

# Black Studies in the Third Millennium

## *Reflections on Six Ideas That Can Still (and Must) Change the World*

**Ronald W. Bailey**

This is a particular period in the history of Black people and the history of Black studies<sup>1</sup> in the United States. One important aspect is what I call the passing of generational torches. In December 1977, I was a pallbearer at the funeral of our good friend and mentor, Margaret Walker Alexander, about whom Judith McCray and I had just completed a documentary called *For My People*.<sup>2</sup> And I participated in the memorial services for Henry Hampton and Judge Leon Higginbotham in Boston. And we grieved for the fallen comrade-in-arms Stokeley Carmichael, who in his own way gave much from the time he and Willie Ricks and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) burst on the scene in the 1960s with "Black Power!"

Like others of my generation, I want to clarify and more sharply focus my contribution to consolidating Black studies so that it can continue to make the broad, social-transformational contribution that we intended

when we stormed the barricades to create the field. This essay provides one opportunity to review my work in the context of our collective work and to plot the necessary course adjustments.

I recently came across a book that I was sent in 1965 as I prepared to go off to Justin Morrill College at Michigan State University, a new cross-cultural college where I would major in liberal arts, travel to Russia, become fluent in Russian, and generally come of age. It was Barbara Ward's *Five Ideas That Changed the World*.<sup>3</sup> I am also reminded of Margaret Walker's formulation in her *Richard Wright: Demonic Genius*, where she suggests that Wright cannot be understood without understanding his synthesis of five great bodies of thought: Freudian, existentialist, Marxist-humanist, Pan-Africanist, and Einsteinian ideas.<sup>4</sup> Thinking about these works has led me to title this essay as I have.



*United We Stand; Divided We Fall. Photo by Kristen Clarke.*

The six ideas I have identified—and I encourage others to critique, revise, and add others—are these:

1. The importance of intellectual history, especially a history of Black studies
2. The continuing need to explore a common framework for our field—a paradigm of unity
3. The “interdisciplinarity” of Black studies, or teaching and learning “across the curriculum”
4. Making the Pan-African connection, or searching for a Pan-African frame of reference
5. Academic excellence and social responsibility, or our obligation to study and to struggle

6. “Unity without uniformity,” or the need for us to agree to disagree and to be more proactive in building coalitions and opportunities for collective work

My key point is that Black people have a history and that Black studies has a history. What were and are the issues embedded in these histories? What have been the lessons learned that might help in our continuing and even more complicated mission? And how do we guide our work as individuals and as collectives around these issues and lessons in the changed environment? This approach should bring into focus the issue of the Black studies vision, or lack of it, and how we should proceed to develop a consensus about it if we feel that it is something of value.

## The Importance of Intellectual History, Especially a History of Black Studies

Black studies has not been here long, when viewed in the context of U.S. higher education, but there are already significant generational tendencies evidenced. As Frantz Fanon said, each generation must come to understand its own mission and seek to fulfill or betray it. Although this is true, there is also a tendency for new generations to turn on older generations and to ignore or distort earlier history. In *Introduction to Afro American Studies: A Peoples College Primer*,<sup>5</sup> several of us suggested these stages for Black studies: innovation, experimentation, and professionalization. The initial period was one of great social disruption decisively influenced by a national and international context of activism, including the civil rights movement, the Vietnam war, the Berkeley free speech movement, African liberation support, the rebellion of French students, and the politics of China and Mao. I call Black studies Black power education, and fundamental questions about who would be educated, who would teach us, and what they would teach us were key issues.<sup>6</sup> Experimentation involved different names, disciplinary differences, campus particularities, ideological differences, and other factors. Driven by the need for self-preservation—publish or perish—a conservative ideological shift in national politics, and other factors, a stage of professionalization resulted. More often than not, Black studies moved away from its historical mission.

From where we stand today, looking at this history it is easy to emphasize professionalization and to forget the importance of those in the “innovation generation” and to ignore them. Without them, there would be no Black studies as we know it today. This is especially important because of the rich institutional

history of this generation. There are many examples:

- The experiences of the Black university movement at the Atlanta University Center and Howard
- The developments at Duke and Chapel Hill that led to the founding of Malcolm X Liberation University and the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU—later Youth Organized for Black Unity)
- The leadership of people like Chuck Turner during the struggle for the African-American Institute at Northeastern, which was based on community activism and in late 1999 led to his election to the Boston city council

More of these important local histories of struggle should be developed.<sup>7</sup>

This is the same dynamic that led to significant challenges not only in the halls of academia but in related professional organizations. These include the African Heritage Studies Association (and the African Studies Association); the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (and the American Political Science Association, APSA), and the National Economic Association/Caucus of Black Economists. Even more important is the Black college-based traditions of such organizations as the College Language Association, the Association for Social and Behavioral Scientists, the Southern Conference for Afro-American Studies, Inc. (SCAASI), and others.

