



Black Studies and Global Perspectives: An Essay

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Black Studies and Global Perspectives: An Essay

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I

In 1951, six years after the end of World War II, the *Journal of Negro Education* (which, along with the *Journal of Negro History*, was required reading at the time for all well-informed Afro-Americans) published its summer yearbook issue (v. 20, no. 3) on the topic "The American Negro and Civil Rights in 1950." In his editorial note, Charles H. Thompson stated:

Since World War II, the effort to obtain equal enjoyment of civil rights by all citizens, particularly the fight to eliminate segregation and its attendant evils from our national life, has been lifted from the isolated realm of a series of minority group struggles to a level of national and international political concern. . . . In the current struggle of democracy versus communism, more and more people have begun to see that the status and treatment of racial and other minorities in our borders speak much more authoritatively and convincingly abroad than does the 'Voice of America'. . . . The struggle for civil rights in any particular country is of world concern and . . . the efforts on behalf of any oppressed group anywhere are part and parcel of the fight against man's inhumanity to man everywhere (pp. 250-51).

The writer was invited to contribute an article to that yearbook. The article appeared under the title "The International Implications of Race and Race Relations" (pp. 261-278). It stressed the reinforcement that came to the civil rights movement when the United States assumed the post-World War II role of "leader of the Free World." It presented documentation of the way in which the U. S. had found itself in an untenable position concerning the existence of racial discrimination within its borders and was taking some first timid steps toward trying to see that discrimination was gradually eliminated from the national life.

Racial discrimination in the United States had international implications in 1951 because the USSR was using the race issue to embarrass the United States in the eyes of other nations, at the

United Nations and elsewhere. Lifting the burden of racial discrimination from the backs of Afro-Americans was proclaimed as a patriotic duty by American public officials, and the argument *did* make sense. How could Africa and Asia be expected to trust the United States when, by custom generally and by law in some states, black people were discriminated against on the basis of their color? Could the nation be sure that its black troops would not mutiny someday or even use their arms against discriminators in certain parts of the U.S.A.? In a war against the USSR might its propaganda lead some black groups to defect? How could the U.S. propaganda agencies deal with Soviet ridicule of a "Free World" that included South Africa as well as European powers holding colonies? The United Nations provided an ideal platform for anti-racist speakers to point the finger at racism in the U.S.A., thus placing this country in an embarrassing position which Afro-American leaders used to exert pressure for change.

The Pan-African movement was in a strong position to profit from the need of Britain, the U.S.A., and France to modify colonialist-imperialist excesses in order to undercut the appeal of the international Communist movement. Kwame Nkrumah's West Indian Adviser on African Affairs, George Padmore, published *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* in 1955. The title of this book could be interpreted as either a query or a threat, and the book called for "a Marshall Plan for Africa." It failed to secure this or to win any support in Washington for Pan-African socialism. Padmore's book did, however, help to stimulate aid programs for the new African nations, an action deemed necessary to prevent a drift or a slide into communism. President John F. Kennedy used the "Don't let Africa fall to the Reds" appeal very effectively in spurring Congress to support grants and loans to African states between 1961 and 1964. His predecessor, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, had inaugurated a policy of offering a small amount of aid to the new African nations in the hope that it would keep them on the side of the "Free World," particularly after Egypt signed an agreement with the USSR for the building of a large dam on the Nile. Richard M. Nixon was President Eisenhower's roving ambassador in 1957, charged with sizing up the situation among newly independent African nations.

Between 1961 and 1964 the Kennedy regime ended a period of Republican "Red-baiting" that had pilloried Nkrumah and Sékou Touré as willing satellites of the Soviet Union and labelled other members of the pro-Lumumba Casablanca Group as naive puppets, Morocco and Libya. Nasser of Egypt was placed somewhere in between. Kennedy introduced a sophisticated form of anti-Com-

munist operations that took seriously the African argument that they could develop forms of socialism that would insulate the continent against the Russians and the Chinese, while carrying out a policy of non-alignment in foreign policy and welcoming American investment if it was prepared to respect African sovereignty. Nkrumah's Ghana began to build the Volta River Dam with U.S. aid. Kennedy's assassination ended that African honeymoon period and inaugurated a long period of suspicion about U.S. motives and resentment over manipulation.

