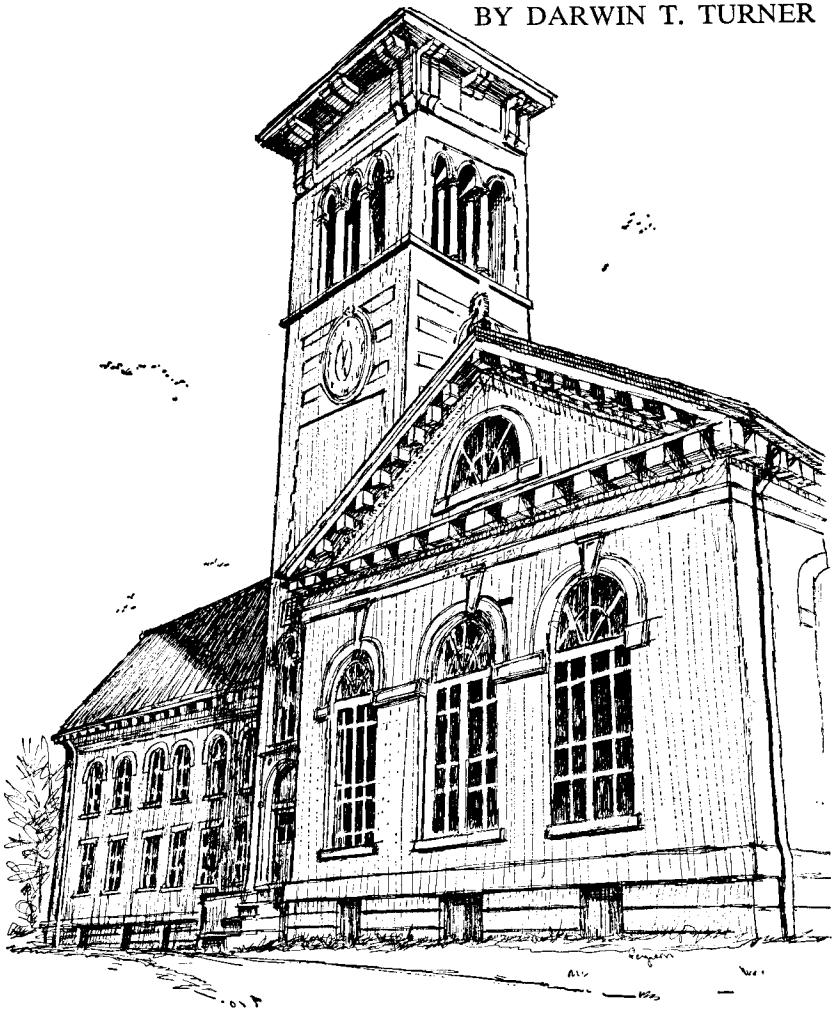
As stated at the beginning of this discussion, there is no panacea for the Afro-American liberation movement, just as there can and will be no monolithic organizational structure. But there can be operational unity around such concepts as the Black University. The first step in moving toward this operational unity, moving toward the Black University, is to begin a creative and honest dialogue among Afro-Americans. But more than that, we need small bands of people in positions to act, to make steps, to be daring enough to risk failure (or worse, irrelevance). It will only be when these ideas can be referred to in concrete terms that definitive statements can be made, and the concrete reality of the Black University must begin today.

One last thought. The Afro-American community does not possess unlimited resources with which to carry on experiment after experiment. Each of us who can contribute to the Black University must ask himself what he is doing for it, what he is doing for this kind of operational unity. I am calling for all of the brothers and sisters in "other" colleges and university settings to come on home. And to those at home, let us get this thing together!!

Problems, Prospects, and Proposals

The Black University: A Practical Approach

BY DARWIN T. TURNER



A distinguished young educator from a leading black college offers a possible pattern for a Black University which "should be the kind of institution best designed to provide adequate opportunity for black teachers and students to develop their capabilities fully, to serve the black community effectively, to gain pride in and knowledge of their heritage and themselves . . ."

MOST REFORM ends in revolution. Perhaps that will be the inevitable result in any effort to reform higher education for Negroes in the United States. Nevertheless, before proposing the revolutionary step of establishing a new institution—a black university—I wish to suggest ways of achieving the desired improvement within the present structure of higher education.

For fear that the very discussion of this issue may seem to provide substance for those hostile critics who argue that Negroes are peculiar creatures always demanding or needing special attention, I must point out that the need for reform is not limited to the education of Negroes. Higher education in the United States needs attention. It is a mongrel conceived from the forced wedding of the European ideal of educating the *élite* to the United States ideal of educating the masses. Students complain about their loss of identity, their isolation from professors, their inability to receive respect as young adults, and their subjection to antiquated or absurd academic regulations, courses, and materials. Teachers complain about the disinterest of students and about the overemphasis on athletics, grants, and research. Administrators complain about the continuous complaining by students and teachers.

Although Negroes share in these characteristic and perennial problems of higher education, Negroes experience additional problems both in the "integrated" colleges and in the "predominantly Negro" colleges.

The Negro teacher in an integrated institution knows that he exists as a visible symbol of liberal attitudes and practices of brotherhood. If he is one in a million, he may become the chairman of his department. (Or who is there besides John Hope Franklin?) If he is especially astute in his studies of Negroes, he may aspire to be a Kenneth B. Clark. Most often, however, he rises to the lowly post of assistant or associate professor, and squirms there; the channels to prominence are dammed for him even though his intelligence and training may surpass those of men who rise beyond his rank.

If he works in a predominantly

Negro college, he, generally, must live in the South. Professionally, his growth is restricted by the cultural isolation, the poverty, and the apathy frequently characteristic of such institutions. Because he may become a professor, a dean, or even a president, he may earn more money than he would in an integrated institution. Psychologically, however, he struggles to maintain self-respect when professional friends accuse him of martyrdom or worse. Even though the quality of instruction in individual classes may equal that observed in any college in the country, widely publicized reports by white men have proclaimed the innate inferiority of such institutions. Thus, as long as he remains attached to a predominantly Negro college, he too is adjudged inferior or, at best, an exception, a small-sized frog in a muddy cesspool.

It is no wonder that, vacillating between such harsh alternatives, Negro educators frequently dream of a black university in which they might rise to a level ordained by their talents and ambition while commanding the professional respect accorded to teachers at prestige institutions.

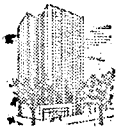
Similarly, sensitive Negro students feel repressed. In integrated institutions, prospects are brighter for them than for Negro teachers. They may be elected to such exalted positions as homecoming queen or president of a club or even a class. The only requirement is that they be exceptional in intelligence, athletic ability, charm, or beauty, or that the school be campaigning to prove its liberality. If they are average or enroll during the wrong year, they drop into obscurity, where they remain far more hidden than are white classmates of equal talent. Regardless of their prominence, they experience restrictions in social life. Academically, some suffer from the prejudice of instructors who believe Negroes incapable of swimming above "C" level. Still others, intelligent students, may suspect that they are being crippled by condescending tolerance. Their answers are accepted too easily; their mistakes are forgiven too quickly. They fear that they are being hurried along, with good grades, by teachers willing to evaluate Negroes on lowered standards because, after graduation, the Negroes will disappear into their own world where their ignorance will neither injure nor threaten the white world. Furthermore, whether talented or average, these students will be taught very little about the worthy achievements of other Negroes.

As students in a predominantly Negro college, they may achieve more local prominence as individuals, but they have read the studies which advise them and the world that their education is inferior. This knowledge creates double dangers. First, although they resent the situation which labels them inferior by association, they subconsciously

come to accept the judgment. Consequently, they fail to drive themselves as industriously as they would in integrated institutions; and, too frequently, they protest against the teachers who demand college-level work from them. Second, because they lack first-hand knowledge of integrated colleges, they assume that each weakness which they observe must be unique to predominantly Negro colleges and must be further evidence of the inferiority of such institutions.

Like Negro teachers, they want to be part of an institution which will afford the opportunity to develop their talents and the prestige merited by their achievements.

Let us, therefore, dream of the ideal institution—one which will give growth to Negro teachers and students alike. It is, I repeat, one which can be developed within the current framework of higher education—if it is to be developed at all.



ENDOWMENT

A university must have money. Good teachers and good administrators—whether white or black—go where salaries will buy all the necessities and, hopefully, some of the luxuries. Money is needed for classroom buildings, dormitories, staff, equipment, and supplies.

Predominantly Negro colleges have lacked money. They have depended upon state legislators, churches, generous patrons, alumni, and students. Except in California, legislators spend money for education as grudgingly as a temperance worker gives alcoholics money for liquor. Generally, one state-supported university is favored. The rest beg. The least successful beggars have been the predominantly Negro colleges, which have lacked alumni who, seated in Southern legislatures, might trade votes for dollars. More limited in funds, churches frequently have doled their allotments with the prayer that sacrifice and dedication might substitute for cash. Donors—both individuals and foundations—have been generous at times. But, planning a black university, one cannot afford to forget that the majority of philanthropic supporters of Negroes' higher education are white. Negro alumni have contributed; but, deficient in both number and wealth, they generally have been unable to provide more than a few scholarships and some spending change. Tuition has been an important source of revenue, but it is a troublesome source. Raise tuition too high; fewer students attend. Increase the number of students; additional money is needed for teachers, equipment, supplies, and facilities. Furthermore, the quality of the student too frequently is lowered when additional quantity is sought.

An obvious method to use to secure the necessary money would be an appeal to the Negro populace to support a worthy cause. An average contribution of one dollar for every Negro in the United States would furnish working capital—sixteen or seventeen million dollars. But will enough Negroes contribute sufficiently generously to a single university? I fear, pessimistically, that this ideal institution must continue to depend partially upon contributions from white patrons—federal or private—who traditionally weaken in generosity as a Negro institution gains in affluence.

Of course, in a black state or a black nation, it would be possible to secure sufficient money by a minimal tax. But I must make clear that I am not considering a black state or nation on the continent of North America. Although I would be happy to be part of a nation where a black man might be elected president in 1968, I do not judge such a nation to be practicable in North America, where it would begin 300 years behind the other countries, where its creation would require uprooting settled people, and where its existence might depend upon "conscience-contributions" from people notoriously untroubled by conscience when comfort and cash are at stake.

No. I must discuss the possibilities of an ideal institution for Negroes within the United States. To secure sufficient money, such an institution must discover a way to tap the pocketbooks of moneyed Negroes as no other Negro cause has succeeded in doing. All methods must be used—collections in churches, dances by fraternal organizations, door to door soliciting, telephone and mail canvassing, raffles. And the solicitors must have substantial arguments to offset the prejudice against higher education, the disinterest in national causes, and the suspicion of solicitors.

CURRICULA

In considering second the question of what the Negro student should learn, I am merely giving high priority to the complaint of Negro students that they learn too little about themselves and about ways to improve their community. Although I admit the justice of the charge, I cannot blame anyone except Negro faculty members—myself included. Unimaginatively, we, like thousands of white educators, have reproduced for our students the same education which we received. We have wanted our students to possess the kind of knowledge respected by the semi-integrated society which will surround them after graduation. But we have failed to realize sufficiently the need to provide them with ad-

ditional knowledge required for the segregated society, the black society, the little circle inside of—and ignored by—the large circle.

We can blame ourselves. Nothing—to my knowledge—prevents predominantly Negro colleges from offering any course that is desired. I am fully aware that some Southern legislators or governors have applied pressure to some Negro college presidents in an effort to curb demonstrations. I know also that some Negro college presidents have succumbed to such pressure or, timidly, have restricted student activity in anticipation of such pressure. Certainly, having taught in North Carolina for nine years, I know how legislators may try to restrict freedom of speech. Fearful of Communism, the legislature of North Carolina banned from appearance on campuses any acknowledged communist or anyone who had pleaded the fifth amendment. Educators in North Carolina understood, however, that this law was not aimed at the predominantly Negro colleges. The white legislators scarcely knew nor cared who spoke to the Negro students. The legislators and their constituents concerned themselves with the speakers who came to the campuses of the large state-supported universities.

I do not know any instance in which a state official has opposed an attempt to introduce any racially-oriented course at a predominantly Negro college. Of course, I have no primary knowledge of what happens in education in Mississippi or Alabama, those bastions of Confederate racism. I do know teachers in those states, however, and have no reason to believe that courses have been denied.

The fact is that Negro educators —and I must include myself— have not conceived courses oriented to the Negro. Aside from the history of the Negro in America, a course in literature by Negro American writers, and possibly a course or two in sociology including a discussion of the problems of minority groups, few educators have proposed courses studying the achievements of black men. I know no course in the history of art or music of Negroes, no history of education which includes a study of predominantly Negro segregated public schools and colleges, no linguistics course which analyzes the so-called Negro dialect. There should be sociology courses analyzing the structure of the Negro community, business courses describing methods of organizing co-operative community businesses, more courses concentrated on practices in small businesses.

These courses are desirable, can be established, and must be established, even at the predominantly Negro colleges as currently structured. The irony is that they may be established first and, condescendingly, at predominantly white institutions.

This new information, however, cannot be substituted for other more traditional knowledge. It must be additional. I hesitate to use the term "supplementary" only because some readers may assume that I regard it as less important. To the contrary, it is significant. However, if the Negro student is provided only with knowledge about Negroes, then his education will be as restricted as it has been in the past. His vision, true, will be black instead of white. But the revisers of the curriculum will be guilty of the same color-blindness and narrow vision for which they condemn the planners of the present curriculum.

RESEARCH

Despite the extravagances committed in its name, research is the consort of good teaching. A teacher must have information about his subject. Before significant changes can be made in curricula for Negro students, considerable research will be needed. For, shamefully, facts about Negroes are not known or have been gathered by white researchers, too frequently in quickly published studies where a limited sampling was used to substantiate a pre-conceived generalization about an entire population. Just as predominantly Negro colleges have been compared, unfavorably, with the ideal of a college or with the prestige institutions rather than with predominantly white colleges of comparable size and endowment, so Negroes as individuals and groups have been evaluated against the ideal rather than judged in comparison with white peers of similar economic, educational, and social background.

New research is needed; extensive research is needed. There are Negroes qualified to perform such research. But ways must be devised to provide researchers with the time needed and to persuade foundations to trust Negro researchers to conduct scholarly studies of Negroes. Without such research, the new courses cannot be offered, for it is better to teach nothing than to teach something which is known to be merely a guess.

PUBLISHING

The Black University needs to publish the research of its scholars. Today, white publishers respect research into problems of Negroes primarily when it is conducted by white men. A Negro scholar—

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Faculty, Curriculum, Research . . .

BY STEPHEN E. HENDERSON

". . . That the change will *come is obvious to all but the blind and the deaf, who really have no business at all in the crucial task of educating this new black generation who well may be our last hope for sanity and decency in this country . . ."*

AS I SEE IT, the Black University may exist in the following forms: (1) as a new institution; (2) as an institution already existing in toto; and (3) as an institution already existing in part, both physically and intellectually. Now, it strikes me that the first choice, for practical men, is unrealistic and wasteful since the need is immediate and the founding and supporting of a strong institution so costly and time-consuming that it would unduly diffuse the already too meager financial and professional resources of the black community. Can we turn, then, to a Black University which already exists in toto? The question, of course is rhetorical, for if *one* such institution existed, there would be no need for a discussion of the desirability of such an institution. This, consequently, leaves us with the third possibility: an institution already existing in part, physically and intellectually.

It appears to me that, although the Black University does not at present exist anywhere in toto, it does exist in part in that residue of blackness—social, cultural, and philosophical—which is found in the so-called predominantly Negro colleges; or to use another circumlocution, in the historically Negro colleges. The problem becomes, then, a matter of modifying some one or more of these institutions. Personally, I have no doubt that such modification is necessary; indeed, it seems to me inevitable. Some, perhaps many, of these schools will survive with relatively little change; others will perish, either absorbed into their various state budgets, or through

consolidation, or through absorption into the cloudy American "mainstream." Strangely enough, this last-named fate seems to be eagerly anticipated by many institutions which, with few exceptions, have sizeable white numbers in their faculties but virtually no white students in their enrollment. Riesman and Jencks have already analyzed this phenomenon, so I am content to observe that schools are for the education of students, not for the employment of teachers. Once we accept that simple fact, the pathetic absurdity of calling our schools "predominantly Negro" becomes altogether too clear. It indicates a curious ambivalence which is characteristic of all of our relationships with the rest of the country. We say "predominantly Negro," meaning, perhaps, that this is a temporary situation, that what we really want is to be "integrated," *i.e.,* to be a minority—*in our own schools.* Why? Is it that we doubt our own capacity to give *our children* a quality education, or even to raise our children at all? That same ambivalence lurks behind the whole thrust of the recent Civil Rights movement. Another aspect of this ambivalence is perhaps the secret wish to retain the schools as "predominantly Negro," *i.e,* to retain power and control and decision-making in our own hands. If that is what we mean, then why do we apologize for it? God knows it's natural enough, and it's a salutary development to see, as a practical expression of Black Consciousness, that parents and teachers and pupils in Northern urban high schools are demanding just that kind of control.

If such a desire is natural, then why do the Negro colleges equivocate? I submit that they do so out of confusion or out of fear—confusion as to their role in a society marked by constant crisis, confusion as to the nature of the changes taking place in that society; fear of offending their white supporters and faculty, and fear of re-evaluating the premises on which the institutions themselves are predicated.

By nature of the problem to which I address myself, the schools which best illustrate this anxiety are our so-called liberal arts colleges. They represent the heart of the problem since their ultimate function is to shape the student's mind and soul in such a way that he can perform most efficiently and happily in his world. Glancing at random through statements of institutional purpose of many of the schools, one discovers quite soon that the purpose actually, if stated in fashionable language, is to help the student discover his identity through acquainting him with the history, the culture, and the forms of belief of Western civilization. Even this limited aim has never been carried out on any large scale. And it hasn't been done chiefly because, as educators, we took the

passive role and assumed that the experience of blackness is irrelevant to Western history and civilization and hence to our students' (and our own) search for identity. *The single revolutionary concept that has emerged in recent years is that the black experience is not only relevant in such a search, it is fundamental and crucial.* One might almost call it archetypal, for from it can be derived not only America's quest for selfhood but, indeed,—since the black experience is also the type of the colonial experience and reaction to it—the whole modern experience of Europe as well. How absurd it is, then, to assume, as some critics do, that a Black University would exist in a vacuum, when the question of identity—the question of blackness—is more than a matter of pigmentation, when it is ultimately a moral and philosophical position.

In other words, one finally *wills* to be black. This is what the fuss is all about—Albert Cleage, Adam Powell, Walter White, Frank Silvera, *willed* in varying degrees to be black. My firm belief is that, by willing to be black in that philosophical sense, our schools can make a greater contribution to our personal well-being and to the world at large than by any other means that I can presently see.

What does this will-to-blackness entail?

It entails a certain double vision —not the double vision of Du Bois,* but a shift in perspective, in which one looks inward (into himself and the group) and sees outward with sharper *in*sight; in which one looks backward (into his history and his cultural roots) and discovers that he is looking forward. It is like looking backward in time though one is looking forward in space through a telescope. If through this process one discovered God in the actual act of creation (and with a new physics we might), one's knowledge would be complete. Vaughan, the poet said, "There is in God, they say, a deep and dazzling darkness." And it is for the reason of this liberating God within us that we must confront our blackness. Immediately we must confront it, because we have to no inconsiderable extent Africanized this country. That time it was unconscious and passive. This time it must be otherwise, for unless the values inherent in "Soul" and "Negritude" are made to prevail in this country, we may yet find ourselves at Armageddon, across the seas, in our skies, and in our own city streets.

Assuming then my estimate of the importance of the Black University to be valid, I shall briefly discuss what seems to me the feasibility of such an institution.

* *Souls of Black Folk*

First, if black college presidents *willed* to be black the problem would be very much simpler (though by no means simple), for to some extent philosophical blackness, or Soul, exists in all of our institutions—if not in individual courses, then in faculty or students. Our immediate problem, thus, is to bring this blackness, as it were, to a saturation point. This means conscious reorganization and concentration of human and other resources, preferably, as I see it, in several regional centers which already exist: in the Baltimore-D. C. area; in the Norfolk area; in the Durham-Greensboro area; in the Nashville area, in the Atlanta area; in the Tallahassee area; in the New Orleans area, and in the Houston area. Depending on the degree of cooperation, they would become centers of Black Consciousness or units of a single *de facto* supra-institutional Black University.

The simplest thing to do, of course, would be for college presidents to recognize the schizophrenia implicit in being "predominantly Negro" and simply declare themselves to be black people, working especially for the good of black people, though excluding no one because of color or ethnic origin, their mission being to capitalize on the unique importance of the black experience to this country and to the world. If we were honest with ourselves, and if national spokesmen for cultural pluralism were serious, then presidents would have no fear of losing financial and moral support. Indeed, the Federal Government and private industry in such a case should have no qualms at all about paying some interest on that great invisible national debt, the vast backlog of salary which they owe us for almost 400 years of economic exploitation.

But this is too much to hope for, and too naïve, since recent pronouncements by some of our presidents indicate their determination to die the white death, while others indicate an unfortunate confusion of a personal revulsion for extremes of pigmentation with the legitimate concern which black students have with the ultimate purpose of liberal education—freedom through self-knowledge. The recourse, then, must lie in the will-to-blackness of the faculty and the students. When this will becomes strong enough, when it becomes *informed,* in all senses of the word, with SOUL, when it reaches the saturation point (or better still, when it reaches critical mass), it will demand institutional restructuring—in faculty, in general resources, and in *acknowledged* aims. Some of these changes may take place comparatively rapidly and thoroughly in a few strategic institutions; in others they may not occur at all. In some, to pursue a figure, the energy will be harnessed for the good of all; in others, the result may well be destructive social explosion. That the resist-

ance is formidable is obvious to anyone who reads the newspapers. That the change *will* come is equally obvious to all but the blind and the deaf, who really have no business at all in the crucial task of educating this new black generation who well may be our last hope for sanity and decency in this country.

Some of the changes I speak of may occur through the following structures: 1. Regional organization; 2. Shared resources; 3. Systematic and continual faculty and student exchange, and 4. Black humanists and "Specialists in Blackness.

By regional organization, I mean several things. The first is the establishment of honest and creative relationships with non-academic black intellectual communities. I mean the establishment of new and respectable relationships with the black non-intellectual communities. I mean the establishment of genuine lines of communication between academic institutions in the same region, that is, exchange below the administrative level. This type of organization is admittedly difficult, but models do exist. The Atlanta University center is moving in this direction.

From this type of regional reorganization could come more concrete objectives, shared resources, both general and human. Let us take an example of each. First, the general. By this I mean non-human resources such as library holdings, art collections, and the like. I submit that the average black student has no real notion of the richness of the Fisk Negroana collection, or the Howard library, or the Atlanta University Negro collections of books, manuscripts, and paintings. Fewer students still know anything of the Schomberg Collection, and honesty compels me to say that altogether too few professors know very much about these collections. Whose fault is it? Our own. But fortunately, structures already exist which could make it possible for even the smallest, the poorest, Negro college to will itself to a saving state of blackness, as I have suggested its contours above.

If a panel of artists and critics comparable to the one which set up the recent exhibit of Afro-American painting at City College (New York) could cull the best and the most representative examples of African and Afro-American art which our colleges possess, it should be a relatively simple matter to make slides and reproductions available at a nominal fee even to these colleges. Both, it seems to me, lie within the possibility of a Title III grant. Manuscript material and other comparatively rare items could be made available on microfilm, with provisions made for print-outs. This is just an obvious example. A more thorough going proposition would be the es-

tablishment of an information retrieval system connected with the regional resources of our best schools, and even with the special resources of the nation's largest graduate schools. (I see the irony in this latter statement, but what do you do at a Black University, if someone else has your ancestral artifacts—raid the British Museum?) Ultimately, the purpose of such a system would be to stimulate students and faculty alike to visit the institutions where the originals exist.

This brings us to the next point, human resources. These resources are, naturally, faculty and students. The problem, of course, is to get them together on a meaningful basis across institutional lines. Now, some few students and faculty might be stimulated enough, or may have the financial resources, to visit schools with special library or art holdings, but this is not enough. What is needed, it seems to me, is some plan whereby a continual interchange of ideas and opinions may be insured on a personal, face-to-face basis. This can be done by a system of student exchange between centers of Blackness and Negro colleges. Oddly enough, a good deal of this was done a few years ago, only the exchange was, in effect, between centers of Whiteness and Negro colleges. (I remember a boy from the Mid-west who left after a few days on my campus, suffering, I was told, from "culture shock.") Obviously, such a system can work only if the administration of the Negro school is sympathetic, or apathetic. It remains for students and faculty to *will* the change, to create the structure. At any rate, the visits could last anywhere from a week-end to a semester, depending on the academic standards of the institution and other such sticky business.

A visitation period of a semester would presuppose that the student would find something worth his time in one of the regional Black Centers. What he should find is a group of gifted Black humanists who have assembled, or have been assembled, at a center for the express purposes of the Black University as stated above. Presumably, at first, there wouldn't be enough of these people to staff all of the schools which may require them. Presumably, some of the schools may not be able to afford to pay them. (And one couldn't expect them to starve; black starvation is still starvation, no matter how soulful.) Still it would be possible (especially for the politically aggressive and the academically and artistically talented) for a sizeable number of students, no matter how poor, to be brought into dialogue with this group of dedicated and gifted teachers. The student might even spend time in two or more such situations, obtaining the kind of experience

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Social Change in the Sixties

THE BLACK UNIVERSITY and ITS COMMUNITY

BY J. HERMAN BLAKE

IN ORDER to become a viable institution and to make a meaningful contribution to the black community, the Black University must be cognizant of the varied and complex developments among black people. These developments should become an explicit part of course offerings in an effort to develop a philosophy and ideology which will permit us to analyze and evaluate social change in the black community from a perspective of blackness.

The decade of the 1960's will certainly go down in history as one in which major contradictory trends developed in black communities across the nation. This is the decade that has seen black people achieve higher political offices than ever before. Two of the nation's major cities have elected black men



Contradictions: While poverty breeds alienation and a fresh anger . . .

as mayors, another black man was elected as Senator from a New England state, a black man sits on the cabinet of the President, and another black man sits on the Supreme Court. All of these are dramatic and significant "firsts" for black people in the Sixties and they portend further changes.

With these developments have come other phenomena which indicate the perplexing and troubled situation within black communities, for this is also the first decade to see major urban insurrection for four consecutive summers, with the most recent outbursts far more severe than any previous ones. This is the decade that has seen more and more black militants take up the philosophy of self-defense when attacked, viewing violent action as an effective approach to black dignity and manhood. This is the decade that has seen more and more black youth refusing to serve in the Armed Forces of the United States on the grounds that the nation is engaged in a program of genocide against black people in other lands, and within its own confines the nation is also practicing genocide against blacks. These contradictory trends amongst black people in America—on the one hand some black men getting more rewards for participating in the system, and on the other hand black men refusing to participate regardless of the rewards—must be taken into consideration by a Black University, for the contradiction requires some resolution.

In this paper we shall review several recent and major demographic



. . . a minority within the minority moves deeper into the middle class.

trends in the black community to shed some light upon some of the underlying variables in this perplexing situation. There are a variety of ways in which these changes can be analyzed, but we choose to focus upon two general approaches: (1) where we were at the beginning of the decade, or an earlier point, as compared to where we are now; and (2) the relative changes in the black and white communities, and where these changes leave us in relation to those who so utterly fail to understand our condition. The varieties of variables that one might select, the different statistical measures that might be applied, and the different base populations, or starting points, make it easy to prove any point one wishes to prove about the black community. We hope to avoid this problem in some instances (notably income) by presenting several measures to show the trends in the black community.

One of the most significant Twentieth-century trends among black people has been the redistribution of the population, from the country to the city, and out of the South to the North and West. This trend has continued into the Sixties. Between 1960 and 1966 the proportion of black people in the South declined from 60 to 55 percent. We should not ignore the fact, however, that despite a vast migratory trend, the majority of the black people still live in the South, and blacks make up one-fifth of the total population in the southern states.

In addition to the movement out of the South, black people have been moving into cities, and the large ones at that, in both North and South. The recent appointment of a black "mayor" in Washington, D. C., and the election of black men to mayoralties in Gary and Cleveland is a direct manifestation of the presence of large black populations in these cities. Over half (56 percent) of all black people now live in the central cities of metropolitan areas, and the population increase has been fastest in the largest cities. In metropolitan areas with one million or more persons, black people comprise one-fourth of the central city population, and the experts estimate that in 1965 black people were at least 25 percent or more of the population of 11 of the 30 largest cities in the country. These cities and the proportions of their population which are black are as follows:

Washington	66
Newark	47
Atlanta	44
New Orleans	41
Memphis	40
Baltimore	38
St. Louis	36
Cleveland	34
Detroit	34
Philadelphia	31
Chicago	28

The evidence indicates that more black people than ever before are both interested in education and are

taking advantage of every opportunity to increase their knowledge. The statistics on the proportions of blacks completing high school and college show some interesting and significant trends. In 1960, 36 percent of all black males and 41 percent of all black females between the ages of 25-29 had completed high school. However, by 1966, 53 percent of all black males and 49 percent of all black females in the same age category had completed high school. Not only was there a dramatic increase in the proportion of young adults with high school diplomas, the number of young males completing high school now exceeds the number of young females. Although the proportions are much lower, the same trend holds for those completing college. In 1960, 4 percent of all black males between the ages of 25 and 34, and 5 percent of all black females had completed four or more years of college. By 1965 these proportions had increased to 7 percent for males and 6 percent for females. If the dramatic increase in high school completions is any indicator, we can expect substantial improvements in the number of black youth with college degrees in the next few years.

It is not at all insignificant in considering a Black University to recognize that the educational experience of black youth still takes place in predominantly black schools where the culture of black people is maintained in the interaction of the youth if not in the educational curriculum. Sixty-six percent of all black youths in the twelfth grade in 1965 were in schools which were predominantly black, so these youth would probably be more comfortable and at ease in black institutions of higher education.

Despite the movement into cities where occupational opportunity is said to be higher, despite higher levels of education, the employment situation of black people has changed little from the "last hired, first fired" status. Since the early Fifties the unemployment rate for black people has been about twice as high as that for whites, and it has remained this way until the present day, although unemployment rates have fluctuated considerably. In 1961, the unemployment rate for black people went up to 12.4 percent, the highest since 1958 (12.6), but it has dropped steadily in subsequent years. It went down to 8.1 percent in 1966, and the decline continued to 7.3 percent for the first nine months of 1967. Black people are overrepresented in every category of unemployment. During the first nine months of 1967, blacks comprised 11 percent of the civilian labor force, but were 21 percent of all unemployed workers and 23 percent of those persons unemployed for at least three and a half consecutive months. Teen-agers still suffer the most of those without jobs for in the first part of 1967 the unem-

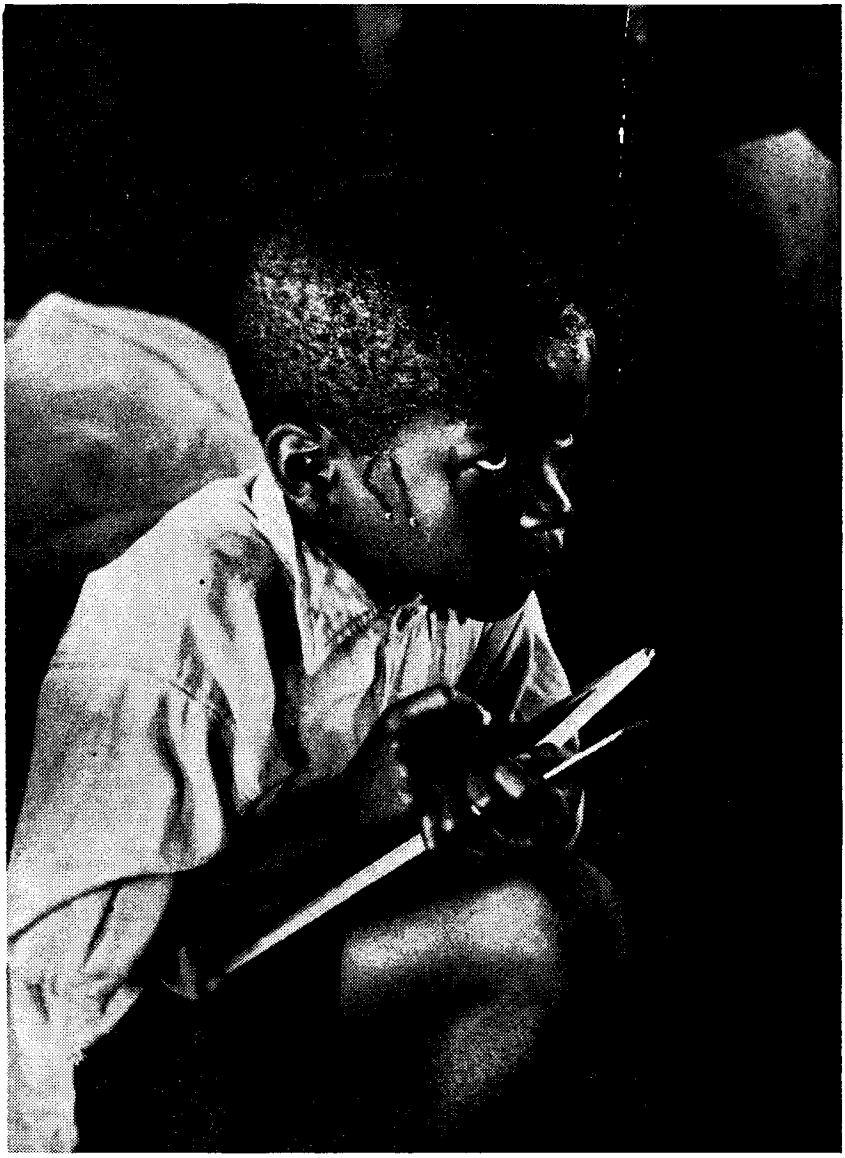
ployment rate for black youth between 16 and 19 was 26 percent, more than twice the rate for white youth.

Between 1960 and 1966, there were substantial increases in the number of black people holding white collar positions, and less dramatic but still increases for blacks holding blue collar positions. The increase in white collar employment shows the largest gain in clerical and sales positions. Blacks are still under-represented in the skilled white collar positions, as of 1966, with the situation for black males and black females showing some significant differences. In professional and technical positions black males represent 42 percent as many as there would be if there were full occupational equality, while females in the same category represent 58 percent as many as would be found in a situation of full equality. On the other hand, in the clerical positions black males represent 89 percent as many as would be found in a situation of full equality while black females comprise only 39 percent. These and other data which we have analyzed indicate that the black female has a better chance of obtaining a job consistent with her education and training than the black male in the professional, technical and managerial categories, while black males are more likely than females to be adequately represented in clerical positions.

The chronic problems black people face with education, employment, and occupational levels are reflected in the income levels of the population, although the Sixties have seen changes in income for blacks. There are varying interpretations of income changes in the black community and they produce different conclusions. Some analysts talk about the income of *families,* while others talk about the income of *persons,* and then differentiate between males and females. Furthermore, income changes can be analyzed in terms of the percentage change in median income, the ratio of black to white median income, or the absolute black-white differences in income. Let us see how the black situation in the Sixties stands up in terms of all these measurements.

In 1960, 68 percent of all black families had incomes under $5,000 per year (36 percent of all white families were at this level), but by 1966 this had declined to 56 percent of all families (27 percent for whites). The proportion of black families with incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 went up from 27 to 33 percent (white families declined from 46 to 44 percent), between 1960 and 1966. Black families with incomes over $10,000 went up from 6 to 12 percent in the same period of time (with a corresponding increase from 18 to 30 percent for white families). These figures are ad-

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This provocative photo of a little boy crouched on a clay floor, sweating in the midday heat, tells much about the agony of securing an education in racist South Africa. It is from House of Bondage *(Random House, $10), by Ernest Cole.*

For Our People — Everywhere

BY VINCENT HARDING

"By far the greatest and most significant thing that is happening in the World today is a movement on foot for giving the benefits of civilization to that huge majority of the human race that has paid for civilization, without sharing in its benefits . . ." (Arnold Toynbee)

". . . most American Negroes, even those of intelligence and courage, do not fully realize that they are being bribed to trade equal status in the United States for the slavery of the majority of men. When this is clear, especially to the black youth, the race must be aroused to thought and action and will see that the price asked for their cooperation is far higher than need be paid . . ." (W. E. B. Du Bois)

ONE OF THE most insistent themes in the literature of black America is the attempt to articulate our awareness of the presence of a certain dividedness in our deepest beings, an inner tension which W. E. B. Du Bois referred to as a twoness of spirit and soul.

While all Americans (even those who were here when the others came half a millennia ago) are people of a broken past, nowhere is the tension so often obvious as within the Afro-American community. We are the largest single segment of the nation which holds within itself both East and West, both Africa and America, both developed and developing societies. For many of us the tension has been so unbearably painful that we have collapsed it on one or the other side. Until recently, it was more often the Western, developed side which triumphed. Now, of course, there moves among us a renewed consciousness of our non-Westernness, and in the ghettos of the land one easily senses that many black men are seeking to build and celebrate

a new-old nation in the midst of the world's most "developed" society.

Any university which grew with integrity out of the ground of our black experience in America would have to reflect and bear the creative agony of that tension—no matter how great the temptation to escape it. The life of such an institution would, in many ways, testify to the Westernization of our lives, but if it is to make a major contribution to its students and their world, the Western experience cannot be its most important emphasis. More than 2,000 colleges and universities in this country (and hundreds more in Europe) already perform that task. Though "predominantly Negro" institutions have long imitated such a direction, those of us who seek to build faithfully out of the materials of the Afro-American experience are called to other paths.

One major strength of a black university would be its internationalism, but its focus would not follow the style of the scores of "International Studies" programs which have burgeoned in American institutions since the Korean War. Instead, the uniqueness of our approach to the world would be found in our vision through an unashamedly black-oriented prism. In the academic program and in a hundred other less structured ways, the black university would seek to explore, celebrate and record the experiences of the non-Western world. Because of much that we have lived through, our focus would be upon that segment of the non-West which has existed under Western domination for the relatively brief span of 400 years or less, and which now shakes the world with its efforts to wrench free.

Even within that group our specialty would rightfully be found among the peoples of Africa, both those who remained on the continent and those who were forced into the New World through the diaspora of slavery. This, in a peculiar way, is our thing, and we would have no less reason to build on it in a university setting than Brandeis has for building on Jewish Studies, or Minnesota on Immigrant Studies, or Oklahoma on studies of the American Indian.

In an article of this length it is possible only to suggest some of the directions such a black-oriented internationalism might take in a university context, but certain lines are suggestive of the whole. In the academic program, one of the most attractive aspects of this focus would be comparative, intercultural studies of many kinds, especially in the humanities and the social sciences. For instance, in music we would try to develop an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities among the musical styles of Africa and those of its scattered children in the northern and southern portions of the black, New World. (The dance and the drama would present obvious

analogues for possible study.) We would also attempt to explore the implications of the strong similarities which a noted literary authority claims he has found in the literature recently coming out of Harlem and out of black Johannesburg. What fascinating insights might courses in "Comparative Black Literature" produce?

When we realize that there are sections of Cuba and other parts of Latin America where African religious practices are alive and prospering, it is obvious that the study of comparative religious development is also filled with new possibilities in such a context. (Especially as those who know black folk religion in the United States remind us of the persistent presence of a belief in religious magic here.) Or it may be that in such a setting, careful elaboration would be done on a significant interdisciplinary as well as intercultural academic monograph, such as Lanternari's *The Religions of the Oppressed.* For here, in a study of the messianic movements of the non-Western world, it is clear that history, political science, sociology, psychology and religion encounter and enrich each other. Few settings would be more congenial to such mutual intellectual fertilization than the kind of institution we envision.

Indeed such a study as Lanternari's strongly suggests that the black-oriented university could present a marvelous opportunity for the social sciences in America to break out of their nationalistic trap. Sociology might include such matters as urban development among black people in Nairobi, Chicago and Rio. Political Science could well analyse the forms of resistance to colonial domination in Harlem, Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam. So, too, might specialists in Education try to understand the ways in which Indians, Africans, and Afro-Americans have attempted to rescue their educational systems from the domination of structures and ideologies shaped in England, France and white America. Seminars in non-Western cultural nationalisms of the modern world might be filled with excitement and profit for those who are trying to discern, develop and sustain an Afro-American style of life.

The academic curriculum would be, of course, only one of the places in which the unique internationalism of the black university might be expressed. Special institutes on Afro-American (using "American" in the hemispheric sense) culture would abound. Colloquies on a subject like Slavery would engage scholars from all over the New World, especially those who still bear the marks which were first painfully known by their ancestors. Conferences on such topics as "The Role of Women in Re-Emerging Societies," would simply be part of the breathing of such a school.