Guerrilla warfare in southern Africa was escalating at the time of Kennedy's death. Something close to urban guerrilla warfare broke out in America's cities in the years following his death. The U.S. experienced ghetto rebellions during the years 1964 through 1967, and an extremely violent outburst after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. By then, the country was deeply mired in the Vietnam War but many black youth were much more interested in how the war against Portugal was going in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau than in the war against the Vietnamese. *The modern Black Studies movement emerged within this international context.* Unlike African Studies that began in the fifties, the movement was not Establishment-sponsored. It was both ideological and militant, a source of weakness as well as strength for an innovation that university administrators were determined to reshape into a purely academic phenomenon.

Stopping the "Communist menace" is still the centerpiece of American foreign policy but the U.S. government no longer seriously considers black Americans to be a potential Soviet Trojan Horse or possible Communist fifth column. "Treating Negroes right" is also no longer deemed a necessary response to foreign charges of racism in America. The massive changes resulting from the success of the civil rights movement have virtually eliminated the appeal of the international Communist movement as a useful weapon to African-Americans. But between 1952, when Nkrumah became prime minister of Ghana, and 1966, when he was overthrown by a coup, "treating Negroes right" in order to woo *African* leaders to cooperate with the United States rather than with the USSR was considered an important justification for improved race relations in the U.S.A. A non-racist policy toward Africa itself also was deemed absolutely essential in Cold War maneuvering, especially since Nkrumah had proclaimed himself to be "a Marxian socialist and a non-denominational Christian."

Was Nkrumah a disguised underground Communist throwing dust in capitalist-imperialist eyes? Could black Americans who knew him during his student and teaching days in the United States

become a "link" and an influence for keeping him in the American orbit? Would large-scale U.S. aid be wasted in the pursuit of such a goal? And what of other left-wing African leaders? Could contacts with Afro-Americans be useful in keeping African leaders close to the Free World? The raising of such questions in the early fifties resulted in the following: (1) the inclusion of Afro-Americans in the new programs established to encourage graduate students to specialize in African Studies through fellowship awards for study in Africa, (2) appointment of several black ambassadors, and (3) encouragement by the State Department, foundations, and trade unions of organizations founded by Afro-American intellectuals—such as the American Society for African Culture and the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa.

As the theory of "the link" worked itself out, increasing numbers of Afro-Americans found themselves adding to their Pan-African connections some contact with powerful sectors of American life. Scores of black Americans found themselves in the position of trying to interpret for white Americans the motives and actions of African acquaintances. To what extent they also tried to interpret the sometimes seemingly inexplicable actions of white Americans to Africans is difficult to assess.

In the attempt to keep Africa from "going Communist" during the decade between 1951 and the murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, there was little active involvement of black Americans in African affairs at the diplomatic level or in official advisory posts. Nor was there any organized activity by Afro-Americans—Communist or non-Communist—to give *political* content to Pan-African sentiments, although they did so at the symbolic level through clothing, hair styles, and, to some extent, name changes. There was also affirmation of identification with Africa among broad sectors of youth of high school age. Newspaper editorials and public speeches, on numerous occasions within black institutions, made clear Afro-American sympathies with new African states and nationalist movements—even those like the Mau Mau in Kenya that used insurrectionary violence. However, by 1955, the new aggressive non-violent civil disobedience movement against unjust laws in the South, not Africa, was at the forefront of Afro-American attention. This was a movement led by adult, middle-aged, church-going Afro-Americans.

At this point, the civil rights movement was not a youth movement, as were the African nationalist movements. Most of the people in the civil rights movement were Africa-conscious, but they had gained this broadening of their outlook through the Christian missionary movement. (For instance, the best hospital in the capital

city of Liberia at the time was built with money contributed by black Baptists.) Afro-American adults had always been taught that education and religion lay at the center of African "uplift" just as it did at the center of their own. Their own decision to become non-violent activists now gave them some appreciation of Kwame Nkrumah's philosophy and what its outcomes could be. And Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was constantly telling them about Gandhi and the people of India. However, Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya Mau Mau, not Nkrumah and his "non-violent positive action," were the heroes of the militant black youth for a decade before Black Studies programs burgeoned.

II

A new variable entered the race relations struggle in 1960, with the organization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The Southern Christian Leadership movement had an ideological global orientation relevant to the Christian faith and the Gandhian philosophy of some of its leaders. Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, Courtland Cox, and other youthful leaders from the North brought to the southern movement an explicit Pan-Africanism that perceived the American desegregation struggle as the counterpart of Africa's decolonization struggle. Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, and Jomo Kenyatta were role models with whom they felt closer kinship than with Martin Luther King, but they were perceptive and realistic enough to know that the tactics and strategy of a black minority enclaved in "the belly of the beast" had to be quite different from those of Africans and West Indians struggling for the right to organize and administer sovereign states. SNCC leaders, unlike the members of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) and the Republic of New Africa, were interested in generating a mass movement, not in organizing what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels once called "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem." SNCC leaders found theoretical support for their views in the writings of Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore. The ideas of those writers were superseded, however, by those of Frantz Fanon when the English translation of his book *The Wretched of the Earth* became available in the U.S. and when Malcolm X began to develop a variety of Pan-Africanism that had a "tilt" toward both the Pan-Islamic movement (including the Pan-Arab movement it contained) and some varieties of Marxism. While they organized sit-ins, the young leaders were thinking!

Fanon was especially influential among the youth because he posed the problems of the future. He showed them that when people of all class levels fought together to defeat colonialism, or

to abolish segregation as in the United States and southern Africa, they eventually faced class divisions that had to be minimized before the victories were won. It is no accident that former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael eventually became a citizen of Guinea, and under the name of Kwame Sékou, has been trying to organize an international all-African socialist party, or that Courtland Cox, Carmichael's associate during SNCC days, played the primary role in convening the Sixth Pan-African Congress that met in Tanzania in 1974, during which issues of class versus race were debated.

The black youth movement of the 1960s, like the older Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had little time or energy to expend on international affairs between 1961 and 1965. The members of SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) were functioning as the sharp cutting edge of the movement that intended to demolish the caste system in the South. These groups mobilized the forces that pushed President Lyndon Johnson into calling for passage of the Voter Registration Act of 1965. After that victory, the leaders left to others the job of ringing doorbells to get the voters registered and to the polls while they moved to the North where the Black Panthers and other ghetto-based groups were trying to keep alive and extend the ideas of Malcolm X, who had been assassinated in 1965. By 1967 James Forman of SNCC had become head of the International Department of Panthers for a brief period, after which he became a registered observer at the United Nations for the rapidly disintegrating SNCC. The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and SNCC were defining outlines of what was to become the focus of Pan-African international attention for the future, and remains the meaningful focus for the 1980s—the completion of the African revolution by forcing South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and by assisting the South African Freedom Fighters to win the victory over *apartheid*.

When the Africans defeated the Portuguese in 1974, a wave of jubilation swept through the ranks of young people in the black world. For Afro-Americans who admired the Black Panthers this was vicarious identification with blacks who had done what the Panthers were incapable of doing. The Afro-American youth who empathized with the Angolan and Mozambique Freedom Fighters included in their ranks thousands of college students and recent graduates. The newly organized Black Studies programs contributed toward the raising of consciousness with regard to Africa between 1970 and 1974, and to the emergence of the group that had organized a very effective lobby, the ALSC.

The ALSC created widespread favorable public opinion and helped to educate the members of the Congressional Black Caucus

about southern Africa. The result was the passage of legislation in Congress prohibiting the use of the Central Intelligence Agency to overthrow the victorious Marxist government in liberated Angola. After 1975, on campus and off, this intense identification with an African cause subsided. The consolidating of gains from the civil rights movement was the preeminent Afro-American concern. But the Congressional Black Caucus operated as a watch-dog agency for black Americans where African interests were concerned. There was a new generation of black students who had not experienced the "revolutionary" years. These youths wanted to express their black pride through academic achievement and conventional success. This desire was reflected in Black Studies programs as elsewhere. Pan-Africanism and global concerns demanded new forms of expression.