Symposia on strategies for social

change in the former colonial societies would be sponsored—but not by the American State Department. "Think Tanks" filled with the varied but constant experience of blackness might be established for the sole purpose of analyzing specific conflict situations from Detroit to Angola (and beyond), and suggesting directions of actions and ideology for those who are struggling to break away from the hegemony of the West. From such a university there would go out teams of specialists in development whose primary concerns would not include the opening of wedges for American influences. Rather their search would be for ways in which modernization might be purged of its synonymous relationship with Westernization and Americanization.



Throughout the Black University and in all of its special projects, the emphasis would be on the search for new models, for new systems, for new ways of life, free from the suffocating grasp of the most current forms of imperialism. Not only would specialists be sent out in such a search, but other kinds of "specialists" would be brought in. Representatives of the anti-colonial forces, members of Liberation Fronts, religious and educational leaders from the reborning nations would be invited and welcomed in order to give deeper meaning to the searching. Indeed, such a university might well become a sanctuary of sorts for some of the world's revolutionaries. What better way to raise the hard questions which many revolutions often force honest intellectuals to ask?

Such an institution would self-consciously be orienting its students toward an understanding of —and an appreciation for—the myriad ways in which our experiences here as colonials who were brought *to* the "mother country" parallel those of our brothers who had to receive the emissaries of countless white fatherlands. (It would, of course, also stress the uniqueness of the Afro-American colonial experience.) As a part of developing this sense of common experience—and common roots—summer study and Junior Years abroad in Europe would likely become the exception, and black students would move toward Latin America, Africa, India and Asia for their experience of intercultural exchange and overseas study. (This direction would, of course, have significant implications for the languages taught in the institution. German, for instance, might have difficulties.) Both student and faculty exchanges with the non-Western world would become a regular part of the Black University's life. The journal of such a center might well seek to ally itself with the *New*

World publication of the Caribbean, with *Presence Africaine,* and with other lesser known publications of the non-Western intellectuals.

The university would be service-oriented in the largest sense of that term. It would set up skills banks for developing nations and it would urge those students who do not return to the black American communities to offer their skills in Africa, Latin America and wherever else they are needed and desired. Conceivably, a black-oriented Overseas Service Corps might develop, and this would not only provide excellent nation-building opportunities, but it could become an alternative to action with the United States military forces. For it is likely that the international orientation of a Black University will create many dissenters to the foreign policy which our armed forces now enforce.

Should it refuse to enter the lists of American foreign policy supporters, should it become a significant source of dissent and the center of a search for new ways of international life, it is not easy to know how the Black University would be funded. Indeed, if it saw reason to move beyond experiments in nation-building to the search for a new world society in which nations played a far less significant role, its enemies might come from the nationalistic left as well as the right. Certain monies would not be available. Others (like some connected with black Chicago slums or African diamond mining) might not be accepted. A Free Black University might be forced into existence.

For the present that is the problem of other writers and other moments. At this moment it may suffice to say that the Black University must seek to be faithful to the best dreams of our greatest twentieth century black dreamers, from Du Bois to (Frantz) Fanon. It should at least attempt to place the rise of the West in proper historical perspective, refusing either to do homage to—or to be terrified by—what may well prove to be no more than a hyper-active aberration in the context of mankind's long, essentially non-Western pilgrimage. Such a service to truth would be no mean accomplishment in itself.

Nevertheless, to speak of Fanon is to suggest even more. For it may be that, in its international aspects, such an institution might well take as its fiercely driving theme the call of his last chapter in *The Wretched of the Earth.* There his words were a call out of the darkness of hopeless, cynical reaction on the one hand, and out of ersatz brightness of imitative European styles on the other. It was a call to the light-filled (sometimes blinding), gruelling search for new shapes and forms, for patterns which deal wisely with the longer lines of history and the deepest needs of men. Ultimately, of course, he urged,

> For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.

As such his call is heir to all the pitfalls of messianism, at most, and to the disillusions of aborted hope at least. Nevertheless, it may well be far better that a university should search and reach and possibly fail at the practice of such hope than that it sell out to the highest bidder and live on in the style to which America has accustomed us. If it is better to try to do our thing, then let us press on—towards the Black University.



Vincent Harding, author of "Some International Implications of the Black University," is professor of History at Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Harding also is coordinator of the forthcoming conference on "Black Consciousness and Higher Education." His articles and poems have appeared previously in NEGRO DIGEST.

Humor in Hue

By Morrie



"This looks like a good place"

A Case Study

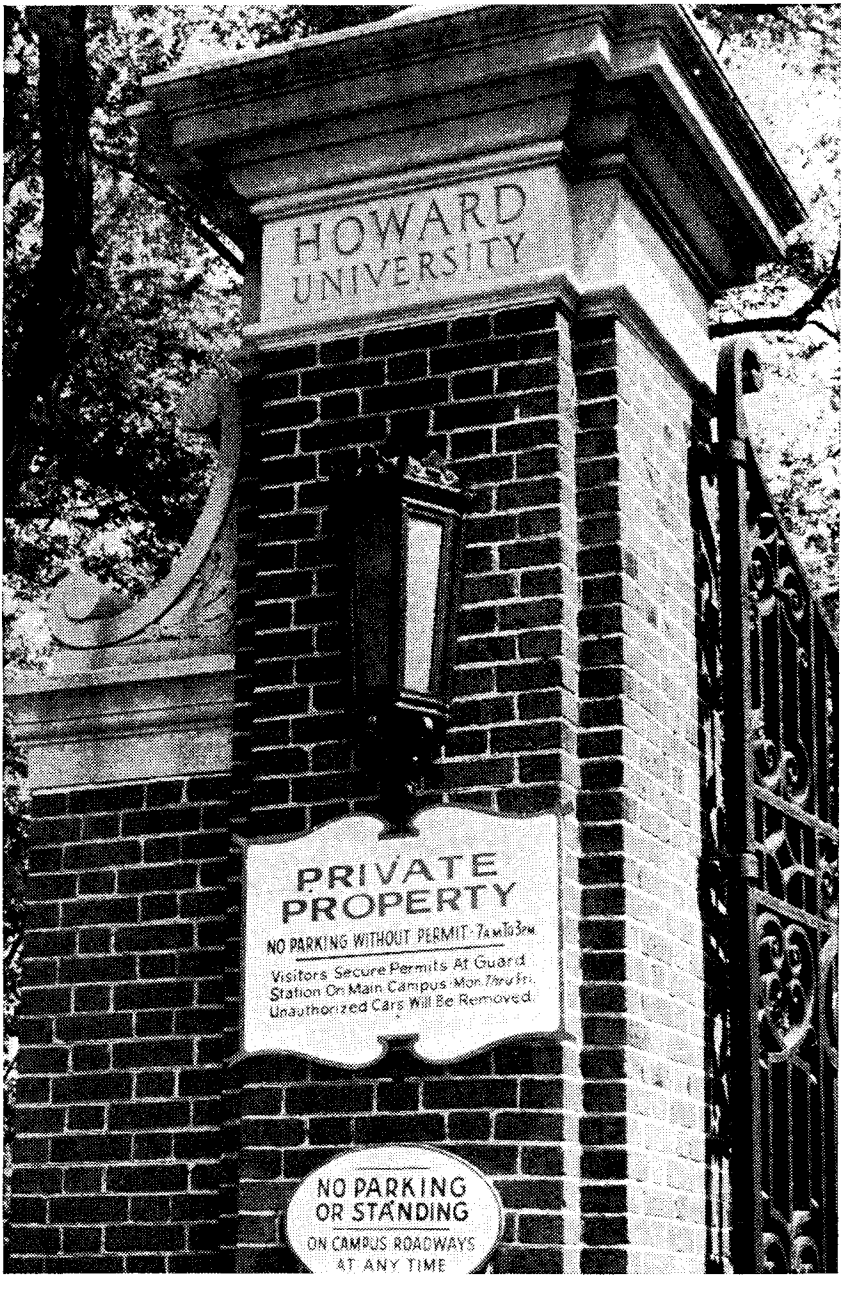
A young sociologist, dismissed from the nation's leading predominantly-Negro university for his militant pro-black activities, provides a first-person account of the events which led to his dismissal

BY NATHAN HARE

HOWARD UNIVERSITY spreads like a complex of cancerous sores on a breast-like hill in the heart of one of the worst sections—by most criteria—of the District of Columbia. The university, which is drably cached in subdued majesty midway the census tracts heaviest in "social disorganization," was founded in hypocritical contradiction by an ambivalent general, Oliver Otis Howard, apparently a "God-fearing" religious fanatic who forewent his ambition to become a minister, later a lawyer, to gain power through military might and position.[1]

My office during my first three years as a professor at Howard was in a third floor corner of what once was General Howard's mansion on the campus. From there I could see the Washington Monument and the Capitol Building just beyond the squalor of Washington's ghetto. On the way to the office each day I passed through the confusion and anguish of students waiting in the building to gain admission to the "counseling center" where their educational fates would be dictated to them by hostile clerks hoping, somehow, to piece together the debris from overly zealous administrative decrees.

Today, viewing Howard from a distance of more than a mile, yet from the vantage point of an intimate exposure to its inner workings, I am able to watch it writhe


HOWARD
UNIVERSITY
PRIVATE
PROPERTY
NO PARKING WITHOUT PERMIT - 7 A.M. TO 3 P.M.
Visitors Secure Permits At Guard
Station On Main Campus Mon. Thru Fri.
Unauthorized Cars Will Be Removed.
NO PARKING
OR STANDING
ON CAMPUS ROADWAYS
AT ANY TIME

and quiver, caught in the conflict between the new surge for black equality and the death-bed contortions of white supremacy and oppression. It is a condition I have known first hand for more than six years and have studied thoroughly with the combined tools of the sociologist and the journalist.

I learned that Howard University, which acquired its first set of buildings illegally and became a "monument" to General O. Howard and his scheme, has never broken entirely free from the grips of a military-religious-political corruption.[2]

> With this influence [criticized also by the great Frederick Douglass, a "colored" member of the board of trustees, who described the "ring" as "hungry sharks, with professions of piety upon their lips"][3] there developed [in the words of John Mercer Langston who eventually resigned in protest from his position as Dean of the Law School —the entire Law School faculty with him—before going on to become the first Negro ever elected to public office in the United States] appeared and grew the feeling that the Negro, whether as trusteee or member of the faculty, is of small account, indeed rather a pest only as he serves to give color to the enterprise . . . and with this feeling has constantly grown the idea that the Colored youth attending the University are incapable of high intellectual achievement.[4]

Still, by 1940 the University, which opened in 1867 with an all-white faculty and student body, had a student body one-half of one per cent white and a faculty less than nine per cent white. Today the graduate and professional schools, notable in the medical professions where white rejects from white schools frequently have high enough scores to outdistance poorly trained black applicants, are fast developing a white majority; and this is also the trend for the liberal arts faculty (where the average salary is higher for white professors than for black professors at the same rank).

Just prior to the emergence of this trend, as Howard became "the Capstone of Negro education," it also became an epitome of political docility and academic nothingness, groveling at the feet of outside (mainly Government) expectations, real or imagined, and fawning upon white Congressional appropriators. However, in an era of greater access to white colleges and "rising Negro expectations," this footshuffling was proving inadequate, as the Centennial year approached, in the competition for top students and professors. Faced with this predicament, administrators merely intensified their Stepin' Fetchit tactics.

Then, in September 1966, President James Nabrit announced in the Washington Post a plan to

make Howard "sixty per cent white" by 1970, a plan opposed by virtually every student on campus. To accomplish this goal the University had devised an ingenious program for excluding or/and removing black students while attracting white ones. Some professors were warned by the dean's office, through departmental chairmen instructed to "counsel" them, that their grade distributions should approximate a normal distribution (regardless of the caliber of a given class!) and specifically should include a minimum of failing marks.

At the same time, it was decided to "raise standards" by raising by 200 points the required score on entrance tests standardized on children of urban middle-class white exposure. Many "culturally deprived" black students would not, of course, be expected to manage such a score. White students who flunked would not need to humiliate themselves enrolling in a pre-college sequence at Howard; hence, a proposed special division for students who fail the test would invariably be black. These "subnormals" would have to spend a year preparing to enter the new white Howard. Having failed the test as individuals, their self-esteem would further be decimated, for they would be set apart as failures and subjected to an ego-mortifying curriculum.

First, they were to receive a speech course (already incorporated at Howard) frankly calculated to force black students to "lose their in-group dialects," despite the fact that President Nabrit himself has been successful in Supreme Court presentations in a classical "Negro dialect." Such students also were to be given a course in reading skills and, simultaneously, one in masterpieces of world literature. It goes without saying that "masterpiece" authors would be invariably, if not exclusively, caucasian. Still another course was history of *Western* civilization (not world civilization, as in the case of the masterpieces). This curriculum would say to black students, who already were failures as individuals, that they had no ennobling ancestral roots: their kind had produced no civilization worthy of attention, no literary achievements, and indeed are guilty now of the wrong mode of speech. It is true, even now at Howard, within the normal curriculum, that a liberal arts student cannot take a course in Negro history unless he is a history major.



Anyway, I wrote a letter mocking the idea of the whitewash program and the letter appeared in The Hilltop, the campus newspaper —the first issue in September of the centennial year. Immediately, I came under pressure, losing first a promotion to chairman of the Division of Social Sciences and other

privileges which publicly had been promised me; and this was an early object lesson of relentless pressure, including subjection to a network of student and faculty spies.

One day toward the end of September, while discussing the effects of urbanization on social norms, I criticized the obsolescence of some professed codes of sexual conduct; then, as if to salvage the class from its shock, gave assurances of my abiding adherence to them. I told of my efforts the previous year to launch an association of virgins on the campus, and that one member grew sick and dropped out and the other flunked out. I also explained that the reason Howard's wall clocks always differed as to time of day was because every time a virgin at Howard passes a clock the clock stands still. Within 30 minutes after that class was over, the chairman of my department was calling me in excitedly to say that the dean had said that a student had said that I had said that I was the only virgin on Howard's campus.

The superiors then proposed to "observe" my classes, and, when I refused this unique attention, threatened to fire me, but backed down when I remarked, during the hearing, that I had once been the best cotton-picker in Creek County, Oklahoma and that, should it ever come to that, I could always burn my doctorate and go back to picking cotton. After the hearing, they sent a letter reappointing me, mainly because (as they later said in court) they feared student disruptions should they fire me during the school year, but they nonetheless persisted in threats and harassment, warning that if I did not fall in line there was "going to be a war."

Late one evening, after a heated confrontation with a superior, I ducked into a middle-class bar near the campus where I encountered a number of older professors. Their plights surprised and horrified me. I decided from then on that, if there was "going to be a war," then I was a soldier and should act like one.

Meanwhile, students had been staging protests for grievances which typify universities everywhere—against curfew regulations and other aspects of the right not to be treated as children. The Law School students were prominent here, led chiefly by Jay Greene, later expelled and now on scholarship in the Yale Law School, and Art Goldberg, a Jewish student from Berkeley now in Rutgers Law School. Their activities consisted mainly of rallies where Jay Greene and other students would "rap" to a crowd of several hundred, then read resolutions drawn up in legal language; and the crowd, after being told that the resolutions were to be delivered to President Nabrit, would joyfully clap their hands and disperse. Nabrit practically never acted on the resolutions, except for a few faint promises, even when he was on campus, but the procedure was always repeated anyway.

Simultaneously there arose a hybrid political party-protest group called the Student Rights Oragnization, inspired in part by Art and Jay. I accepted the invitation to be its faculty advisor. SRO's membership covered the political waterfront. Their leaders, mainly the editors and feature writers on the Hilltop staff—which later was to prove invaluable — regarded themselves as black militants, in the responsible sense of the category, and had as their heroes the national leaders of SNCC though their own style approximated more the style of national CORE.

When UN Ambassador to the UN, Arthur Goldberg ex-boss of Nabrit, came to Howard, SRO staged a walkout in which I was able to persuade five other professors—all white, of course—to take an active part. Shortly after that, some SRO members, dissatisfied with the moderation of its leaders, came to me (late February by now) with a plan to form a "Black Power Committee." They were all freshmen largely unknown on campus, except in their dormitories and among their classmates, and accordingly asked my aid in composing and reading at a press conference a sort of "black university manifesto." We called for the complete revamping of Negro colleges as they now exist, spoke against the emerging desire to make Negro colleges predominantly white, and generally setting forth a program for transforming Negro colleges into black universities with relevance to the black community and its struggle against white racism and imperialism, cultural or otherwise. This kicked off an onslaught of student demonstrations (with, now and again, some faculty participation) and the first real confrontation between Howard students and an oppressive administration.

A rumor grew prevalent on campus that I was going to be "eased out" in the summer and, by mid-April, it had slipped into television and radio broadcasts. One night, on the way to my population class, I encountered a number of students who inquired anxiously whether the rumor was true. I assured them that no such word had come down to me and that the deadline for non-renewal of two-year contracts, December 15, already had passed. Inside the classroom, I sensed the downcast spirit of the students, brought up the rumor and suggested that, if there was a Howard in September, I would very well be there. All at once they burst into applause; but I knew even then that, probably, I was passing through my last days at Howard, and perhaps, as a college professor anywhere.

Student uprisings rocked on—including a confrontation with a police riot squad behind a girl's dormitory; the sponsorship of a "Black is Best" lecture by heavyweight champ Muhammad Ali after the administration closed

down the auditorium; LeRoi Jones in a reading, to frequent applause, of some of his cathartic poetry on the steps of the School of Religion; the breaking up of a hearing in which natural-look Homecoming Queen Robin Gregory was being tried ostensibly because she had helped me and student Huey LaBrie read the Black Power Committee's manifesto; and the interruption of Selective Service boss General Hershey's speech. Eventually, students hanged Hershey, Nabrit and Dean Frank Snowden in effigy, and followed this with a successful boycott of classes, curiously planned for one day only and reportedly representing efforts on the part of moderate student leaders to grab the protest ball from the Black Power Committee.

By now we were nearing final exams and it was decided to wrap up protest until the following fall, although a series of six mysterious fires (which may or may not have been connected with student activities) broke out on campus during the last week or so of school, one of them causing "a general emptying of the Administration building."[5]

School closed, and in the dead of early summer about 20 students and six professors received registered letters of dismissal. The manner of selecting the victims was indicative of the general confusion, hysteria and inefficiency of the adminstrators, who held several private meetings with student spies and faculty informants. There were no hearings for dismissed faculty members or students, amounting to a direct denial of due process and the chance to confront accusers, violating the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.[6]

True, some middle-level administrators, including Clyde Ferguson, dean of the Law School, and Frank Snowden, dean of the College of Liberal Arts, went on record as opposing the dismissals. Dean Snowden, who reluctantly signed the letters dismissing the professors and who, up to that time, had risen from one of the favorite Howard professors of the late Forties to the most hated administrator, wrote two letters, both prior to the close of school, opposing the dismissals. One of Dean Snowden's letters to Acting President Wormley pleaded in part:

> . . . serious anxiety will arise among other faculty members as to the good faith of the university . . . I believe that the whole matter should be reconsidered before any announcements are made . . . because there seems to me to be a strong possibility that the contemplated action may result not only in serious harm to the University's position in the academic community but also in creating obstacles for our recruitment of faculty in the future.[7]

More obnoxious by anybody's

(Continued on page 70)

In the days of my visitation,
Black hands tended me and cared for me . . .
Black minds, hearts and souls loved me . . .
And I love them because of this.

In the early days of my visitation,
Black hands tended me and cared for me;
I can't forget these things.
For black hearts, minds and souls love me—
And even today the overtones from the fire
of that love are still burning

In the early days of my visitation
White rules and laws segregated me . . .
They helped to make me what I am today
And what I am, I am.
Yes, what I am, I am because of this
And because of this
My image of paradise is chromatic black.

Those who segregate did not segregate in vain
For I am,
And I am what I am.

—SUN RA

Creation

In a hot dark room—
celestial tomb
all hushed
and still as Death
waiting life, waiting warmth

Love waits—alive with oozing sweat.
Crystal droplets on earth brown thighs
now melt in desire's heat
now flow in merging rivulets
all coursing toward life's source
streaming from a Black Creator
smoothing his way to leap from nothingness
with hot lava's potent force

Black searing flesh penetrates a soft-soiled crevice
inundating all in seismic surge cease rhythms.
Scorched obsidion lovers
tossed high by friction's force

Shriek away the hush
Quake the silent tomb
AND LIFE FORCE COMES
Heaving, Panting, Groaning
it sighs Contentment

Into a hot dark room
terrestrial womb
all hushed
all still as life.

—TENA L. LOCKETT

A Call To Concerned Black Educators

Last Summer, **David W. Kent,** Director of Admissions at Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) drafted a proposal for a conference on the black American's access to higher education.

In October, a black coterie of college admissions personnel caucused at the national convention of a professional association to consider their feelings of frustration and indignation—feelings which were aroused by the fact that the black representation to this convention of 1800 was typically sparse and, further, that the convention did not address itself to THEIR primary concern—black youth.

Sharing an ethnic, social and professional mutuality, 12 educators discussed common concerns, exchanged philosophical views, defined their role as black professionals in higher education and concluded that, first, the issue proposed by Mr. Kent should be dealt with on a national level; second, any resolve to expand the opportunities for black children in higher education is meaningless without a consolidated attack on the fundamental educational problems of black children AT EVERY STEP OF THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER; and, third, the need for dialogue among—and action initiated by—black educators is overwhelming.

A national conference with seminar-workshops was conceived of as the most appropriate means by which to arouse the black professional to demonstrate his concern and simultaneously to put to use our vast resources of expertise. Black educators are uniquely equipped to state what must be done in order to raise the educational achievement of black children. We must sit down "family style," realign our priorities, and mobilize to remedy the educational ills afflicting our children.

The wheels were set in motion last October. In Illinois, the Association of Afro-American Educators was chartered. A steering committee was formed to lay the groundwork for a national conference to be held early this summer.

Chicago will be the place; June 6-9 the dates. We need your help. If you wish to become involved in this effort, let us hear from you TODAY. Contact **Mrs. Myrna C. Adams,** coordinator, National Conference Steering Committee, Association of Afro-American Educators, 72 E. 75th Street, Chicago, Ill., 60619.

Other members of the Steering Committee for the National Conference of Afro-American Educators include: **Clara B. Anthony; Dr. Nancy L. Arnez; Lerone Bennett Jr.; Timuel D. Black; Shelly Fletcher; Hoyt W. Fuller; Mildred Gladney; Dr. Charles V. Hamilton; Everett Hoagland; Arnold P. Jones; David W. Kent; Hugh W. Lane; Harold Pates; Marvinia Randolph; Dr. Donald H. Smith; Anderson Thompson; Donald Vanliew; Sylvester Williams; Radford Wilson;** and **Dr. Nathan Wright Jr.**

—MYRNA C. ADAMS

The First Gwendolyn Brooks Fiction Award

Last February, poet-publisher Dudley Randall journeyed from Detroit to present a $200 prize to the winner of a novella competition sponsored by poet Gwendolyn Brooks in her Chicago writers' workshop. Mr. Randall had read the submitted novellas without knowing the authors, and it was a coincidence that the winner was Mike Cook, who also was winner of another fiction contest sponsored by Miss Brooks in late summer 1967. (See the November 1967 NEGRO DIGEST.)

Earlier in 1967, Miss Brooks had proposed the establishment of an annual competition for literature to be conducted through NEGRO DIGEST, with the winning manuscripts published in the magazine. The winning authors, of course, would receive cash awards as well, the prizes awarded by Miss Brooks.

NEGRO DIGEST is pleased to announce that Miss Brooks' proposal has been accepted and that annual Gwendolyn Brooks Literary Awards will be made, beginning in the spring of 1969. Details of the competition will be announced in a later issue of NEGRO DIGEST, including the time and manner of submission of material, eligibility, the amount of the awards, and the names of the judges.

While Mr. Cook received the prize for his novella, "Whoever Said There's A Place Called Home?", all

(Continued on page 53)



Prize winner: A beaming Mike Cook (center) accepts congratulations from judge Dudley Randall and award-giver Gwendolyn Brooks following the announcement that Mr. Cook had won the first annual Gwendolyn Brooks Award for fiction. The competition was confined to members of Miss Brooks' Chicago workshop. Future awards will be open to all writers.

BOOKS  NOTED

The Man Who Cried I Am

"Great Literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree."
—Ezra Pound

"Nothing is ever finished, except the mediocre or the pretentious. The only people who should be consistently interested in masterpieces are museums and other people who have no use for them."
—LeRoi Jones

AS I HAVE often said before, to the point of repetition cramps, criticism of writing by Afro-Americans is — and should be—the responsibility of Afro-American critics. Not that black critics are more perspective or analytical or, for that matter, better writers of criticism; but, white critics have not in the past (as in the present) been able to explain or *translate* black literature accurately. This is not heresy but fact, and the few reviews that were written, by whites, of John A. Williams' *The Man Who Cried I Am* (Little, Brown, $6.95) support this statement explicitly.

Most good fiction borders on truth, *i.e.,* it is a reflection of the truth. If Newark and Detroit of 1967 had not happened, one could have, in all likelihood, read Mr. Williams' book with less fear and, indeed, could have smiled at the uncommon ending. One could have contentedly put the book aside as an excellent work of fiction and, of course, recommended it to friends and associates; you know, like we recommended *The Stranger, Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Black Boy, et cetera, et cetera.* One could have suggested this book with the same ease and delight as one suggested the early John Coltrane. However, the summer of 1967 was not fiction; therefore it added a new dimension to this novel: the dimension of prophesy.

As with black music, black literature continues to grow, extend, and ceases to be invisible. Our literature now cuts and you do bleed. Mr. Williams' latest book is this type of work; a blood bringer, causing you to hurt and forcing you to

redefine your relationship with your surroundings. It makes you open your eyes and enables you to see much more than what is in front of you. While reading this book, we see through mirrors, across continents, into other cultures, and unconsciously we feel—that is, if we are capable of feeling. John A. Williams has written an extensively handsome and dangerous novel.

Jean-Paul Sartre said, "It is true that all art is false." He lied, or he was talking about white Western art. The book in question is a work of Art. That is, if art, among other things, is a creative effort that others can identify with, an accent on a particular life-style, communication, a bringer of knowledge, a mind wakener, movable prose which is esthetically pleasing and meaningful and, in essence, one artist's comment on life as he views it. The work of Art is *The Man Who Cried I AM* and the artist is John A. Williams.



JOHN A. WILLIAMS

Mr. Williams' fourth novel successfully deals with the many acute problems that confront the black writer as well as the black man. This novel should be of the utmost interest to the black writer, for it covers the literary world of the black writer over a span of about 30 years, that whole black-white era of interdependency. The protagonist is one Max Reddick, who could very well be Williams himself, a black journalist for a "Time-style" magazine and a novelist of some stature. The main supporting character is the "father" of black literature, Harry Ames (Richard Wright). The action fluctuates between these two men.

As the novel unfolds, we are introduced to facsimiles of the major black writers and white critics of the last 20 years. There are characters who resemble James Baldwin, Chester Himes, Ralph Ellison, Frank Yerby, Carl Van Vechten, Granville Hicks, William Faulkner, and others.

On the civil and human rights scene, there is Martin L. King, Malcolm X and the philosophies of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois.

Max Reddick is what one might call an internationalist. A once-

(Continued on page 77)

(Continued from page 50)

the members of Miss Brooks' workshop ended up as "winners." The famed poet presented the young writers with copies of two very popular books by black authors, John A. Williams' novel, *The Man Who Cried I Am*, and Harold Cruse's analysis of the black intellectual scene, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*.

Meanwhile, Miss Brooks was appointed poet laureate of Illinois by Gov. Otto Kerner, as a highlight of the state's sesqui-centennial celebration. The previous poet laureate of the state was Carl Sandburg.

On Stage: The year got off to an auspicious start with the opening in New York of the Negro Ensemble Company's production of Peter Weiss' *Song of the Lusitanian Bogey*, which is mentioned elsewhere in these pages . . . A one-act play by **Wilmer Lucas,** *Patent Leather Sunday*, was scheduled for production in Seattle, Wash., in February and March . . . A one-act play by **Charles Self,** of Kenner, La., was produced by the Free Southern Theater during the February Festival of Afro-American Arts at Dillard University . . . **Bob Curry** performed the featured role of Randall, the mesmerizing murderer, in the Parkway Theater's production of William Hanley's *Slow Dance on the Killing Ground* in Chicago. The Parkway Theater is one of the branches (the South Side one) of the city's famed Hull House . . . During "Soul Week," the Festival of Black Art produced at Lake Forest College by the college's black students in January, a student production of Jean Genet's *The Blacks* was featured. There are only 60 black students among the 1,250 students at the college on Chicago's rich North Shore . . . **Sidney Poitier's** debut as director of *Carry Me Back To Morningside Heights* came after NEGRO DIGEST had gone to press. Whether or not the show was a success should be general news by the time this is published. **Louis Gossett** and **Cicely Tyson** have featured roles in the play . . . As a member of the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, **Diana Sands** has a role in the Center's production of *Tiger At The Gates*. Miss Sands' stint as St. Joan brought her mixed notices . . . The play, *The Great White Hope*, will undergo extensive cuts before it opens on Broadway in the fall. **James Earl Jones,** who portrayed the Jack Jefferson (read Jack Johnson) role in the Washington, D. C., production (at the Arena Theater), will star in the Broadway production . . . **Josephine (Baker) the Great** laid the groundwork for a series of spring appearances during her February visit to the United States . . . The February fire that gutted the New Lafayette Theater in Harlem ended—at least temporarily—another dream. Because of financial difficulties, the directors had postponed the production of **Ed Bullins'** *In The Wine Time*. Now the future of the theater is uncertain.



BY CHRISTINE REAMS

". . . We sat there . . . I didn't look at Janice because I didn't want to cry: and I think maybe she didn't look at me because she didn't want to cry either . . ."

IT WAS so hot that summer that the air stood still and I had trouble breathing. Sometimes I would sit on the front porch and breathe slowly. I felt as if I were breathing the same air over and over again. I turned two shades darker that summer. I almost got as black as Miss Mabel. The grownups said it wasn't really the temperature; it was the humidity—whatever that is. Anyway, it was a blistering, hot summer, and I hated it.

Our house was probably the hottest one in town. We didn't own it or anything like that. We only rented three rooms of it. Miss Mabel and her two children, Mike and Jim, lived upstairs over us. Mike was 12, and I think Jim was a year younger. Mike was dark like his mother, and Jim was almost white looking. Some of the folks in the neighborhood said that Jim's father was a white man. I don't know anything about that; I never saw Mike's or Jim's father. Mr. Frank and his wife, Miss Sally, lived upstairs on the other side of the house. Tina, their daughter, was about the same age as Mike and Jim. The three of them were always hanging around together. Since I was only seven at the time, they didn't want me around. In the first week of June, Miss Ruth moved into the downstairs apartment on Tina's side of the house. I was happy because Miss Ruth had a daughter, Janice; and I just knew she was going to play with me. Janice was much closer to my age than the others. Besides, the others swore in blood that they wouldn't play with her. Naturally, I thought she didn't have anyone to play with —except me. Well, it didn't turn out that way. Janice didn't want to play with anyone. She was a reader: and every time I turned around, she was reading. Her father was a soldier. Mike said he was in Saigon. I don't remember the last names of any of the people who lived in the old house. We were told to put

Mr. or Miss before the first names of grown-ups and address them that way. We didn't know it was wrong until we had grown older. By then, it didn't matter.

Everybody thought Miss Ruth was pretty. Men liked her. They were always coming around to see her. There was one who used to come around a lot. He was very tall—much taller than my dad, who was five feet ten. He had curly hair. Mama used to say that men like that are blessed with the hair their sisters should have had. After all, what's good hair to a man? Curly's yellow skin was smooth and soft looking. I always wanted to touch it to see if it were really as soft as it looked. One of Curly's eyes was smaller than the other. When he looked at you, it seemed as if one eye was looking at you while the other one was looking at something on the other side of the room. I used to hang around waiting for Curly. Sometimes I played jacks on the front porch and watched Miss Ruth and Curly out of the corner of my eye. She said he was her cousin. But one day I overheard Miss Mabel tell Mama that they were "the funniest cousins" she had ever seen. Then she laughed. Mama shook her head sadly and talked about the Lord. Mama knew all about the Lord because she was saved. I think she was the only person in the whole house who was saved.

Most of the time, Curly came to see Miss Ruth at night. He usually brought a carton of beer with him. We would stay up late playing hide and seek and Curly would still be around when we went inside. Once, I even saw him leaving Miss Ruth's house early in the morning. Then, for no reason at all, Mike, Jim, and Tina started whispering and giggling every time Curly came to the house. On that day, the game started. I don't remember who started it. probably Mike. He was always thinking of things to do. Anyway, I wanted to play too.

One evening, while Mama and Dad were looking at T.V., I went out to play on the porch. Janice was already there. She sat in a kitchen chair, on her side of the porch. Her head was buried in a book, and her feet were propped up on the bannister. I looked at her with envy. She had on a pair of old blue jeans which someone had cut off at the knees and a dirty white shirt. My mother wouldn't let me wear shorts. I sat down on the top step and took a small rubber ball out of my skirt pocket. I tossed the jacks on the floor. Janice didn't pay any attention to me. I bounced the ball on the porch several times. But she didn't even look up. I waited until Tina came out.

"Hey, Tina," I said, "will you play jacks with me?"

Tina shook her head "no."

"Why?" I asked.

"Gotta talk to Mike," she said.

"Can't you play until he comes?"

"No. He's coming now," Tina said. She rushed to the screen door

as Mike and Jim dashed down the steps.

"Just one game," I begged.

"Listen honey," Tina said, turning to face me. "Do you wanna play hide and seek with us tonight?"

"Sure."

"Okay. Keep quiet when we're talking business," she said.

"Business," I mumbled. "Hey you, hey girl," I said, calling to Janice. I stopped when I saw Tina's dirty look and pretended I was talking to myself. I picked up my ones. I heard the screen door open as I started my twos. I glanced up and saw Miss Ruth standing next to Janice. Mike whistled softly. Miss Ruth smiled as she looked across the porch at us. She was a short, thin woman, just five feet tall in heels. And she always wore heels. She looked cool in her pink sleeveless dress. I smiled at her shyly. She looked like a fragile toy, like something you would pick up carefully and hold gently with both hands.

"Hello," she said in a soft voice. She always spoke softly around us.

I mumbled and looked down at her tiny feet.

"Hi, Miss Ruth," Mike said.

"Hi," Tina and Jim said at the same time. They looked at each other and giggled.

Miss Ruth turned away from us and leaned over Janice. "Why don't you play with them?" she asked.

"I wanna read," Janice said. Her voice sounded hard compared to her mother's.

"You read too much," Miss Ruth said. She put her hand on Janice's shoulder. "Honey, you ought to play with other kids."

Janice didn't say anything. She didn't seem to be listening.

"I'm going to get some beer," Miss Ruth said. "Shouldn't be gone long. If Curly comes before I get back, tell him to wait."

"Aw right," Janice said.

Miss Ruth walked down the steps, her small hips swayed slightly from side to side. I watched her until she disappeared. I looked over at Tina. She was standing in a corner, talking to Mike and Jim. I looked at Janice. She was watching us with strange dark eyes. I held the jacks up and beckoned to her. But she seemed to be looking through me. I threw the jacks on the floor and picked up my threes.

"I'm glad to see you back from the army front," Mike chanted. I picked up the jacks and stared at him curiously. He marched across the porch. "Hey now," he continued, "I'm glad to see you back from the army front."

Tina put her hands over her mouth and giggled. Jim laughed out loud. Something funny was going on. As usual I was left out of it.

"Hey, hey," Jim said, "I'm glad to see you back from the army front."

Janice looked up at Mike and then at Jim and Tina. At first, she seemed puzzled. Then Mike began

to switch his hips the way Miss Ruth did. Janice's mouth swivelled up until it became very small. Her eyes narrowed. They were almost closed. She jumped up from the chair and slammed the door as she went inside the house. Mike and Jim marched over to Janice's side of the porch. I hesitated only for a few seconds before joining them. "I'm glad to see you back from the army front," I shouted in a high pitched voice.

The lights went out in Janice's living room. "I'm glad to see you . . ." I stopped abruptly. Janice's skinny face peered out the window facing the porch. She made a fist, brought it up to her nose and shook it at me. Startled and frightened, I backed over to our side of the porch. Jim, Mike, and Tina were still chanting when Miss Ruth and Curly walked into the yard.

Curly was carrying a six-pack of beer under his arm. His light skin was brightened by his yellow shirt. He didn't wear a belt. His hips held his brown slacks up; and they looked as if they were going to fall down.

"Where's Janice?" Miss Ruth asked, looking around.

"Aw, she went in," Mike said.

Miss Ruth thanked him with a smile. Before entering the house, she and Curly stopped at the door and whispered together for a few minutes. Afterwards they went inside of the apartment; and Janice dashed out as quickly as she had dashed inside.

Mike never stopped when he had a good game going. Army front was a good game. Every time one of us marched across the porch, Janice's eyes would get narrow and her mouth would shrink. We didn't have to say anything: all we had to do was march. One afternoon, when we were all on the porch, Mike jumped down the steps and ran down the sidewalk for about a block. He turned and marched back toward us. He stopped in front of the house and looked around. Then he marched into the yard and up the steps. Jim dashed over to Janice's side of the porch and stepped inside of the screen door. He put his left hand on his hips and patted his hair with the other one.

"Well, hello wife," Mike said. He stopped in front of the screen door.

Tina and I giggled.

"It ain't 'hello wife,' " I said. "It's 'hello darling.' "

"Only white folks talk that way," Mike said.

I started to disagree. But then, I had never heard Dad call Mama "darling." Maybe Mike was right.

"Hello wife," Mike said again. "I'm back from the army front."

Jim opened the screen door and stepped out on the porch. "Hello husband," he said. He put both hands on his hips. "I'm glad to see you back from the army front," he chanted softly.

"Ohhhh," Tina said, running her hand through her short, nappy hair.

"Oh, my hair is so curly, so curly."

Janice looked like an animal about to attack.

"I really do have that good stuff," Tina continued. "It's so curly. Hey now, ain't I got curly hair?" she marched across the porch with Mike and Jim.

Suddenly I was acting crazy too. "I'm glad to see you back from the army front," I shouted.

"We thank the Lord for your return," Tina said. She threw her hands up in mock prayer. "Oh, we're so glad to see you back from the army front. Yes, Lord! We're glad to have him back. Ain't we glad to have him back? Yes, Lord, we is."

"I still love curly hair," Jim said sadly. "I just love curly hair. Do you love curly hair?"

"Everybody loves curly hair," Mike said.

"Shut up!" Janice screamed, throwing her book on the floor. "Shut up! You say one more word about my mama!"

"Who's talking about your old mama?" Mike asked.

"You just say one more word, one more word," she whimpered, "and I'll knock the shit outta you."

"I'm gonna tell your mama," I said, impressed in spite of myself. "You said a bad word."

Janice enjoyed herself for a few minutes. "Be too late, after I knock it outta you."

"I'm really gonna tell now," I said.

"You gonna knock the shit outta me too?" Mike asked. He strutted up to Janice and pushed his chest out until his body touched hers. "Go on, hit me, I dare you," he said as he looked down into her face. "Hit me, hit me, I dare you."

"You say one more word about my mama," she said.

"We ain't talking about your old mama," Tina said.

"Yeah," I said, drawing courage from the others. "We're just playing a game. We're just playing army front. Ain't we just playing army front?"

Mike thrust his face into Janice's and laughed. "I'm glad to see you . . ."

Janice grabbed him by the throat. He tried to pry her hands away from his neck; she wouldn't let go. Then he hit her in the face. She swung at him so hard that they both fell on the floor.

"C'mon Mike," Jim shouted.

"Get her! Get her!" Tina shrieked.

I was shocked. Mike was on the bottom! Janice was sitting on his stomach, bashing him in the face with her fist. Jim couldn't stand it any longer. He jumped on Janice's back and pulled her off his brother. Then Tina leaped on Janice and the three of them wrestled her. Janice bit, kicked and swung her fist wildly. The noise grew louder,

and I was afraid Mama would hear us. I backed to our side of the porch and sat down on the top step.

All at once, I looked up and saw Mama standing at the screen door. She stepped out on the porch. Her face was wet with perspiration, and her stomach stuck out so far that it looked as if she had swallowed a watermelon.

"What's all the noise for?" she asked crossly. Tina, Mike, and Jim released their hold on Janice and stood up. I stood up too. Janice rose slowly. Her nose was bleeding. She wiped her face on the bottom of her blouse. We all looked ashamed and guilty, the way you're supposed to look when grown-ups catch you doing something wrong. But Janice put her hands on her hips and glared at my mother. With blood still dripping from her nose, she looked as if she were going to attack Mama. Mama looked at her with distaste.

"Well!" Mama said. She waited for an explanation.

"It's all her fault," Mike said quickly.

"Sure was, Mama," I said.

"We was out here playing, minding our own business, Miss Dorothy." Tina said. "Then she starts fighting and carrying on."

"Sure did, Mama. She said a bad word," I said.

"She's always causing trouble, Miss Dorothy," Jim said. "Can't nobody get along with her."

"Do you know what she said, Mama?" I said eagerly.