The current executive branch of the U.S. government has staked much of its international reputation upon becoming the broker for a southern African settlement that would explicitly destroy the influence of Marxist movements and states in the area, and would curb guerrilla action. This scenario offers moderate political advances for Africans to be realized through the great economic gains expected to result from a strong South African free enterprise system heavily financed by outside investors. This is Professor Chester Crocker's formula—ininitely superior to Henry Kissinger's insulting "Tar Baby" perspective for South Africa's future, but not enough. Not all of South Africa's Bantus, Coloureds and Asians will accept this formula. Some of the dedicated Freedom Fighters, black and white, in South Africa are fighting *against* apartheid but *for* socialism. Violent conflict is inevitable even if "Crockerism" prevails in the short run. As southern African affairs approach their climax during the next five or six years, Black Studies should play the same educational role that it did for Angola and Mozambique between 1970 and 1974. But, during a period when campus zeal tends to be low, the ingenuity of those devoted to Black Studies will be taxed to find a way to make themselves heard in international consciousness-raising.

Having taught in Liberia and Ghana during the 1950s, having assisted in the training of Peace Corps teachers for Ghana and taught again at the university there in 1965, having pondered over the wave of military coups since 1965 (and over the Biafra War, the Mau Mau rebellion, and the recent skirmishes in Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia), I can foresee dilemmas that Afro-Americans will face in trying to confront events of southern Africa in the future. A black perspective is absolutely necessary. It must begin with the constant reminder that in 1957 there were only eight independent

African states; today there are over fifty. Never have so many become free so fast. These are young nations still experiencing growing pains. It is imperative that a single standard be applied when assessing the role of violence. What the Western world takes as the legitimate use of force in fighting for freedom it tends to denounce when Africans use similar means. When the cries break forth that guerrilla warfare in South Africa is reprehensible, the matter must be placed in global perspective.

The rigid belief among Americans who control foreign policy that "free enterprise" and "democracy" are causally linked and that to work for democracy in the Third World means, by definition, working for the extension of capitalism makes relations with African, Asian, and Latin American elites difficult to maintain. Most of the elites do not see any such automatic connection. On the other hand, many, perhaps most, Afro-Americans do. Most of the latter, however, are willing to admit (1) that when the chips are down in Third World areas, American foreign policy will support "free enterprise" even when democracy is trampled underfoot, and (2) that dictators devoted to socialism are excoriated. This evident fact needs critical analysis by black Americans. Many African leaders have been arguing for the right to develop mixed economies, even socialist societies, with American aid money and to develop African-style economies. Incidentally, they have had to argue with the USSR and the Chinese on this point, too!

Sékou Touré, Julius Nyerere, and Leopold Senghor, though different in many respects, all tried to draw a distinction between "African socialism" and that of Russian, Chinese, or even Cuban communism. Their efforts were viewed in Washington as either sophistry or the naive behavior of people who do not know that they are being used and manipulated by Moscow and Peking.

III

Our global perspective must involve, in the first instance, the world and all of its peoples, not just Africa and the black diaspora peoples. The prevention of the nuclear holocaust obviously is the most important issue of our age. However, it is not the function of Black studies programs to supply leadership to the anti-nuclear war forces; other structures on and off campus exist to do that. It would seem though that programs and departments should lend support by use of their names upon various occasions where endorsement of anti-nuclear war activity is solicited. Resolutions, reports of official action, and statements made by the Congressional Black Caucus, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and various organizations of Afro-Americans, Africans, and West Indians concern-

ing nuclear disarmament should be made available to black students. These groups emphasize what nuclear disarmament would mean in freeing up funds that could be used for development programs in the Third World, a secondary but very important aspect of trying to reduce nuclear weapons. Human survival is, of course, the primary reason for supporting progressive reduction of weapons.