"I don't want to hear none of her nastiness," Mama said. "You little heifer, why don't you stay on your side of the porch if you can't play nice like the others."

"I am on my side," Janice said.

If I had spoken that way, I would have been whipped.

"Don't you talk back to me," Mama snapped. "I don't play with children."

Janice closed her mouth tightly. Even though she was silent, she looked defiant. Mama was furious. She couldn't bear to have anyone stand up to her. Again, I was impressed with Janice. "I don't want to hear no more foolishness from any of you," Mama said.

I looked away from Mama to the other side of the porch, and I saw Miss Ruth peering through the screen door at us. I didn't know how long she had been there nor what she had heard. My face grew hot with embarrassment and shame. For the first time, I really began to feel the summer heat.

Miss Ruth opened the screen door and poked her head out of it. Apparently she had been sleeping, for she wore a red bath robe which was unfastened. She held it together with one hand. "What's wrong?" she asked in a soft voice.

"These kids are fighting again," Mama said. She looked at Miss Ruth as if she were looking at sin itself. "I done told 'em I don't want no more of this foolishness. If they disturb me with their noise one more time, I'm gonna give every

one of them a good whipping, no matter who they belong to." She looked at Miss Ruth to see how she would take her threat.

Miss Ruth came out on the porch and let the screen door close. She put her arm around Janice. "Miss Dorothy," Miss Ruth said quietly, "I know you mean well. But I don't let no outsiders touch my child. If she does something wrong, you tell me and I'll punish her."

"Miss Ruth," Mama lowered her voice to match Miss Ruth's, "a body can't be everywhere all the time. We can't always see the devilment our children start."

Miss Ruth smiled faintly. "That's true, Miss Dorothy," she conceded. Her small mouth lost its softness.

"I try to do right by everybody," Mama continued. "When a body sees Betty doing wrong, they know they can chastise her. It's gonna be the same for this one here." She touched her stomach.

"You do what you think best for your children," Miss Ruth said. "But nobody better touch my Janice. Why, I don't whip her myself."

"I can believe that," Mama said.

I suddenly had a vision of Miss Ruth attacking my mother the way Janice had attacked Mike. Could little Miss Ruth beat up Mama, or would Mama beat up Miss Ruth? What would Daddy say when he came home and found that Mama had beaten up Miss Ruth? I didn't like what was going on.

"She don't have no bringing up at all," Mama continued. "You'd rather carry on with that one-eyed boy than to do right by your own child."

Mike exchanged a glance with Tina, and they laughed. Jim, with his hands jammed in his pockets, leaned against the wall. I began to feel uneasy and hot. I didn't want to play army front any more. I just wanted everybody to stop talking.

"Don't talk about my mama," Janice said suddenly. Her voice was almost a plead.

"See there. Talking back to her betters already," Mama said. "I always say you reap what you sow. And someday, this child here is gonna pay you back for not doing right by her."

"Don't say no more . . ."

"Hush," Miss Ruth said to Janice.

"I don't mean no harm," Mama said, "but I believe in telling things the way they is. Now you can live the wild life in this world. But you're gonna have to come before the Lord in the next one." Mama's voice rose as she began to feel the Spirit.

Miss Ruth was speechless. Everybody was quiet. I was getting hotter. I felt water running off my back. For a minute, I was afraid that Mama would feel the Holy Ghost. Then she would begin shouting and thanking the Lord for

being good enough to feel the Holy Ghost.

"I've lived a good life," Mama continued. "Didn't go running around and carrying on and leaving a child to go every which way."

"Don't talk about my mama," Janice said. She was breathing hard now.

Mama looked at her sadly. "I don't fault the child none. It's your teachings that's making her what she is. Look at Betty. She never talks back. Knows better than to try it."

Miss Ruth glanced at me quickly and I tried to back away from her look.

"Don't you say . . ."

"Be quiet," Miss Ruth said harshly.

"Then make her shut up," Janice screamed. "Make her shut her damn mouth!"

Miss Ruth released her robe and slapped Janice across the face. Bewildered, Janice backed away from her mother. They looked at each other for a long time. They looked as if they, both, were going to cry. Janice's mouth trembled. She jumped off the porch steps and ran down the street.

Miss Ruth looked at Mama with tears in her eyes. "I'm sorry," she mumbled. "I don't know what's wrong with me. I know better than to fuss with you in your condition. I know I ain't living right, Miss Dorothy," she said. "But I don't mean no harm. I just can't help myself. I don't mean to hurt nobody. Never hit the child before in my life. Don't know what's wrong with me. Pray for me, Miss Dorothy. Pray for me!"

Mama wiped the perspiration off her forehead with the back of her hand. "I'll pray for you," she promised.

I looked around for Mike. He was whispering something to Jim and Tina. They were probably making up a new game or thinking of new ways to play the old one. I didn't want to be with any of them anymore. While Mama and Miss Ruth were discussing Mama's condition, I walked off the porch. Then Mama yelled at me. I didn't run or anything. I just kept walking down the street.

"Betty," Mama yelled, "you get yourself on back here."

I didn't turn around, I just kept walking. I found Janice in the alley, about a block from the house. She was lying, face down in the middle of the street.

"What're you doing?" I asked as I walked up to her.

"Go away," she said. "I hate you, too." She looked funny. There was dirt and blood all over her face.

"C'mon, get up."

"I'm gonna stay here forever," she said, "until I die."

"You gonna get run over," I said.

"I don't care. I wanna die."

"Why?" I asked.

"Who cares?" she asked.

I thought about her question for

a while. I didn't know what she meant by it. But I knew that I didn't hate her, and I didn't want to make fun of her anymore. "I . . . I . . . care," I said. "C'mon Janice, get up."

As usual, Janice didn't pay any attention to me. "I hate everybody," she said. "I hate mama, too. I'm gonna stay here till I die. Then she'll be sorry."

I was already sorry about everything. "Please get up," I said, fighting back the tears. She wouldn't move. I walked over to the sidewalk and sat down. I wasn't in any hurry to go home. I knew I was going to get it when I got there. It wouldn't be any little old slap either. Besides, I knew Janice couldn't lie in the street forever. People drove their cars through that alley. And one way or another, they would make her move. I sat for a long time thinking about Janice, Miss Ruth, and Mama. Finally Janice got up and came over to the sidewalk. She sat down next to me. I didn't know why she moved from the street. Maybe she thought that someone cared after all. Maybe she just got tired of lying there. Anyway, she moved. We sat there for a while longer. I didn't look at Janice because I didn't want to cry; and I think maybe she didn't look at me because she didn't want to cry either.

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(Continued from page 20)

especially one at a predominantly Negro institution—is suspect. His intellectual inferiority is assumed. If he is writing about Negroes, his bias is presumed. It is a painful job—but a fact—that when a white man studies the culture of Negroes, his work is sent to another white man for appraisal. When a Negro writes about Negroes, his work is sent to three white men. What is published, and publicized, consequently, generally repeats whatever white men already believe about the Negro.

What is needed is a Negro press, a black publisher that will publish and publicize the book-length research of Negro scholars. I first heard such a request in 1957. After a decade, Negro educators and businessmen have not taken the first step towards such a company. Negro publishers of magazines evidence their fears that Negroes will not buy scholarly publications, for they have concentrated their effort and money on periodicals with popular appeal.

Unfortunately, they may be correct. Langston Hughes was among those who, 30 years ago, deplored the unwillingness of Negroes to buy books. Hughes, of course, referred to popular books—fiction and poetry. Interest in scholarship is even less.



FACULTY

Negro teachers are needed. But the task of securing them is not as simple as might be presumed from listening to the bright young educators who demand a black university.

Let us assume that we are considering establishing a university of 10,000 students—small by standards of the prestige universities, colossal for a Negro institution. Let us also propose one teacher for every 20 students, certainly not a far-fetched standard for an ideal institution. That amounts to only 500 teachers, plus administrators and secretaries.

Only 500. But that number will not be found among Negroes who earn graduate degrees in 1968. I do not propose to exclude arbitrarily any candidate who lacks a doctorate degree. Nor do I wish to denigrate the intellectual ability and the enthusiam of people who may apply. But desire is not sufficient. Knowledge and teaching ability are required. Furthermore, because instruction must be provided in all areas of the curriculum, even the capable and well-trained instructors must be screened to make certain that their qualifications are supplementary rather than duplicating. For instance, it is useless to have four teachers well-trained in zoology if there is no one sufficiently trained in botany.

Since sufficient teachers cannot be secured from new graduates not already committed to particular institutions, it will be necessary to raid the faculties of established institutions. As anyone knows who has tried it, money does not always prove sufficiently strong to pry a teacher from an institution and a community where he has planted roots for himself and his family.

In time, a new institution with sufficient money and satisfactory fringe benefits—such as geographic location, adequate library, limited teaching load, and cultural activities—can build as satisfactory a faculty as did Duke and Chicago, to name only two institutions which competed successfully with well-established institutions. But time is required. A decade may not be an unreasonable minimum.

Meanwhile, it may be necessary to develop the program at an institution already established, for one may strengthen a competent faculty more quickly than create a new one. Naturally, the institution must be selected carefully, and means must be devised to exclude from the program—or at least minimize the influence of—tenured faculty members who, apathetic, incompetent, or hostile, cannot contribute wholesomely.

ADMINISTRATION

Negro administrators have been criticized for incompetence, autocratic behavior, and egocentricity. Although the charges are often justifiable, competent administrators can be secured from among those already in higher education. Like teachers, however, administrators may be unwilling to abandon established posts to gamble with uncertainty. I cannot easily condemn a man—black or white—who hesitates, and finally refuses, to dedicate himself to a cause which may require his sacrificing everything which he has spent a lifetime building. Perhaps, therefore, the proposed program should be placed under the jurisdiction of a president who has demonstrated excellence at an institution already established.

Before rejecting this suggestion, let us examine the major objections—that is, the criticisms traditionally hurled at Negro administrators. Autocrats have governed and do govern *some* Negro colleges. But the Negro race owns no monopoly on tyrannical presidents. Autocratic administration may develop wherever a weak, insecure faculty surrenders its rights.

There is little need to fear that autocratic practices will govern the ideal black university. First, the president will already have demonstrated excellence. Competent administrators recognize that educational programs work best when the faculty assists in determining

policy. Second, the strong faculty required for the ideal institution will not surrender its rights.

Negro administrators also are accused of incompetence. Again, the failing should not be identified with a particular race. Incompetent white men preside over colleges, just as incompetent Negroes do. Conversely, many Negroes administer programs effectively, just as white men do.

The fact that some presidents have proved to be incompetent merely emphasizes the need to select a president carefully. Some men cannot cope with the rapid expansions of colleges today. For example, an administrator who has governed successfully as a father-in-residence for a family of five hundred students and seventy teachers may learn that his methods fail when the population doubles.

Traditionally, ministers and professors have been selected as presidents of Negro colleges. Ministers are presumed competent to guide the moral as well as the intellectual development of students. It is further assumed that brilliant professors can reshape the curriculum imaginatively and can stimulate academic performance characteristic of their own work.

The fact is, however, that the complexity of college administration today requires the talents of a corporation executive rather than those of a scholar or a spiritual counselor. Higher education is big business. Some key administrator on the campus must know how to secure grants, how to organize staff, how to handle personnel, how to prepare and present budgets and proposals: in short, someone must know how to operate a big business successfully. Ideally, therefore, some top administrator—a vice-president, perhaps—should be experienced in business management. But how many Negroes have been given the opportunity to exercise their talents as executives in large corporations? Whereas some white colleges may complain that they cannot find business executives willing to accept lower salaries as vice-presidents, Negro colleges must complain of the scarcity of Negroes with sufficient executive experience to serve even as visiting consultants.

An ideal institution needs a triumvirate of key administrators—one man, experienced in managing a corporation, who manages the operation; a second man — an imaginative scholar—who spearheads the academic program; a third man, knowledgeable about budgets, taxes, and law, who serves as financial officer. Naturally, as a scholar, I would name the academic man to the post of president. Each of the three, however, is essential to a successful operation, and each must find sufficient prestige and satisfaction in his own position that he will not seek to usurp the responsibilities of the other two.

NEW PROGRAMS AND EXPERIMENTATION

The new courses proposed earlier do not complete the academic reforms which are needed. New curricula must prepare Negro students for occupations previously closed to them. Many predominantly Negro colleges, starving financially, cannot afford the additional expense of new programs, no matter how desirable they may be.

For example, if only five students seek training for college personnel positions, an impoverished institution may argue that it cannot afford to offer such a program. Instead, it will continue to prepare the fifty students interested in elementary and secondary school counseling. Thus, colleges, economically forced to perpetuate the traditional, fail to prepare Negro students for new occupations.

The Black University may suffer similar financial hardships; yet it must offer new programs. Otherwise, it will betray its students and, in fact, may lose prospective students to larger universities which can afford such programs.

The Black University also must discard the characteristic conservativism of most Negro institutions. Fearing criticism for failure, Negro institutions rarely have gambled on educational experiments. Many of the so-called experiments in curriculum and method merely revive antiquated and abandoned practices. Or these "experiments" abandon academic standards under the pretext of respecting the so-called culture of the Negro.

Experimentation must be encouraged. There should be experiments in methods of teaching, experiments with non-graded courses, experiments with tutorial sessions. But experiments must be conducted systematically. Control groups should be compared with the experimental groups, and student performance should be tested and evaluated. Always, the experiment should be designed to discover the most effective means of achieving desired results, never merely to confirm the validity of a pre-determined hypothesis. Possibly, experimentation will prove that many students cannot reach the required level of competence within four years. If so, the students must be retained longer. College education, thus, will not be envisioned as four years of courses producing a diploma as automatically as nine months of development produce a child. Instead, it should be viewed as the movement toward a goal, the duration determined by the knowledge, stamina, and quickness of the student.

The need for new programs and experimentation is a problem for all of higher education, not merely for Negro institutions. I must reemphasize, however, that the term "experiment" or "curriculum development" should not mask a condescending acceptance of inadequate performance by Negroes. For example, some educators currently

advise teachers to respect the dialect and the culture of Negro students. Since no studies have determined what that dialect is, some educators would accept all habits of language usage, no matter how far they deviate from the standard. Since studies do not describe the Negro's culture, some educators excuse irresponsibility, for example, as characteristic of that culture. Such permissiveness further injures the Negro student, who, after graduating, seeks a professional or technical position. The professional world expects that college graduates will use language identified with professional people and that they will demonstrate responsibility. For example, few employers will hire secretaries who will say, "I ain't got none of them." Whether the secretary speaks with the accent of Boston or Charleston does not matter, but the employer expects a different level of usage. The employer—black or white—does not care whether the secretary's parents and friends speak that way. He assumes that if she wishes to retain that pattern of usage, she should work among them rather than impose her "dialect" on his business. Similarly, no one—whether a white man or a race-proud black man—wants an irresponsible doctor or even an irresponsible plumber.

THEATRE, MUSIC, ART

The Black University should provide a training ground for young actors, playwrights, composers, musicians, and artists. No theatre today provides adequate opportunity for struggling actors and playwrights to develop their talents. Once again, the problem is not restricted to the Negro; a young white playwright experiences equal difficulty in gaining experience by staging his dramas. We are concerned, however, with the development of Negro artists.

An adequately financed university should be able to maintain a resident company of young writers and performers who could share with students their professional experiences, limited though they may be, and who would have a stage on which to develop their talent.

Similarly, the Black University must house a substantial collection of works by Negro writers and scholars and a museum of art by black men. Both collections require money and the services of full-time directors who have time and travel expenses to search for the necessary materials.

The resident company, the library, and the museum can be established and maintained as easily at a predominantly Negro institution already established as at a new institution.





TRUSTEES

If I seem indifferent to trustees, the reason is only that, as a teacher and quasi- or semi-administrator, I have considered trustees only as businessmen who give the blessing of the practical world to the dreams of educators. I foresee less difficulty in securing trustees than in securing anything else for the Black University. Jackie Robinson, Ralph Bunche, Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland or Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Publisher John H. Johnson—these are only a few who are possible. Trustees—all-black or all-Negro or all-Afro-American or whatever you wish to call "those people"—can be found.



PRESTIGE

The final need of the Black University is for prestige. Even newly established white institutions require time to build reputations. But I fear that, in America, a black university will never earn national reputation as long as it uses only black teachers to instruct only black students. And I wonder how long Negro students will retain pride in their institution unless that pride is respected by non-blacks.

This is perhaps the final reason reaffirming for me my original conclusion that the desired results may be obtained more effectively by building upon an already established predominantly Negro university rather than attempting to establish a new institution.

Secure the necessary money—whether from black men or white men, and add this to the money already in the budget of a school. Secure administrators whose talents supplement those of a competent administrator who already has experience. Secure teachers—black or white—who have the knowledge and the ability to teach the desired courses, and use them to strengthen a staff which already has numbers and competence. Accept students—white or black—who wish to experience the education provided. Then revise the curriculum to meet the needs and demands.

What results will not be *the* Black University, for it accepts white money, white faculty, and white students. But it should be the kind of institution best designed to provide adequate opportunity for black teachers and students to develop their capabilities fully, to serve the black community effectively, to gain pride in and knowledge of their heritage and themselves, and to achieve recognition for their ability. And these, after all, are the major purposes for which a Black University is proposed.

Darwin T. Turner, author of "The Black University: A Practical Approach," is dean of the graduate school at the Agricultural and Technical State University of North Carolina, Greensboro.

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standards were the methods of selecting dismissed individuals.

> Dr. Nabrit said—all the people have uniformly said—"We've used the scholarship method—we've read in the paper somewhere, rightly or wrongly, that these people were in some way associated with the disturbance. And that's a scholastic way to approach the situation.[8]

George Hayes, Howard attorney, assumed a Lawyer Calhoun demeanor and wailed that "there has been a suggestion of b-lack pow-wuh" (delivered in the Baptist preacher's fire-and-brimstone tones). He further insinuated that I had caused the fires,[9] reading a statement from an article on Howard I had written in the Washington Free Press. There I had said of the administration: "They don't seem to hear the thunder . . . and so, the boycott last Wednesday, the fire next time" (obviously employing the titles of two well-known novels about the racial scene).[10]

In a confidential report to his superior, the associate dean of students, Carl Anderson, set forth ludicrous and, needless to say, erroneous conclusions, based on the viewing of a film by 30 members of the staff and two students employed as spies. The film of a Hershey hearing had been turned over to Howard by a local television station whose white reporter had gotten into an argument with black militant students outside the building and was knocked down and hospitalized. The trouble with this was that the Howard investigators had a film with no sound. Consequently, they watched Anthony Gittens, in the room legitimately as a witness, and Jay Greene, who sought to bring the militant crowd under control, and concluded from that that they were inciting the crowd to rebellion.

The "confidential" report also erroneously declared the Black Power Committee under the control of SNCC and the Communist Party and labeled the father of one student a communist. The report listed the names of 12 "members of the Black Power Committee"; only one of them was actually a member. One student who was listed as a member, Art Goldberg, was white.

From this kind of evidence an *ad hoc* kangaroo disciplinary committee of 15 faculty officials meted out punishment (from dismissals to warnings and dormitory purges) to 60 students, including André McKissick, daughter of CORE's Floyd McKissick. Faculty members dismissed were merely outspoken faculty members whose contracts conveniently expired that year. They had violated the cult of mediocrity originated in Howard's early

years when "Christian character and republican principles" were, just as political docility is now, the prime prerequisites for employment and promotion.[11] The only other accusations, aside from Acting President Stanton L. Wormley's labeling of me and Prof. Ivan Eames as fellow "racists," came from President Nabrit (who was almost never on campus) who said that there had been "shovings and some kind of physical contact. These teachers had been involved in this kind of activity."[12] This, of course, was a baldfaced lie. In the recent months, four additional professors of unquestioned professional performance have been refused reappointment apparently for political views. More retaliations are to come with each year's expiration of contracts—as things now stand—until all persons of a divergent political hue have left in disgust or been dismissed.



When news of last summer's firings reached me, I had been lecturing at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. After some weeks I returned to Washington and suggested, in passing, when responding in the local press to Nabrit's boasts of his past civil rights legal work, that at least now, having outlived his usefulness, after serving well in his day and receiving his reward, he should have the decency to get out of the way. I left town again shortly and Nabrit, who had one year left before reaching the mandatory retirement age and who had spent half of the previous year officially working away from Howard as a "salesman" of LBJ's foreign policy, announced his "retirement."

I was sitting at a conference breakfast table when I read this in the Washington Post and I immediately exclaimed to my companions that it was a propaganda, a public relations, stunt. My skepticism was based, in part, on long exposure to the conniving, dishonest approach of the Howard administration. Later, I was to learn that Howard's public relations director, who highlighted the Hershey affair when the selection of student defendants clearly indicated that the Black Power Committee was the target, had received a special citation from the American Association of College Public Relations Officials. He also played up the black power issue after the firing of six professors (four of them white, and I the only black power advocate in the six).

Unfortunately, a group of dismissed students and faculty members misread Nabrit's "resignation" (as did just about everybody else) and called a press conference to announce it as a victory for our cause. They also suggested Kenneth B. Clark (a member of Howard's Board of Trustees!) as a successor to Nabrit, which caused

me to exclaim unconsciously aloud as soon as I had read it. I was aware that if you write a book called *Tan Ghetto* people will think you moderate; *Dark Ghetto,* a militant; and *Black Ghetto,* a flaming radical. Hence it did not surprise me a few paragraphs later when I read that Clark had denounced our movement as "psychotic" while commending the ways of Nabrit. In September, Nabrit was to announce that he had never written a letter of resignation and would not, indeed, that he might defy the mandatory rule and stay on several years. Then, the day after the first fight of my current boxing comeback in December, in which I won by a knockout in 2 minutes and 22 seconds of the first round, Nabrit announced in the press for the second time that he would not retire.

We went to court in August—I belatedly and reluctantly, for I felt that that would turn the matter over to the mercy of the Great White Courts which might rule on a legal technicality rather than on pure justice. Also, Howard students and teachers, should any still care or remember by September, would tend to accept the court's decision as infallible or, equally as bad, await it passively. Our lawyers assured us that the case would be over by September and I felt I had to go along because other faculty members thought that my staying out would hurt their case. The judge who handled it, an octogenarian, had a reputation for conservatism as well as for making the wrong decision in the opinion of the Courts of Appeals (where the case is now). We did not, therefore, expect a favorable decision, and time and again during the courtroom proceedings the biased and illogical comments of the elderly judge brought down the courtroom in laughter.

I discovered, meanwhile, that the members of the Black Power Committee had been imprisoned in a summer "riot-prevention" roundup of black militants, in this case for "conspiring to incite a riot." As bail money could not be raised for them at the time, they could not return to Howard. This left me standing on the battlefield with no forces; and so I worked along with other student leaders who planned a boycott for September. I also remembered all the help local black leaders—not to mention Howard students and professors—unsolicited by me—had promised throughout the preceding year, and I planned at last to solicit their aid. However, student leaders were strongly against "outside" forces. Then, just before school started, the students were reinstated, though most of them went elsewhere, generally to better schools. One of them is said to have told the other students to work on forming a "student judiciary committee" instead of risking protest. I personally heard a dismissed professor discourage rebellion before he left for another college. Student

leaders and professors posing as militants echoed this advice. Now, students who previously had urged me not to round up and bring in "outside" forces, informed me that there would be no boycott and suggested that I use the outside forces. They had just learned that members of the Black Power Committee, which had stolen the campus leadership from the liberal-moderate student establishment the year before, were now away in jail.

At about this time the local affiliates of Newark's National Black Power Conference formed a Washington Committee for Black Power, of which I was elected chairman. I sought help with the Howard movement from them and from other black militants, but none came forward. Nor did any black group raise funds or contribute to the bill for court costs, although some area white professors held a fund-raising party and some American University students held a fund-raising concert. Howard students did nothing along these lines, although the militants put on a party to raise bail money for a person never connected with Howard and who had, in fact, help persuade the Washington Committee for Black Power to evade the Howard struggle.

On the formal opening of Howard, a walkout was planned by militant students for President Nabrit's address. Only three professors—again all white—could be persuaded to take an active part. Keith Lowe, Harvard-trained English professor who had been part of the summer's purge, stood with me on the sidewalk to greet students and faculty members walking out of the auditorium. As students gathered round and cheered, the voice of Professor Lowe, an Oriental reared in Jamaica, grew hoarse as he implored: "I have seen you act as full human beings . . . Don't let your struggle slip back." I warned the students that the only hope is to close Howard down indefinitely until a ruthless, helter-skelter administration buckles under in repentance. I did not know that that also had been the view of Mordecai Johnson, former president of Howard, when the Congressional Appropriations Committee attemped to suppress academic freedom at Howard early in the McCarthy era.

But, as in the case of last year's boycott, student militants, mistakenly seeking "wide participation," had turned the leadership of the protest over to establishment students. I know now that the major reason for the Black Power Committee's relative strength last year rested in its exclusiveness, although this angered many students who regarded themselves as "black radicals" and had reputations for constant espousals of the glory of blackness and revolutionary rhetoric. These students may still be

found at this game, beating their chests and reading and parroting Frantz Fanon and Mao-Tse Tung; and it is clear now that they cannot be expected to do much else.

Then there are the grand organizers. I recently attended a unifying meeting of the representatives of 19 different groups, each proposing to have the cure for Howard's ills. When I finally left the meeting at midnight they had not managed to get together on anything other than the prohibition of campus activity by any single member-group. Later, I learned that they agreed on a collective name whose acoustics formed an African word but they have done nothing since, which—remember?—is what they agreed—that no member-group should do anything.

This nothingness pervades the air at Howard, although Steve Abel, student chairman of the United Black Peoples Party, appears to try hard and to mean business; but he has little or no help; and freshman class president Michael Harris, who has much promise but has not yet had the time to lose his faith in the lies and promises of Howard's administration and establishment-student leaders, did stage a sit-in in President Nabrit's office, protesting compulsory ROTC. Against Abel's will, the 100 students were persuaded by establishment-leaders to break up the sit-in on the promise that Nabrit would eliminate compulsory ROTC. This promise may yet be fulfilled, but, in any case, at best it is a paper victory in more than one sense of the word.

Understand me, there still are maybe 10 truly militant students left at Howard, which would be enough to detonate the movement should they ever manage to shake off the control of the administration's student flunkies, student-lounge radicals and other phonies. Adrienne Manns, editor of the Hilltop, for example, has done a brilliant job, along with Anthony Gittens, chairman of Project Awareness, in making students aware. Also, it is said that time makes more converts than reason, and it may come to pass that the next time Nabrit announces his retirement, Howard students (90 per cent of whom oppose his administration, according to a Hilltop survey) may have the courage to run him out of town.

As of this writing, the atmosphere at Howard appears to the casual visitor to loom thick with the sickness of a strange and eerie apathy. Administrators cling to the erroneous notion that a university can stand upon guns, cunning and connivance, unwary, it seems, of the fact that history is a vengeful lady and, when once it retaliates, can be a vicious executioner. Students and professors walk around virtually wrapped in a cautious trance, as if ready to run at the sound of "boo." Some wear the faces of grinning mummies, hucklebucking no less in mock glee in and

out of "The Punch Out" and other student hangouts.

I walk through the campus on occasion and, now and again, students wave or grin at me, or come over to shake my hand and to inquire about my welfare; and it saddens me to see that they are not concerned about their own. It is sadder still to see in their faces and reactions (and, frequently, frank apologies and rationalizations) a recognition that they have played into the hands of dishonesty and disgrace to their own heritage, bartered away self-respect for insulation against the risk of delay or inconvenience in getting themselves ratified (no pun intended) for the rat race they feel lies ahead. Some of them may never realize how cheaply they sold out.

But students, unlike professors, are not stuck forever in the cesspool of Howard's mediocrity. Many will be able to shake off the crippling influences of their college years and someday reclaim their lives elsewhere and make full contributions to the world and to their race. The professors who remain must either face dismissal or be left to quiver aimlessly in the quicksand of induced docility. I have watched them, day by day, young professors with style and promise already losing their spark, grumbling in the dark but falling silent and teethy when administrators walk by; old men now dissatisfied, but powerless at this late date to move, driven to drink in bars near the campus discussing the books begun five to 10 years ago which their frozen pens will now never finish.

The day before Christmas Eve, I stopped by an asylum to visit a former Howard professor and friend incarcerated there. He had been one of the deans of Negro literature and black thought in the days when Howard was in its heyday, sought out for guidance by a generation of black students when Howard's faculty directory read like a Who's Who Among Negro Scholars. In late November someone had told me how he stood in a faculty meeting and angrily threatened, should Howard go through with a proposal to give all this year's honorary degrees to white individuals, he would write exposés which would "make Nathan Hare's seem mild." Within two weeks they compelled him to retire ("leave of absence" beginning the second semester until the end of the year and then goodby) after over thirty years on the faculty. In a few days he was taken by force to St. Elizabeth's hospital. Coming down the corridor on the day of my visit, he looked well for his age and in good health. On approaching closer he recognized me and refused to see me, stating that he did not wish to see anybody from Howard again.

I am glad I was a Howard professor, but I also am glad that Howard fired me.

(See Footnotes on Next Page)

Final Reflections—

1. Walter Dyson, *Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education*. Washington: Howard University Graduate School, 1942, *passim*.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 19. "Whittlesey Testimon," *Howard Investigation* (Congressional), 1870, p. 2. See also Nathan Hare, "Behind the Black College Student Revolt," *Ebony*, August, 1967, pp. 58-61.
3. *The Special Court of Inquiry upon Charges Against General Howard*, May 5, 1874. "The Profit of Godliness—a Pious Brigadier," *The Capital* of Washington, D. C., June 22, 1873.
4. The New York *Evening Post*, June 18, 1875. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1875.
5. *Hare et. al v. Howard*, Civil Action no. 2037-67.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Attorney Richard Millman, American Civil Liberties Union lawyer, *Hare et. al. v. Howard.*
9. George Hayes, Howard Attorney, *Hare et. al. v. Howard.*
10. Washington Free Press, May, 1967.
11. Walter Dyson, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
12. *Hare et. al. v. Howard.*



Nathan Hare, author of the article, "The Decline and Impending Fall of A 'Black' University," is author of the book, *The Black Anglo Saxons*, and a popular spokesman for the "Black Consciousness" movement. He recently received an appointment as coordinator of a projected Black Studies Program at San Francisco State College.

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penniless writer, he travels the gamut from beans and ham hocks to plush meals in Europe. He leaves the Negro paper for a more profitable position on a "liberal" white one. His published novels become a measured success, so successful that one eventually goes into paperback. He joins the White House staff as a speech writer for a "Kennedy-type" President, and leaves unhappily because the President doesn't use any of his speeches. He emasculates his manhood through his relationships with black and white women and soon becomes a carbon-copy of *that white boy.*

Lillian Patch, who is killed because of an abortion, was, of course, the prototype of the "Negro" professional woman, one who had acquired all the white "values" of her society and who wished to live those "values." Lillian and Max would have gotten married had Max had a better paying job, and had he moved more swiftly into the American "mainstream." Max made the mistake of letting Lillian wear the pants, and in effect lost himself and Lillian.

After a short depression period brought on by the death of Lillian, Max is regenerated through a job with the New York Century—a liberal white paper—and the publication of his third novel. After a successful stay at the Century, Max leaves and joins Pace (a Time-style magazine) and works his way up to chief of its African bureau.

The scene of the novel shifts from the United States to Africa and Europe. While in Africa we learn such things as the truth about the African slave trade, that black Africans own a very small percentage of their land, that the black masses of South Africa, with its own system of *apartheid,* have a higher standard of living than the masses of Africans in other areas of the continent. We learn that the majority of black leaders in the "independent" nations of Africa are just as devious, selfish and pro-Western as the black middle-class in the United States.

In Europe, we have glimpses of Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus and the whole French-black intellectual association. As in the Europe of Hemingway, Pound, Eliot, Joyce and Fitzgerald, black writers are not wanted or needed. Finally, while we are in Europe, we come to the revolutionary discovery of the "King Alfred Contingency Plan" for the detention and systematic extermination of the Afro-American people. While attending the funeral of Harry Ames, Max is given this highly secret information by Harry's white mistress.

As Max reads the letter from Harry explaining the plan, his physical pain (cancer of the rectum) leaves him and is replaced with the

pain of knowing too much, and we share this pain as Max reads:

"Panic in Washington ensued when it was discovered that Jaja not only had information on the Alliance, but on King Alfred, the contingency plan to detain and ultimately rid America of its Negroes. Mere American membership in the Alliance would have been sufficient to rock America, but King Alfred would have made Negroes realize, finally and angrily, that all the new moves—the laws and committees —to gain democracy for them were fraudulent, just as Minister Q and the others have been saying for years. Your own letter to me days after you left the White House only underscored what so many Negro leaders believed. The one alternative left for Negroes would be not only to seek that democracy withheld from them as quick and as violently as possible, but to fight for their very survival. King Alfred, as you will see, leaves no choice."

Have black people ever had a choice? NO. Yet, the New York Times reviewer said of the King Alfred plan, ". . . here believability falters." The Saturday Review adds to white America's illusions with the assertion, "It reads rather like an anti-white, Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The Nation said of the Contingency, "It is an unlikely possibility that deflects attention from the ways power and prejudice actually work. Inevitable black genocide is a risky thing to base your whole vision upon." A white critic reviewing a black book feels that "the King Alfred Contingency Plan" is not only fiction but borders on science fiction.

Were Detroit and Newark fiction? Were the deaths of three college students in South Carolina (two shot in the back) fiction? Is the formation of one thousand vigilantes (posse) in Chicago to fight off "rioters" fiction? And what about the purchasing of armored cars, "Mace" (an eye-irritating, nauseous gas), "banana peel" (a chemical that makes a street too slippery to walk on), polycarbonate Riot Shields, grenade launchers for 12-gauge shotguns, and other weapons by city and state governments? One can go further, even after reading the so-called scholarly criticism in Trans-Action and refer to the *Report from Iron Mountain.*

The "Report" not only legitimizes war, but suggests that the government reconsider the re-introduction of slavery:

"Another possible surrogate for the control of potential enemies of society is the re-introduction, in some form consistent with modern technology and political processes, of slavery.[1]"

As a black writer, I can look at *The Man Who Cried I AM* from a different perspective and indeed see "King Alfred" being implemented today.

[1] *Report From Iron Mountain,* Dial Press.

No doubt about it, Mr. Williams can write; he proved that with *Night Song* and *Sissie*; but the Williams of this novel transcends the artist and becomes the seer, the prophet.

One of the poor points of the book was the author's main characters' consistent relationship with white women. Max and Harry had white wives, and Max forever wanted a redhead. When will we stop hating ourselves and start loving our own women? As one black woman put it, "Williams makes a fool of himself in this respect. I guess he couldn't write any other way since he has one for a wife. It is interesting to note that the black man will share his hard times with the black woman, but when it comes to fame and fortune, it looks better with a white woman at his side." Williams is ambiguous when he states that, "It was one thing to sleep with white women, but quite another to marry them." Yet the two main figures in his novel had white wives—a part of being accepted, I guess.

After seriously thinking about the ending for some time, my conclusion is that it could happen . . . Mainly because we know for a fact that black FBI and CIA agents do exist; they are being used today in Africa and in the black communities of the United States. As for the 50-minute transatlantic call Max makes to Minister Q (Malcolm X) to tell about the "King Alfred Contingency," I regard it as extreme stupidity, but then, again, what else would a "negro" do? Max, as King "negro," had in actuality lost meaningful contact with his people. He had left "home" a long time ago and had no intention of coming back. If Max had been in tune he would have had brothers in Europe who would have helped him.

The value of this novel cannot be measured in terms of copies sold or reviews written. To date it has not sold as well as *Confessions of Nat Turner* for obvious reasons, and most of the major white critics completely overlooked it. This, I believe, is an indication of its importance. Ramparts magazine called it the "toughest novel of the fall" and ran an excerpt in its December 1967 issue. This, too, indicates its value for this is the first time, if I am not mistaken, that a novel by an Afro-American has been excerpted in a major white publication.* Yes, John A. Williams has written a dangerous novel and when the order comes down from the Regime that "books with dangerous teachings should be publicly burnt," *The Man Who Cried I AM* will start the fire.—DON L. LEE

* The writer is mistaken. The new novel of James Baldwin, *Tell Me How Long The Train's Been Gone*, for example, was excerpted in the February 1967 issue of McCall's magazine.—EDITOR

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which even the traditional "junior year abroad" could not give him. And student travel could conceivably be subsidized in much the same manner that such programs are underwritten, and would be vastly cheaper.

And what about the teachers themselves? As I said earlier, they could be Black Humanists or "Specialists in Blackness." The Black Humanists would include black teachers in the traditional humanities who have been "cured," so to speak. They would know Chaucer, let's say, but they would also know the Scottish poem, "The Lady with the Mickle Lips." They would talk about blues poetry with a full appreciation of the ballad making process which took place in Northern England and in Appalachia. The Specialists in Blackness would include those competent and dedicated people who, with degrees or not, have thoroughly acquainted themselves with the history and culture of black people in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. They would include historians, behavioral scientists, social scientists, ethnomusicologists, teachers of languages and literature, poets, novelists, composers, teachers of dance musicians and other performing artists. Some of these people will *by definition* be black people. Others would be green if they had the information, and if they had a sympathetic identification with the *real* (as distinguished from the arrogantly presupposed) purposes of the Black University. All of these fields are high-priority fields, so, it seems to me, that a great emphasis would have to be placed on identifying gifted students and imbuing them with the desire to prepare themselves for the academic profession.

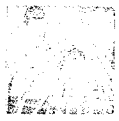
The musicians and the other artists, but especially the musicians, could provide a basic grass-roots relationship with the community, limited only by their talent and commitment. Poverty and degradation, aren't necessary for the production of great art. Why then do we continue to neglect our great and tortured musicians, ignoring them even in death? No one has written the biography of Clifford Brown or Fats Navarro? And the blood of Charlie Parker is still on our hands. At least half of the Negro colleges *as they exist today* could probably support a gifted jazz group for at least a semester. The Black University must make it possible for such artists to live and create in dignity.

It must also take a primary responsibility for doing the kind of scholarly research into the culture of black people that only black people themselves can do. In almost any discipline that one can conceive of, there are vital problems of

research crying for the kind of clarification which is essential to our selfhood. Some aspects of this research could be carried out even by serious "C" students. Certainly any "B" student worth his salt could find enough, say in *urban* contemporary folklore, to make a national reputation for himself. Fundamental documentation of black life-in-process needs serious attention from our creative filmmakers and artists, for somehow statistical studies fail to capture the vitality and wholeness embodied in the concept of Soul. In the modern world, our researchers need mastery of modern technology and methedology.

Our textbooks need serious revision. Many need simply to be written. In my own field, I haven't seen a single relevant text in the teaching of writing in the past five or six years. Our humanities courses are often archaic, and students are understandably bored. And all this while we are in the midst of an *identity revolution.*

Our professional organizations can still be relevant if they would welcome increased participation by graduates and undergraduates alike. We need these structures. Their evolution was too slow and painful for us to discard them now. Let them enter into the contemporary dialogue. Let them share their wisdom, their historical perspective, with the young. Perhaps in the process they will regain something of their original vision.



Let us turn, finally, to a difficult, practical and theoretical problem: the role of the natural sciences in the curriculum of the Black University. In the foregoing discussion I have deliberately begged this question. The reason for this should be obvious. How, as one of my colleagues recently asked, are you going to teach black chemistry? How are you going to teach black astronomy? Although they represent an over-simplification of the whole concept of the Black University, these questions do have some relevance, which I shall briefly try to point out.

At the outset, I suggested that the faculty of the University be staffed with Black Humanists and Specialists in Blackness. I also indicated that such a university would almost by definition involve chiefly those disciplines which are human-centered, *i.e.,* the social sciences, the behavioral sciences, literature, art and the like. This, however, as the questions imply, does not answer the fundamental question of the relationship between the humanistic studies and the natural sciences and mathematics. What is to be such a relationship in a Black University? Frankly, I am not clairvoyant enough, nor rash enough, to say; but I must say that this problem is not the exclusive concern of those of us who

seriously conceive of such a University. It has been a general problem in Western education ever since the advent of the new science. It was particularly crystallized in the 19th century in the exchange between Matthew Arnold and Thomas Huxley. It is still with us in the crisis of the two cultures as described by C. P. Snow. It is still with us in the growing dissatisfaction with General Education programs, as well as a rather common awareness that Science alone cannot satisfy all of the complex needs of human society and culture. It is still with us in the widespread fear that a society completely dominated by science might eventually deprive us of those very values which make human life meaningful. Thus, if anything, if the Black University is predicated upon the intrinsic human value of philosophical blackness, or SOUL, the conflict between the humanistic studies and the natural sciences could conceivably be heightened still further. And if, as I assume, the Black University would probably come into existence as a result of modifying the structure of some one or more of the existing liberal arts colleges which have science departments firmly entrenched in the academic life, other practical and theoretical problems are generated.

Suppose, for example, that at College X an ideal situation exists in which the administration and the board of trustees agree to change the identity of the college in order to make it a Black College or a *de facto* unit in a larger Black University. What should be their attitude toward the mathematics courses and the courses in the natural sciences? What should be their attitude toward the Black Humanists, assuming again an ideal situation, who teach these courses? What should be their attitude toward the black student who is already discovering himself and his world through an exploration of the Black Experience but who happens to be a physics major? Should they, with a black stroke of the pen, wipe out as anti-Soul, and thus anti-black, the entire department? Of course not, for such an action would be in itself divisive and hence anti-Soul. It would chop both student and professor straight down the middle, producing the very kind of fractured sensibility which is the tragic inheritance of modern Western life.

Then what recourse is there? A return to a pre-scientific state? This is clearly impractical, even if it were desirable. As I see it, it is not only undesirable; it is foolish. Science is here to stay. Technology, a step-sister of science, is also here to stay. Not only must Afro-Americans come to grips with that fact, so also must the so-called Third World. And so in fact they have Witness the Aswan High Dam. Witness the brilliant successes of the Chinese in nuclear physics. Witness the history of Japan since the contact with the West. Lest one dismiss this

lightly as Western intellectual imperialism or moral contamination, let us recall that the early history of science took place largely in non-Western areas of the world—in Africa, in the mid-East, in the Far East, and in pre-Columbian America. Left to develop without the devasting contact with the West, any one of these areas might well have evolved an independent modern science, and we have no assurance that the more negative aspects of scientism would not have developed likewise. Thus, since the study of science seems a natural and logical enough human pursuit, it should have, it seems to me, an honored place in the curriculum of the Black University. That place should not be subordinate to any other, for the rigorous discipline imposed by scientific study and the thrilling sweep of the scientific imagination would be extremely valuable in all of the other academic pursuits of the student. The result would be a new structure, a new balance, and, one hopes, a new man—a new vision of what it means to be a man. This would be our gift to ourselves, and through ourselves to the world. Perhaps it is not too late.

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justed for price changes in 1965 dollars so they show the actual situation for all families during the Sixties.

The data on family income are related to the number of persons within the family who are producing an income. In 1966 more black than white families had two or three persons within the family bringing home paychecks, but still a black family with three persons bringing home a salary (median income of $6,583) made less than a white family with just one earner ($6,877).

Between 1963 and 1966 median family income for blacks went up from $3,465 to $4,628, and from $6,548 to $7,722 for whites. In statistical terms the median income for black families increased by 34 percent while the increase for white families was 18 percent. Consequently, black families made 53 percent as much as white families in 1963 and 60 percent as much as white families in 1966. It would appear from these figures that black families were overtaking white families in their quest for a more equitable share of the nation's resources, but if you look at the statistics again and do a little calculating you will see that in 1963 a white family made $3,083 more than a black family and in 1966 white families made $3,094 more than black families. The data show clearly then, that in *relative* terms black families are overtaking whites, but in *absolute* terms the situation is getting worse.

One of the most profound and perplexing problems which has plagued the black community for generations has been the conflict between males and females. The income picture for persons, as differentiated from families, shows one underlying aspect of this conflict. Between 1959 and 1966 median income for black males (25 years and older) increased from $2,610 to $3,665, and for white males from $4,851 to $6,390. The percentage increase in the median income of the black male was 40 percent as compared to a 32 percent increase for the white male. In 1959 a black man made 54 percent as much as a white man and in 1966 he made 57 percent as much. In actual dollars the black man made $2,241 less than a white man in 1959 and $2,725 less in 1966. Just as it was in family income, the *relative* situation for the black man improved between 1959 and 1966 while the *absolute* situation declined.

Of even greater interest to our understanding is that higher levels of education did not significantly improve the relative or absolute situation of the black man. In 1959, a black man with eight years of school made 73 percent as much

as a white man with a similar education; a black high school graduate made 68 percent as much as a white man with a high school diploma; and a black man who had some college made 64 percent as much as a white man with some college. In actual dollars this meant that in 1959 a black man with an elementary school education made $1,081 less than a white; a black with four years of high school made $1,794 less; and a black man with some college made $2,507 less. In 1966, a black man with elementary school education made 80 percent as much as a white; the high school graduate made 70 percent as much; and the black man who went to college made 66 percent as much; and in actual terms the income differences were $930, $1,880, and $3,095 less, respectively.

As we indicated earlier, the picture is a confusing one, but let us summarize the income situation of the black man in 1966 as compared to 1959, and black men as compared to white men. In 1966, black men had a higher median income than in 1959, and this was true at all educational levels. In 1966, the *relative* situation between black and white men had improved at all educational levels, but *the absolute situation had improved only for black men with eight years of education.* It had worsened for those with high school diplomas or who had attended college. Furthermore, the relative situation had improved least, and the absolute situation declined worst for those who had college training. This means that at the higher educational levels white men are moving so rapidly in America that black men at the same levels are barely keeping up.

The situation for black women for the same period of time and in the same age category is quite different. Median income for black women went up from $959 in 1959 to $1,561 in 1966, and for white women the change was $1,635 to $1,988 respectively. In relative terms, the income of black women increased by 63 percent and that of white women by 22 percent, so that while black women made 59 percent as much as whites in 1959 they made 78 percent as much in 1966. In 1959, black women made $668 less than whites and $427 less in 1966. Therefore in both *relative* and *absolute* terms the income situation for black women has improved since 1959.

The nature of the relative and absolute improvement is seen more clearly when we analyze changes by educational levels. In 1959, a black woman with eight years of school made 85 percent as much as a white woman with similar education; a black woman with a high school diploma made 76 percent as much as a white woman; and a black woman with some college made 94 percent as much as a white woman with similar education. By 1966, a black woman with eight years of school made 92 percent as much as a white woman;

a black woman with a high school diploma also made 92 percent as much, and *a black woman with some college made 13 percent more than a white woman with similar education.* Median income for a black woman with some college education in 1966 was $3,964, $445 more than the median income of the white woman with similar education.



Although the data on income trends for blacks is confusing, we believe several conclusions are justified. In terms of family income the black population has made some relative improvements in the Sixties, but our absolute situation has remained virtually the same. If we remember that it takes at least three earners in a black family to produce a median family income anywhere close to that of a white family with one earner, we can certainly say there has been no improvement in the income situation of the black family; we have to work three times harder and we still do not keep up with the majority of Americans. When we consider income of persons, it is apparent, as it has long been apparent, that the black female is much more capable of matching and exceeding her white counterpart than is the black male. Furthermore, while black females with higher levels of education exceed white females, black males with higher levels of education fall further behind white males. This economic picture aggravates so many of the subtle psychological problems facing the black family and the relations between black men and women.

Earlier, we pointed to two contradictory trends in the black population during the Sixties. The general social and economic picture of black families in the cities gives some foundation to the belief of some experts that black people may be moving in two directions. Recent special censuses in many of the major cities of the country are showing that, since 1960, there has been relatively little improvement for many black families and, in some cases, a reversal in our situation. In many cities, the unemployment rates for blacks have been virtually the same throughout the Sixties; there has been no improvement in family income; and often there is a rise in the proportion of families which are headed by women. A notable example is the Hough area of Cleveland where the male unemployment rate was virtually unchanged from 1960 to 1965, and family income declined by 12 percent.

The situation is not getting worse for all black people in major cities, however, and the trends bear very close observation and cautious interpretations. There is no doubt that a larger black "middle-class" is coming into existence, and there are some who would hold that these

blacks are better off, but we must ask, better off in relation to what? Are they better off in relation to their previous situation, in relation to low-income blacks or in relation to whites in the same areas in which they live?

Some limited data from Cleveland provide us with some tentative answers to what may be happening to black people in various parts of the large cities of the nation. While most of Cleveland's black population is generally found in nine neighborhoods, some black people live outside of these areas. In 1960, some 8.9 percent of the black people in Cleveland lived outside of the black community area; and in 1965, 15.0 percent of the black people lived outside of this area. If we assume that, in general, those living away from the black community are middle-income people, and those within the community low-income blacks, we can compare some of the characteristics of these two groups of blacks, and then compare them to middle-income whites in Cleveland. The table lists some of the social and economic characteristics of these three groups in Cleveland for 1960 and 1965.

In 1960, middle-income black people had a fertility ratio (the number of children under five for every 1,000 women aged 15-49) much lower than that of low-income blacks, indicating that poor blacks had more children to care for and less money with which to do so than their more prosperous brothers. The proportion of children under 18 living with both parents gives some indication of family "stability," and here the middle-income blacks were also better off for a higher percentage of their children live in "stable" families. Furthermore, middle-income blacks had a full year more of completed school than did those in low-income areas.

Although middle-income blacks have an employment rate lower than that of low-income blacks, both groups have high levels of employment. The difference between the two groups is most clearly seen in the income statistics. Middle-income blacks have a much lower proportion of families and the very low income category, and a higher proportion in the category of those families making from eight to fifteen thousand dollars per year. Therefore, the median income of the poor black families was only 86 percent as much as the median income of the black families living outside of the black community. We can confidently say that in Cleveland in 1960 middle-income blacks were better off than low-income blacks.

By 1965, the fertility ratio for all black families had declined considerably, but the middle-income blacks still had much lower fertility than low-income blacks. The proportion of "stable" families in two communities went in opposite directions; it got worse for the low-

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF LOW-INCOME BLACKS (L.I.B.), MIDDLE-INCOME BLACKS (M.I.B.), AND MIDDLE-INCOME WHITES (M.I.W.), IN CLEVELAND, 1960 and 1965.

	1960			1965		
	L.I.B.	M.I.B.	M.I.W.	L.I.B.	M.I.B.	M.I.W.
Fertility Ratio	570	486	429	515	442	434
Children under 18 living with both parents (%)	67.7	75.8	91.1	62.1	78.4	89.8
Median years of completed school, Persons 25 and over	9.4	10.4	(NA)	10.0	11.6	(NA)
Unemployment Rate:						
Males	13.0	10.2	5.0	11.2	8.1	3.8
Females	12.3	9.0	4.9	14.5	3.8	5.9
Number of Families by Income Category (%)						
Under $3,999	40.8	26.7	17.4	39.8	19.0	16.1
$4,000-$7,999	44.6	48.4	50.3	38.6	38.6	38.3
$8,000-$14,999	13.7	22.6	29.0	19.8	40.1	39.7
$15,000 and over	1.0	2.3	3.3	1.7	2.3	5.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	51,367	5,072	131,436	51,996	10,133	118,116
Median Family Income ($)	4,961	5,797	(NA)	5,723	7,285	(NA)

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-23, No. 21, January 23, 1967

income blacks and better for the middle-income blacks. While both groups improved in their educational levels, the middle-income blacks improved so much more rapidly that by 1965 they had over one and a half years more of completed education than did low-income blacks.

The unemployment picture in 1965 was most interesting, for the relationship of the males to each other did not change even though the general rates were lower for both groups. The low-income black women had a higher level of unemployment in 1965 while the unemployment rate for middle-income black women plummeted to below 4 percent. The effect of these diverging trends in female employment is seen in the income data. In the lowest income category there has been virtually no change for low-income blacks and a dramatic improvement for middle-income blacks. While both groups saw improvements in the upper income categories, there were twice as many middle-income black families making from eight to $15,000 per year as there were low-income blacks. Consequently, the poor black families had a median income only 78 percent as high as that of their more prosperous brothers, a decline from the 1960 situation. In 1960, the median income for middle-income black families was $836 more than it was for low-income black families, and by 1965 it was $1,562 more. The evidence suggests that not only were middle-income black people in Cleveland better off than low-income black people in 1965, in the period since 1960 the middle-income blacks were moving further away from low-income blacks in terms of family organization, education, employment, and income. The black population in one of America's major cities is moving in two different directions, it appears.

Given the comparative standing of middle- and low-income black families to each other in Cleveland in 1960 and 1965, how do the middle-income black families compare to the white families who live in the same area as they do? Here we are unable to obtain all the data necessary for comparison like that above, and the available data are not as satisfactory as we would wish, for there were significant changes in the number of black and white families in the area under consideration. While the number of black families living outside of the black community doubled in the five year period (an increase of 100 percent), the number of white families *declined by 10 percent,* apparently as whites moved further away from middle-income black families.

In 1960, black families in middle-income areas of Cleveland had a much higher level of fertility than

white families and a much lower level of family "stability." Black people were twice as likely as whites to be unemployed, and consequently they had much lower income levels than whites. Over a fourth of the black families fell into the lowest income category as compared to a fifth of the white families, and in the higher income categories the whites consistently outstripped the blacks.

Some rather profound changes had taken place by 1965. The fertility level of the blacks was much closer to that of the whites as a consequence of a slight rise in white fertility and a large drop in black fertility. Black families were still characterized by more "problems" than white families, however, as only 78 percent of all black youth under 18 were living with both parents as compared to 90 percent of the white youth. The most significant change was in the unemployment levels. Black men were still twice as likely as white men to be without employment, but *black women had a much lower unemployment rate than white women.* Finally, there was a considerable equalization in the distribution of families by income levels. It is true that more black than white families were in the lowest income category, but the difference between the two groups was reduced greatly. On the other hand, the difference in the proportion of families in the highest income category was increased in favor of the whites, while in the middle-range categories the black and white families were almost equitably distributed.

The general point we have been trying to articulate in this discussion of middle- and low-income black families in Cleveland, and their comparison to white families, is in answer to the question: if things have been getting better for some black people in the Sixties, what does getting better mean?

The data would suggest that middle-income black families are out-distancing low-income black families in Cleveland, so in relation to each other the absolute and relative situation of middle-income blacks is getting better and that of low-income blacks is getting worse.

However, in a comparison of middle-income blacks to whites in the same area, the data are suggestive if not conclusive. In 1960, middle-income black families were in a rather unfavorable position as compared to white families. By 1965, the situation had improved for two possible reasons: (1) Many white families had moved out of the city in flight from the influx of black people, and those whites who remain behind may fall into the lowest and highest income categories, and (2) black women carried a considerable portion of the income-producing activities of black families, thus making it possible for their families to exist in some reasonable comparison to the white families who remained in the area. The situation for black men as

compared to white men had not improved at all; it was the continuation of the feminine practice of supporting the family which has apparently made it possible for the black families in Cleveland to improve their situation in relation to the white families.

In this paper we have tried to specify some of the major demographic trends in the black community in the Sixties to underscore some of the issues that must be taken into account in the development of a Black University. The data indicate that black people are becoming a larger portion of the population in the nation's largest cities, and we have moved into a situation of influential control in at least one third of the 30 largest cities. Other data which we have not discussed here indicate that the blacks moving into the larger cities tend to be young people who are better educated and more likely to engage in white-collar occupations than the whites who remain in these cities. Furthermore, the data indicate that in the Sixties black people have been seeking education more than ever before.

However, in occupations, and in employment, there has been no substantial improvement for the black population, with the exception of some notable changes for black women. While black people have shown improvement over previous periods in income, in relation to whites in America the situation is not as favorable. Black men, particularly those with higher levels of education, are no more able now than they were previously to match white men in income. On the other hand, black women compare much more favorably with white women in producing incomes, and at the higher educational levels black women clearly excel white women in income. When we can separate middle- and low-income blacks, we see that middle-income blacks are improving their social and economic situation much faster than low-income blacks; thus the two groups are getting further apart, and there is evidence that middle-income black families have been able to make gains on middle-income white families but primarily because of the income-producing ability of black women.

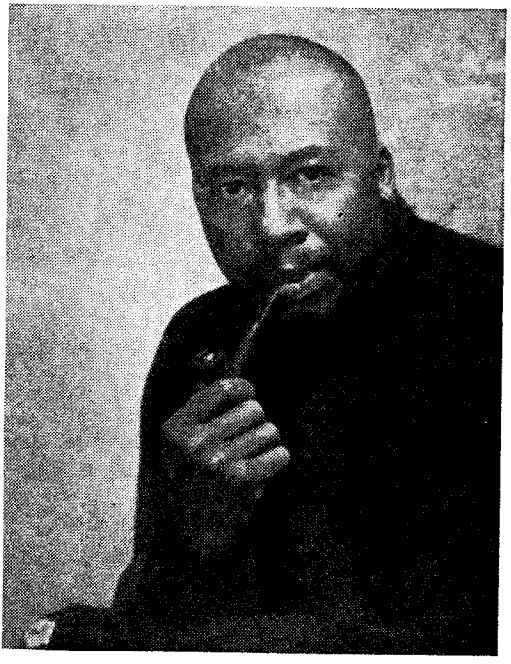
A black university must address itself to the changes taking place in the black community, and two profound conditions have been presented in this article. We must carefully consider the consequences of the fact that, in these times, the burden of family support still falls heavily upon the shoulders of black women. How this affects black men in particular and black families in general must be given very close attention as we attempt to respond to the conditions and needs of the black community. Secondly, we must consider the significance of the split between middle- and low-income blacks that has clearly developed in the Sixties. It would

seem safe to say that many prosperous blacks are being rewarded in this country while many poor blacks are taking to the streets. There must be a philosophy and ideology which will unite the black community regardless of economic condition or social status. If our prosperous brothers continue to prosper by putting their wives in the labor force and begin to forget, it may well be that in the 1960's, one century after the Emancipation decade of the 1860's, we may see the reinstatement of the old "house-slave" versus "field-slave" dichotomy, using income, education and place of residence as the basis of differentiation. "Lord have mercy."



J. Herman Blake, author of "The Black University and Its Community," is acting assistant professor of Sociology at Cowell College, Santa Cruz, one of the arms of the multi-limbed University of California. The New York University graduate also wrote "The Agony and the Rage," a description of experiences on the California campus, in the March 1967 NEGRO DIGEST.

BLACK ART by Jon O. Lockard

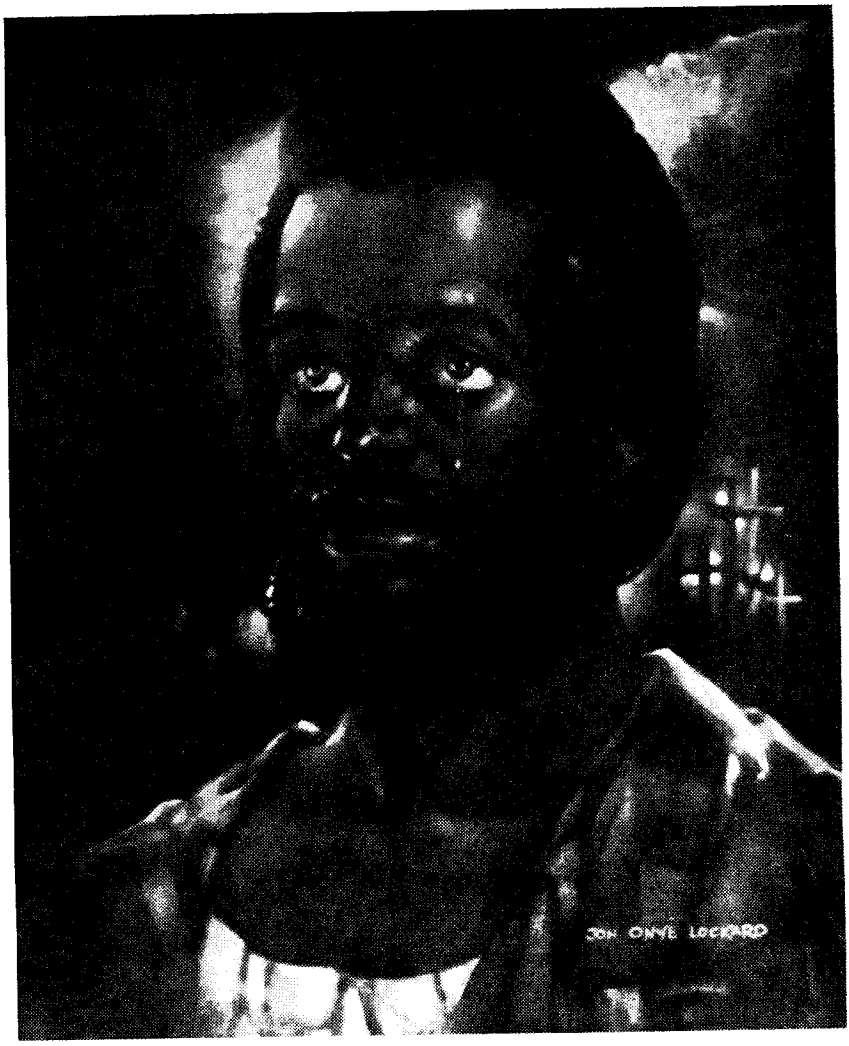


JON ONYE LOCKARD is a self-taught artist, a fact which might have something to do with his choice of subjects. For, as an artist, Mr. Lockard is not much concerned about the art class' geometrics and the delicacy of shadow on a rose; his art is directed toward human beings and to delineating their beauty, their anguish and their joys.

The impact of Mr. Lockard's work is evident on the next three pages, but it is to be regretted that NEGRO DIGEST is unable to reproduce the three paintings in color. For color—in more than one sense—is most important in Mr. Lockard's work. The faces and the hands are black, very black, but touched with that deep umber which suggests the earth. And the backgrounds, which appear merely dark in black and white, are shades of blue, red and flame-orange in the original.

Mr. Lockard, a Detroit native, currently lives and works in Ann Arbor, Mich., where his studio (Ann Arbor Art Centre, 215 S. Fourth Ave.) is located. He formerly operated Studio 21 in Detroit, specializing in commercial art and illustrations, and attended Wayne State University as an art major. He now concentrates on portraits.

Color prints of the paintings reproduced here are available through Mr. Lockard's studio. They are 16 by 20 inches in size and sell for $10.00 each. They also are available framed at additional cost. Framed 8 x 10 prints are available for $4.95. The unframed prints also are available at Vaughn's Book Store in Detroit and at Ellis' Book Store in Chicago.



The Black Messiah: *Describing this painting, the Rev. Albert Cleage of Detroit's Central United Church of Christ termed it a "strong black face under a crown of thorns, suffering, beaten, humiliated, but undefeated." The figure has symbolic blue in his eyes.*



Plea For A Second Chance: *Work-worn hands, lovely in their testimony to life, rise in supplication and sacrifice. Terror—always present where black men live among white men—threatens, but life will be renewed even again, and the hands will grow stronger.*



Interruption: *More than another version of Mother and Child, this painting speaks to the new vision of black Americans, who now see their own beauty, but it also celebrates the will to endure of the black people. The mother succors the child as fire rages.*

Editor's Notes

That something is gravely wrong with the conventional approach to the education of black children no longer is arguable. Much of the problem, of course, is general: there is something gravely wrong with American education, period. However, as always in a society which—being racist by nature—assigns opportunities and rewards according to race and color, those people suffer most who are regarded least, and *those* people in the American society *are* black people. It is a hopeful sign that some of the brightest young people who have chosen education as their profession are deeply concerned about the deficiencies of existing educational institutions, particularly as these institutions relate to black students and the communities from which the students come. These educators are no longer willing—as so many of their predecessors were—to sit back comfortably and garner laurels and enjoy status while the talent and potential of the masses of black children are criminally wasted. The idea of a Black University—an institution designed to serve the *real* and *total* needs of the black community—has taken root, and there is every reason to believe that the idea will grow and eventually take concrete shape.

The special issue of NEGRO DIGEST devoted to a consideration of the concept of the Black University developed through discussions with Gerald McWorter, a recent Ph.D. graduate of the University of Chicago now an assistant professor of Sociology at Fisk University in Nashville. In his outline letter to the other contributors to this special issue of NEGRO DIGEST, Mr. McWorter said that the articles dealing with facets of the proposed Black University would concern themselves with "a vision, the articulation of an 'ought' . . . for the future . . ." He made it clear that the concept of the Black University, as envisioned by himself and the editors, was concerned with the entire spectrum of social, economic, psychological and cultural imperatives which characterize, influence and control the black community.

In a further clarification by the editors, the Black University concept was described as also being "concerned with the art of black people, and with the development and articulation of a black esthetic. It is concerned with the conscious strengthening of those institutions which make the black community viable, and it is dedicated to the liberation of black students (and black people generally) from the inhibiting and crippling presumptions which have been imposed upon black life and culture from outside the black community."

The projected special issue on the Black University was conceived with five basic articles in mind, plus two "case studies" of existing black educational institutions. The proposed areas of concern for the five articles were as follows: 1. "The Black University: Toward a Conceptual Model"; 2. "Policy and Support: Trustees, Administrations and Funding"; 3. "The Academic Process: Faculty, Students, Courses, Research"; 4. "The Black University and Its Community: Social Change in the Sixties"; and 5. "The International Perspective: The Third World."

That the articles as presented fall short of the goal set for the special issue of the magazine is testimony more to the inflexible demands of deadlines and the preciousness of time than to any failing on the part of the contributors, all educators of the highest competency. Despite the inadequacy of time, however, they have presented here an urgent and imaginative educational prospect, one which will surely engage black students and educators more deeply in the days to come. For their efforts and for their service to the community, NEGRO DIGEST is most grateful.

HOYT W. FULLER
Managing Editor

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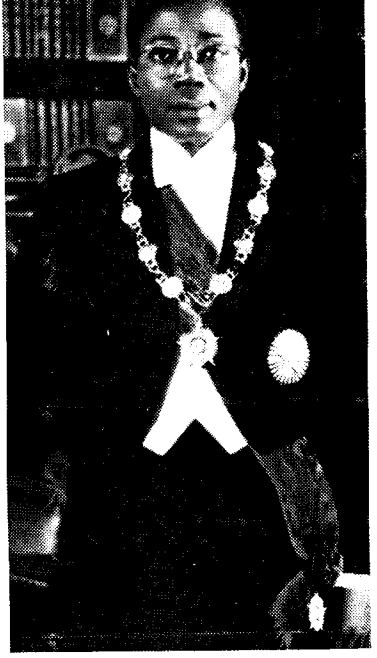
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A Cult?
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A Way of Life?

What Is This Thing Called Negritude?



For Africa in particular—and for much of the rest of the world in general—the era of Western discovery, exploration and occupation constituted a long night of exploitation and domination. And while Colonialism scourged most of the non-white world, only the black men from Africa were massively enslaved, corralled by the millions and transported in chains across the seas to alien lands. Torn from their roots, forbidden access to their cultural sustenance, assigned roles as eternal drones, the black men from Africa, drawing from some uncommon racial reservoir, nonetheless found the strength and the strategy to endure. The long night is now receding before a new dawn, but the coming light alone cannot heal the deep affliction induced by the prolonged darkness. Strong medicine is required to cure the disease of degradation, and Negritude has been offered as antidote to the ancient evil of anti-black racism.

It was a group of black intellectuals in Paris who first advanced the idea of Negritude —Césaire Aimé, a poet from the French Antilles, and Léopold Sedor Senghor, a poet-statesman from Senegal, chief among them. Senghor, now President of the Republic of Senegal, remains the principal proponent of Negritude, and he sums it up in these words: "Negritude is the whole complex of civilized values—cultural, economic, social and political—which characterize the black peoples, or, more precisely, the Negro-African world . . . In other words, the sense of communion, the gift of myth-making, the gift of rhythm . . . a myth which evolves with its circumstances into a form of humanism . . ." United Nations President Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana defines Negritude as "an acceptance and affirmation of the quality of 'blackness' . . . a psychological gathering together of all black peoples in the spiritual bonds of brotherhood." And American professor St. Clair Drake terms Negritude "a soft and resilient rather than a hard and mechanical approach to life . . . a deep resentment over subordination to white people during the 400 years of slave trade and the subsequent structuring of caste relations here and in Africa."

Negritude, then, is also a form of racialism—Yes, but in the words of French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, "*anti-racial racialism.*" Therein lies the difference. And Dr. Drake explains: "Anti-racist racialism was brought into view by its opposite, which is aggressive, exploitative racism. And the whole concept of Negritude assumes in its dialectic that anti-racist racialism is destined to disappear."

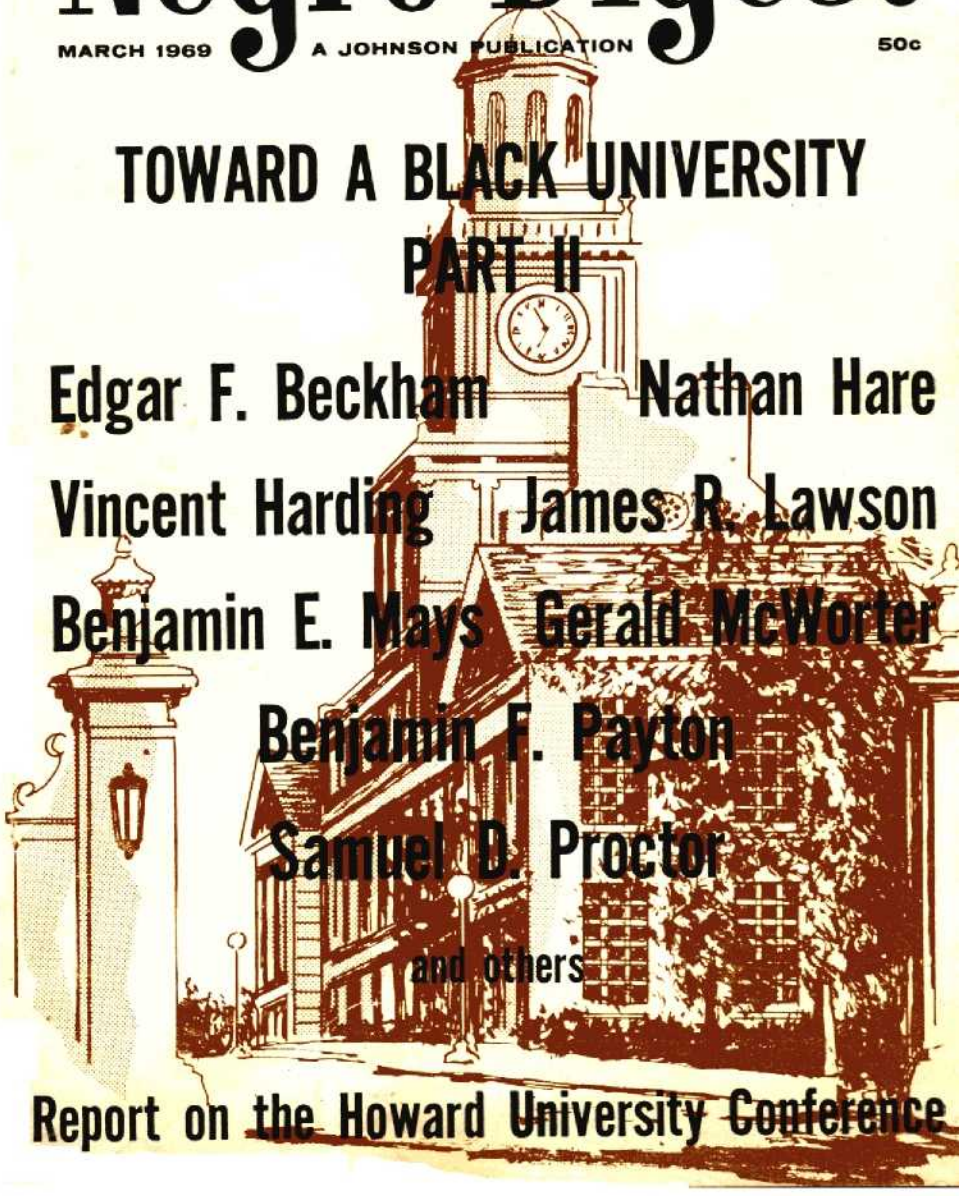
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Benjamin E. Mays
Gerald McWorter
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Samuel D. Proctor
and others



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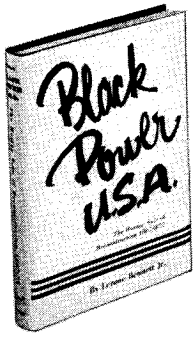
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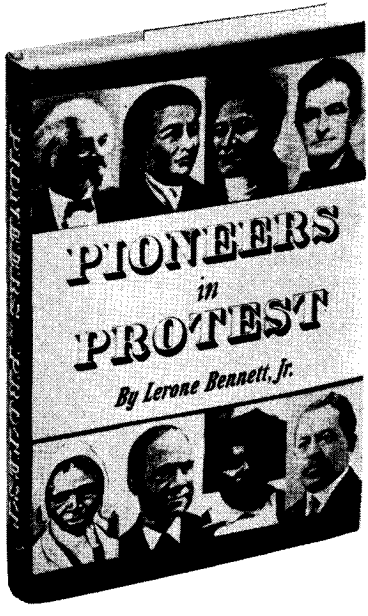
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MARCH 1969
VOL. XVIII NO. 5

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NEGRO DIGEST is published monthly at 1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616.

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Editor's Notes

The first point to be made clear in any discussion of the Black University is that the concept is not to be defined within the limits of the university as it traditionally has existed in this country and as it is imagined by the academics. The concept is revolutionary; that is, it is concerned with breaking out of—indeed, leveling—the existing university structure and instituting in its stead new approaches to education. Where existing universities are scholar-oriented, the Black University will be community-oriented; where the traditional university has emphasized the intellectual and cultural development of the student toward the ends of academic excellence and élitism, the Black University will seek to involve the total community and its institutions in a system of interrelated and interlocking "schools" and programs of study which are designed to serve the black community in its reach toward unity, self-determination, the acquisition and use of political and economic power, and the protection of the freedom of the human spirit; where the American university has sought to prepare the student to assume a meaningful role in the mainstream of American life, the Black University's goal will be to destroy in the minds of black people the validity of the values of the "mainstream," those values which, for nearly 400 years, have been used to debase and to dehumanize black people and to generally diminish the respect for human dignity, and to resurrect and to glorify within the black community the spirit of *Muntu.**

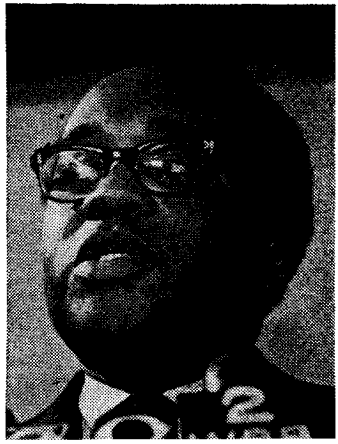
Nor will the proliferating Black Studies Programs now being hurriedly established at major white colleges and universities across the country succeed in co-opting the Black University concept and in de-fusing the drive toward its realization, despite the expressed hopes of some in the academic and political Establishments. Hard on the heels of the announcement from Harvard University that that queen of educational institutions would offer a degree in Afro-American Studies beginning in the Autumn of 1969 (joining such other Establishment schools as Yale and Stanford), the New York Times published an editorial commending Harvard's move as "an important step in depoliticalizing an issue that has become enmeshed in unnecessary controversy . . ." As is the custom, after the fact, the Times editorial admitted that "Even without the protest of black students across the country, it should have been evident to college curriculum-builders that a significant part of American social, economic and cultural history has long been shamefully neglected," but

(*Continued on page 95*)

An Open Letter to Black Students in the North

NEW CREATION OR FAMILIAR DEATH?

BY VINCENT HARDING



A letter of the greatest urgency "written in the spirit of black ecumenical concern as we move towards a new humanity"

DEAR Brothers and Sisters,

This letter may touch on sensitive and painful areas, but it is based on the assumption that every contradiction within our struggle must be examined with relentless care and discussed with total candor throughout the brotherhood of our blackness. On the other hand it must also be clear that I do not assume that those of us who work out in the academic halls of the South are any more free from powerful and ironic inner confusions than you who operate in the North. Nevertheless, there are certain current developments among you which appear dangerous—indeed disastrous—from our perspective. We are convinced that no meaningful building of the Black University can take place unless at least some of these issues are resolved. So I have taken it upon myself to try to articulate our general concerns, especially as they are directed to those of you who study and teach on northern campuses.

Let me get to the point in the most brutal manner first, and then attempt to elaborate with greater precision as I go. The center of our concern is this: Do the black student (and faculty) brothers in northern schools

realize that much of your motion over the past year has often appeared to encourage the destruction of those colleges and universities where some 125,000 black students study in the South? Besides, do you realize that such action towards destruction puts you in league with many white, northern, academic administrators who are ready to deny the future of black southern education, ready to manipulate the death of potentially powerful black institutions?

Now, let me say more fully what I mean. Over the past several years, for dozens of good, bad and indifferent reasons, the schools of the North have been discovering that they need black students, faculty persons and various levels of black-oriented curriculum. (As you well know, the current commercial value of blackness has not been one of the least of the reasons for the belated and somewhat sudden awakening.) As might have been expected, these white institutions turned increasingly towards the black campuses of the South. There they found a ready-made supply of black faculty, and discovered the presence of some Afro-American curriculum which had not been destroyed by "integration." In addition, they began to enter into serious competition with the southern schools for the best black students.

All this action was facilitated by the ready access such institutions had to the very financial sources which had been traditionally parsimonious in their help to black schools for some of the same tasks. (Of course, it should also be said loudly that the brain-draining process was significantly aided by the great hesitancy on the part of many faculty persons and administrators in the "predominantly Negro" colleges to realize that our experience as a people was worthy of serious academic exploration, and by their failure to offer the younger black scholars those encouragements which money cannot buy. But that is another article!)

Then came the assassination of our brother in April, 1968, and many of you stepped up the pace of your action a hundred-fold. Wherever you were gathered on the northern campuses, whatever your numbers, you demanded more faculty, more courses, more black students than ever before. "Freedom, Now!" became "Blackness, Now!" So you rapped with articulate vigor, boycotted, threatened all kinds of things, took over meetings, classes and buildings—and generally raised hell.

Meanwhile, we watched from the South. We applauded. We laughed at trembling white administrators who seemed ready to offer you everything you demanded—sometimes before the words were dry on the leaflets. Occasionally we joined in the action on your behalf, and strengthened our own students in their resolve to their own southern thing.

As a matter of fact, when an increasingly large number of us were wafted through the skies to visit your campuses as consultants and lecturers and to become objects of tempting salary offers, some of our egos were mo-

mentarily bolstered (or our minds momentarily deranged) beyond description. Our black academic forefathers had never known such high adventure, we thought.

Now, for a variety of reasons, a blessed but painful clarity has begun to break into our euphoric white visions. We realize now that this situation is clearly neither a matter for laughter nor for self-gratification. Rather it seems evident that we were—and are—being tempted to sell out the black colleges of the South. And it appears no less evident that many of you were—and are—unwittingly acting as agents in the process, being used by persons who are not unwitting at all.

What we see in the new black light is that we are being called upon by the northern administrators (though your voices are often the ones on the phones) to give our energies, our course outlines, and finally our full-time talents to these institutions. So, for instance, programs in Afro-American Studies begin to spring up from the Ithaca to Berkeley, and we are invited to help staff them all. Again it also appears that northern-based financial sources are more ready to fund Afro-American Studies in rural Ohio and upstate New York than in the heart of the black South. This means, of course, that it is possible for the northern schools in the post-assassination period to offer salaries sometimes fifty to one hundred per cent higher than the black schools—to say nothing of space, time, atmosphere and assistance for research and publishing.

Not only is this happening to us as faculty persons, but we watch as you count your numbers on the campuses. We hear you demanding more black company, especially from among the ranks of the brilliant brothers and sisters on the block, and it becomes clear what this means for us. It means that recruiters (now often black) from the North move more fully than ever before into the traditional southern territories of the black schools and offer fabulous scholarships and other financial aid to the best black students available. (They also offer, of course, the prestige of their names to a still prestige-conscious black community.) When college-bound brothers and sisters weigh these offers against those of the black schools (often late-moving black schools) it is understandably hard for them—for *you* to resist. Thus the southern colleges face increased deracination on every level.

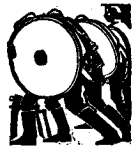
By now it should be clear that this southern exposure provides a different perspective. Therefore, it is not a matter of our begrudging you the blackness you so sorely need in those bastions of whiteness. Rather it is a matter of letting you know how it looks to us. For instance, as the white administrators of the North (and South) explain their newly discovered love for black students and faculty, and their sudden conversion to black studies, we who are the objects of that bulldozing love had to hear more than the words which are spoken. We think our southern position allows

us to hear essentially these sentiments from the keepers of the embattled educational establishments:

"We are determind to get our black multi-tokens up here," they say. "If we don't do it quickly we'll lose money, status, and perhaps some of our nicest buildings. Therefore, we have learned well our lessons from the black community's hero, and we are determined to get students, courses and faculty members *by any means necessary*. If that involves the destruction of the black schools of the South, so be it. We never thought very much of them anyway. We've got the money and the prestige. They haven't. As everyone knows, money and prestige buy everything, even loud-talking, gun-toting black militants."

Indeed, just as this letter to you was being completed, two black students from Northwestern University came into my office at Spelman. I had met them during one of my visits up North two years before, and now they were in Atlanta returning the visit—and recruiting black students for Northwestern. Just as I was presenting to them some of the central concerns of my letter, the phone rang and the long distance operator introduced the voice of an old acquaintance—a dean at a prestigious white institution in Pennsylvania.

He said he wanted to know if there was any directory of black scholars available, or if I had a list I could give him, because his Afro-American student organization was demanding black faculty representation in every department of the college. He had already seen a piece of writing in which I had decried the raping of black schools, but he was calling anyway, he said.