The implications of policies established by the Great Powers for development within the Third World and in Africa, the West Indies, and Latin America, particularly, would seem to be an important aspect of black alternative and supplementary education. The visual and print media occasionally touch upon this issue but what is said needs continuous expansion and reinforcement. The preparation of occasional summaries and campus-wide distribution by a program would not only be campus-wide education of value, but would also give visibility to the Afro-American Black Studies program as a serious agency for research and dissemination of information. Debt payment crises and the impact of rigorous International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions for assistance need to be kept constantly before black college students, who not only are going to face these issues as voters, but often as political and economic leaders. During the eighties the number of black public officials at local, state, and national levels will continue to increase. Black students will become some of those officials who will be responsible for the welfare of all, not just that of Afro-Americans. Education for these new responsibilities, which seemed so remote as not to be imaginable twenty-five years ago, places a great obligation upon Black Studies programs. "What would you do if. . .?" role playing ought to be part of the routine education of this generation of future black leaders.

Of even greater importance than Great Power policy in general is the matter of United States policy. Two elections during the eighties—1984 and 1988—will determine the general orientation of American foreign policy toward the black world, as toward global relations generally. As the world is now divided, Third World nations inevitably interpret the dominant nations as "white" oppressors of "colored" people. The revolutions are inevitable, being generated by poverty and inequitable distribution of gross national income within states. International Monetary Fund's insistence upon belt-tightening provokes further explosions. Chapter two of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* should be required reading to understand why coups break out so frequently in Africa, or why black-on-black conflict occurs in places like Nigeria, Ethiopia, Jamaica, Guiana, and Grenada. Black students cannot understand their world if they are not familiar with Walter Rodney's

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa as well as the works of Nkrumah, Padmore, Cabral, and Manley. Once an understanding of the role of class struggles within the black world is gained, some attempt should be made to share the understanding with white students and colleagues on campus and to insist upon a single standard of evaluation for "colored" and "white" nations.

If meaningful changes take place in American foreign policy during the eighties, their implications should be mastered. All Americans are reaping some profit from American foreign policy, although some more than others. This ought to be known and understood by students—black or white—even if they decide that repression is justified in order to crush the international Communist movement and they plan to adopt careers that will make them party to it. Some will oppose the current policies. Some, perhaps, will find, as Andrew Young did, that dilemmas will be faced that may end their careers as diplomats. Others will survive. Some will thrive. South Africa is going to be the testing ground for Americans who are charged with implementing U.S. policy. Until that policy changes drastically, the dilemmas for black Americans often will be painful, dividing friends and relatives as they try to relate to the African struggle.

IV

The role of Black Studies programs is not to impose ideologies but to expand consciousness and to present alternatives for action. It is not to try to foreclose options that are open to black students, but to make all options clear so that choices can be made with better understanding. It is to help students discover for themselves where the fine line runs between being patriotic and being co-opted for ends that are not in the best interests of the broadest masses of black people. Black students must have a clear view of how change takes place through a constant interaction among radicals, liberals, conservatives, and reactionaries, with individuals choosing according to temperament, ideals, and self-interest—and various combinations of these motives—where in the pattern of change they wish to play their part. Never before in America have the options been so wide for black people; and for the first time, a few college-trained black conservatives like economist Thomas Sowell have emerged and won respect for their minds and vilification for their politics. They oppose affirmative action and ask for elimination of the minimum wage for teenage workers, unpopular positions with many black people.

This is a period when Jesse Jackson is carrying on in the tradition of Martin Luther King, Jr., who used his influence to try to affect

foreign policy as well as to liberate his people domestically. All members of the future black middle-income group now in training on our campuses will have to decide how to respond to the Jesse Jacksons of the future. Black Studies programs should help prepare them for that decision-making process.

Some Black Studies programs are frankly and openly Black nationalist in their orientation. A very few are openly Black Marxist. Most try to accommodate the widest variety of ideological views within a generalized Black perspective. None can avoid the responsibility for dealing with global policies during the remaining years of the eighties. Pan-Africanism has provided a distinct global focus for Black Studies since the programs became a part of the campus scene in the late sixties and early seventies.