I told him that I was quite serious in my published position and therefore had no intention of giving him such a list when we needed in the black schools every excellent black scholar we could find. At that point, he produced a fascinating and revealing response, one worth reporting. He said, "You realize, of course, that there are many persons in the northern schools who have serious questions about whether those institutions should continue—at least as black schools; and that is one of the reasons why they have no hesitation about attempting to draw from them whatever faculty they can." The conversation came to a more or less abrupt halt after that, and I reported it to my friends from Northwestern for the same purpose that I report it to you: to ask whether you have pondered the im-

plications of such attitudes as you make your moves.

Of course, when we consider the past performances of the colonizing world, the attitude of the white administrators should not startle us. The "Metropolitan" areas have had no more qualms about sapping the human, creative resources of their colonies in a later period than they did about claiming the physical resources in an earlier, more blatant time. Nor should "good intentions" becloud the issue; for if they do exist anywhere, they do not in any way lessen the impact of the attitudes which make the so-called "brain-drain" possible. Whatever has suited the purpose of the colonizers has been defined as good and necessary, whether it takes place between Brussels and Leopoldville or between New Haven and Atlanta.

Nor does it matter that the term has sometimes been "assimilation" and at other times it has been "integration." Ultimately it spells destruction of the heart of the colonized people if it is not stopped. Ultimately it is reminiscent of Harold Cruse's lament for the cultural (now followed by the physical) destruction of the heart of Harlem. Finally, when we remember the historical attitudes of white northern institutions towards the black schools of the South, we are not surprised. For the current action fits well their pattern of basic unconcern about the needs of black life.*

What does surprise and trouble us is the way in which many of you brothers and sisters on the northern campuses are participating fully in the patterns of our common destruction. I say "common destruction" out of a conviction that whatever diminishes the life and vitality of any significant black institutions (especially those which have been rooted in our history and which are now being pushed to an encounter with our essential blackness) is a destroyer of us all. So this letter comes as an urgent fraternal message, raising what is for us a crucial set of concerns.

Assuming that we are no longer committed to the individualistic ethos of America, nor to integration as it has so far been defined, and assuming that one of our major goals is the building of new levels of solidarity within the black community, I wish to raise the following questions for serious discussion:

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?

* For an excellent, though chilling, summary of the history of relationships between white and black academic institutions, see John Sekora, "Murder Relentless and Impassive: The American Academic Community and the Negro College," *Soundings*, LI, 3 (Fall, 1968). This is available by mail at 400 Prospect Street, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

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 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. When will we find them?)

These are, as I said, questions for discussion. Though they may sound rhetorical and loaded at points, they are not meant to stifle debate. If they seem unfairly weighted they simply bear all the freight of my own fullest concerns for our future in this strange land.

Even as I raise the questions, though, I am well aware of the fact that many of you may have currently excellent reasons for staying on the northern campuses where you are. So, as we develop those discussions which must question and reexamine both the southern and nothern black academic positions, I wish to add a few concrete suggestions for action, action which may make it possible for us to serve—rather than destroy—each other where we are now.

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 education. (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. Braithwaithe, 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 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.

In the struggle,
Vincent Harding,
Spelman College
Atlanta, Georgia



Vincent Harding, author of "New Creation or Familiar Death," is chairman of the Department of History and Sociology at Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga., and author of the forthcoming book, *Black Radicalism in America.* Dr. Harding frequently lectures on history and contemporary problems, and his articles appear frequently in both scholarly and popular journals, including NEGRO DIGEST.

Platform and Program

STRUGGLE, IDEOLOGY AND THE BLACK UNIVERSITY

BY GERALD A. McWORTER

"Today we know the American system for what it is, neo-colonial racism functioning to pacify Black people and to influence Black affairs with revisionary subversion"

MOST Black people who are seriously concerned about the nature of the Black struggle in education automatically embrace the Black University concept. This thought process is usually based on a taste for the term, the security of being included, and the assumption that Black must necessarily mean liberation. But it is a dangerous process unless we, as Black people, discipline ourselves to never-for-even-a-moment stop our analysis of *the man* and his subtle forms of oppression and subversion. We must require of ourselves honest scientific analysis (immersed in our spirit-emotions) of how educational activities can lead to—and be a part of—the struggle for the liberation of *all* Black people. One of the best ways to understand this is to pin the ideological basis of the term as it is used by different people.

The dangerous uses of the term fall under the ideological position of REVISIONARY NEO-COLONIAL RACISM, while the progressive forces of Black—our struggle—must be/are guided by REVOLUTIONARY PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM. These are descriptive terms that conveniently cover polar opposites, though clearly a systematic analysis would yield more precise types of each. However, this article is not meant to be merely a methodologi-

cal exercise, but is intended as a working paper for all Black people interested in that ideological struggle to understand more fully the correct direction toward liberation.

We are mainly concerned with four basic questions: (1) What are the ideological bases of conflict concerning the liberation struggle for Black people? (2) What-How-Why are certain institutions playing significant roles in the development of the concept of the Black University? (3) What are some of the dangers of Neo-colonial racist pacification? and (4) What is the correct ideological basis of our Black struggle toward liberation? After providing a working definition of each ideological position, the meaning of each will be examined through the workings of five institutional contexts related to the concept of the Black University. By examining several major trends, based on the two opposite positions we hope to clarify certain dangers to our struggle and also we hope to begin to underscore guidelines for our liberation struggle.

1. *The Ideological Bases of Racial Conflict in the United States*

Most previous formulations of the ideological bases of racial conflict in the United States suffer from liberal assumptions-illusions. Black people were to be dealt with as either a topic of intergroup (human) relations or of minority group relations. This was somehow related to the white man's message that everything would be cool anyway since we all live in a melting pot. Also, the only acceptable (responsible) approach to change was limited to the dictates of the system, obviously the same system responsible for our oppression. Strange forms of racist social darwinisms lurk through this society and haunt us as we will to be free. This type of formulation is inadequate (surprise, surprise) because it is simply a function of this society and its white owners, and has little to do with where Black people are and where we want to go.

But Black Nationalism has never been *legitimate* in the United States since legitimacy was also a function of white nationalism serving to support white supremacy. So, a major illusion was to propagate integration as the only legitimate goal for Black people. The integrationists (used to-still) say that the problem is that some white people, who are from the old school, will learn in time and will support what is right. Every major alternative pointed essentially to the "white-is-right" theory, while much of our Black reality was either suppressed or ignored. Black Nationalism is an idea whose time has come, and with it has come the obvious need to reformulate the structure of our ideological struggle.

Struggle throughout the Third World has helped free us from the American integration myth. We have come to know of colonial-

ism, and we are becoming aware that we are a colonized people living in the very bowels of the monster. Our presence in this country is the result of an illegitimate political process whose most damaging contemporary effect is to convince us of our birthright to citizenship (ha!), to call us to be patriotic, and to put us eagerly to work to uphold this system. Many of us have merely been made to internalize the overseer's whip and thus to control ourselves. Indeed, we are a colonized people.

The key problem, then, is to isolate the major ideological forces which undergird the system and those opposing it, *our* ideological forces. Today we know the American system for what it is, neo-colonial racism functioning to pacify Black people and to influence Black affairs with revisionary subversion. The system is racist because "white is still right," and Black people have never been dealt with as people;—slavery has not been paid for, which means that we are interpreted as either just becoming white enough to be considered people, or that we are merely being tolerated until someone figures out what to do with us (or does it!). A simple example of neo-colonialism is when a "Negro" is sent to manage and control Black people in place of a white cat, though the basic job assignment is the same for either.

The most progressive Black ideological forces constitute Revolutionary Pan-African Nationalism. Nationalism is beliefs/emotions of racial solidarity and pride. Pan-African Nationalism emphasizes two important points for our identity and struggle: (1) All Black people are African, wherever they are. We are Africans colonized in the Americas. (2) All Africans must unite against our common enemy (and join Third World liberation struggles). Our ideology must be revolutionary as we fight a colonialist system. Our goal is to destroy it and to replace it with a system that speaks to our needs. To quote a brother: "We don't believe that what we want is better than what others have, we just believe it has got to be better for us." And if two aren't possible, we'll fight to the death for ours since death of a kind is our fate in any case.

So the ideological conflict is between forces designed to keep us loyal to the system oppressing us, or to make sure that we cannot get ourselves together to do something about it, and the forces of liberation designed to reunite a separated people, to mobilize the will of a people to liberate itself from racist colonial bondage with giant steps toward New Africa.

2. *Role of Institutions*

The ideological conflict is best understood by examining the role of certain institutions (and not the role of particular people, as we are so often tricked into believing). This is particularly true when we're

concerned with concepts like the Black University. We can describe three kinds of institutions, two representing the forces of oppression. Direct colonial control comes from agencies of the federal government, private foundations, and white universities. These colonial forces combine to influence and to direct their neo-colonial extensions, the "predominantly Negro" colleges. The third really shouldn't be called an institution, but a growing number of organized thrusts emerging from the Black community with the sole purpose of making education relevant to/for/within our liberation struggle.



Colonial forces employ the two-faced approach to Black people, using one hand to actively suppress us, while using the other hand to urge the vanguard forward into full view for the slaughter. Some see this as a paradox, but it is really a vise, one that is closing faster all of the time. Why is it that institutions like Princeton, Harvard, Yale, Rockefeller, and the U. S. Congress will sometimes encourage small groups or individuals who are (to them) "Black nationalist extremists," while at the same time refusing to rid their investment portfolios of South African stocks or economic interests supporting racism throughout the U.S.A.? How can the Congress pass civil rights legislation to help Black to become like whites, and then persecute Adam Clayton Powell for being just like them? (You surely can fill in additional questions for yourself?)

Neo-colonial forces are virtual laboratories for Negro citizens who want the security of a place in (or at least of) white society, while at the same time becoming masters of survival culture fun and games. Here the vise is cloaked in hues of brown, a coloration meant to confuse—if not to convince—us into acceptance. Demands for a program more relevant to Black needs are usually met with two responses which clearly reveal their position: (1) "We have always been interested in the study of the Negro. We have a good library collection and we have a tradition of research and teaching." What is left out is that this "tradition" stopped 10 to 20 years ago, and exactly the opposite trend has reached its summit. A brief search for current materials and a look at course catalogs will demonstrate the reactionary reality of this sickness. (2) "We will not support racism and reject as racist the demand for Black history, especially if it is stipulated that the instructor be Black." However, there is normally no argument when choosing Negro presidents for "predominantly Negro" colleges, but holy hell explodes when demanding Black teachers for Black courses.

New agencies for Black education (Association of Afro-American Educators, New School of Afro-American Thought, Affro Arts Theater-School, University System of the Nation of Islam, *etc.*) are now developing around the country. These agencies do at least three things: (1) illuminate contradictions about the education provided for Black people; (2) prepare people for the struggle; and (3) immerse our children in the saving grace of Blackness. However, the new Black search is quite obviously in danger of being subverted by the above-mentioned colonial forces. The positive thrust not only includes the goals being sought but also involves the very process and basic assumptions of education itself. And since we have yet to see who will succumb to or reject the seductive hustle of white resources, we must proceed to discuss its dangers before we begin to chart our course toward liberation.

(3) Dangers of Neo-Colonial Racist Pacification

Since we were taken political prisoners over 350 years ago and are still in bondage, we can safely assume that a thorough analysis of the forms and methodology of past oppression will at least provide the basis for perceiving future dangers. In a summary fashion, there are at least four devices at work for colonial and neo-colonial institutions, although they are often applied in different ways. In the typology of dangers facing the Black University concept, there are four types of dangers listed. Each appears to be relevant to both the colonial and neo-colonial institutions.

The term "inflated expectations"

TYPES OF DANGERS FACING THE BLACK UNIVERSITY CONCEPT

Type of Danger	Colonial Institution	Neo-colonial Institution
1. Inflated Expectations	Yes (as a result of high resources as bait)	Yes (result of illusory tradition of Negro scholarship)
2. Reference Group Conflict	Black vs. White	Black vs. Negro
3. Resource Diffusion	High	Low
4. Terminological Cooptation	High	Low

refers to the dangerous possibility that advocates of the Black University concept will be lured into the trap of believing in the devils, actually believing that funds/resources/positions will be made available for creative work. (I was tricked on two occasions in as many years, though my action was considerably more naive than what I really believed and was told over and over and over again. Whew!). The colonial institutions (especially major universities and the Ford Foundation) use their vast resources to blow people's minds and to cop. And while the neo-colonialist "predominantly Negro" college has pull here, it is not resources but *traditions* which often trick folks. What one discovers is that these traditions are often more manufactured than real and, when real, frequently have been abused by the colleges.

Reference Group conflicts often result from inflated expectations, not to mention the serious ego problems facilitated in the process. Simply put, the problem concerns who (or what group)—Black People are to think of as they prepare to move. This is often related to what audiences they speak to, where they send proposals for funding, where they choose to publish, who they relate to as far as colleges are concerned, *etc.* The colonial confrontation is classic in that it presents the best traditional form of confrontation: Blacks directly facing white authority and power. The neo-colonial problem is ambiguous here. As Blacks move toward a common analysis and hold onto the goal of liberation as manifested in the Black University, Negroes of all ideological persuasions and experiences move to neutralize, to polemicize, and to expel Blacks from their schools. Often brotherhood alone prevents a San Francisco State type struggle from emerging at Morehouse, though this pattern is subject to shift at any moment. (Note the recent unpublicized burnings around the Atlanta University Center following Martin Luther King Jr.'s funeral and a recent campus visit by Stokely Carmichael.)

An increasingly important concern is how the limited resources committed to the Black University concept are being diffused throughout the country. Dig it: the following "together" brothers are scattered at white schools throughout the country: Nathan Hare, Alvin Pouissant, Robert Browne, Charles Hamilton, St. Clair Drake, Harry Edwards, Price Cobbs, William Grier, Edgar Beckham. And those Negro schools with Black faculty are unique, even when every effort is made to stifle their work and to get rid of them. There is, consequently, no center for revolutionary Black Education, and that shouldn't come as a big surprise. Only the most secure white colleges are announcing grandiose plans for the recruitment of Black faculty (Note the recent UCLA announce-

ment of a plan to hire 200 Black professors by Fall 1969).

Last, there is the problem of definition. If Lyndon Johnson could co-opt the civil rights thrust deceitfully smiling as he proclaimed, "We shall overcome," then Black people ought to watch out. If the United Negro College Fund could place an ad in the New York Times portraying a Negro in cap and gown with the caption, "Black Power," then Black people ought to watch out. But, normally, colonial forces are the first to move in on ideological concepts (Note the emasculated verison of the class conflict as compared to what Karl Marx meant in the *Manifesto*) . . . Only after a few foundation grants and a few conferences for whites is it normally possible for Negroes to use the term—and then it is often psychologically difficult for them to say it without perjorative gesticulations.

Terminological cooptation is a process to confuse the ideological struggle for popular support. We must always be aware of the need for clarity and we must never hesitate to provide an understandable analysis for any group of our people. And now, having looked at the dangers, we ought to examine the positive ideological basis for our struggle.

(4) *Ideological Guidelines for Struggle*

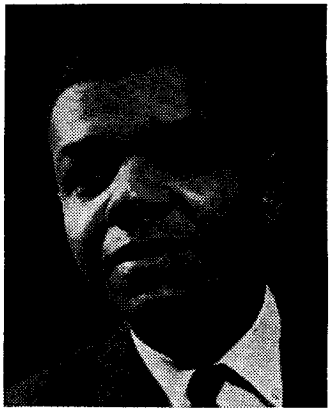
There are five ideological guidelines that fit these discussions, though it is in the course of struggle itself that we will define what is ultimately necessary for our liberation. These must be as free as possible of the above listed dangers.

(A) *African identity:* No other identification is as close to our history and as far from our oppressors. The term "Afro-American" still somehow legitimates the hell of America and separates us through generations from Africa. Our identity as Africans is based on the utility it has for struggle. Only by recognizing the alien character of this country (even though it is sometimes tolerable because of our contributions to it) can we ever hope to successfully wage the revolutionary struggle.

(B) *Operational Unity:* While it is obvious that one all-inclusive organization for Black people would be impossible to build, it is not impossible to move toward coalitions of groups. Most national liberation struggles have been based on the operational unity of a diverse set of organizations. And we can see moves in this direction with the Black Congress in Los Angeles, the United Black Front in Washington, D. C., the Black Congress in Chicago, and the attempt to build a Black People's Alliance in Atlanta. We must work cooperatively on common goals in order to utilize all resources, and "for their thousand blows deal one death blow."

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PROBLEMS OF 'PLACE' PERSONNEL AND PRACTICALITY



BY EDGAR F. BECKHAM

"As Black people move toward better communications and better coordination of policy planning, it will become a commonplace that Black students and Black educational personnel everywhere are part of the Black University"

WHAT may be most curious about the Black University as a concept and as an image is that so many diverse impulses out of the Black movement merge in it. That is unusual for this time of crisis in Black life. If you read our poetry, you often hear our simple lyric affirmations exploding abruptly into rapid-fire wrath. Our essays tend to be burdened with self-critical assessments of our own painful shortcomings and with angry railing at what's wrong with Negroes. Our social and political actions sometimes express a confusing combination of visionary, futuristic fervor and revulsion at the drab aspect of history. Action vies with reaction, abstraction with the concretely real, and at first glance the blinding series of equal and opposite pulls and tugs seems to be getting us nowhere, except maybe into the mudhole that lies in the middle.

What is so exciting about the Black University is that it affirms the diverse activities of Black

people in their struggle toward a coherent ideology and a unified community. It sets clear goals, but makes few restrictions on strategies. It raises the critical questions of Black identity and Black survival, but it avoids pre-empting the role which Black people must play in providing answers. The Black University is quite arrogantly creative in the content of its activities, but cautiously modest in its intention, its organization and in its articulation with other spheres of interest and influence within the Black community.

"Modesty" may seem like an unusual characteristic for a concept, especially for one which has been advocated so vigorously and eloquently in recent months. Throughout the Black community the awareness of the Black University and its profound implications for community development is growing at a rapid rate; and what is more significant, even where the term "Black University" has not been integrated into the rhetorical apparatus of Black ideology, its basic elements are becoming increasingly prominent in the conceptual framework of Black consciousness.

It is precisely in conceptual terms that the Black University displays its modesty, which is simultaneously the source of its vitality. The Black University "knows its place." It is content to be derivative and dependent—derivative of a basic affirmation of Black community and dependent for its very life upon the self-conscious existence of that community. Like a canny virgin, it attends with studied reserve to the needs of its somewhat skeptical suitors.

Or, at least, that's the way it ought to be. Advocacy of national policy in Black educational affairs, which is what the Black University is really all about, is a problematical pursuit, especially for Black educators, most of whom have been trained in a context alien and antagonistic to the very community they hope to serve. It is appropriate for them to be cautious in their use of borrowed tools of intellectual discourse, and to demonstrate trust in the home-grown expressive sensibility of Black people. And that caution and trust seem to be on the rise these days. Black educators are listening better and hearing more, even if they are not talking any less. The current impulse is to test out ideas by bouncing them off as many natural heads as you can find before promulgating them as the latest and finest Black "truth." It may well be that the crisis of intellectual identity into which traditional Black educators have been forced by the compelling pressure of the Black revolution has exploded one of the most subversive myths of Negro history, namely that formal education in the Western tradition liberates leadership potential automatically.

The new trend in Black intellectual style was apparent at the June 1968 conference of the Association of Afro-American Educators in Chicago. In the Task

Force on Higher Education the discussions began deductively. They were held in a classroom, and on the chalkboard the concrete problems of Black education trailed down diagonally in sub-categories from beneath the overarching statement of abstract goals. It took two days to reverse the proces. By Sunday, the Task Force was beginning with specific problems and moving, not so much toward solutions, but rather toward a functional framework within which solutions might be found. It was an exercise in restraint, and it was based on the simple recognition that the collective wisdom of the Task Force did not include all the ultimate answers.

Discussions of Black education often collapse at the question of whether we should create history or merely change it. Talk about Black autonomy, Black unity, and the consistency of a comprehensive Black ideology seem rather long-range, visionary, and dangerously theoretical to someone who wants a program, now, to meet the specific and immediate needs of Black people. Arguments over the issue are usually lengthy and divisive. The one side argues that Black students in a white educational context are oppressed, that the environment in both white and dependent Negro institutions is hostile to the educational growth of Black people, and that autonomous Black institutions hold the key to Black cultural survival. The opponents are usually wise enough to concede all that, but they hasten to point out that quite a large number of Black students can be expected to remain in the hostile environment at least through tomorrow, and that what we do today to relieve the oppression constitutes progress.

Another aspect of the same basic dilemma concerns the need for unity of purpose in Black educational affairs. Arguments in favor of unity (which always involves sacrifice) run head-on into vehement criticism from creative Black people who, in their own areas, have designed and implemented plans for solving local problems. Even when they are accused of "tribalism" (a curious pejorative in the post-Tarzan era), they maintain their allegiance to their own diverse programs, which they view as being more concretely valuable than any number of abstract constructs flitting beneath some intellectual's bush. If unity is not supportive of Black people's efforts to solve Black people's problems, then it is not unity at all.

At about this point in the dialogue a youngish militant is apt to get up and imply, by whatever suggestion he makes, that the contenders on both sides should be shoved through the nearest open window so that the Black people in the room can tend to business. Often, though, he makes a tactical error. He either calls for an end to overblown rhetoric and pompous theorizing, which supports the one side, or he admonishes all present to "get our thing together," which endears him to the other. When someone

else suggests that the group is back where it started from, people begin to walk out, and the meeting takes on a desperate character.



The concept of the Black University does not resolve these tensions. On the contrary, it verifies their existence and confirms their significance, thereby providing a conceptual framework in which resolution can occur. The Black University is indeed the product of visionaries, who affirm the validity of Black experience and recognize that the celebration of what is vital and true in the lives of Black people requires institutions free from the corroding effects of extraneous influence. But the Black University is also the product of practical men who recognize that the pressure generated by Black people in response to Black dreams is a primary factor in the evolution of local mechanisms for the alleviation of oppressive conditions. That has certainly been true of the activities of Black students on hostile campuses in this country. Black students at Howard University, at San Francisco State, and at Brandeis were not "programmed" in advance.

In fact, at Brandeis the most significant component of the "program"—the plan for an autonomous institute of Afro-American studies—was adopted *during* the strike. Since the Black University is concerned more with "process" than with "place," it can accommodate simultaneously the most outlandish visions of Black glory and the most pragmatic attempts at instant remediation. In short, the Black University exists implicitly wherever and whenever Black people join together for a Black educational purpose.

As process, and as people, the Black University has only two critical characteristics: freedom from extraneous influence, and committed responsiveness to the educational needs of Black people. Operationally, within any given institution, these characteristics become the bases of institutional structure, the "credentials" of staff, and the guidelines for program development.

The problems involved in implementing Black University policy are roughly the same all over the country. The critical ones at this juncture are lack of funds, lack of staff, and lack of administrative flexibility. The money ought to come from the federal government, not in the form of an annual dole, but as permanent endowment for several comprehensive institutes of Afro-American studies, located regionally and designed as major centers of Black learning. The governing boards of the institutes would be self-perpetuating and broadly representative of the Black community. Ten such centers could be endowed at a total cost

of less than a billion dollars, and the cost could be spread over a number of years.

The lack of staff is a particularly vexing problem because of the vigorous competition among schools seeking Black teachers. In many instances the competition is not in the best interest of the Black University. Of course, there is one school of thought which maintains that increases in demand result in increases in supply. So, if we want more Black teachers, we should use up the ones we've got. That is probably a comfortable notion for anyone who has complete faith in the market-place. But Black people have been in that place before, and things didn't always turn out so well. One problem is that Black school personnel are rarely used as efficiently as they might be. This is particularly true at white schools where administrations establish Black studies programs and hire Black staff without regard for anything other than the institution's need to reduce the pressure from Black students. What else might explain the recent headlines in the New York Times which told of Cornell University's search for the best Black scholars. Even Cornell must know that, from the perspective of Black educational needs, it is not the place for the Black community's best scholars. Nor is Yale, or Harvard, or any other of the predominantly white institutions which have recently been rushing into print with announcements of ambitious Black programs. Chances are that if Harvard, let us say, manages to beg, borrow or bribe a Black scholar in art history, he'll be teaching more white students than Black students. That is hardly a committed response to the educational needs of the Black community.

On the other hand, the thousands of Black students on predominantly white campuses cannot be expected to sacrifice satisfaction of all their needs. Demands for Black courses and for Black faculty on these campuses will increase. And the demands should be met, but they should be met efficiently. Institutional smugness should not be allowed to block innovative techniques for expanding the relevant educational opportunities available to Black students. Yale University's new Afro-American Studies program will probably not be too good for Black students at New Haven College or at Quinnipiac, and it behooves Yale's Black students to keep that fact in mind.

Cooperation among neighboring institutions in the development and administration of Black studies programs is essential. During the recent occupation of Ford Hall by Black students at Brandeis, someone quipped that the action would have been beautiful if Black students at Harvard, Boston University, Tufts, and MIT had simultaneously staged their own demonstrations and demanded that a joint program in Afro-American studies

be established for Black students throughout the Boston area. Where transportation seemed to be a problem, classrooms on the various campuses could be linked electronically. A group of students at Tufts, for instance, could participate in a seminar being conducted on the Brandeis campus, and the students on both campuses could see each other as well as hear each other. Certainly, overall coordination of the program could be handled by one "best Black scholar."

The decision by the Afro-American Society at Brandeis to work toward the establishment of a Black institute in Roxbury offers an even more exciting variation on the same theme. An institute in Roxbury, and for that matter, in any other Black community, could serve students enrolled at colleges and universities throughout the area. The participating institutions would, of course, be expected to contribute to the institute's funding and to grant academic credit for its courses. The institute could, in turn, develop special programs to meet a wide variety of community needs.

Of course, the notion that affluent institutions which are reluctant to grant autonomy to Black departments should fund programs outside of their own corporate framework will cause some dismay, at least in New England. But the fact of the matter is that many of these institutions do a spectacularly poor job of educating Black students. At Brandeis, for instance, despite the high level of white goodwill that seems to exist there, one of the precipitating causes of the student revolt was a nominally Black course taught by a superliberal professor who sought to undermine the developing consciousness of his Black students. The students were justifiably enraged at the deception. But not all of the responsibility for effecting change rests with cumbersome or unimaginative administrations. Black students, who must receive credit for most of the progress made to date, have to continue their efforts, and in a more coordinated manner. As has been stated again and again, we cannot allow our limited human resources in Black education to be spread in token fashion all over the country. The Black educational programs being developed at such key centers as Atlanta University are far too important to be sacrificed at the academic marketplace.

One might contend, of course, that white institutions will try to use these suggestions in an attempt to shirk their responsibilities to Black students. The simplest test, which Black students should apply regularly, is to determine what the institutions *are* willing to do. Will they, for instance, contribute to and share a neighboring institution's program? Will they set up exchange programs with a neighboring school or with a distant Black school so that their Black students can take advantage of courses offered elsewhere? Will they help to fund an autonomous institute in

the Black community in return for educational services to their own students? Will they allow Black students to design and teach their own courses if that seems the only way to develop a relevant curriculum?

A white college president recently suggested that his students should concern themselves primarily with what is good for his institution. That is a rather strange thing to say to any student these days, but its ludicrousness is quite unique in respect to Black students. As Black people move toward better communications and better coordination of policy planning, it will become a commonplace that Black students and Black educational personnel everywhere are part of the Black University. Their efforts to realize its full potential constitute the best hope for the liberation of Black men's minds and souls.



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A Dual Responsibility

The White University Must Respond to Black Student Needs

BY ROSCOE C. BROWN

"The black student awakening and the contemporary student activism on America's campuses point the way for the enhancement of the university as an important institution in our society"

ON Thursday, April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated as he stood on the porch of a motel in Memphis, Tenn. With one shot, an assassin snuffed out the life and light of a black leader whom both his admirers and detractors respected. Within hours after King's assassination, riots and violence swept the nation's black ghettos. Almost simultaneously, black students on the nation's predominantly white campuses began to hold demonstrations to present "demands" to college and univerity administrations. These demands were repeated as though they were being played on a phonograph record: "more black students," "more black professors," "more black courses," "all-black dormitories" and so on. In a real sense, the black students had awakened.

What is behind this awakening of black students throughout the country? Is it just a reaction to the King murder? Of course not! Black students have been in ferment for over a decade, first in the predominantly Negro colleges, and now in the predominantly white colleges. We should remember that the Civil Rights Revolution really began when, in February 1960, a group of black college students sat down at a lunch counter in a Woolworth's store in Greensboro, N.C. (a thing unheard-of at that time) and refused to move until they were served. The "sit-in" was the forerunner of the mass demonstrations, the marches, and now the angry confrontations that are part of the Civil Rights Revolution—and black students have been an important part of all of them.

If black students were in the vanguard of the Civil Rights Revolution, why did it take so long for the black students on integrated campuses to awaken? Possibly the answer to this question is the nature of the integrated university itself.

Many integrated colleges and universities have long sought Negro and other minority-group students and some have given a disproportionate amount of their scholarship money to minority-group students. These colleges and universities have insisted for the most part that the minority-group students meet the same standards, with minor revisions, as the white students. On the surface this looks good and seems fair, but it overlooks the educational disadvantages that most black students face in ghetto schools. Thus, the type of black student selected in the past has been a black counterpart of his middle-class white fellow student. Because he was in a definite minority (sometimes 2 per cent or 3 per cent of the entering class) and because he was more like the middle-class white student in background, the black student had little compulsion or desire to challenge even the most unfair aspects of his college life.

One such indignity that black students at integrated colleges have had to put up with for years is a kind of unspoken prohibition on interracial dating. Another has been the toleration of unknowing racial bias on the part of fellow students and professors concerning such things as racially tinted humor and the alleged rhythm that all Negroes are supposed to have. More painfully, they had to accept the inconsistencies about equality on campus and the existence of racially segregated fraternities and sororities.

Fortunately, many integrated colleges have now recognized that they have been servicing only a fraction of the talent among black high school graduates and have reached out to attract more black students from a wider variety of backgrounds. As more black students come to the nation's campuses and have an opportunity to experience both the positive and the negative aspects of a university experience, the black students have begun to organize and discuss what they can do themselves to improve the situation. Most black students view their proposed improvements as of ultimate benefit to the white students as well. In more than one demonstration for more black courses, students and professors, white students who have tried to participate as members of the black student groups have been told to go back to the white student body and begin to eradicate the racism that exists there.

Mention of the word "racism" in this context requires a brief clarification about what the black students mean when they use it. Racism is used to refer to an attitude, often not conscious, which causes an individual to respond to

a situation in a different manner when blacks are involved than when whites only are involved. Thus, a question as to whether a Negro should quarterback the football team when he is the best quarterback involves a racist attitude. Similarly, concern about whether a qualified black student should be given a Rhodes Scholarship is a racist attitude. The black students feel that white students working among the white students to eradicate racist attitudes is a fundamental contribution that white students can make toward better racial understanding.

The black student speaks of relevance. He says that the curriculum must be "relevant to the black experience." While this sounds like so much jargon, and is spoken by some of the students with an almost ritualistic fervor, their concern is a valid one. What the black students mean is that the curriculum should give them some insights about the black man's role in society and help them to develop those skills which will enable them to improve life in the ghetto. Thus, the black students want courses in black art, black music, the economics of poverty and the economics of the ghetto. This does not mean that most black students want to go back to the ghetto as social workers or teachers. They want to become participating members of society in all of its aspects, and want to use their knowledge to help black people in many ways. The present generation of black students is aware of those omissions in their education which if rectified might help them to be more effective in their efforts to improve the lot of all black people, not just themselves. The cry for relevance parallels a similar cry by the student activists in colleges all over the nation. Those students are vitally concerned with poverty, racism, war and injustice. They, too, feel that the classical tools of scholarship have not been particularly helpful to them in dealing with these concerns. While they concede that a firm grounding in a variety of subject areas eventually might be helpful to them, the urgency of their youth and the urgency of the problems that society faces leads them to cry for more relevance in their education now.

The present emphasis on programs for black students offends many persons, white and black, because they feel that such an overt emphasis merely stimulates separatism and racial divisiveness. At a first glance, this proposition might appear to be valid. However, we must realize that self-respect and equality are not bestowed on one group by another, but rather must be gained by the group being discriminated against by its own efforts. This is not to say that white people cannot play important roles in the process, but the black man must be his own spokesman, his own strategist, and must mobilize the sentiment among his own people for change. In the process, there is apt to be a strong overreac-

tion by some black people. Thus, demands for all-black dormitories emerge, or statements are made that a white man cannot teach a course in black history. Those who aspire to a society in which black and white will live with mutual respect and opportunity must strive to understand the drives that cause some of these demands to be made.

In understanding the demands, the university must evaluate and analyze the consequences of accepting them or rejecting them. In many cases, such as the allegations about exploitation of Negro athletes that have been recently publicized in Sports Illustrated and Newsweek, the grievances of the black students have so much basis that some drastic action is needed. For example, the Negro athletes' demand for a black coach is not unreasonable.

True, at the very moment of their demand, an appropriately qualified black coach may not be available, but the reason for this must be understood, too. With the large number of black athletes who participate in college sports, it is certainly more than an accident or oversight that few of them ever return to their alma maters to coach. Thus, the demand for a black coach is not as unreasonable as it may seem at first blush. Why not wait, then, until the college can take time to seek out one or develop one? This is, in a sense, the crux of the black revolution or black awakening. Blacks have been waiting for years for obvious grievances to be recognized and redressed—and since society has continued to ignore them, blacks are making demands for fulfillment now!

The intellectual, of course, recognizes that all demands cannot be met immediately, but a start can be made—even if on a basis that can be criticized as somewhat inadequate. The real task of the university is to begin to bridge the credibility gap that exists between the black students and society. The university can do this by attempting to understand the concerns and grievances of the black students and beginning to deal with them directly. In doing so, the university from its position of greater understanding and maturity must not try to always force the black students to function according to the university's rules—for in a sense it is some of the university's methods of operation that have created the situation from which the grievances stem. Just as the student revolts on campuses all over the country have forced universities to re-evaluate, and often change, policies that have been unchallenged for years, so should the black student awakening be viewed by the university as an opportunity to deal with the subtle, and not too subtle, effects of racism on the university.

Some observers of the changes in the college scene vis-a-vis the black student have wondered if this isn't racism in reverse. As I

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Black Perspective

A CULTURAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

BY MILTON R. COLEMAN

"The concern of the educator must not be to integrate the African-American student into a basically dysfunctional educational system but, rather, to work towards its destruction as a source of black oppression"

THE concern of African-American educators must be first with education and only secondarily with those structures set aside for educational activities (*i.e.*, schools). This is because the goal is a relevant and productive education for our people. Education has no absolute standards and can therefore not be limited by any predetermined or already extant systems or structures. Rather education is an experience in concentrated enculturation which always takes place in the most feasible and culturally expedient location.

Realizing the shortcomings of white American schools, the fundamental approach has to be either to make those schools adequate through change, or to move elsewhere to administer education. And before considering whether or not American schools can be altered sufficiently, we have to first recognize the essential need for a new approach to education from a black perspective.

Any educational system must be a viable cultural cell in its particular social complex and must work in conjunction with other such institutions in the society (religion, legal codes, social organizations, etc.) towards affecting coordination and continuity of culture and values.

In Afro-America, most schools have not been such a viable cultural institution, established by our people to promote our own general welfare, but rather a substandard distortion of white America's idea of education. The latter serves as a valid institution in the broader/other society, and, as such, has always had to justify the historic and

contemporary subordination of African-Americans. It has, unfortunately, forced many of the same such values of inferiority, both intellectual and practical, upon us. In ways both subtle and overt, it has aided in our oppression.

Intellectually, it has perpetuated a "white lie over black truth." In a more practical sense it has given us broken and outmoded tools with which to operate in the larger society, thereby insuring our traditional position of economic, political and social impotency.

The normal role of education as a lever for cultural enrichment has functioned improperly in our community. Black students returning to the community hoping to develop its positive aspects, have found themselves unequipped to operate effectively. Very little in the educational system has dealt with Afro-America from either a positive, constructive, or realistic framework. The massive unrest among black students today reflects the recognition of this fact.

The long overdue need for school systems to address the most pointed problems of American society (especially as they relate to African-Americans), as well as the failure to accurately reflect the history and culture of black people, has precipitated this high-tide of legitimate discontent. Hence, increased student activism around this issue represents a last call for commitment on the part of American academia towards real and meaningful education.

Nevertheless, some African-Americans *have* accepted education as the answer. And what of them? Can they not be used as examples of what America holds for the black man?

First of all, they are decidedly in a great minority and can therefore not be a legitimate index by which to assess the present state of Afro-America as a whole. And although an increasing number of Negroes hold quasi-middle-income jobs, this does not obliterate the reality that, although most of the poor people in America are in fact white, most of the black people in America in fact are poor—failures in even the American sense, a narrow spectrum of economic acquisition and stability.

Moreover, the so-called successful Negro middle-classman cannot be held up as a symbol of black Americanism because, in a broader social sense, he is also illegitimate. Laying aside for the moment the whole question of practicality and possibility, let us just consider the relation of the middle-class Negro to the broader African-American community.

Although he is recognized as respectable by the white society (sometimes), black youth, for the most part, reject his brand of social success. They simply cannot relate to him. The questions to which he presents answers are not the most relevant ones in their lives. Black children are quite aware of the potential insecurities of their

life-style, yet they persist in their ways.

To attribute this to psychological maladjustment is to assume that schools are more inherently correct than people. Most black students don't want to be like their family doctor, physical education teacher or their case worker; they don't want to sell insurance, be lawyers, or even work in factories as apprentices. The social sacrifice inherent in achieving these positions is too great for them. They must be offered new alternatives, not just alternative ways to become middle-class Negroes.

In addition, it is unrealistic to concentrate on enlargement of the "black *bourgeoisie*". For this group has its classic creation as a buffer zone between the masses of blacks and the masses of whites. It cannot exist without the existence of the other two externally to itself. In fact, if the masses of African-Americans were to become middle-class Negroes, they would have negated themselves, for there would be no middle, only a full realization of a white top and a black bottom. Comparison of the positions held now by Negro college graduates and their white counterparts illustrates this point vividly.

Therefore, the absence of "respectable" African-Americans in the community is not the answer to the problem. It is rather a failure of the schools as part and parcel of the system which spawns the "black *bourgeoisie*" to be relevant to the community as a total institution. From beginning to end, its perspective, its program, and its product have not addressed the needs of the African-American.

Such a miscarriage of socio-intellectual pregnancy has destroyed the average African-American's respect for education. The middle-class Negro succeeds only at the expense of his soul, while the soulful blackbrother suffers a life of economic insecurity. Both are equally politically impotent and hence the community is stagnant.

Moreover, in respect to soul, it becomes apparent that soul is thus more than a music style, a way of walking-that-walk or talking-that-talk. It becomes an inner drive whose motor manifestations are present in the aforementioned traits. Soul becomes that which leads one knowingly in a more meaningful direction than synthetic capitalist Christian materialism temptingly invites. It's a natural *thang* (i.e., of nature), and as such deserves more respect than we often give it. It is, as Maulana Ron Karenga points out, one thing the white man has never been able to deal with, because he can't understand it. Therefore, neither his schools nor anything else in his society has ever, cannot, and probably never will be able to handle it: "The white boy engaged in the worship of technology; we must not sell our souls for money and machines."

We must move then to resurrect

education as a constructive cultural institution among our people.

Aside from the need for white schools to perpetuate the "white lie" mentioned above, other considerations seem to point to the ultimate need for all-black school systems and consequently the necessity for African-American educators to take stock of their present condition and to prepare for the essential move back to black.

The concern of all public schools is obviously educating the public. In America, that public contains a large predominance of non-blacks and a considerably smaller number of Third World peoples, the majority of whom are African-Americans. Because of their historical and ethnic differences, these two groups are decidedly distinct culturally. Yet the American public education system, operating in accord with the country's melting-pot myth, works on the erroneous assumption that there can at once be a basically homogeneous school system to serve all American inhabitants.



This is, in fact, a myth because the historical existence of Africanoid peoples in America has been one of separateness. Therefore, a balanced black-white educational program is a contradiction of both ethnic and historical reality. And hence we must consider the alleged massive failure of African-Americans to adapt to the American school system not so much as a psychological maladjustment to be relieved by remedial and compensatory programs which, in essence, seek to find new ways to stuff the same rotten food down ever-rejecting throats, but rather as a sociocultural mismatch, a poorly balanced diet, which is indicative of our even broader paradoxical, self-contradictory existence in America.

In short, when there are consistently so many dysfunctional products, we must question not only the raw material, but the nature of the machine itself. The failure of a round peg to fit into a square hole is not because the peg isn't square, but rather because it wasn't made to fit in a square hole in the first place.

The question can now be raised as to whether or not the present school systems *can* in fact be changed to meet the needs of African-Americans? Are such changes realistic? More important, are they desirable?

First of all, it seems as though no American school has yet affected sufficient changes to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of black students at all levels. And perhaps this inability is illuminated by two observations. On the one hand, and already mentioned above, since the American schools are part of the total American sociocultural com-

plex (a viable institution in *that* society), it must be compatible to the stability of that system. Unless it either justifies or ignores the historic and contemporary oppression of African-Americans, the society as an entity cannot exist.

To deal with the slanting of curriculum for this purpose would be redundant. We all know what's happening there. Yet we have to also reiterate a need for new career opportunities. White schools are structured to meet the needs of the white community. Our needs are quite different and often contradictory to those. In fact, one of the foremost designs of a black school will be the destruction of white schools as the legitimate source of education for African-Americans.

A second point involves the desirability of such a change. In highly mechanized, industrial America, the schools, at all levels, have become the nation's largest baby sitter. Finding nothing more expedient to do with its youth, America offers a 40-hour school week with extra curricular activities for overtime. The world of academia has become a haven of escapism, specializing in the mass dissemination of functional ignorance, justified by "tradition" and legitimized as "education".

American education tends to be a rather static type of thing, so static that it does not apply its most elementary findings to fundamental issues. Elementary biology is inapplicable to Mary's "divine conception"; courses in communism and racism are outlawed in the schools, the study of them being allocated to exclusive federal scholars like the Kerner Commission and the House Un-American Activities Committee, who readily admit these are the two biggest problems facing the entire country. By the same token, Black History becomes a nice thing to "study", but not from which to learn lessons regarding this society's illegitimacy in relation to black people.

And, of course, there is always the matter of co-optation. white folks taking over our *thang*. For the enterprising white hustler, this has always been a good gig—economically, intellectually, culturally, you name it. Tragic it is when we realize that African-Americans have been the creative backbone of this country and nevertheless have little or nothing to show for it.

We have to seek to reclaim our own heritage and to control the definition of our own history and culture in order to preserve a meaningful and accurate definition of our situation—past, present, and future—from our own perspective for ourselves and our prosperity.

It should therefore be the goal of the African-American educator to seek the establishment of a fluid educational structure, for reality is ever-changing, and once established, a black education should never need to be revolutionized, but rather in a constant state of evolution, always putting the pres-

ent in its proper perspective. Our education must answer Frantz Fanon's charge: "What we want to do is to go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men. . . . We must work out new concepts and try to set afoot a new man."

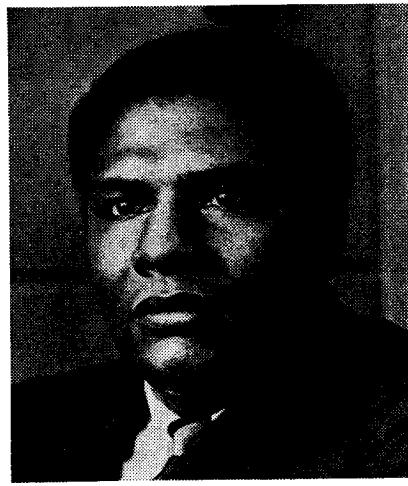
Black people in America have no power to change the public schools. So-called decentralization has yet to prove its viability. Without real control of its schools, the black community, that society which the educational system must serve and hence those who must have the power to define "education" from their own perspective and sufficient for relevance to them, has only a tokenistic or advisory function. And what is to prevent the dismissal of such advisory entities when political sentiments change in the governing colonial power structure? As Brother Stokely Carmichael has pointed out, this is preciselv the lesson which black people must learn from Reconstruction in this country.

And so, the concern of the educator must not be to integrate (by any means necessary) the African-American student into a basically dysfunctional educational system, but rather, if he chooses to work within that system, to work towards its destruction as a source of black oppression.

For those who do not wish to accept the cold reality of this, there is a sort of alternate approach. And that is to merely strive to offer a valid educational experience to the African-American student: one which evolves from a black frame of reference, operates with materials drawn from the black experience, and prepares the individual for relevant and effective functioning within and in accord with the general welfare of that society. If this can be done within the existing structures, then do it. But if it cannot be done there, it is the clear duty of the African-American educator to denounce that system and to seek any means necessary to serve the black community, in which his position and reality ultimatelv rest: "No man is any more than the context to which he owes his existence." (Maulana Karenga)



Milton R. Coleman, author of "A Cultural Approach to Education," is a "fellow without stipend" doing independent graduate study at the Milwaukee branch of the University of Wisconsin. He formerly served as chairman of the Alliance for Black Students and as campus coordinator of the Black Students' Union at the university branch.



The Positiveness of Separation

BLACK INVISIBILITY OF WHITE CAMPUSES

BY NATHAN HARE

"Black student endeavors, if successful, not only might bring about a kind of black renaissance, they could also possibly wield an impact on the entire cemetery of American education"

THROUGHOUT this land, a volcano of student alienation and resentment — compounded in the case of black students—is erupting in the form of ephemeral administrative take-overs. *Vis-a-vis* black students, the problem stems in part from the emptiness and subtle racism of the college system; in part from the pain of black student experiences in the society which the college system serves.

Black students, it is necessary to know, are descendants of a people cut off from their attachment to land, culture and country, robbed of a sense of pride in pastness (the roots of identity) so essential as a

springboard for a sense of collective destiny. Shut off from involvement in the educational process (during slavery, it was unlawful to teach a black person to read or write), black Americans, then largely inhabiting the South, sought adjustment by way of supernatural rationalizations such as the superstition still extant that "if you read too much you're bound to go crazy."

The problem today, though many-faceted, is irritated by the gross invisibility of black students —despite their seemingly mushrooming physical presence—on most white college campuses. The neglect of the black student's needs may be apparent but acutely unnoticed in the scarcity, for example, of courses dealing forthrightly with the black race, its problems and its contributions, in American society. "I sort of thought Negroes came here to try to become white," a white student leader recently admitted.

In the wake of a general black revolt, the black college student's awareness of the psychology of exclusion grows ever keener, and he longs at last for educational and political visibility. Accordingly, while the perfunctory nature (and general obsolescence) of higher education in America plagues white students as well, the black student is impelled to seek visibility ("get it together" and "move on up" and "come back home") through sharp demands for symbols such as the presence on campus of at least a token number of black professors and courses exposing black history and culture, down to the inclusion of hog maws and chitterlings on cafeteria menus which already include beef stroganoff, meatballs and spaghetti, and occasionally, chop suey.

Black students see themselves as window-dressing tokens of black participation in campus life, knowing that, as individuals, they are "in," but nevertheless wanting general recognition of the fact that they are there. This contrasts with the situation of black students on the Negro college campus, where protest does occasionally reflect racial and color considerations—stemming chiefly from Negro college conformity to the mores and values of the white college system—but more typically takes the form of a basic quest for personal freedom: the liberalizing of curfew regulations and other aspects of the right not to be treated as children while training to be adults.

By comparison, the white college permits a greater degree of freedom (thought not as much as they claim to believe in and not enough to please today's generation of students reared on the permissive approach, members of an age group which constitutes an increasing majority while treated as a kind of minority). Particularly is the white college characterized by a greater spirit of inquiry than the typical Negro college. This intellectual activity rubs off on the student. Black students become concerned just as

white students are, except that whatever problem white students encounter black students inherit, plus the dual condition of being rejected or ignored as individuals, or as blacks.

On white campuses located in small college communities, blacks live in social isolation (aggravated frequently by a skewed sex distribution) where their acceptance is superficial even when apparent. In less exclusive colleges located in large cities, the opportunities for social and romantic philandering are more prevalent, in both the greater number of their kind on campus and a relative access to the off-campus black community.

This quest for meaningful social relations, coupled with discriminatory housing and economic considerations, increase the black student's probability of becoming a campus commuter. Commuting each day between the black community and the white campus, black students experience a daily sense of discrepancy between two contrasting, even conflicting, worlds: one world whose spirit has been largely broken in the quest for the social elevation which the black student now holds dear; the other world characterized by a good deal of *minutiae* which the black student recognizes as profoundly "irrelevant" to himself, his fate and his experience. And yet he knows so well that he must wade somehow through this "white" *milieu* in search of ratification for the "white rat race" (which is a chore for anybody). The chore is simply compounded by the fact that, psychologically and otherwise, it does not relate so well to what is crucial to the black student's life, inclining him in too many cases to give up. He eventually comes to see it as essentially "a bad set."

This sense of defeatism and despair is reinforced and magnified by the models of failure surrounding him in the black community. On top of that, exposure to harsh measures of discrimination, past or present, provoke a feeling of suspicion out of which can develop a negative definition of certain phenomena which the white middle class employs for social acceptance, including not merely cultural symbols of status; it might become derogatory, for example, to be seen spending much time with books. Under the prevailing college system, structured so that an individual succeeds best by conforming most to middle class values, black students labor considerably less prepared (than white students of suburban training and experience) to cope. They grow naturally and indelibly alienated. It might become more "in" to be pretty good at cards, for example, which only multiplies the probability of failure in the academic arena. The black student—covertly at first—rightfully begins to question the nature of standards impassionately dangled above his head as obstacles to the acquisition of the stamp "qualified."

Recently, during a talk at Yale

University, I had the occasion to ponder the blank and (in a good many cases) open-mouthed stares of ignorance from the predominantly white audience when I related how all white students given a test devised by a black colleague and myself had fundamentally flunked; all were unable to identify such commodities as hog maws, fried pies and butter roll. The professor-collaborator and I had been impelled to concoct the test (at the risk of falling victims to the fallacy of *reductio ad absurdum*) after a ruckus between black students and white administrators at a predominantly white college over the choice of a professor for a course in "ancient black history." The administrators' choice was a young white fellow, armed with an Ivy League Ph.D. and much-lauded publications in "learned journals." The black choice of the black students (preferred also by many white students) bore no college credentials but probably knew as much about ancient black history as anybody extant, having recently spent two years haunting the Schomburg Collection in New York. The white professor knew little or nothing about the subject under scrutiny, he was quick to admit, but continued to cry out with strong emotion that he was "qualified." The black students who sought to break up his class could not understand why the Administration would choose a white man admitting his ignorance to teach a course while rejecting the black man who knew all about it.

Later, it occurred to me that a black historian seeking publication in learned journals is placed in a rather precarious position of having to document his work (when writing aggressively against the slavery era) with references from the writings and records kept by a slave society in which black persons were restricted by law and custom from access to the written word.

While a graduate student in sociology at the University of Chicago, I ran afoul of academia's demand for copious footnoting, fleetingly scanning library shelves for instant references from unread books to win high marks and influence professors with padded documentation. (A Harvard administrator in the audience at Yale assured me that I did not invent that "vulgar" practice.) Even so, it was for me excusable because, unlike my professors who were unable to tell me the identity of The Four Tops, I was "culturally deprived." I acquired the Ph.D. without gross dishonor, and that appears sometimes now to count in the minds of some people more than all the good and bad things I have ever done. My contempt grew stronger, in any case, as I discovered the footnoting cliques in references used to buttress white theorizing on the black race. Not only did I detect mutual-quoting affairs; I noted that a professor might suggest hypotheses (as many

did) to thesis students who then graciously used some of the professor's work for references, only in turn to have their thesis used by the professor to document a larger theory based on the hypotheses of the several students. I learned, further, while poring over learned journals, that the motivation behind the footnoted expressions of gratitude to wealthy foundations and colleagues was not gratitude alone. The fact that a top-rated foundation has backed a piece of research gives it the boost of prestige. The scholarly custom of sending a manuscript around to sundry colleagues reaps similarly the inference that the reviewing colleagues have given it the stamp of approval. This "dirty knowledge" (as one of my professors called it) gave me, as a faltering black student from a rural district in Oklahoma, a new kind of confidence.

Many experiences (which can turn him either on or off) confront the black college student in the typical white college classroom. For example, he must sit silently bemused while his eminent sociology professor reports solemnly but proudly that his surveys show there will be no riots in Chicago because (as one suggested early last September) only seven per cent of Negroes surveyed say they definitely approve of riots. A black student might not realize that such a professor, like his peers at large, is suffering from the bias of democracy's myth of majority-rule, but the calculator in his brain might quickly register 70,000 blacks and wonder how many Negroes his professor believes sufficient to start a riot. The professor himself may later have stood perplexed when rioting broke out in Chicago on the heels of Martin Luther King's assassination, but he is not likely to alter his methods or standards of "scholarly excellence" which he requires his black students to accept.

Early in his educational career, the black student encounters the subordinating slap of white supremacy. Modes of communication, for instance, compel him to lose his "in-group dialect" and imitate the snarls and twangs of the white race. "There" becomes "thear;" "nine," "nigh-yun;" "law," "lower;" and so on. Verbal facility is frankly presented to the black student as the salient ingredient for admission to college, although I know young black men with more verbal facility than I will ever have who have either flunked out or dropped out of school.

Beyond this, the black student instinctively, if only faintly, is affronted by the fact that foreign languages required are exclusively of white European origin, though Oriental languages may be offered as electives. This, in spite of the fact that Chinese is spoken by more individuals than any other language in the world and Swahili, an African language, competes very favorably with German. This is just

(Continued on page 91)

A Step Forward?

THE HOWARD UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

BY GEORGE B. DAVIS


NABRIT


CARMICHAEL


HARE


KARENGA

The first major conference aimed at the goal of a Black University, ironically, was held on the campus of the Negro college most famous for its elitist tradition, which might account for the conference's results

DURING a balmy five-day weekend that started on Nov. 13, 1968, more than 1900 students, scholars and artists from 40 states and more than 100 colleges and universities gathered at Howard University for a conference called, "Towards a Black University."

It was the most comprehensive group of great black thinkers ever to focus on this single issue. If you ran your finger down the guest list it would fall on names like Dr. Alvin Poussaint, LeRoi Jones, Max

Roach, Harold Cruse, Rhody McCoy, Ossie Davis, Maulana Ron Karenga, Stokely Carmichael, Dr. Andress Taylor and hundreds of others with national and local reputations.

To the Howard campus the conference had the effect of a rock thrown into a pool: it caused ripples, but two months later the surface of the pool gave little sign that the questions raised by the conference were submerged there.

However, for some, like Acklyn Lynch, a social science instructor at Howard who helped to design the conference, it achieved exactly what he had supposed it would: "It gave people a chance to get together and start to talk about the kinds of things they were going to have to do. It furthered the dialogue." He added that he was still talking and exchanging ideas by telephone with people from all over the country, people he had met at the conference.

During those bright warm five days the Howard campus was full of dashikis, Afros, undercover FBI agents and revolutionary talk.

Former Howard instructor Nathan Hare had declined an invitation to return for the conference because he said Howard students would rather talk about a black university instead of making the university black. He stayed at San Francisco State College where students were doing more than talking. His statement read: "unless every Howard student comes armed with a shotgun and a molotov cocktail they are defenseless against an Amos 'n' Andy administration.

Lynch reflected later, however, that talk was all they had intended to do. "Back in the 1930's and 40's scientists from all over the world were meeting and talking about space exploration, but the first flight didn't take place until 20 years later."

Buddy Hunt, a Howard freshman, interrupted to say that the Black University couldn't wait that long. We were all sitting in Lynch's office on the third floor of Founders Library. Lynch was quick to add that he had not meant that it should. He turned from marking final examination papers. "But you can't have a five-day conference and after it's over go out and build a Black University. There are thousands of questions that you have to answer first."

But the prospect of revolutionary talk was enough to bring a reaction from the trustees. I quoted to Lynch a statement the Board had issued to the effect that Howard was founded 101 years ago "primarily for the education of disadvantaged black people, but nothing in its charter will support a Black University," they said, seemingly unmindful that Howard 101 years later has very little relation to the *really* disadvantaged black people who live in the slums surrounding the campus in northwest Washington.

The trustees were making it plain

that the school, which has produced half the country's black doctors, a good percentage of its black lawyers, Senator Edward Brooke, Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, and Washington's mayor, Walter Washington, was not going to tolerate anything revolutionary happening to "General Howard's University," as one student called it, and laughed.

Lynch looked up from his paper-marking again. "The trustees didn't have to tell us that. The conference was not designed to have Howard become *the* Black University."

Invitations to the conference stated precisely what the conference was designed for:

> "The concept of a Black University is revolutionary. It emerges out of the frustrations of black students, educators, activist and community leaders who recognize that the present institutions of higher learning have no relevance to the total black community and who realize the contradictions of allowing themselves to be acculturated into a society which debilitates black people . . .
>
> Our responsibility as conference participants is to define the structure and mechanics of that university."

On Wednesday, in a two-hour keynote speech, Stokely Carmichael told the delegates they were going to have to "quit talking and start acting." But the conferees had come from as far away as California to talk, so they broke into small workshops and met in classrooms and houses in the community and read poetry and prose and listened to jazz and talked.

The range of subjects was too wide to summarize well. In short, every aspect imaginable was dealt with—financial, international, political, curricular, artistic, athletic, technological, environmental, structural, agricultural, musical, clerical. There were 75 workshops digging out the answers to some of the thousands of questions that had to be answered.

A Howard co-ed, tall, thin, very attractive, recalled that some of the most beautiful people in the world were in town for that weekend. Lynch complained, however, that only about five percent of the Howard student body participated. This figure seemed surprisingly low to some of the outsiders who were there that weekend. But it was hard to tell the participants from the students who were simply making their regular rounds to classes in the same buildings.

Lynch said he took it upon himself to close the workshop sessions to representatives of the white press. He said he was trying to avoid the danger of misrepresentation and sensationalism. But others say it was more a group decision which was, in part, motivated by the planners' belief that black people at this stage talk more freely when there are no white people present, which meant that some

conferees attempted to eject white faculty members. One observer said the selection of who was 'black' enough got a little ridiculous. A black former Howard student who came on his own said he was put out because he happened to work for a white newspaper. He said there was a dude, a holder of a black belt in karate, at the door to Cramton Auditorium threatening to hurt him if he was caught inside. "The dude had a list of folks he was going to 'chop up," the former student said.

The local media reacted with anger. White Americans perhaps more than any other people on earth get really disturbed when they are discriminated against. Radio station WWDC broadcast an editorial which started off by saying: "Officially approved discrimination is) supposed to be a thing of the past." And ended up with: "Howard University, chartered by Congress, supported in large by public money, has ro *right* to permit discrimination on its campus (emphasis added)."

The administration was in a dilemma. It was caught between white money and black students. A spokesman for the University said the administration did nothing. Organizers of the conference said the University closed certain facilities to the conference, forcing it to hold most of it's last workshops in the gym. Several outsiders said, at the end, that there were so few people remaining that all the workshops could fit into the gym. Perhaps all of the reports are partially correct, or perhaps none of them are.

Some participants complained that the conference did not get much support from the community. This may have been because the conference was not well advertised in Washington. By barring the Washington press—which, though overwhelmingly white-owned, is nonetheless the least segregated and the fairest of any large city press establishment in the country —the organizers assured that very little news would come down from Howard hill to the rest of Washington.

But the conference survived all this. Mid-way through, a major reorganization was necessary to keep all the participants from attending the workshops conducted by the big names and neglecting the ones where a lot of the bread and butter work was being done.

A small group of hard working students planned and made the major decisions at the conference. All of them I interviewed said there were many things they would do differently if they had it to do over again, but all agreed it was a good first step.

Joey Mitchell, a Howard junior, who is in charge of reprinting the official results of the conference, rated it a success despite the bumpy road it traveled. He has in hand 15 resolutions and about 75 papers that deal not only with the Black University's role but also with the

bordering areas of the black man's role historically, presently and the future in white society.

The papers and resolutions are available through the office of the Howard University Student Association, which sponsored and paid for the conference. The papers and resolutions summarize what came out of the interaction of students, artists, Muslims, professors, scientists, community leaders, clergymen, poets, musicians and intellectuals. Mitchell said they are first steps which will have to be joined to the next steps taken in New York or Atlanta or Los Angeles or San Francisco, or somewhere.



George B. Davis, author of the report on the Howard University conference, "Toward the Black University," is a staff writer for the Washington Post. He previously has published fiction in NEGRO DIGEST.

Perspectives

Black Life, White "Experts"

Life magazine, perhaps the most influential of all the Establishment publications, put the case very simply in its recent profile of the reigning white expert on black people, **Daniel Patrick Monyihan.** Explaining why Mr. Moynihan has achieved such eminence and authority in two Administrations by stealing the insights of **W.E.B. Du Bois** and **E. Franklin Frazier** and then distorting them, Life said the following:

". . . Moynihan is white, and it is a fact of our times that white people in power tend to listen more closely to white advisers . . ."

The black reality must be authenticated by the white expert before it is admitted into acceptability. In the world of books, the practice is no less prevalent. No opinion about black books and authors is more authoritative than **Robert A. Bone's.** When the Johnson Reprint people brought out a handsome facsimile edition of **Alain Locke's** classic *The New Negro*, the white expert on blacks **Allan H. Spear** was selected to write the new introduction. **August Meier,** the expert on black history, is serving as general editor of the American Negro Life Series which Atheneum is publishing.

Herbert Hill, whose official position has been for some time that of Labor Secretary for the NAACP, appointed himself chief *guru* of black literature some years ago. Now, with the surge of interest (and possibility of huge earnings) in black history, Mr. Hill has leapfrogged over to history and is now a grand *guru* in that discipline. Word has it that he has been named general editor of a series on black history to be published by Simon and Schuster.

Apart from the overall distastefulness of the whole business of white experts presiding over black work, the opportunism inherent in the practice is monstrous. These white experts on black people eagerly capitalize on their white skins and their easier access to the editors and publishers to grab off fat advances and fees. The black community is not without remedy against these practices, however. Many of the new books being planned are earmarked for sale to schools and libraries in the metropolitan areas where, often, black children are more numerous than whites in the public schools (New York, Chicago, Washington). Vigilant black parents and teachers, made aware of those books which are the products of black scholarship and planning, can defeat the white experts in the end. They can insist that, where practical, the books used in the schools and libraries utilized by their children be books conceived and produced by black people.

Corrections

NEGRO DIGEST wishes to correct two grievous errors made in the



NELLIE BONNER



haste of meeting deadlines for the November 1968 and February 1969 issues. The most serious error was made in the November 1968 issue when the name of the author of a "Focus" profile, **Mrs. Clyde (Nellie) Bonner** of San Francisco, was not published along with her article. The article, "She Lit A Candle," described the career of a prominent educator, **Miss Ida L. Jackson,** now retired and living in California. As a result of the omission of Mrs. Bonner's by-line, her article also was not mentioned in the Table of Contents for the November 1968 issue of the magazine nor in the annual Index which also appeared in that issue. The less serious error was similar in nature. The name of **Dudley Randall,** well-known poet and publisher (Broadside Press), was not listed at the end of his review of the book, *The Algiers Motel Incident,* as is customary. We term this error "less serious" not because it was less careless on our part but because, as a regular contributor to NEGRO DIGEST, Mr. Randall's by-line is more familiar to NEGRO DIGEST readers. We regret both errors.—THE EDITORS

Publications

The African Scholar is the name of a new quarterly journal "of the African Academy of Political and Social Sciences" published out of Washington, D. C. The first issue of the journal focused on Biafra, with articles by **President Felix Houphouet-Boigny** of the Ivory Coast; **C. Y. Ngonja,** Tanzania's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs; and **J. B. C. Ugokwe,** editor of the journal. An unusual but fascinating

(Continued on page 86)

BOOKS  NOTED

Black Writing: this is u, thisisu

"Now if a man's mind is impartial in receiving tradition he examines it with all due care so that he can distinguish between the true and the false; but if he is pervaded by attachment to any particular opinion or sect he immediately accepts any tradition which supports it; and this tendency and attachment cloud his judgement so that he is unable to criticize and scrutinize what he hears, and straightway accepts what is false and hands it on to others. . . ."

—Ibn Khaldun

The term Negritude, created by the brilliant West Indian poet Aimé Cèsaire, and nurtured to maturity by Léopold Sedar Senghor (the poet/politician of Senegal), can help us understand where the black writer is in this country today. Negritude, in essence (as I understand it) denotes that particular quality, those certain nuances which are universal to the thought, action, and behavior of black Africans.

The concept of Negritude has been, and to some extent still is, of fundamental importance in the writings (literature) of black Africans trained in the French-speaking areas, *i.e.,* by those writers who have, willingly or unwillingly (whatever the case may be), adopted French cultural habits as part of their life-style. Negritude came into existence not purely as the result of French culture but as a needed reaction to French classical education. Suddenly, black Africans, stranded together (in time of crisis the weak and strong seek out their own) in some French bar "intellectualizing" and "rationalizing" their existence, became keenly aware of the fact that they were *blackmen,* but (most important) they finally realized this in the most profound terms that were *non-white,* too. Negritude, in its final analysis, can be considered the anti-thesis of everything French, *i.e.,* everything anti-black, everything white. The French-African finally realized that he was accepted by the dominant white French society only because he was willing to subordinate his blackness and become as French as possible. This meant, among other things, that the African had to adopt the dress, mannerism, culture and religion of Western civilization. Thus, the policy of *assimilation* was used to systematically destroy the mind and total identity of black Africans; stripping him completely of his African-ness, his blackness, leaving him more French than African. That's the context in which Negritude grew; it became that rebellious force used by the French-Africans to try and recapture their past, their culture, their religion, themselves and most of all their future.

With Negritude the African writer did an about-face and decided to exalt, seek, recreate and contain his African-ness, rather than continuing to run away from it or to cover it with the appropriate French substitutes. This new literary movement to which Cesaire helped give

birth started in 1939 when the Parisian Review published his *Cahier D'un Retour Au Pays Natal (Journal of a Return to my Native Country,* which has since been re-issued in book form by *Presence Africaine).* The Journal and later poems gave impetus to what is now considered Negritude. But Negritude itself (the concept of) goes back a little further (to about 1927) and was called *Negrismo. Negrismo* started in Cuba and was, as was Negritude, influenced by Africa and all things African. Cubans, as well as Africans, had grown up under the white ruling class which tried to destroy everything anti-white (anti-Western) or anything remotely connected with Africa. *Negrismo* grew rapidly and influenced such writers as the Cuban poets Ramon Guirao and Nicolas Guillen and the Puerto Rican poet Luis Pales Matos.

Thus, the frame of reference that the African and Cuban writers used to work in has been established. To bring the concept of Negritude a little closer to home I refer you to Léopold Senghor's definition: "Negritude is the *sum total of the values of the civilization of the African World.* It is not racialism, it is culture. It is the embracing and domination of a situation in order to apprehend the cosmos by process of coming to terms with it. . . . Negritude as we had then begun to conceive and define it was a weapon of defense and attack and inspiration. . . ." Actually, Negritude is the sum total of black consciousness and, when used, is not only applicable to literature but to all forms of art, *e.g.,* painting, sculpture, dance, music, etc. Ezekiel Mphahlele, who most certainly is not a proponent of Negritude, relates this sum-total feeling in his *The African Image:* "It is rather the assimilated African who has absorbed French culture, who is now passionately wanting to recapture his past. In his poetry he extols his ancestors, ancestoral mask, African wood carvings and bronze art and tries to recover the moorings of his oral literature; he clearly feels he has come to a dead-end in European culture, and is still not really accepted as an organic part of French society, for all the assimilation he has been through. As a result, French-speaking African nationalists have become a personification of this strong revulsion. . . ." I think that, by lightly reviewing the *idea* of Negritude, it will enable us to better understand the *thought* and *meaning* of blackwriting.

How alike blackpeople in this country are to the *assimilated* French-Africans. However, in our case the term *assimilated* can be substituted with the euphemism *integrated.* Blackwriting as we view it today is the result of centuries of slavery and forced alienation from Africa and one's-self. We've been exiles in a strange land where our whole life-style repeatedly comes into contradiction after contradiction. Blackwriting, to the Afro-American (as is Negritude to the French-African), is the antithesis to a decadent culture that has systematically, over the centuries, debased and dehumanized us with the fury and passion of an unfeeling computer.

Literature produced by blackhands is not, necessarily, blackwriting. What has to be embodied in blackwriting, first and foremost, is that consciousness which reflects the true black experience; the true Afro-American experience; written and related in a style indicative of that experience. Which may mean, as I believe it does, new forms and

(Continued on page 78)

Grow old?
Maan! I ain't never
Gonna grow old—no, not me.
'Cause when I dig that old
Cat creeping down the alley
I'm gonna run in the house.
And when he goes to scratching
On the door and calling:
"Joseph Bevans Bush," I'm gonna
Answer: "He ain't here old man—
In fact, he done moved a long time
Ago; and ain't left no forwarding
Address either."
Grow old?
No man, not me.

—JOSEPH BEVANS BUSH

Reflections On A Revisit To A Black Campus

GOING HOME

BY SARAH WEBSTER FABIO

"The total black community has been duped by institutionalized brainwashing and historical conditioning toward an acceptance of dehumanization and deprivation."

IT was Fisk University's Acting President, James Lawson, whose voice, at the other end of the line, asked, "How soon can you be here for a personal interview?" I fumbled the key to my office at Oakland's Merritt Junior College between my anxious fingers, realizing that relinquishing them would mark the end of my contracted services for the year 1966-67. Straining my ear against the Friday afternoon summer noises which seeped into the public telephone booth, forming static, and following the demands of long distance communication in terms of abrupt decision making, I startled even myself by



answering; "Monday. That is if that's agreeable." It was with him.

Going home! And in a matter of a few days. Two decades stood between my *alma mater* and hometown and me; for me, it was a period of growth, mobility, turbulence and commitment, and I presumed it to be not too different back home. I now lived in the suburbs of San Francisco Bay Area in an integrated neighborhood with my dentist husband and five children; we wore the badge of acceptance for having "made it" in the good old American free-enterprising, "mainstream" tradition. But already my third teenager to graduate from the local high school in as many years was saying, "Forget it. I'm tired of being exotic; a museum piece, the social integrator; I choose a Negro college—one of those in Nashville." I pointed out to the young ones the fact that they could very well be sentimentalizing the southern situation since, unlike me, they had not grown up in a segregated environment. Still failing to dampen their enthusiasm, I reminded them that Nashville was the home that I had been orphaned from, and not them, They checked me with, "You better know it."

For two years, I had worked as a part-time instructor in two junior colleges. One of these was a nearly all-white suburban tomorrowland-type institution; the other a ghetto-fringed urban yesteryear model with over 2,000 black students. Having asked myself a few questions, such as, To whom did I owe my allegiance? Where were my teaching skills most needed? Which situation offered the greater reward in humanistic rather than materialistic terms?, even as I noted the loaded nature of them, I knew the proper answer. Perhaps I always knew it, just as most black intellectuals have known it. Factors such as the vast difference between the two plants—both of whom I supported through taxes—the aura of academic freedom and exploration which seemed far more prevalent in one; the huge investment in terms of personal involvement and extra curricular time which one demanded in order to meet the community's needs succeeded in clouding the real issue. But, I had already returned the shiny new key to my office in the suburban school and was ghetto-bound when I heard that Fisk was in need of English teachers, black ones. And, then, there was Stanford Cameron's exhortation in the May 1967 NEGRO DIGEST, "Come Home Black Intellectuals — Before It's Too Late."

"You Can't Go Home Again," seems closer to the truth, according to my own personal experience. John O. Killens, writer-in-residence at Fisk, has identified the problem of the century and the main job of the Black Revolution as that of the "deniggerization of the world." And when he points out that minds enslaved with words must be freed with words, it seems he offers a direct challenge to black

language arts experts who should play key roles in liberating black consciousness. If, indeed, the mid-twentieth century is a "world given over to racism," the Negro college campus is apt to be strategically the seat of neo-colonial rule. The English Department, which requires that every student come through its portals for a stamp of approval and a ticket of eligibility in pursuit of academic degrees, must be the focal point of conditioning the mind of the Negro to accept his role in a racist world. If this is true, a University such as Fisk—with nine of the 11 teachers in the English Department white, including the past chairman and interim chairman—does not give any indication of the white man's conditioning of black minds cracking at the seams; in fact, the disproportion of white to Negro teachers would suggest reinforcement of the traditional pattern and should assure the power structure that the seams are uptight.



Going home, then, is a two-way road and must be paved with good intentions by all parties concerned. The total black community of the U.S.A. has been duped by institutionalized brainwashing in the schools, churches, yes even the homes, and historical conditioning toward an acceptance of a status of dehumanization and deprivation —spiritual, social, if not actually physical. The total white community is diseased with racial delusions—institutionalized in the same ways through myth and deed, sanctioned by religious creed and law—thereby rendering it incompetent to deal with a democratic, non-racist world body in a healthy way. Our educational institutions reflect the American dilemma in a stark mirror image. There are many black intellectuals such as J. Herman Blake (NEGRO DIGEST, March 1967) from the University of California, Berkeley, who see rampant racism at one of America's great universities, who sees the institution as "an intellectual microcosm of America," who sees these campuses for what they are—hideous for white draft dodgers, exploiters of the scholarship racket, racist snobs who use the campuses as country clubs and sports arenas; there are many black intellectuals who are disenchanted with the great northern and western colleges and universities where, in the spirit of the democratic tradition, they have been hired out by the "Rent a Negro" agency for the instant integrated look. What are his alternatives? Are the Negro colleges and universities ready for him or are they engaged in a historical sweep marked by a headlong rush down the "sellout" road to integration or intellectual and scholastic extermination of the Black man? An example which might point out the fallacy of this thinking is that,

at a time when the ratio of Negro dentists to the Negro population is at a crisis low level, around 80 percent of the entering freshmen (1966-1967) at the dental college of Meharry Medical College, one of the two Negro medical colleges, were white students.

Are educational institutions, faced with the task of educating black people, committed to the task which should be within their special province? While northern schools are crying out for teachers with a specialty in motivating and educating the culturally divergent child, is the Negro university training its student teachers to meet this demand? The northern and western college, having admitted to the historical distortions which have created the American image in all its unreality, is now seeking teachers who are aware of the inclusivity of America's heritage. Are the Negro universities teaching Contemporary American Literature, which includes the contributions which have been, categorically, excluded from "main-stream" anthologies because it represented Black Art?

Do they offer courses in Revisionist History, Revolutionary Black Sociology, Afro-American Culture and Humanities, Black Art and Life, Political Science in the Black Community? Black students at many of the California colleges and universities are demanding a black curriculum as a specialty in the Black Studies Department which will ultimately offer a degree and a new career field. This, of course, enables the student so trained to be a more effective worker in community action programs involving minorities. Does the Negro campus provide an atmosphere for innovative programs and a laboratory for testing new methodology?

The Black intellectual must be willing to choose a position which offers more in humanistic rewards than materialistic gains. His role as a missionary, if he must assume that role at this time, must be played out with black principals as supporting members of his cast and on location in the black ghettoes across the land. Being white-world missionaries spreads us too thin and dissipates our energies without the benefits of making racial gains. Ambition must be tempered with compassion and concern for the black brother. On the other hand, the black communities, wherever they exist, must prepare for this second coming. They must prepare the way for him; this time around he should be the welcomed guest and not the intruder. They must lay the groundwork which will result in an acceptance of him in the same good faith as he accepts the challenge. The educational institutions must have no doubts about his belonging, about the role he is destined to play in reconstructing a healthy American society. Above all, it must be made clear that the Black Intellectual is

not suspect; rather, the total society is suspect; the total academic environment is suspect. He has learned his lesson once; he has achieved at great odds; he has proven it can be done and that he can do it; and having accepted the challenge, he indicates a willingness to do it again. Success breeds success: he becomes, by example, hope for the black student. He must be kept comfortable in his blackness in order to impart self-assuredness to his students.

And, most important, the black student must want the Black intellectual back home; he must make him feel at ease, must make him believe in himself and in his decision to come back where it's at; the student must enter a partnership with the intellectual to start the wheels of meaningful education grinding at a new all-time high, a record-breaking pace Black students must understand that when Adam Clayton Powell admonished the 1966 graduating class at Howard University to "Seek Audacious Power," and thereby ushered in the age of black power, he called for a black renaissance, resurrected black creativity in all disciplines, a rededication toward building black institutions of splendid achievement with intellectual excitement, dynamic creativity, humanistic idealism. None of these can be achieved without black scholars, who have key roles in developing this idea from dream to reality. This is a reality with a future; it is one which can act as a serum to cure the diseases which, wittingly or not, halfhearted integration attempts have brought to the black community—intellectual mediocrity, economic inferiority, political subservience. Going home can and should be a beautiful thing. For, as Adam Clayton Powell points out, "We are the last revolutionaries in America—the last transfusion of freedom into the bloodstream of democracy. Because we are, we must mobilize our wintry discontent to transform the cold heart and white face of this nation."

Sarah Webster Fabio, author of the article, "Going Home," is a poet and teacher who also was in the forefront of the Black Consciousness movement in the northern California area. She currently is involved in a special program at the University of California at Berkeley, exposing black students to black literature. Mrs. Fabio's poems and articles have appeared in previous issues of NEGRO DIGEST.

A Special Experience

RURAL BLACK COLLEGE

BY GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL

In the closed-off world of the small black college in the South, the concerns of the advocates of the Black University are as distant as the moon, although there is where action and emphasis are most needed

THIS is going to be a somewhat personal account of my experiences teaching in a rural, black college in the South. It is not written in bitterness. I liked the school, especially the students. I enjoyed teaching them. I liked my fellow teachers. I even liked the administrators. And it was great living in the country after escaping from the din and clatter of clashing delusions of grandeur in New York City.

My connection with the college was an act of desperation on both sides. They were desperate because their history teacher suddenly resigned at mid-semester, and they couldn't find anyone else. I was desperate for more complicated reasons. Ever since I was 14 years old, I had belonged to the Self-Righteous Left: to those who felt that because they subscribed to certain beliefs, they were automatically wise, virtuous, and destined to play an earth-shaking role in the world. I had married into the Faith, and all my social ties were with fellow Believers. Naturally, we talked to ourselves and each other, reinforcing our mutual delusions.

Now, the only world I knew, or could easily function in as the white mother of black kids, was shattered. I had gone through a sudden perception change. It is not easy to describe. I suddenly saw people and their interactions in a new way. Everyone seemed to be wearing a mask, and these masks were telling themselves and each other lies. The masks were cold and unemotional. There was, at the same time, intense, emotional, non-verbal communication going on which I was directly perceiving. But the non-verbal communication between myself and others was different. There was something which I can only describe as spirit which shook them, leapt into their eyes, flashed there for a moment like a desperate

prisoner begging to be freed, and then disappeared.

No one had slipped me any acid. I knew nothing about mysticism. I'd been an atheist since I was 12. So there were limited ways for me to interpret all this. First, I asked myself, do other people perceive the way I perceive now, or do they perceive the way I *used* to perceive? I watched them for a while, and concluded that they only perceive the lying masks, but they do not know that they are lying. The masks were the limits of their consciousness. And their only way of knowing what goes on in the world is what the masks *tell* each other. No one else whom I could observe was perceiving like me. The lying masks were interacting with each other and arriving at a concensus which they accepted as reality. And people were acting on the basis of this consensus. My impression was that very little of what existed in the real world got past the masks.

I concluded that either I was crazy, and they were all sane, or I was sane and they were all crazy. I had no way of knowing for sure. So I decided to test it out. While being very careful not to say or do anything that would get me locked up, I would operate on the basis of the reality which I perceived, and observe others operating upon the basis of the reality which they perceived, and see whose reality was more reliable.

I found myself back in New York in 1964, among familiar places and people, really perceiving them all for the first time. I couldn't play their games anymore. I longed desperately to escape from the circles I had always moved in and to try out my new perceptions on the world out there.

I went to the college for the interview. The president explained to me that they had only been hiring white teachers for a year. The Board was afraid that any white teacher who would come there would be a communist. They hired Chinese, and East Indians. But, alas, they couldn't get enough teachers of any race, and finally the Board permitted him to hire a few whites.

He asked me, "Is there anything you have to tell me? I might as well know it now."

"Yes, there is. My kids are black."

"Are they adopted?"

"No, they're my natural children."

"I have some relatives who look as white as you do."

"I have often been taken for a creole. I'm from New Orleans. I speak French."

"Whatever I say around here reaches all ears. I could say, 'Have you met our new creole history teacher from New Orleans?' "

"That's fine with me."

"When you get your drivers' license, be sure they get the race right."

All the teachers, except one, believed it. Some of them even began

to comment that I was a typical creole type. One of the teachers from New Orleans asked me where I had lived, and I told him, "The Seventh Ward," which is a very mixed-up place. I invited a creole friend to visit me, and introduced her as my cousin.

The teachers were convinced, but not the students. They weren't fooled. They knew I was a foreigner. A G.I. bride. There were debates about me in the dormitories:

"She's Irish—No, she's German —No, she's Italian."

I showed them my passport to prove that I was born in New Orleans. They still didn't believe me.

"Why do you think I'm a foreigner? I don't have an accent."

"No, but you don't *act* like an American."

Teaching was hard work. I had a heavy load. I had never taught before, and was teaching subjects I hadn't studied in years on one day's notice. My first 10 minutes in a classroom were memorable. I looked down at the faces, puzzled to the point of panic, their pencils poised above their notebooks not knowing what to write. Finally, I read the same expression on every face:

"What in the *hell* is this woman *talking* about?"