The world situation during the eighties, however, demands that we move beyond the concept of Black Studies programs as agents that confine themselves to providing supplementary or alternative education for black students at predominantly white colleges and universities. The action-oriented mood among black students on predominantly white campuses disappeared during the late seventies and preoccupation with personal concerns related to future careers now leaves little time for or interest in the kind of activist politics and community-related voluntarism that were present during the early seventies. Black Studies has continued to perform its strictly academic services, with fewer black students majoring in the field or even taking classes related to the black experience. As measures are taken to increase interest in the purely academic concerns that many deans feel should be the exclusive concerns of the field, some attention should be given to restoration of the broader objectives of the Black Studies movement.

In 1968 and 1969, many program chairpersons and directors visualized Black Studies as having a salutary—and even revolutionary—impact on many phases of life on predominantly white campuses. To some extent they did bring about changes in values and curriculum content. They did not, however, have a strong impact in areas not directly related to teaching and research. On the issue of greatest student concern at the time, the ending of the Vietnam War, black students, as individuals or organized groups, seldom acted in concert with or as a part of white student groups. Even on an issue that, at times, stirred considerable numbers of white students to action—the issue of disinvestment in South Africa—black students often preferred to act alone, if they acted at all. The legacy of the 1965 and 1966 Black Power disengagement still existed: “Define yourself for yourself,” “Get yourself together,” and “Take care of business.” Making coalitions with white students or edu-

cating whites were not concerns; these activities seemed to be a futile waste of the scarce resources available to Black Studies programs. Directors of programs had to be responsive to the black student consensus. After all, the students had brought the programs into existence.

There is no strongly felt need today among black students for separatism in order to protect their group boundaries; off campus, extreme Black nationalism is no longer fashionable, as witness changes within the Nation of Islam or the transformation of Amiri Baraka from a leading cultural black nationalist into an exponent of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The opportunity is now present to experiment with realizing the early objective sought by some program directors of having Black Studies programs assume the role of educating the white educators and white students, in addition to providing the supplementary education for Blacks—which is, of course, its primary *raison d'être*. Perhaps, Black Studies programs actually have an obligation in this period to take the lead in providing campus education on three crucial issues: (a) the serious plight of perhaps one-third of all black Americans, those who have had to bear the brunt of the operations to reduce inflation by tolerating a high level of unemployment and the drastic cut-back in spending for social programs; (b) the serious difficulties facing contemporary African nations as the first thirty years of their independence from colonial rule is ending; and (c) the problem of ending racism and exploitation in the Republic of South Africa as the liberation struggle there approaches its climax.

Devising the means through symposia, forums, special speakers, films, celebration of special events to carry out campus-wide education on these issues should be given high rank in budgeting time and money. Administrators must be educated to see the need for, and legitimacy of, such campus-wide education and to include this goal in annual budgetary allocations.

To allow Africa to be vilified and ridiculed as the press is now beginning to do, charging Africans with having proved they cannot rule themselves, would be to abdicate responsibility. Complicated matters such as the role of a chronic prolonged drought, of financial disasters stemming from the 1973 fuel crisis that consumed foreign exchange needed for debt servicing, and the exploitation involved in the existence of a high debt level for Third World nations, need to be simplified and explained to the next generation of leaders now on campus.

The attempt of the incumbent U.S. administration to play the broker role in southern Africa, operating on the principle that the primary objective in the situation is to remove Soviet and Cuban

influences, not to abolish apartheid, demands critical examination. The decisions of the African National Congress of Azania (i.e., South Africa) to expand its program of guerrilla warfare will polarize black Americans as well as white, who will shrink from endorsing a movement that involves considerable bloodshed. Freedom Fighters will be defined as "savage terrorists."

The ethics of national liberation struggles need open discussion, and Black Studies programs focusing on Namibia and South Africa have an obligation to stimulate such discussion from a broad black perspective. The tactics and strategies used by the black leadership in southern Africa and American responses to various groups in the region need discussion as well.

The tentative first steps have been taken to involve the black middle class as partners in suppression of any kind of revolutionary solution in southern Africa. A glowing picture has been painted of financial rewards to be reaped by becoming partners in extensive commercial and industrial expansion in South Africa. Ultimate decision making will lie in the hands of transnational corporations, white South Africans, and a token representation of blacks. Without exerting any pressure on students to choose one way or another, Black Studies programs need to extend the circle of awareness of what personal and national options exist in confronting the challenge presented by South Africa.