I stopped.

"You don't understand what I'm saying, do you?"

They all shook their heads no.

"OK. Let's start over."

We spent a lot of time on words. Words were concepts. And once they had a word, they understood a lot of things. Once I used the word "paternalism" and no one knew what that meant. I explained, "Paternalism is when somebody makes you do what they want you to do by acting nice—and you better do it or else!"

The students had been taught to obey. To learn by rote. They couldn't understand why I objected to their quoting the textbook word for word on their exams.

"I didn't copy it. I *memorized* it."

They were used to the teacher giving them all the questions, and all the pat answers to the questions. Once we discussed a question in class, and I closed the discussion without giving them an answer. They were disturbed.

"But what's the *answer*? What's the *answer*?"

"There *isn't* any answer," I replied. They laughed. They had never heard of such a thing.

Most of the students were from the immediate area. They were from very poor families with lots of kids. They were patient and long-suffering. The campus was like a prison. It was several miles out of town, and there was no public transportation. Girls were expelled for riding in boys' cars. The girls had to be in their rooms by 7 p.m. They couldn't even sit on the porch, even in the summer. The girls' dorm had iron bars on the windows. The president's dogs

were released from their kennel to roam the campus at night.

The teachers' favorite topic of conversation was the students: how stupid and ignorant they were.

"The students don't count at all," said a not very scholarly teacher. "A university is a community of scholars. It exists for the sake of the teachers."

The school was desperate for PhDs, and the degree seemed to be all important. The chairman of my department was an East Indian who had just gotten his doctorate from N.Y.U. He had never taught, knew nothing about this country, planned to return to India and enter politics shortly, and was very status conscious. He pretended not to know his black colleagues when they met off campus. Then, there were several elderly Chinese refugees. The students couldn't understand their English. They cared nothing about the students. They let them cheat openly on exams, because they didn't want to bother stopping them. Students were eager to get into their classes, because they gave good grades and expected nothing from the students.



Although it was a state college, they had something called Religious Emphasis Week. This consisted of sermons in which the social order was thoroughly identified with God. The students were exhorted to feel eternally grateful for the opportunity to get a college education, although I don't think that is a good description of what they were getting.

Right after Religious Emphasis Week, we had a class discussion on a statement by Napoleon to the effect that the only way to make the poor and downtrodden submit to their lot here on earth is to promise them rewards in the hereafter. One of the students thought Napoleon had something there. The other students indignantly stared her down.

Many of the teachers complained about the student's lack of spontaneity.

"They never smile."

"They never show a spark of life."

After a while, we had to close the windows and doors in my class, because the discussions were getting so animated.

When one of my students said, "I don't know why we should be grateful to Lincoln for freeing us. He only did it because he had to," I thought I had it made.

There were a handful of students from the outside world, most of them on athletic scholarships. One student, a basketball player from Indiana, was determinedly hostile to me, and influenced the class. The day Malcolm was killed, we both found ourselves explaining to the class who Malcolm was. One of the

students said, "Didn't Malcolm preach hate?" We both answered together, "Malcolm didn't preach hate." Before the term was over, the basketball player was carrying my books to class.

"Aren't you afraid the students will make fun of you?"

"I don't care anything about that," he said.

Most of the students were from tobacco farms, but the college was in a lumbering area. The family that owned the lumber mill owned the town and everyone in it. They wouldn't allow an anti-poverty program in the area because they didn't want any interference with their cheap help. But the college did have funds for student jobs, which teachers were given the right to distribute among their favorites.

The college community was a weird world of make-believe. There were teachers at that school who had worked there for 10 years, and had never been to town. They didn't even know where Main Street was. These were the teachers most likely to talk about what a lovely, advanced, progressive town it was, how important the college was to the town, and how much the black teachers were esteemed by the community. I soon discovered that the only way to maintain these fantasies of prestige, power, and status in relation to the town was, indeed, not to go there. Black PhDs would find themselves addressed by their first names by white store clerks. My kids and I were nearly assaulted for trying to buy a take-out pizza from a white restaurant. When I told my fellow teachers about it, I was advised not to file a complaint if I wanted to keep my job.

Late spring and early summer was harvest time on the nearby truck farms. Migrant workers arrived from Florida on open trucks. Some of my students told me they had hidden migrant workers who were trying to escape from the camps.

As time passed, recruiting of workers to get in the crops became aggressive. Students were stopped on the streets. Recruiters approached small children. One morning at 4 o'clock I found my nine-year-old son dressed and ready to pick corn for $4.00 a day. I had a hard time stopping him.

The children told me about conditions in the fields. They had to look out for the tractors. The tractors didn't look out for them. It was swampy country, and there were poisonous snakes. The children were transported on the backs of open trucks. Three small boys had been killed on the highway the year before.

The children seemed to be frightened. They would come and tell me when they were beaten up. I would ask if they told their parents. They always said, *"They* won't do anything about it." I didn't know what to tell them. I couldn't do anything about it, either. One little boy with terror

in his eyes was mute. My son tried to teach him to speak.

The Ku Klux Klan was very active in the area, and they would hold silent demonstrations. Lines of cars with confederate plates would parade slowly down Main Street blowing their horns. I got worried about my kids. We lived on the campus. My son went to school right across the street. I told him to keep away from white people, especially people with confederate plates on their car. He paid me no mind. He'd bring white boys on the campus to play with him. Once he told me, "Mom, you were wrong about those people with confederate plates on their car. I made friends with some of them. I went to their house. They were very nice."

Kids can make you feel humble sometimes.

The campus was like an island. After I had been there for a week, it was hard to remember any other world. Everything was provided by the school. Credit was opened up for me in town. I rented my house from the school. I got my meals from the school. But there was no paycheck the first two months I worked there. If I needed a few bucks, I had to go ask the president to please give me an advance on my salary. I was afraid I would be like the sharecropper with his bales of cotton when payday came. I thought they would say, "You owe us $100." I finally worked up to getting paid every month.

It's an isolated, ingrown community. The teachers each live in their own little world, and are afraid to talk to each other. They treat each other with the greatest formal respect, perhaps to compensate for the lack of respect they receive outside. No one is on a first-name basis with his colleagues. It is always, Mr., Mrs., or best of all, Dr. The teachers have absolute power over the students. The administration has absolute power over the teachers. The local policeman has absolute power over the administration. And as the true cliché goes, power corrupts. Some of the students were conditioned to corruption. Around final exam time, some of the girls offered to clean my house, and couldn't understand why I refused. Students complained to me about teachers flunking students who rejected their advances—as if I could do anything about it.

At the end of the semester, I heard that a teacher with tenure was fired for no apparent reason. Before the summer was over, I was fired, although I had a contract to teach the next year, because a young man who was my friend had registered for summer school. No one at the college objected. But the local policeman told the president to fire me, which he did with much guilty, selfrighteous indignation. I knew it hurt to be reminded that when it comes down to it, the local policeman runs the school. I had no hard feelings about being fired.

What I did object to was the effort to stop me from securing employment elsewhere, stating that I was fired for "violation of ethical codes and customs which are expected for membership in the college community here," which really sounds awful, and concluding by, "I hope for you and yours the best of everything." That reminds me of Bob Dylan, "They'll stone you, then they'll wish you good luck." The American Association of University Professors asked for four months salary for me for breach of contract. I never got it. I suppose the local policeman would not allow it.

I was blacklisted all the way to Detroit. I was hired as a substitute teacher in the Detroit Public Schools, and then told that "some of the committee members, on further discussion, had changed their vote." A secret memorandum, a copy of which some kind, anonymous soul at the school board mailed to me, stated:

"It would be our strong recommendation that Mrs. Hall not be hired in any capacity by the Detroit Board of Education. This opinion is based on her lack of judgment and general background for working in our schools." (Memorandum from Gladys V. Hamilton to Miss Malorney, dated Dec. 15, 1965, File No. 14-29-02. Approved by Julie Strwn, Adm. Asst. Robt. Le Anderson.)

This officially-approved blacklist did not stop Albert Schiff from writing me on Jan. 4, 1966, suggesting that I complete more courses and reapply for employment with the Detroit Public Schools.

I was informed by the American Association of University Professors that there were other complaints about blacklisting emanating from the same school. Their approach is, resign, thereby voluntarily renouncing your contract rights, or they will do their best to see that you never get a job again. I was fortunate, because I am also a legal secretary, and we got by on that for a while. And since I couldn't get a job, I went back to school and learned fellowships. I'll have my doctorate in history from the University of Michigan in a few months. Most teachers in black colleges aren't so lucky. They can't type.

I am making this modest contribution to the discussion of the Black University in the hope that some effort will be made to raise the degraded position of teachers in rural black colleges to something approaching national standards. They are treated like serfs. They feel like they are serfs. And, in fact, they *are* serfs. Still, they are in a better position to change the situation than are the students, if the teachers were well organized, and got support from professional organizations from the outside.

I don't know yet whose reality works. But it sure is interesting finding out.

EDUCATORS RESPOND

In preparation for the second special issue of NEGRO DIGEST *dealing with the concept of the Black University, copies of the first Black University issue (March 1968) were sent to a dozen prominent black educators and heads of predominantly black colleges requesting that they read the magazine and then write a brief statement setting forth their reactions to the Black University idea as presented in the magazine. At press time, responses had been received from the four college presidents listed on the cover of the magazine: Dr. James R. Lawson, president of Fisk University; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president emeritus of Morehouse College; Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, former president of Virginia Union University and present dean of Special Projects at the University of Wisconsin; and Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, president of Benedict College. The statements of the four gentlemen who did respond are of the utmost relevance for their experience as educators over the past several decades has provided them with a practical basis from which to view the new educational demands and orientation.* NEGRO DIGEST *is honored to present in the following pages the statements of Dr. Lawson, Dr. Mays, Dr. Proctor and Dr. Payton on the Black University concept.*

—The Editor

Dr. James R. Lawson

President, Fisk University

IN THE March, 1968, special issue of the NEGRO DIGEST, devoted to a consideration of the Black University concept, you editorialized, "That something is gravely wrong with the conventional approach to the education of black children no longer is arguable. Much of the problem of course, is general: there is something gravely wrong

with American education, period. However, as always in a society which—being racist by nature—assigns opportunities and rewards according to race and color, those people suffer most who are regarded least, and those people in the American society are black people." The general validity of this observation should not be a bar to repetitive assertions until all those who are responsible for and involved in education, at whatever level, in our country not only recognize the deficiencies in our total educational system but are engaged upon meaningful programs to correct what needs to be corrected. The important question is: How can the system best be changed? For black children and young adults in the United States, this question takes on some particular connotations.



Since 1865, the traditionally or predominantly black colleges and universities have borne the brunt of the responsibility for educating the black leadership of this country. Many of these schools have compared favorably, and still do, with other schools of similar size with more resources and stronger faculties. In many instances, these largely segregated schools did superior jobs with their student-products despite the problems inherent in black higher education, not the least of these problems being the necessity for combatting and remedying the deficiencies of our general educational system so far as black students were concerned.

The increasingly complex nature of our society and government beginning with the Great Depression of the 1930's, the technological advances which began with the necessity for a more efficient war machine during the 1940's, the acceleration of these developments following the launching of Sputnik I in 1957, and the ensuing age of cybernation have effected basic changes in our society. These changes—involving environmental conditions, manpower requirements, and individual and societal attitudes—have created new challenges and opportunities for all segments of our society. These challenges and opportunities demand a fundamental and continuing re-appraisal of courses of study in institutions of higher education. It occurs to me that the necessity for a changed role for the predominantly or traditionally black colleges and universities must be viewed at least partially within this context.

This suggests an awesomely dual responsibility for the predominantly or traditionally black schools of higher education—i.e., (1) a relevance and validity with regard to black students and black communities, and (2) a relevance and validity with regard to the society in which black students and black communities will exist. Inherent in both responsibilities is the neces-

sity for preparing students to meet the challenges of change in today's and tomorrow's world. And, with respect to both responsibilities, the overriding consideration should and must be to give these students that education and training sought after in today's and tomorrow's labor market.

Essentially, then, the education of black Americans must encompass at least three objectives—i.e. (1) an increased awareness and knowledge of their heritage and of the contributions they have made throughout history; (2) a motivation and ability to render much-needed assistance and services, of various kinds, to the total black community; and (3) the development of knowledge and skills necessary for gainful employment and satisfactory living in the larger ever-changing society. In terms of what is necessary for sustained upward economic and social mobility of black Americans, I think it meaningless, if not dangerous, to attempt to assign priorities as between these three objectives. They are all necessary. Moreover, they constitute the basis for the continuing validity and relevance of predominantly or traditionally black institutions of higher learning.

These considerations dictate some rather basic modifications in the curricula of our colleges and universities, modifications which involve new directions, new and different courses, and innovatively different techniques and methodologies of instruction. Moreover, there is the necessity for relating our curricula and campus activities more definitively and directly to the needs of the communities of which we are a part. None of this will be easy, but all is possible with varying degrees of ease or difficulty dependent upon conditions pertaining to particular colleges or universities.

At Fisk, we are attempting to meet the challenges represented by the need and desire for black identity, dignity, and status, on the one hand, and by the new career opportunities for black college graduates, on the other. Regarding the former, we have instituted courses in African-Caribbean Studies, the Fine Arts, Literature, History, Race Relations, Sociology and Anthropology which focus on contributions, problems and developments of black people. Regarding the latter, for example, we are in the process of establishing an ambitious program in Business Administration which will prepare students who choose this area of study for promising employment immediately upon graduation as well as for graduate study in the field. We are cognizant of the need to do even more to meet the twin challenges above, and are continually alert to the opportunities for doing more. We are convinced, however, that meeting the first challenge should represent a supplement to and enrichment of our basic program and our efforts to meet the second challenge.



Benjamin E. Mays

President Emeritus, Morehouse College

THE IDEA of a *black university* is not clear to me. I hear some advocates say that they want a black university large enough to enroll ten thousand students. They mean a new creation.

This would be a very expensive enterprise. If half of the students lived in dormitories, cost for the construction of dormitories alone could be easily 30 or 40 million dollars. The academic plant to accommodate ten thousand students would cost another 30 or 40 million dollars, and this is a conservative estimate. Such a plant could cost between 75 and 100 million dollars. If money of this magnitude is to be gotten from the Negro community, we can forget it. The Negroes' record of supporting higher education leads me to predict that black people would never give that amount of money. If the Negroes' educational efforts were all centered in this one university, and they might be able to get the money from black people, who could get them united to give it? Do the advocates of a single black university expect to get the money from white people? White support of Negro educational institutions, over the past hundred years, has been niggardly. What would lead one to believe that white philanthropy would be more generous in its giving to a black university than it has been in giving to predominantly Negro colleges?

It should be made crystal clear what is meant by a *black university*. How much of the curriculum would be devoted to Afro-American people? How much of the curriculum would be devoted to disciplines other than Afro-American studies? Would the faculty be all black? Would the student body be all black? If white faculty and white students are excluded, do we expect so-called *white* colleges and universities to exclude all black scholars and black students? Would the Supreme Court permit this kind of segregation? Do we mean by black universities regional centers of institutions that are already in existence, as one writer (in the March 1968 NEGRO DIGEST) advocates? If we mean regional black colleges and universities, the question of the complexion of the faculty and student body must still be asked and answered.

Frankly, I do not believe we need to build a new black university in order to get what I think we need; nor do I believe we need to concentrate on a few colleges and universities in certain centers of the United States in order to get what we need and must have. I believe that there could and should be established in every Negro or black college in the United States a division of Afro-American studies which would concentrate on the black man's history and all that he has contributed to the arts and sciences, literature and art, sports and drama, politics and business. I believe existing institutions can do this, including the institutions that call themselves white.

This is not enough. I have always believed that Negro or black colleges should be deeply concerned with and deeply involved in the life of the black community. Instead of training Negroes to get away from the poor and the ghettos, they should be trained to help improve the conditions of black people so that the gap between all classes of Negroes will be narrowed or eliminated. There are six million college and university students enrolled in institutions of higher education of which 240,000, or not more than four percent, are black; certainly not more than 300,000 or five percent are black. A single black university of 10,000 would be a mere drop in the bucket. But if all institutions of higher learning tackled the problem of black identity through the teaching of Afro-American history and through training to help improve the conditions of less privileged black people, we could do now what has been neglected for a hundred years. Negro students are ready for it now. Years ago, when Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the eminent Negro historian, was trying to get black students to appreciate themselves and Africa, he didn't have much success. And let me say, with emphasis, that to get this done we do not have to become racists and drive out all white teachers and all white students. With government, industry, and white institutions pulling black scholars apart to get

them, there just aren't enough black scholars to go around!

Although I can appreciate the current emphasis on blackness, and the much discussed *black university,* I am mighty glad that I didn't have to wait 70 years for someone in the late 1960's to teach me to appreciate being what I am—black! My mother, unlettered and untutored, did say many times to her children, "You are as good as anybody." This was helpful to me, although the white world did not accept my mother's philosophy! My heroes were black. In my native South Carolina, fairly often some Negro would come along selling pictures or pamphlets of a few Negro leaders; and pictures of Fred Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and Paul Laurence Dunbar hung on our walls. In my high school days, Booker T. Washington meant more to me than George Washington; Frederick Douglass, the unyielding Negro abolitionist, was more of a hero to me than William Lloyd Garrison, the fanatic white abolitionist. Dunbar as a poet inspired me more than Longfellow. I heard about Crispus Attucks and was thrilled. The Negroes in the South Carolina legislature, during Reconstruction and in the post-Reconstruction years, were men who were held up to us in high school history classes as being great men, and not the Negro-hating Ben R. Tillman and his kind. I had identity. The thrust now is toward black identity and I have no quarrel with those who advocate it. Fortunately, I have always had black identity.

Samuel D. Proctor

Dean, Special Projects, University of Wisconsin

THE emphasis that the young blacks have placed upon the discovery and promulgation of the truth about the Afro-American community is refreshing. For so many years, the vast majority of us have been in such hot pursuit of the norms of the majority culture that we have—perhaps unwittingly-forsaken our own identity and assumed a false super-ego that leaves us fragmented persons. I say, the vast majority. This is by no means true of all blacks. In 1940-41, I had to take "Negro History" as a requirement for the A. B. at Virginia Union University. In 1942-43, I had to take "Negro Litera-

ture" to graduate, all the way from Phyllis Wheatley to Margaret Walker.

Moreover, when in college we wired Fred Waring and asked him to include our Alma Mater on his Saturday medley of college songs. He did. Judge Earl Dearing of Louisville and I signed the telegram in the fall of 1941. Indeed, some of us have been proud, aware, conscious, and black for a long, long time. We find it appalling that black students lump all "middle class" blacks (Negroes?) in one ball and condemn them all as spineless accommodationists. This is false. And arrogant.

Notwithstanding, the charge applies to enough to make it valid. And, because there is a sufficient void in the knowledge and appreciation of the history of American blacks, it is understandable that there is a call for a Black University.

Since there have been "white" universities for so long, and all other kinds of *de facto* separate universities serving ethnic and demographic units, it is time for blacks to cry out. Rather recently the Jews established Brandeis (1948) and expanded Yeshiva by adding a coed undergraduate program. Catholics never entrusted higher or lower education to the majority. If Jews and Catholics regard their traditions as sufficiently precious to preserve them in their own schools, a black university makes sense. The Lutherans too! What is St. Olaf's?



DEAN PROCTOR

Moreover, public colleges located in pockets of cultural homogeneity have in fact been conduits of a continuity of mores and attitudes—e.g. "Ole Miss," L.S.U., Georgia Tech, V.M.I. and The Citadel. Blacks still feel like aliens on these campuses.

Yet, a black university faces some very practical problems that may indicate another answer. Who would finance such an enterprise? The idea of "racial separation" has already fallen on evil days because it has been associated with violence, somehow. It has not enjoyed a positive, affirmative connotation. It has been associated with the riots and four letter words. This is an awful casualty. It is an idea that should be debated on its own merits.

I cannot see the sponsorship for such an idea forthcoming, but the idea need not die aborning. A black university is more imminent than many imagine if the concepts of violence and negative chauvinism can be strained out.

Only nine months of planning could accomplish what most have in mind for a black university at Atlanta, Fisk or Howard. Since there is no black math, chemistry, biology or physics, what we are talking about is an orientation in history, literature, social science, psychology, fine arts and education that is "black." It means viewing these disciplines from the perspective of a black student, standing body deep, soul deep, in his own culture. This implies no hostility, no separatism, no alienation. It could imply a disciplined scholarship that will unearth truths long hidden; a *bona fide* experience of the thought and feelings of black writers, painters and musicians; a construction of social theories that will have an authenticity for black people. The most dramatic results could be seen in teacher education. Hardly any school does justice to the challenge of the black pupil in its teacher education program . . .

But even that would not be enough. Every university, every college should recognize the neglect of black facts and begin to institute programs in black studies, interdisciplinary and scholarly. There are Asian Studies, Indian Studies, Urban Studies, Mexican Studies and Space Studies. All sorts of studies. Black Studies can be added with no vast shift in administrative machinery. And, indeed, many are doing just that.

A third alternative is perhaps more useful: The location of city, county and state community colleges should take into account the concentration of blacks in the cities' centers. The appointment of imaginative presidents, hustling deans, and teachers with common sense to head and run community colleges in the cities' centers could turn these opportunities to great benefit for black people. An honest, relevant curriculum would accomplish, again, what most of us sense as the mission of a black university.

The sanguine expectation that a well-financed, completely autonomous black university can be founded and supported is a forlorn one, I fear. Fine, if it can be really good and not makeshift. This is too late for another crude, botchy, hand-to-mouth college to be started.

Otherwise, let substantial, ongoing, private black schools, those who have the vision and the freedom, convert their present pursuit of "Western Civ." to an understanding of Man through the eyes of black people. Let the major public and private institutions embrace the cause of "black" discovery and let public community colleges in the urban core look around them and act accordingly with integrity and enthusiasm.

Benjamin F. Payton

President, Benedict College

THE March 1968 edition of NEGRO DIGEST on The Black University celebrates a significant turning point in the history of American race relations. Taken together, the articles in that edition constitute the most compact statement extant of the quest on the part of young black intellectuals for self-definition in the realm of educational theory and technique.

Confronted with the intractable facts of history and culture, an apparently growing number of black thinkers re-opened with fresh intensity the old debate regarding the purpose and strategy of education for Black Americans. Disillusioned with both the conceptual depth of integration as an intellectual construct, and with its slow growth as a social reality, increasing attention is now being given to the internal dynamics of the black community itself.

Whether this re-focusing of vision will aid the struggle for black freedom will depend very heavily on just how faithful it is to the "regimen of fact and logic" in the black community. For this community is not the simple phenomenon that many white and some black writers have taken it to be. Carter G. Woodson very aptly asserted in his book, *The Mis-Education of the Negro,* that:

> "the Negro community suffers for lack of delimitation because of the various ramifications of life in the United States . . . The Negro community, in a sense, is composed of those around you, but it functions in a different way. You cannot see it by merely looking out of the window of the school room. This community requires scientific investigation."[1]

Similarly, the black college is a complex datum requiring the disciplined approaches of sound theory, technique and insight if the realities of its past, the dynamics of its present and the promise of its future are to be accurately gauged. Whether we like it or not, what has always been—and what will likely continue to be—of critical importance are the interconnections of the black college with the world around it, the white world as well as the black world. A fundamental assumption of this article is that no important institution within any community—white or black—can be adequately understood through a process of violent abstraction from the setting in which it "moves and lives and has its being."

The article by J. Herman Blake on "The Black University and Its Community" gives us valuable information about some of the socio-

economic changes now occurring within the black community, particularly in terms of the Northward and city-ward movement of black people, and in terms of changes in occupational roles and income levels of black males and females. Some of these are rather well-known facts: that the majority of black Americans "now live in the central cities of metropolitan areas"; that "despite higher levels of education, the employment situation of black people has changed little from the 'last hired, first fired' status"; that "the black female has a better chance of obtaining a job consistent with her education and training than the black male in the professional, technical and managerial categories, while the black males are more likely than females to be adequately represented in clerical positions"; that "the *relative* situation for the black man improved between 1959 and 1966 while the *absolute* situation declined"; that "the absolute and relative situation of middle-income blacks is getting better and that of low-income blacks is getting worse".

These are all important and interesting data. But, what is their significance for educational mission and strategy? The question is not answered directly, but answers are sometimes implied and sometimes inherent in the conceptual description of "The Black University" provided by the other contributors to the edition.

All of the writers assume the absolutely critical importance of transforming "the predominantly Negro college" into a meaningful and relevant instrument of social change. The article by Darwin Turner is, by far, the wisest and most reasoned description of the total scope of problems and possibilities to be considered. Whether because of distinct definitions of tasks or for some other reason, his is the only article which treats "The Black University" contextually in terms of the hard facts of financing, policy-making, faculty recruitment and administration as well as in terms of the currently more popular dimensions of curriculum development and public service.

It is interesting to note that in view of the fact that so many black students today get much of their emotional and intellectual fuel from black and "Third World" oriented thinkers, not a single word of the entire edition is addressed to the issue of roles for student involvement in "The Black University." One of the major constituencies of any college, and one of the most important "bearers of an ethical vocation in history"[2] today are students. Precisely because of their self-conceptions as significant agents of social change—a self-image in the most serious need of careful scrutiny—no concept of "the prophetic social role of the Black University" (McWorter) is

complete without dealing in a large way with students.

If a summary of the arguments can be attempted, the authors seem to be saying that somewhere near the heart of the problems confronting the black community is what Carter G. Woodson called "the mis-education of the Negro." This "mis-education" consists principally in the education of black scholars to feel contempt for themselves and for the black community. By failing to confront them with adequate knowledge about themselves, both to counter white stereotypes and to bolster their self-confidence, the Negro colleges have also failed to develop meaningful helping relationships between black scholars and the balck community. Accustomed to facile imitations of white middle class life styles, Negro colleges have failed to plumb the depths of the black experience: Thus, Stephen Henderson underlines the contention that in the search for identity, "the black experience is not only relevant . . . it is fundamental and crucial".[3]

A strengthened sense of identity will produce not only a black university which serves the Black American community; it will create the indispensable pre-condition for new linkages with the entire Third World. A unique internationalism will be created in which, according to Vincent Harding, "the uniqueness of our approach to the world would be found in our vision through an unashamedly black-oriented prism. In the academic program and in a hundred other less structured ways, the black university would seek to explore, celebrate and record the experience of the non-western world."[4] Similarly, Gerald McWorter views as a key component of the very meaning of Blackness the "affirmation of an identity independent of the historical human evils of modern nation states."[5]

The significant problem encountered here is not adequately stated in terms of the simply dichotemy of integration versus separatism. The real question is whether this statement of mission and strategy does justice to the facts and the logic of the very black experience it claims to celebrate. This writer has no quarrel with the *objectives* of a Black University which seeks to serve the needs of the black community, nor with the concern for more adequate study and dramatization of events in the black experience, nor with the desire to create unquestionably intelligent and competent centers of learning for black people.

Nonetheless, as is well known, agreement on specific objectives and even on particular tactical points does not necessarily mean agreement on underlying issues embedded in the strategy itself. This writer wishes to focus on but one of such issues with the hope of clarifying some of the strategic questions raised.

The issue can be introduced by

raising a question regarding in exactly what ways does the black experience address the problem of racism encountered by the black community in the areas of housing and employment, for example. What curricular expression of the black experience would relate the black university more effectively to the black community? Is the creation of a black consciousness in the minds and hearts of black people more important than assisting them with their daily struggle for survival? Are the two problems the same thing? Anyone familiar with the long and often bitter struggle in our colleges and universities not only to get "Black Studies," but a particular ideological brand of Black Studies, will know that these are not trivial questions.

In a footnote to a widely talked about but seldom read volume, Frantz Fanon makes an important observation about the decision of the president of Senegal "to include the study of the idea of Negro-ism in the curriculum. If this decision was due to an anxiety to study historical causes, no one can criticize it. But if on the other hand it was taken in order to create black self-consciousness, it is simply a turning of his back upon history".[6] The point Fanon is making is that the people are helped not by excessive investments in the study of the people's culture but by addressing current problems felt by the people.

Of the four authors who discuss the curriculum of the black university, three of them (McWorter, Henderson, and Harding) seem to give clear priority to the humanistic sciences. Henderson is quite explicit that "such a university would almost by definition involve chiefly those disciplines which are human-centered, i.e., the social sciences, the behavioral sciences, literature, art and the like."[8] Moreover, "the faculty of the University (would) be staffed with Black Humanists and Specialists in Blackness".[9] And although he says that the non-humanistic sciences "should have . . . an honored place in the curriculum",[10] it is obvious where the resources of such a university would be invested.

I want to state the strongest possible disagreement with this bifurcation of the black experience. It is the logical outcome of a narrow conception of black identity which, if actually pursued, would isolate the black university even further than some of these same authors say it is today from the black community.

If, as Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton persuasively argue, "the process of political modernization must take place"[11] in both the black and white communities in order to treat adequately the problems of racism, then a Black University which invests a preponderance of its resources in black humanistic studies is seriously disadvantaged in its intentions to help

(Continued on page 96)

(Continued from page 52)

perhaps adaptiveness of present forms. Black consciousness, in any case, can be a conscious or an unconscious effort in blackwriting (if one is black it's very difficult to write otherwise). Although, we must understand, there will be a pervasive presence of every and anything that is indigenous to the Afro-American people. Blackart is a functional art; it's what the Africans call a collective art. Our art is committed to humanism. It commits the artist. "They commit him in a future which then becomes present for him, an integral part of himself." The blackwriter/artisan works out a concrete situation which means that "he commits not only himself but his race, his geography, his history as well. He uses the materials that are at hand and the everyday things which make up the texture of his life, rejecting the anecdotal, for this does not commit because it is without *significance.*" Blackart, as is African art, is perishable. This, too, is why it is functional. Like, a poem is written not to be read and put aside but to actually become a part of the giver and receiver; to perform some function, to move the emotions, to become a part of the dance or to simply make one act. Whereas, the work itself is perishable the *style* and *spirit* of the creation is maintained and is used to produce new works. Here we can clearly see that art for art's sake is something out of a Shakespearian dream; it does not exist. *All* blackart is social (art for people's sake).

An example of good blackwriting now in existence is an anthology called *Black Fire,* edited by LeRoi Jones (Ameer Baraha) and Larry Neal (Morrow, 670 pp., $8.95). *Black Fire* includes between its jackets a convincing collection of Afro-American literature. Its 70 contributors, plus its editors, move to define and to present a forceful concentration of blackwriting with essays, poems, short stories, and plays. This is not to say that every author represented in *Black Fire* has contributed a work of art in *accordance with my standards.* But it is to say that every selection of work in *Black Fire is significant.* Significant, in that I feel that the test of a good writer/poet is not necessarily in what he says, or how he says it, but in what his work does to us. I mean, does the writer widen us, does he clear our vision, does he add to a deepening of our knowledge, does he amplify our total being?

The Saturday Review said of *Black Fire:* "the ambitions of *Black Fire* make it newsworthy and instructive, but the disparity between its ambitions and its achievement is painful and embarrassing." Painful and embarrassing to whom? Certainly not to those who contributed to it, certainly not to the blackpeople who read it (not many at $8.95), certainly not to me. But yes, "painful and embarrassing" to some white boy who teaches English at Williams College in Massachusetts and has, in all likelihood, only seen six "negroes" in his life-time; who feels that just because Saturday Review sends him the books to review it's his responsibility to be "painful" and "embarrassed" about it (quiet-as-it's-kept, it was supposed to be painful for him). And yet, this "painful and embarrassing" reviewer from Williams College goes on

to say that "yet an irreverent reviewer could merely repeat Larry Neal's own statement and say, 'the text could be destroyed and no one would be hurt in the least by it'." He, the Saturday Review's black literature authority, does not remotely understand what Larry Neal meant by that statement; Brother Neal was working from an ideological concept so foreign, so alien to the Western mind that one wonders how such people (as the reviewer) continue to have such control over blackpeople. Brother Neal was quite clearly talking about the *perishability* of blackart. Remember, art for the people's sake; art being functional and social (meaning that the people will help to shape the art), not here forever but until its full meaning has been realized. What we have to understand is that every piece of writing in *Black Fire* is legitimate regardless of excellence; because, as with the French-Africans of Negritude, black writers are in a process of defining and legitimizing their own worth/works and we don't need the great white pens of the Saturday Review or other "liberal" white sheets to sanction what (they feel) *is* or *is not* black literature or literature, period.

Black Fire helped us to move into our own direction. James T. Stewart points out what's necessary: "the point of the whole thing is that we must emancipate our minds from Western values and standards. We must rid our minds of these values. Saying so will not be enough." With that we can easily understand what A. B. Spellman was relating when he wrote: "there is a school of young African painters who have never seen a European painting and who refuse to be shown one." David Llorens clears the air, when in *"The Fellah,* The Chosen Ones, The Guardian," he writes: "Perhaps the starting point is to look at ourselves, finally to question our existence." Not only to question it but also to *realize* our existence. But sister Lethonia Gee is hipped to a beautiful part of her existence as indicated in her poem "By Glistening, Dancing Seas":

On ugly, cement, city streets
Or quiet village-lands
Black woman has one heavy thought
And it's about her man

All art is the reflection of its creator. Look at New York City, Chicago, Washington, D. C.; need I say more. Where and what you live in reflects you, if you created it. Art is total-being. It cannot be separated from life. That's why we say that blackart is not only social but political, which leads Larry Neal to say: "the artist and the political activist are one. They are both shapers of the future reality. Both understand and manipulate the collective myths of the race." How else could A. B. Spellman write lines like this:

in the congo
they say tshombe leaning
on the beast is leaning on air.

There has to be that political consciousness, too. Social, political, and, of course, spiritual balance, also. When I say spiritual I mean an inner peace, the ability to live with one's self; only then can you

move to live with others. Spirituality is not necessarily meant in terms of biblical reference, as Norman Jordan points out in "Sinner":

I got high
last night
alone
I had an urge to
express myself

So I started talking
to the Bible
and it kept telling
me to Die

Blackwriting is life, is being life; not merely existing. Brother Lebert Bethune displays that ability to live in his "Harlem Freeze Frame":

This gleaming wrinkled blunthead old sweet-daddy
smiles a grim smile
as he hears a voice of Harlem scream
"WE ALL SUPPOSED TO BE DEAD BUT
WE AINT"
And his slow strut moves him on again.

Reality is personified in a poem by Stanley Crouch. Brother Crouch understands that reality is whatever is real to you; whatever controls your pure and unpure actions. He understands where he's at and where he's going:

Around then, sent east, got guns
and dog tags
knew no one bowed our way
shot europeans who peed in jacob's face
and another menace was yellow (closer
to us, but also shot at)
BUT JOHN WAYNE WON THE WAR
and we took our purple hearts,
to the unemployment office

Run on home, blackpeople. The only way to be is to be. And unlike the French-Africans, black writers are not trying to address themselves to white people. Senghor and others wrote firstly for the Frenchman, not for the African people. Black poetry/writing is written for/to/about and around the lives/spiritactions/humanism and total existence of blackpeople. Black writing in form/sound/word/usage/intonation/rhythm/repetition/direction/definition and beauty is opposed to that which is now (and yesterday) considered writing, *i.e.*, white literature. *Black Fire* may not be read by many blackpeople in its present form (hard cover edition) because of the price. Anytime a book is more than thirty-five cents to one dollar you are in trouble. To buy a book that costs more would do harm to most black families' daily budgets. But, if possible, I suggest that you acquire a copy of *Black*

Fire; steal it, borrow it or wait for it to appear in paperback. Hopefully, we can, as a people, move toward a black printing company so that we will not have to continuously run to the Establishment presses to be published.

Finally, this is u; yr/momma, yr/history, yr/literature. Them is u, actually, a beautiful reflection. Understood by u alone. Others will not. Our creations are ours. No one can really take away yr/inner-self, if u have one. People can napalm other people because they never felt the pain of flesh falling off one's body. George Washington is their hero because there is No-thing better. The Mod Squad and Julia are forced upon u in prime t.v. time because that is their reality, not ours. *The Great White Hope* is just that, the great white hope. Our heroes will be named Willie, bigger thomas, blood, pee wee and maniac and will come out of the projects and be hip to Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson. Because their fathers were hip to them and their fathers' fathers. Fathers and on and on.
LeRoi Jones said it:

> These are the words of lovers.
> Of dancers, of dynamite singers
> These are songs if you have
> the music.

this is u, thisis u, thisisu, thisisu, go ahead, now.

—DON L. LEE

Dark Symphony

Anyone who wears $25 shoes would do well to purchase a $16 pair, ride them to your nearest bookstore, and invest the difference wisely. *Dark Symphony* (Free Press, $8.95), an anthology edited by James A. Emanuel and Theodore L. Gross, is a must for anyone who happens not to be an authority on black literature —and no doubt the authorities, few that they are, have already added it to their libraries. A total of 34 black authors, 14 of whom are deceased, are represented in the 604-page book of short stories, essays, poetry, and criticism. The book is divided into four sections: Early Literature; The Negro Awakening; Major Authors; and Contemporary Literature. Not the least of its merits are the lucid, informative introductions to three sections (There is no introduction to Major Authors). Essay-like biographical sketches on the four selectees as Major Authors (Langston Hughes, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin) provide perceptive commentary on their many works. Shorter biographical sketches are included in the case of each of the other contributors. Clearly the editors did not, in this case, request of the authors a contribution of their own choosing. The editors did the selecting, and they *were* selective, and even though the reader might on occasion wish they had selected a different work by a particular writer, he must appreciate their having for the most part provided insights into the reasoning that led to their choices.

Included in Early Literature are

works by Charles W. Chesnutt whose first story was published in 1887, and whose racial identity was for some years not made public; Paul Laurence Dunbar, the master of dialect who died in 1906 at the tender age of 34; Frederick Douglass; and W. E. B. DuBois. One might, in reading Douglass' "Letter To His Master" (or rereading it, as the case might be), make certain connections between then and now. Nuances in his fierce pride remind this reader of current literary celebrant Eldridge Cleaver, and, more, in this work by Douglass there is, unmistakably, the sense that man achieves goodness by wanting the freedom of others, a quality critics have cited in praising the existentialist novels of one John Updike. The section is concluded with a poem and a chapter from *The Souls of Black Folk*, by W. E. B. DuBois, whose awakening was indeed early! One agrees with the editors that "no brief selection from his voluminous work could do justice to this man of the world," but how schizoid the mind that would make such a recognition and yet omit *him* from inclusion in Major Authors. (Or was that political—as surely must have been the case as regards LeRoi Jones, who is represented in the section on Contemporary Literature by three poems?)

The Negro Awakening includes the works of James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke. Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Rudolph Fisher, Eric Walrond, Sterling A. Brown and Countee Cullen. It marks the period better known as the Negro Renaissance, the 1920's, that era in which black writers came together in their separateness and dived into the literary seas only to come out (to borrow a line from Claude McKay's "Baptism") *a stronger soul within a finer frame.* The scholarship of Alain Locke's "The New Negro," and the singularly classic work of criticism by Sterling A. Brown, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," are outstanding in this section. The excerpts from *Cane* (recently reissued by Harper and Row as a Perennial Classic) reveal the extraordinary gift of Jean Toomer, the man who so early deserted the naturalistic fiction and who, had he not ceased writing, most certainly would have contributed much to that deeper exploration of the consciousness, psychic and cosmic, ongoing in the literature of the past 30 odd years.

"Flying Home" and "King of the Bingo Game" by Ellison, "The Man Who Killed a Shadow" by Wright, and Baldwin's "Sonny's Blues" are stories that speak for themselves. The excellence of the late Langston Hughes is present in the form of five poems and two hilarious Jesse B. Semple tales. And for those who have stubbornly insisted that the literature of social protest was unconcerned with exploration of the ultimate questions, Hughes' story, "On The Road," is a brilliant example of their folly. In the middle of the Depression (which marks as well the time of the writing) a black man in search of shelter from the cold and snow is felled by the cops the moment he succeeds in breaking down the door of a white church. In his unconscious state he dreams, dreams that the church comes falling down, that Christ comes off the cross. " 'Well, I'll be dogged,' said Sargent. 'This here's the first time I ever seed you off the cross.' 'Yes,' said Christ, crunching his feet in the snow. 'You had to pull the church down to get me off the cross.' " It is vintage Hughes.

"The Ethics of Living Jim Crow," "Hidden Name and Complex Fate," and "Notes of a Native Son," nonfictional works by Wright, Ellison and Baldwin respectively, have in common their autobiographical na-

tures and yet, in a most interesting way, serve as a reflection of just how diverse were the backgrounds that shaped the sensibilities of the three extraordinary artists.