With the CIA now recruiting on college campuses, using high pressure advertising, all students need to know what they are doing if they choose to place their university education at the disposal of the CIA. What groups other than Afro-American Studies programs are in a position to provide this kind of campus education? During the sixties the American Anthropological Association thrashed out this matter and took a stand against cooperation with the CIA. Could not the National Council for Black Studies, without compromising its patriotism, take similar action?

One of the most significant recent developments in the field of Black Studies resulted from the initiative taken by Professor Joseph Harris of the Department of History at Howard University to involve African universities in teaching and research about diaspora communities. A number of African scholars attended a conference at Howard in 1979; a subsequent conference was held in Kenya in 1981. (The Howard University Press published the 1979 conference proceedings under the title *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, edited by Joseph Harris, 1982.) At both conferences, not only were scholarly papers read that focused on black people in Africa and in the diaspora, but plans were discussed to introduce into African institutions courses on Afro-American and Caribbean history and

contemporary life. Insofar as this Pan-African extension of Black Studies continues to develop, the preparation of syllabi, textbooks, and supplementary reading probably will involve scholars and teachers from Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States. Black Studies programs in the U.S. eventually should develop one-to-one working relations with some of their counterpart programs, or at least with individuals, devoted to diaspora studies in African institutions.

The global dimension of Black Studies that Professor Harris's project is developing in cooperation with the African scholars, has always been one facet of black intellectual history. The modern Black Studies movement simply added a more militant youthful thrust to an intellectual movement that extends back into the eighteenth century. It would benefit us all, if the National Council for Black Studies could someday make available for use in Africa, the Caribbean and the United States, a small monograph or a pamphlet describing the roots of the U.S. Black Studies movement. I think it would reveal a situation in which a global dimension has always been present.

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

Black Students by Harry Edwards (now professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley), although published fourteen years ago (New York: Free Press, 1970), remains the most valuable source for documenting the existence of a global dimension in the earliest Black Studies program. It presents sample curricula as well as interviews with black students and professors. The social context within which Black Studies emerged is described with a freshness and vigor that makes the book a valuable teaching tool for interpreting the 1967–1970 period to the present generation of students.

The historic concern of Afro-American intellectuals with worldwide conditions as they affect colored people is evident in the writing of early nineteenth century individuals as diverse in temperament and ideology as Benjamin Banneker, who proposed an organization similar to a League of Nations; Richard Allen, who considered the A. M. E. church to be a special (and perhaps temporary) formation within the universal Christian brotherhood; and David Walker, whose *Appeal* displays knowledge of, and sensitivity to, the struggle of oppressed people in Europe with whom he compared enslaved blacks in the United States.

The unity of a global black perspective despite ideological differences is continued later in the century as we contrast Martin Delany and Frederick Douglass, and Alexander Crummell and E. Wilmot Blyden. Thus, continuity culminates in the international

perspectives of both W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. (See, for instance, Washington's book, *The Man Farthest Down: A Record of Observation and Study in Europe* originally published in 1910 and reprinted in 1983 by Transaction Books with a new introduction by St. Clair Drake, as compared with Chapter X, "Europe 1892–1894," in *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois*, International Publishers, 1968.) The global dimension in the thought of Dr. Du Bois is further documented in the first five chapters of *The Autobiography*, which focus on the period when his perspectives had become decidedly Marxist. See also excerpts from Du Bois's writings, spanning sixty-six years, in a section on "The World of Color—The Third World Concept" in *A W. E. B. Du Bois Reader*, edited by Andrew G. Paschal (Macmillan, 1974, pp. 261–286).

No meaningful interpretation of black history since World War I can ignore the continuous need for black intellectuals and leaders to grapple with the implications of Communist attempts to influence black political and social movements and to organize segments of the black world themselves. The first comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon is Wilson Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party*, published in 1953. The emphasis was upon attempted manipulation and dominance by American Communists who were in turn manipulated and dominated by Soviet leaders. The extent of black American collaboration with Communists is assessed and reasons are given for failure to win widespread Afro-American adherence. The book is as objective as an assessment written during that period could be. Modern black historiography is correcting and balancing the assessment of Communist influence, and among the most important books are the autobiography of Harry Haywood, an early black Communist leader, written with a grant from The Institute of the Black World, and Nell Painter's book about Hosea Hudson, an important black Communist in Alabama during the Depression years. (See Harry Haywood, *Black Bolshevik* [Chicago: Liberator Press, 1978] and Nell Irvin Painter, *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979].)

The most searching criticism of the impact of the American Communist movement on the cultural life of Harlem remains Harold Cruse's *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, published by William Morrow & Co. in 1967. It is written in the genre made familiar by other ex-Communists. A scholarly and temperate assessment of some individuals and of the issues was published in 1983 by the director of the Black Studies Center at the University of California, Santa Barbara—Dr. Cedric J. Robinson's *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (1983). This author considers Caribbean as well as American intellectuals but leaves for future consideration

Africans such as Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Cabral, Machel, and younger scholars such as Magubane. The recent publication of the first two volumes of the *Marcus Garvey and UNIA Papers*, edited by Professor Robert Hill of the University of California—Los Angeles, provides important source material for understanding one important negative reaction to the Red international movement during the 1920s.

Discussion of the Communist issue can no longer be confined to a review of relations with a now unimportant Communist Party of the U.S.A. Marxism confronts black America in new forms. The debate between Amiri Baraka (Le Roi Jones) and his opponents in the January/February 1975 issue of *The Black Scholar* signalled the beginning of a transformation of the Congress of Afrikan Peoples into Baraka's present organization, The League of Revolutionary Struggle (Marxist-Leninist). Poet Haki Madhubuti (Don Lee) had accused Baraka of "selling out" to whites. The shift in orientation of an important leader in the ranks of cultural black nationalism to an interest in building what he calls "a multi-racial communist party" in the U.S.A. based upon "Marxist-Leninist-Mao-Zedong Thought" was occurring at the same time that the Black Muslim leadership was shifting toward a Pan-Islamic rather than a black nationalist orientation and becoming "integrationist." In 1976, the Johnson Publishing Company ceased to publish the important journal (*Black World*, formerly titled *Negro Digest*) devoted to the Black esthetic, edited by Hoyt Fuller. Black scholars have not yet presented a plausible comprehensive analysis of why these shifts in orientation were occurring at that specific time. Increased emphasis upon graduate work in Black Studies should provide us with a deeper understanding of the changes that occurred between 1974 and 1980. Manning Marable's *Blackwater* (a play on Du Bois's *Darkwater*?) has given us an excellent succinct survey of the events during the period and the five years that followed it, but theses and dissertations are needed before a definitive account can be written.

An indispensable handbook for understanding what Du Bois called "the problem of the twentieth century" as modified by class and nationality problems, can be found in the report of a conference in Copenhagen sponsored in 1965 by *Daedalus* and funded by the Ford Foundation. The report was published in 1968 as *Color and Race*, edited by Afro-American historian John Hope Franklin. Particularly relevant to Black Studies concerns for the immediate future are articles on Brazil by Professor Florestan Fernandes, on South Africa by Colin Legum, on North Africa by Leon Carl Brown, and on the West Indies by David Lowenthal. The role of blackness in

these specific situations should be made explicit to students and the public.

In preparing a new generation of Black students to face the problems of an Africa stricken by drought, disturbed by repeated coups, buffeted by International Monetary Fund demands for austerity, and menaced by the increasing strength of white settler-dominated South Africa, constant contact with TransAfrica, the lobbying organization that is successor to the American Negro Leadership Committee on Africa, should be maintained in order to receive current reports. In addition, the *Report of the NAACP Task Force on Africa: Report and Recommendations 1978* should be available on every Black Studies library shelf for reference. The literature on South Africa is voluminous, of course. Therefore, bibliographies and reading lists should be compiled periodically by students and made available to the public as the situation in South Africa moves toward the inevitable crisis point.