Contemporary Literature features the works of Albert Murray, John A. Williams, Paule Marshall, Ernest J. Gaines, William Melvin Kelley, Melvin B. Tolson, *Arna Bontemps, Robert E. Hayden,* Dudley Randall, Margaret A. Walker, *Gwendolyn Brooks,* James A. Emanuel, Mari Evans, LeRoi Jones, Arthur P. Davis, Philip Butcher, Nathan A. Scott Jr., and Julian Mayfield. It is worth noting, I think, that the italicized authors' contributions to black literature would include their having, along with the writers of the Early Literature and the Negro Awakening, profoundly influenced the others appearing in this final section. Space will not permit much comment on the works of the above, but the short stories of Gains and Kelley are witness to exceptional talents. Julian Mayfield's essay, "Into the Mainstream and Oblivion," brings us into the day that is upon us, a day one can hardly hope to comprehend while ignoring one's own writers and persisting in the belief that the prophets were white.—DAVID LLORENS

How We Live?

Confronted with a book like *How We Live: Contemporary Life in Contemporary Fiction,* the inclination is to shrug, throw it aside, and proceed to something more relevant and instructive for black people. The time has long since passed when black people should waste their energies challenging the racist assumptions at the base of such books; there is much work to be done; the task of turning the attention of black people away from the integrationist lures which are all-pervasive and toward the possibilities inherent in submergence in their own history and culture is monumental; it is obviously wasteful to debate the racists and—worse—recognizing them merely feeds their arrogance and depravity.

Even so, it is important to keep in mind the many millions of black people—especially students—who are influenced by the kind of racist tripe which passes for "criticism" of black literary works. Generations of black students have gone out into the world as professionals believing that the white view of black literature is the valid view, and there are far, far too many black teachers who slavishly repeat the anti-black nonsense they have learned in the nation's colleges and universities. Black students must not be abandoned to the insidious propaganda which holds, in essence, that black writers rarely produce works of art because, *of course,* there is an element of "protest" in their work. Only white writers have the "objectivity" toward race which is necessary to produce *art* when the subject matter is race. Pure crap.

And yet it is propagated everywhere . . .

It cannot, therefore, be ignored as it so richly deserves to be. In *How We Live,* a big (1007 pages), expensive ($12.50) anthology compiled by L. Rust Hills and his wife Penny Chapin and published by Macmillan, the racist line is presented with startling candor. The section dealing with black life and literature is small (123 pages) and toward the rear of the book. Six authors are presented—*and three of that six are white!*

Now, here, in the editors' own

words, are the reasons why only three black writers (Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, John A. Williams) are included among some 55 authors, many of them third-rate and unimportant by any truly objective yardstick, and —read and weep!—why it was necessary for the editors to select fiction by three white writers to provide an authentically "literary" reflection of *how we (blacks) live:*

". . . Unlike the Jews, who have (equal) opportunities and can change their distinguishing names and noses and adopt the elite religious and life styles, and thus not only melt in but rise to the top in a few generations, the Negroes have a much longer and more difficult road to follow in order to lose their racial stigma and become plain, ordinary Americans," the editors explain, gloriously ignorant of the monstrousness of their presumption and condescension.

"For these reasons, and some others," the editors proceed blithely, "there has been no 'Negro renaissance' in contemporary American fiction to compare with the 'Jewish renaissance' . . . There are at least a half-dozen Jewish writers in the absolutely first-rank of American writing today, and there are dozens of others whose potentiality or achievement places them not far behind. Only two really first rate Negro writers can be named—Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin—and the ranks behind them are almost empty. To mention the names of Ronald Fair, Ernest J. Gaines, Chester Himes, Claude Brown, William Melvin Kelley, Paule Marshall, and John A. Williams is to stretch and virtually exhaust the list of Negroes from whom we can expect literary fiction of significant interest. It is not that Negroes are not writing or being published, but aside from Ellison and Baldwin, they have not yet produced the kind of writing that satisfies the complex contemporary (read: *white*) literary tastes and sensibilities . . ."

"This situation will of course change soon," the editors write, throwing black writers a patronizing bone, "but up to this time it seems that the dialects and situations of Negro life have provided the Negro writer with the kind of material that is translatable only into a direct recounting of or protest against the sordid or subtle facts of his oppression."

And, finally, this: "This (all the above quotes) is all perhaps by way of explaining that two of the stories in this section are by Jewish writers and one is by a southern white woman."

There it is. And you had better believe it!

Two Jews and a southern white woman are better equipped to write about race because, apparently, they are not hampered by "the kind of material that is translatable only into a direct recounting of or protest against the sordid or subtle facts of (black) oppression." In other words, the black angle of vision is literarily invalid; true literature on race comes only through the white sensibility.

To begin with, none of the white-authored stories is really about black people, and there is some question in the mind of this black reader whether those black people portrayed in the white stories came through as living, breathing human beings. But my sensibility is a black one and, in the view of the editors of *How We Live*, is therefore automatically not to be taken seriously. If, after some 40 years, I do not know black people and how they live and am incapable of passing judgment on the authentic portrayal of black people and black life, then I can learn all that I do not know by reading Jewish and southern writers. The premise is familiar, of course: In every facet of American life, white people know better than black people what is best

and what is the right procedure for black people.

In his story, "The Nickel Misery of George Washington Carver Brown," Jewish Ivan Gold writes about a black soldier who simply is not to be believed, except in the fond fantasies of white people. He speaks in an ersatz Amos and Andy dialect, saying such non-black things as "You's all confused" and "Y'all know who Copperhaid is, that skinny nigrah boy," indicating that Mr. Gold might have been more at home with a white Anglo-Saxon boy from the Ozarks. Worse, Mr. Gold makes his caricature a black-faced Jewish *schlmiel,* a double-dumb loser with an outsized capacity for debasement which might be common among Semites but which is black only in the veiled hopes of white people. Mr. Gold, in short, suffers from the William Styron-Nat Turner syndrome.

The Bernard Malamud story, "Black Is My Favorite Color," is better than Mr. Gold's but Mr. Malamud is a better writer than Mr. Gold and an infinitely superior observer of human beings and their behavior, black or white. However, a black lady friend who read Mr. Malamud's story at my request was not impressed with the author's creation of the black female character in the story, Ornita. "I guess there are black women like that," she said. "But I don't know them."

The white southern woman author is the late Flannery O'Connor of Georgia, a fine and sensitive writer. Her black character in the story, "Everything That Rises Must Converge," is observed; Mrs. O'Connor does not enter into the woman's psyche; she plays it safe. The story's chief character is a white woman, with whom Mrs. O'Connor is—and should be—familiar, a run-of-the-mill Georgia racist. But, here, a word should be said: Mrs. O'Connor chose one kind of Georgia expression of racial bigotry. She might well have chosen another. Two women are likely to confront each other across the racial wall in much less violent terms than two men, and yet confrontation between men is more usual. A black writer might well have chosen the more usual confrontation and, to Mr. and Mrs. Hills, his story would have been unacceptable as literature.

One thing more: The Hills state authoritatively that Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin are the "only two really first rate Negro writers" who can be named, relegating to mediocrity such superb craftsmen as John A. Williams, Paule Marshall, William Melvin Kelley and Ernest J. Gaines, and totally ignoring Saunders Redding, Robert Boles, Carlene Hatcher Polite and Kristin Hunter. The Hills can be excused for not knowing about Alice Walker, Lindsay Patterson, Audrey Lee, Louise Meriwether, and the whole new bundle of black writers just being published, and no one expects them to recognize the genius of "militants" LeRoi Jones, Larry Neal or Ed Bullins, but they have slapped in the face even those black writers who slavishly submit to the white literary dogma which demeans them.

How We Live, then, is important for black readers and writers for the reason that it provides them with an example of what they must continue to guard against. Black students in and out of "integrated" schools must be protected from the virulent racism inherent in "criticism" by literary gurus like L. Rust and Penny Chapin Hills.—HOYT W. FULLER

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feature in the journal is an article on "Ibo Names and the Concept of Death," by **Ifekandu V. Umunna.** The African Journal's address is Box 6555, Washington, D. C. 20009 . . . Soulbook 7 is dedicated to "the memories of John Coltrane, Ruby Doris Robinson, Che Guevara, Albert Luthuli, Martin Luther King Jr. and Bobby Hutton." Contributors include **Rolland Snellings, Abdelbaki Hermassi, Carlos Moore** and a brace of poets. Soulbook, "the quarterly journal of revolutionary Afroamerica," is available in New York (473 W. 152nd Street) or Berkeley, Calif. (P.O. Box 1097, postal zone 94701) . . . **Bobb Hamilton,** who is New York editor of Soulbook, also is editor of Black Caucus, the journal of the Association of Black Social Workers. Black Caucus is published three times yearly (winter, spring and fall) at 72 W. 126th Street, New York 10030. Articles in the initial issue of the magazine are by **Charles L. Sanders, Anne Carlson, Kenneth E. Marshall, Sidney Jones, Preston R. Wilcox, Judy Beyman, Lewis D. Armand** and Mr. Hamilton . . . Watu is the name of the black student publication at Cornell University, with **Don L. Lee** as faculty advisor. Contributors to the first issue of Watu are **Bob Jackson, Patricia A. Jones, Delores Smith, Sandra Hearn, Janice Willis, Mark Walker, Reuben Munday, Yvette Patterson** and **Alexis Deveaux.** Mr. Lee contributed the introduction. Mr. Munday is the editor . . . Exposures in Black is "a collection of black imagery, both visual and literary" by **Gerald L. Simmons Jr.** of Detroit (10036 Broadstreet, Apt. 5-C). The collection of four poems and some 47 photographs make an appealing 35-page booklet, offered at $1.50 per copy . . . Black Theater is not new, but it should be a *must* for black people.

New Broadside Venture

Broadside Press' new venture is directly related to the company's publication of black poetry. Publisher **Dudley Randall** has introduced a series of tapes of poets reading the works in their volumes, an ideal innovation for group sessions for entertaining young people. To date, Mr. Randall has brought out three tapes: James Emanuel reading his *The Treehouse and Other Poems;* Etheridge Knight reading *Poems From Prison;* and Mr. Randall reading from his collection, *Cities Burning.* The latter tape has an extra feature which is a major attraction in itself. A young balladeer named Jerry Moore has set to music two of Mr. Randall's poems, "Ballad of Birmingham" and "Dressed All in Pink," which he sings with notable style. The tapes have been issued in limited numbers, only 50 for each volume, all autographed and numbered, and they augur well to become collectors' items. The tapes sell for $5 each, all elegantly encased in boxes especially designed to match the covers of the volumes of poetry. They may be ordered directly from the Broadside Press, 12651 Old Mill Place, Detroit, Mich. 48238.

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mentioned earlier, the whole black revolution is a reaction to grievances too often ignored and promises too frequently forgotten. Thus, there is the possibility of overreaction, on both sides. It is a painful experience for both the majority and the minority in a society to understand that so much of its fabric is interwoven with racism. The desire to eradicate it or to forget it (this is a much less feasible possibility in the context of modern society with its mass media and mass communication) can lead to many false starts and well-intentioned mistakes. The majority of blacks do not want an apartheid society, but many will stand with "black only" causes until society shows that it really means to include blacks in the society on an equal and meaningful basis. The black students are quite justified in demanding more coverage of black history and the contributions of blacks to society. Although some of the black students don't believe that white students should be admitted to these courses, black history courses will be of considerable value to white students also.

Certainly, the relatively inane treatment of slavery and the Reconstruction period by historians deserves correction in the minds of all. Some definitive works on Reconstruction, such as that of John Hope Franklin, chairman of the history department at the University of Chicago, have been written, but to a great extent these are not included in the basic history courses that are taken by most students. Black students are justified in asking that more black counselors and advisers be appointed. Not that only black counselors can counsel black students, but black students should have black counselors available if they want to talk with one. Also, black and white students should be able to see blacks in a variety of positions in the university. Demands of the type that I have just mentioned are not to develop an apartheid university; rather they are to provide for a valid recognition of black people and black students as a part of society and a part of the university.

The consideration of the black student as a special case in the university, particularly at an institution that prides itself on its democratic traditions, might appear to violate principles of equality and nondiscrimination. But the university, as one of the most important institutions of society, has a responsibility to help blacks and other minority groups achieve the position of social and economic equality that is implicit in our system. President James M. Hester of New York University, for example, says that NYU intends to discriminate *positively* in favor of black students to help eradicate the ef-

fects of racism on them.

Although it can be argued that the university should merely reflect the values and traditions of society and create knowledge for the sake of knowledge, many people in society look to the university for leadership and guidance in the solution of a variety of social and intellectual problems. The university's concern with black students is clearly within this framework. Certainly, mistakes will be made. The black students will make mistakes and should be allowed to learn from them. University administrators will make mistakes and should also be allowed to learn from them. The black student awakening and the contemporary student activism on America's campuses point the way for the enhancement of the university as an important institution in our society. Those of us in the university should really hold ourselves in their debt for so forcefully bringing this challenge to us.

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Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, author of "The White University Must Respond to Black Student Needs," is a professor in the school of education at New York University. He is co-author of the book, *The Negro Almanac*. His article appeared originally in the New York University Alumni News.

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(C) *Consistency of Thought and Action:* If one thinks Black, one must live Black, dress Black, sleep Black, look Black, speak Black, love Black, move Black, vacation Black, write Black, study Black, eat Black, conference Black, work Black, read Black, go to Black movies, lectures, hospitals, businesses, schools, churches, countries, restaurants, communities, and in the process begin to "get ourselves together" rather than impress white people with how threatening or dangerous the Black vanguard has become. (To paraphrase the poet, Don L. Lee, we must be committed to the integration of Negroes with Black people, we must realize that we are all Africans.)

(D) *Objective Critical Analysis:* Too often our discussions are more a function of ego needs than of the objective condition of our people. We must use our strongest forces to attack the greatest problem in order to meet the most critical needs of our people. Only critical social analysis will prevent the wasting of energy by dealing with symptoms rather than causes. We need serious historical accounts of neo-colonial institutions and not simply journalistic polemics. Our social analysis must be greater than our personal struggles if we are serious about meeting the needs of our people. For example, we need a serious historical analysis of Howard University and its neo-colonial functions rather than merely accounts of recent controversies (though these accounts are extremely important in supporting political consciousness with details of recent events).

(E) *Develop Revolutionary Consciousness:* The first step toward a revolutionary consciousness is exposure to positive revolutionary forces. While one is immersed in Blackness, it is necessary to read extensively the works of Brother Malcolm, LeRoi Jones, Ron Karenga, Robert Williams, Elijah Muhammad, Mao, Che Guevara, Frantz, Fanon, and others like them. We must consistently read periodicals like NEGRO DIGEST, Liberator, Soul Book, Journal of Black Poetry, Muhammad Speaks, and others (many from the Third World). We must examine our homes and listen to revolutionary music, look at revolutionary images, and live a revolutionary lifestyle based on serious discipline. (Note: If you take the last recordings of John Coltrane and listen one hour a day, the vibrations will enable you to dig a lot of things contrary to the ordered system we face in our "place" in the mainstream. Listen to "Ascension" and rise in revolutionary consciousness.)

We are Africans in a death struggle for our liberation.

The Black University must be an institutional concept of life and liberation.

To those who stand in our way we must bring death and destruction. For our people, we must be models of peace and understanding, but when necessary we must fire the earth and fill the air with bullets.

The rhythm of a different sound sets our stride in motion toward revolutionary liberation. We must be (are) new men, men of New Africa. And we aim to reclaim that which has been taken from us—or nobody is supposed to make it through the storm.



Gerald A. McWorter, author of "Struggle, Ideology and the Black University," is an assistant professor of sociology at Spelman College in Atlanta. Prof. McWorter also is one of the founders of Chicago's Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC).

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one of the examples of white snobbishness lurking behind the criteria of excellence which, by no means however, is entirely a product of racism alone. Running through its history also is a strain fundamentally of a different sort, though it too is racial, by coincidence, in its consequences.

In the beginning American education, particularly on the college level, was highly private, restricted to the few who were wealthy enough to afford it. Such persons, as social theorist Thorsten Veblen observed in his book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* were characterized by a peculiar mentality in which, owing to the necessity for displaying one's wealth, it was prestigious to be free from productive endeavor. Any work done could not be remunerative and preferably should be of no significant use to anybody, let alone oneself; to waste time, and to have the time to waste time were the symbols of prestige. Their educational enterprise, accordingly, was characterized by a "liberal arts" approach where students learned a little about a lot of things and a lot about nothing. The leisure-class syndrome and its snobbish motivations encouraged a preoccupation with lofty gobbledygook such as footnoting. Students might be compelled to labor in memorizing the idiomatic expressions and the verbal conjugations of dead languages; or, more currently, languages which invariably fade from the student's memory and, while remembered, are useless in post-college life.

As middle class aspirants began to emulate the leisure class, and education was largely socialized, the principle of exclusiveness was reinforced by the need to stem the flood of recruits to professional occupations. Hence the student might make A's and B's in all required courses only to fail the comprehensive exam or the language test, or pass all academic requirements only to fail the bar exam because of political beliefs or color of skin. Education lost much of its capacity for vitalizing the mind and, since the end-products became more important than the process, eventually amounted to a routine assimilation of approved bodies of knowledge, a process which fails particularly to inspire a black child of working class origin.

I sometimes shock students into a realization of the shallowness of the American college scene by walking into a classroom and throwing out a concept, preferably with a German-sounding name, such as *zeitschaft* (whether this is a word I do not know) which I might claim to be a concept for a societal condition in which there is widespread feelings of racism or intergroup hostility. While students are busy copying down the term, I proceed to show how to measure the intensity of the *zeitschaft* predica-

ment. This is accomplished, I further instruct, by computing an Index of Racial Response. An Index of Racial Response (by now I am calling it the IRR score) is computed by: (1) observing a sample of persons from two or more racial groups over a period of time; say, whites and blacks passing or encountering one another on a given street corner during a given day; (2) charting the number of smiles exhibited by the individuals comprising the sample; and (3) dividing the number of smiles observed by the number of persons in the sample; then (4) dividing this by the square root of two. While the students are furiously engaged in copying this down, virtually slobbering in anticipation of returning to their dormitories where they will ambivalently complain of the difficulty of the course (perhaps requesting their roommates' aid in calling out the material for memory), I step back and explain my desire to have the students see the board clearly, inasmuch as I had made it all up. I further state that I knew that they did not understand it (no more than I had) and that they are not being educated, in spite of what they are accustomed to believe, by merely memorizing a professor's fodder and regurgitating it on his test.

White students, it is true, are victims of the same condition, but it is doubly alien to the experience of black students who, moreover, are burdened by many another unconscious assumption of white supremacy. Take the matter of the cultural imperialism which white ethnocentrism produces. A white anthropology professor may think nothing of dividing African tribes into "primitive" and "westernized," then pointing out that primitive tribes are more characterized by the matrilineal system (tracing ancestry through the mother instead of the father) while neglecting to point out that this could be a more accurate procedure. The black student who first called my attention to this fact indicated that "you have to take the mother's word for it and sometimes she doesn't know herself." He swore that a boy in his Georgia bayou community came home from school one day and told his father happily that he was going to marry a girl —let us call her Pearlie Mae. His father said: "Son, I didn't know that you would go that far; you can't marry Pearlie Mae; that's my daughter; she's your sister; don't tell your mamma, now." The boy moped around, then broke down and told his mother what was wrong. "That's okay," his mother consoled, "you can marry Pearlie Mae. Don't tell your daddy but he ain't your father."

Sociology classes will discuss the merits of the Moynihan Report on the Negro family, incognizant of the implications of Moynihan's own figures showing, for example, that for every 100 nonwhite males between the ages of 25 and 40 in New York City there are 33 extra females. Somebody, of necessity,

must carry a greater sexual burden than rightfully is his share, or a number of women will languish via induced celibacy. At the same time, the condition is being intensified by the disproportionate rates at which black males are dying in Vietnam, depleting the supply of eligible black males. This cold demographic fact will lead to family disorganization and high rates of adultery, no matter how "moral" or "stable" (as social scientists say) black sexual codes might be.

Similarly, anthropology professors will subject black students to discussions on family disorganization among Africans in Kenya, for example, impervious to the fact that much family strife is a product of the Christian missionaries' importation of an alien monogamy which, replacing the existing polygamy evidently geared to the demography and socio-economic needs of the people, displaced surplus wives (in order to "save" them) and produced a good deal of the family disorganization which anthropologists get grants and trips abroad to "study."

Courses in European history will skip over the slave trade while courses in American history will mention black persons only with reference to slavery and the myth that Lincoln's restricted Emancipation Proclamation freed all of them. Courses and textbooks in literature remain lily white. Many white students, spurred by involvement in civil rights activities and the daily prominence of the black struggle in news coverage, are growing keenly aware of these curious omissions, but it is ever so much more painful when the student is black.

Black students who wail about the absence of blackness in white college education accordingly are not trying to destroy American education so much as they are trying desperately to renovate it. Their compensatory response to black exclusion has taken a separatist flavor, for the most part, on the surface; but it may seem ironic to those who misunderstand them that, in the name of black nationalism, calling for the presence of more black students and professors, they actually are bringing about more desegregation of white colleges than there ever was before!

The name of the game is the elevation of a people by means of one important escalator—college education. Separatism and integrationism are possible approaches to that end; they lose their effectiveness when, swayed by dogmatic traces of absolutism, they become full ends in themselves. It will be an irony of recorded history, I have written elsewhere, that "integration" was used in the second half of this century to hold the black race down just as segregation was so instituted in the first half. Black students now seem to feel that integration, particularly in the token way in which it has been practiced up to now, and the neo-tokenist manner now emerging, elevates individual members of the group but, paradoxically, in plucking many of

the strongest members from the group while failing to alter the lot of the group as a whole, weakens the collective thrust which the group might otherwise muster. Increasingly, black students are turning their backs on the old tendency for Negro college graduates to escape from the black community instead of returning to help build it. This new mood is born of a greater awareness of the glories of their own past as a people, an image they now wish to convey also to others. Hence the clamor for more "black courses" and courses taught *from a black perspective* (or "dark" courses as I overheard one white colleague tell another; later translated by a sociology professor into "color-compatible" courses).

In the effort to make education "relevant" to the black community—and by indirection, to the white community—the communities themselves may be transformed, each in its own way, and, so to speak, made relevant to a *bona fide* education. Thus, black student endeavors not only, if successful, might bring about a kind of black renaissance; they could possibly wield an impact on the entire cemetery of American education.

Nathan Hare, author of "Black Invisibility on White Campuses," is director and developer of the Black Studies Program at San Francisco State College. A former professor of sociology at Howard University in Washington, D.C., Dr. Hare was in the forefront of the black revolution on the campus. His book, *The Black Anglo-Saxons,* is scheduled to be re-issued by a new publisher.

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the editorial proceeded, as also is the custom, to castigate those activists who had *inspired* Harvard to adopt a degree-granting Black Studies Program. "Harvard's stress on integrating the new field of study—on terms of equality—into its over-all teaching and research enterprise effectively answers the efforts to make black studies the ideological propaganda instrument of separatism that have led to so much divisive conflict at other institutions," the editorial stated.

The growing number of advocates and supporters of the Black University, in and outside of white universities, recognize that they have formidable adversaries in their struggle toward achieving their goal. They will be condemned as "separatists" and as "neo-segregationists" by powerful voices dedicated to a brand of "integration" which means, in effect, the continued subordination of black people and the degradation of their values and life-styles; they will be attacked by black men who either are desperately seeking to hold onto their own waning prestige within the rapidly evolving community or else are simply playing the white man's power game for personal profit; and they will be subjected to all the economic and political pressures which those in power can bring to bear against those rebels who challenge the *status quo* and who threaten to chip away at its foundation. Still, there is evidence that they will prevail: already a very large percentage of the brightest of the young black students and professors have thrown their sympathies and, in many cases, their energies behind the Black University movement; and embryonic Black Universities are taking root in several black communities, notably in Detroit and Chicago.

That there are great problems to be surmounted before the Black University becomes a living entity there can be no doubt, and several of the contributors to this issue of NEGRO DIGEST address themselves candidly to some of the problems.

HOYT W. FULLER
Managing Editor

* *Muntu,* as described by Janheinz Jahn in his book by that name, is a Bantu word of inclusive character, having to do with Man as a spiritual being, transcendent, invested with that most precious quality, *humanity,* which is a law unto itself, natural and insuperable, and forever possessed of precedence over things, order and property.

(Continued from page 77)

develop black communities. For a cardinal need of black communities is a formal system of education capable of "producing the bureaucratic, managerial, technical, and professional cadres required for modernization".[12]

A recent letter to the editor of a popular magazine may caricature the point somewhat but may also set the stage for clarification:

"Sir: A hypothetical interview of a Negro applicant for employment with a major corporation:
INTERVIEWER: 'So you want to work for Magna?'
APPLICANT: 'Yes, sir'.
INTERVIEWER: 'Our shortage at present is in the business administration area. Did you by chance major in business administration, economics, accounting, insurance or statistics? Did you take any courses in those areas?'
APPLICANT: 'No, sir. I majored in Black Studies.'
INTERVIEWER: 'I am sorry, but we have no openings in that field at the present time. As you know, we are an equal opportunities employer. We will put your application on file. Check back with me in six months or so and perhaps I may be able to do something for you. Come in and see me any time. Good day, sir".[13]

This cartoon characterization of the problem is used merely to highlight the danger of the development of a too narrow concept of Black Studies because of an uncriticized set of assumptions regarding Black Identity. If one conceptualizes the black experience *only*—or even *principally*—in terms of those immediately felt values of personal experience and excludes or downgrades the role of impersonal items in the self-concept, then the chances of developing a Black Studies Program that is meaningful to both black students and the black community are already pre-empted. The truth of the matter is that such personal items constitute only one configuration in an adequate self-construct. Some scholars argue that in an urban technological society they are not even fundaments. Rather, "scientific, rational knowledge of the world is the basic relation from which conceptions of the world, personality, and symbol systems are derived".[14]

(There is a great need for someone to address the problem of the relations between "Soul", a derivative of the black experience in America, and "Negritude", a derivative of the black experience in Africa. Interesting parallels and differences might be observed and related to the levels of technology in the two societies.)

The thirst for an education that aids them in understanding themselves and the world around them,

and that prepares them to deal effectively with that world, is a basic fact to people in every black community in this land. Parochial programs of Black Studies based on uncritical concepts of Black Identity will not help either our students or these desperately hungry communities. Such narrowly conceived programs may help some professors and politicians (and not a few students) *talk* about helping "oppressed people . . . get 'in' . . . by any means necessary to do it right now!!"[15] But such violent discourse only *helps* the ego of the speaker. For that is not *political* language. That is the language of insurrection, and it is both misleading and dishonest unless such spokesmen have both the *readiness* and the *capacity* to carry forward the action implied.

If the black university is truly to become the "service-oriented" center of research and action that Vincent Harding desires; if it is, to use his words, to "set up skills banks for developing nations and . . . urge those students who do not return to the black American communities to offer their skills to Africa, Latin America and wherever else they are needed"[16], then it will clearly have to give the non-humanistic sciences of mathematics, statistics, accounting, engineering, physics, *et. al.,* a very great deal of support. Such a university would not be able to afford to invest all or even the majority of its resources in humanistic programs. There is no reason why such disciplines cannot be construed as within the programs of black studies. It is the purpose and strategy of a uinversity which defines its being. Black Studies *can* be taught for the purpose of condescending to or patronizing black people, as Darwin Turner observed in his article. By the same token, non-black courses can be taught for the purpose of helping black people, both at home and abroad.

A functional Black University will strive to engage in the kind of teaching and research and public service which provides people with the disciplines of thought and action by which they can mature as persons and help shape the world into a more human place of habitation. The irremediable blackness of Afro-Americans would be accepted both as a fact of life and as a positive value. But, it would not restrict the experience of black identity to the immediacies of skin-associated cultural values. The black experience is one crucible in which we work our way to a vision of and a connection with the human potential in all men.

A final word by way of illustration: Ralph Ellison has complained that his award-winning novel, *Invisible Man,* is often mis-read to imply that it was the blackness of skin of the hero which made him invisible to white Americans. Instead, says Ellison,

"The hero's invisibility is not a

matter of being seen, but a refusal to run the risk of his own humanity, which involves guilt. This is not an attack upon white society! It is what the hero refuses to do in each section which leads to further action. He must assert and achieve his own humanity; he cannot run with the pack and do this".[17]

A functional Black University will see the need for instruction in the disciplines of personal moral responsibility as well as in the techniques of social action. Asserting and achieving one's humanity means that black people are not exempted from the universal human need to develop a personal idiom as well as a group style. Black people, too, need the art of transforming and transcending even the materials and patterns of black culture. "We cannot run with the pack and do this", whether the pack is white or black. In the words of the spiritual: "You got to walk this lonesome valley by yourself."

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Why Should Black Boys Have To Grow Up As Model Men?



Recently, a Negro schoolmarm in Indianapolis received a flourish of publicity in the white press by admonishing Black people to "quit feeling sorry for ourselves" and "do the best we can with what we have". In a national magazine not noted for sympathy with Negro aspirations, the teacher was extravagantly featured. "Black people are easily identified, so they just plain have to be better behaved than lots of whites—or we give the prejudiced white man a weapon to use against us," was one of the gems of enlightenment the teacher reportedly voiced.

And the teacher, apparently, is not all advice. Supported by funds from a foundation, she has organized a group which is actually trying to clean up the streets and alleys and to instill in the economically-deprived and socially-restricted children of poorly-educated, inadequately-housed and frequently under-paid Black people all the middle-class virtues of *hard work, cleanliness, discipline, responsibility, respect for property* and general *good citizenship*. Black children must grow up as model men and women.

Perhaps the teacher deserves all the accolades (including a Freedom Foundation award) which her efforts have won for her, but deeper-thinking, less naive Black people know that, good intentions notwithstanding, the teacher's banal philosophy and sincere projects will avail little in the ghetto. Her words have all been said before, and better, and the routineness of her deeds would surprise even her. Attempting to cure the ills of the slums with elementary self-help programs like cleaning alleys is tantamount to attacking the disease of pellagra by painting the sores with iodine. Many white supporters of self-help ideas know this very well.

What is wrong in the Black ghettos can be made right *only* through a determined and committed campaign against racial bigotry and inequity by all the established institutions of American society. Since that eventuality is unlikely in the extreme, the key to the resurgence of pride and industry among Black people lies in the direction of a kind of "nationalism" which draws its energy from reaction to the intransigent Establishment. "It will take many years to erase the feelings of some white people, because these feelings were learned at their mothers' knee," the teacher is quoted as saying. But the new generation of Blacks consider it futile to seek to "erase the feelings" of white people; they are more concerned with rejecting the entire aggregate of assumptions which undergird the teacher's facile philosophy. In a society which ostracizes, degrades and then accuses them, they are refusing to accept as valid and binding the dishonored values the society would impose. "I believe that the right-thinking Negro wants to get down off the white man's lap and walk like a-man," the teacher is quoted. And right she is. However, the "man" who is likely to emerge from the Black ghetto today will not necessarily find approval in the eyes of the Indianapolis teacher and her fans.

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THE BLACK UNIVERSITY PART III

ATLANTA CHICAGO DURHAM



Response: Open Letters To Vincent Harding

BLACK HISTORY

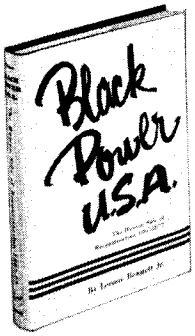
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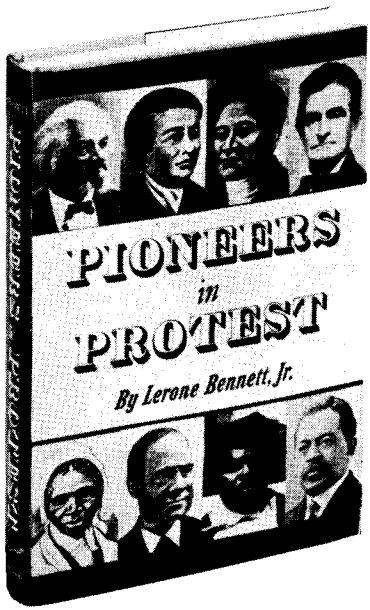
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MARCH 1970
VOL. XIX No. 5

Editor and Publisher:
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NEGRO DIGEST is published monthly at 1820 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616.

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Prefatory Notes—

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 Familiar 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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"New Creation or Familiar Death"

A REJOINDER TO Vincent Harding

"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 ghettoes. 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 ghettoes 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 ghettoes, 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 ghettoes 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 may 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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Response to Vincent Harding

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 existency 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 (legitimacy), 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 Communiversity 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 weekend 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 nonwhites 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

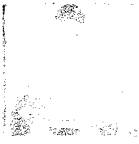
the assistance and acquire the stability to forge our new life-styles. This system must enable them to recognize, respect, resurrect and create new and positive images, for from out of this will come the rhythmic, dynamic, and future-oriented base for total and lasting access to power.

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)

Educating For Liberation and Humanity

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 . . ."

THE 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 disenchanted adult poor to which a community college in an urban ghetto must address itself. The following statement of philosophy, representing the *raison d'etre* 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 concensus 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 humaness implicit in some of the aforegoing 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.

Interim Report

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 cooperation 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.

A Position Paper

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 human 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 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 ruint 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 politically 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 Plumpp** . . . 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 Affro-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 Intercraft Industries Corp., during the annual International Home Furnishings Market. The reproductions included pen-and-ink art, lithographs of pastels and pils, 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.**

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BOOKS  NOTED

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.

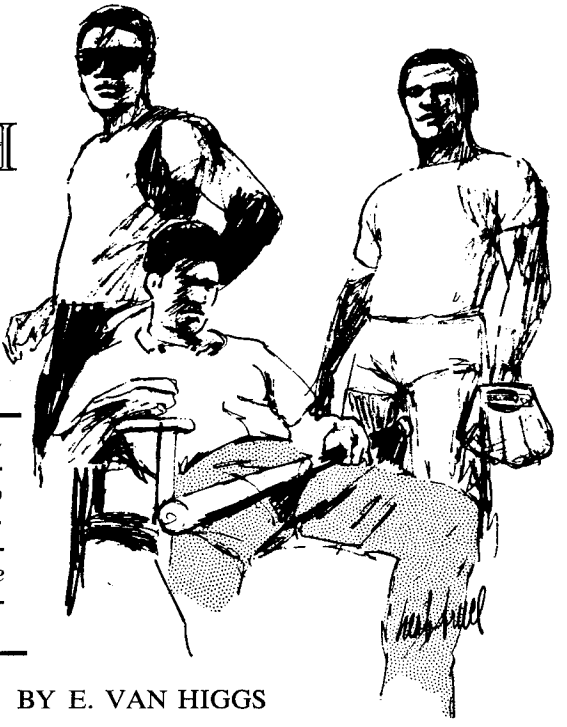
A second major question has to do with the study of Pan-African action. James suggests several important ingredients for this type of analysis. He clearly sees the need to analyze particular events within the life of the colonial nation, but carefully includes the necessity of examining the metropolitan 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 prolatariat, 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 Wabash 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 supersonic-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 flashing 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 birthday 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.



E. Van Higgs, author of the story, "Sketch in Blue," is a Chicagoan. He is a member of the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC) Writers' Workshop.

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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 professorshop 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.



William J. Wilson, author of "A Rejoinder to Vincent Harding," is an assistant professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and author of the book, *Black Man in 20th Century America: A Consideration of Race and Power.*

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.

(Continued from page 5)

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. Braithwaithe, 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.

(Continued from page 29)

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 mainstream 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-

nomic 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	*really means*	Negro Removal
Model Cities	*really means*	Model Colonies
Human Relations	*really means*	Colonial Relations
Culturally Deprived	*really means*	Illegally Deprived
Public Welfare	*really means*	Public Starvation
Code Enforcement	*really means*	Tenant Exploitation
School De-Centralization	*really means*	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 descendency 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.

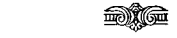
b) the replacement of the philanthropic socio-economic contract be-

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.



[1]Galtung, 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.
[3]For definitions of terms such as integration, desegregation, Humanitization, 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.
[4]Forman, James, "Total Control as the only Solution to the Economic Problems", in Renewal, 9:6, June, 1969. pp. 9-13.
[5]Boggs, James. "The Myth and Irrationality of Black Capitalism." New York: Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, April 28, 1969 (mimeo)
[6]Forman, op. cit. p. 10.
[7]"Report of the NOPC: St. Louis." New York: National Association for African American Education, Sept. 23, 1968. p., 31.
[8]Montgomery, M. Lee. "Draft: Black Humanity." New York: National Association for African American Education, June, 1969.

[9]Wilcox, Preston. *The Black University: A Bibliography*. New York: Afram Associates, Inc., July 12, 1969. pp., 8 and Sources of Publications. (mimeo)
[10]Boggs, James. "Curriculum Studies for Black Studies Institutes." New York: National Association for African American Education, Feb. 12, 1969. pp., 3.
[11]Iceberg Slim (Beck, Robert). *Mama Black Widow*. Los Angeles, Calif. Holloway House Publishing Co., 1969. p. 6.
[12]Ibid. p. 55.
[13]Havrilesky, 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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An Assessment

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"

A 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 serious 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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(Continued from page 52)

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 Oginda 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 Hakimu 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 righteaus 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

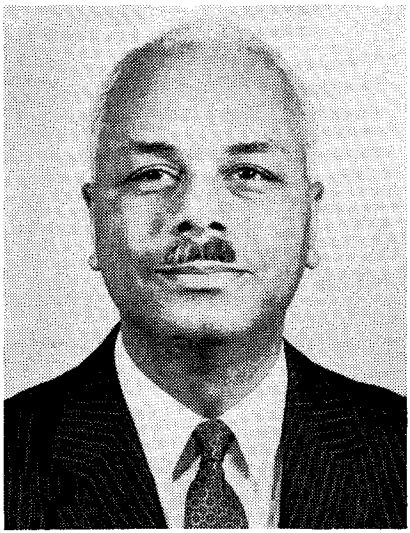
Horace Cayton

April 12, 1903
Seattle, Washington

January 22, 1970
Paris, France

(Continued from page 50)

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 published 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

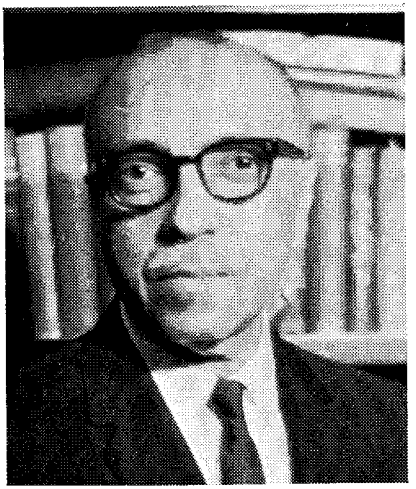


MAE JACKSON



EUGENIA W. COLLIER

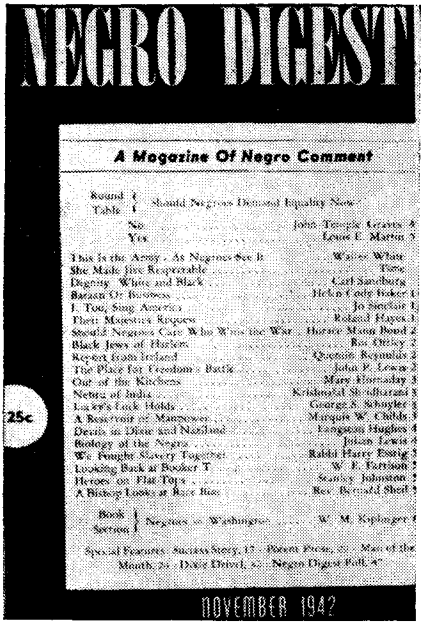
will make available $100 cash prizes each for literary and drama criticism in NEGRO DIGEST (BLACK WORLD) magazine. The Richard Wright-Le Roi Jones Awards will be made possible through grants from **Addison Gayle Jr.,** critic and anthologist, and **Clayton Riley,** drama critic.

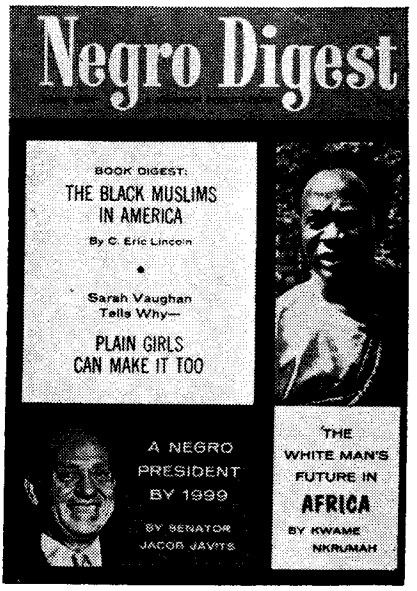


HERBERT C. JOHNSON



BRENDA M. TORRES





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





THE DUKE NATURAL SET

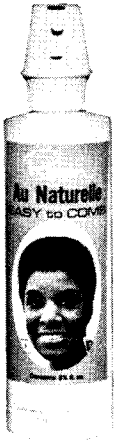
[illegible] lets comb glide through hair no matter how long, thick or wiry.

[illegible] leaves hair looking alive . . . won't leave a sticky, gummy or stiff feel. Get the Natural Set and your natural will look great.

At your favorite drug counter or send $3.25 and we'll send the **Duke** Set postpaid.



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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 turtleneck 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 Revoultion 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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