The point I am making is that we do stand on the shoulders of our forefathers and foremothers and we should acknowledge this. And we should practice with more humility the injunction, if I may paraphrase, of lifting up our eyes unto the hills from whence cometh our historical, collective wisdom.

Black intellectual history gives us the best foundation for the Black studies enterprise, but it is too often not given proper attention in our departments, conferences, and courses. Our students are too often left with the impression that we are the best thing since sliced bread—and after us there will be no more. In the end, this approach does us all a disservice.<sup>8</sup>

### **Interdisciplinarity**

It is important that Black studies again play a leading role in an endeavor for which we were once the leading change agent in higher education: that of breaking down the generally artificial walls that separate the disciplines or fields of knowledge into little turfs or fiefdoms. For years, I have been saying that neither Black people nor any other people lead their lives so that literary scholars could study them on Sunday, political economists on Tuesday, historians on Wednesday, and so on.<sup>9</sup> And it is incumbent on us to organize our paradigm and our courses and our departments and our methodologies to address the lived experiences of our people as they live it and not some arbitrary abstractions that flow from our heads.

And it is not enough to dabble and dabble in the various disciplines. It seems to me that this enterprise requires some serious study, some serious collaboration, and eventually a moving away from the singular disciplinary foci around which most of us are trained. This approach isolates and fragments knowledge so that, in the parable of the proverbial group of blind people encountering the elephant, we know not what part of the anatomy we are hanging on to and know not that we should even care!

It was this situation that led Abdul Alkalimat and me to propose to the National Council for Black Studies (NCBS) a model that was adopted by the NCBS Curriculum Stan-

dards Commission in 1983. We proposed that there were three fields of knowledge that constituted our interdisciplinary enterprise, and that Black studies curricula should include introductory and advanced courses in each area:

- Historical studies
- Social and behavioral studies
- Cultural studies (see figure on p. 81)

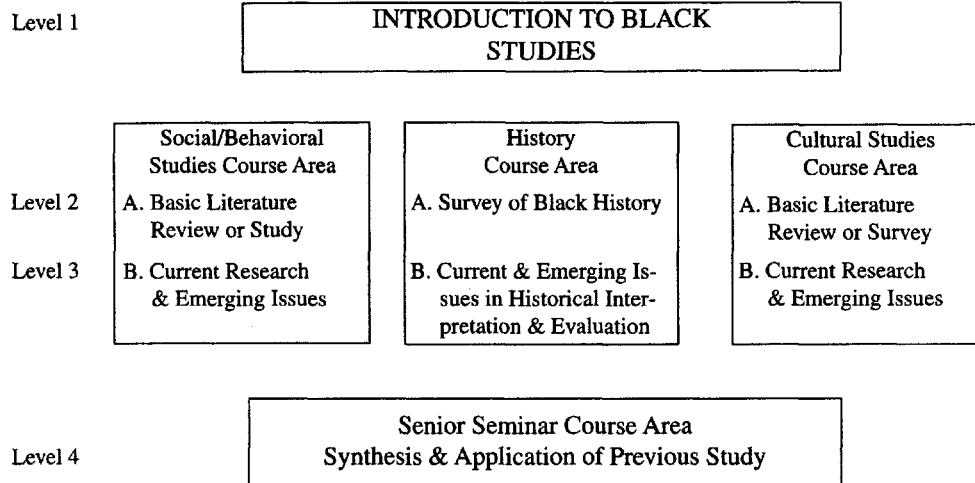
We suggested an interdisciplinary introduction as the first course, a survey course for each of the three fields, more specialized advanced course sequence and offerings in each of the fields, and a senior capstone seminar. Each field should pay attention to issues of knowledge and public policy, and each field should have an international component.

Today, however, I would add that Black studies should also focus some attention on the disciplines related to science and technology. There are many areas of concern here but let me mention just three:

- The role of information technology and the impact of the digital divide
- The human genome project with all of its technical, biological, and ethical issues
- Research on the brain, mind, and memory<sup>10</sup>

One of my reasons for suggesting a focus on science and technology is that too often these fields try to get away from a serious discussion of race and diversity. I propose that there is a powerful contribution that these fields can make, and they are powerful tools that we can use if we approach these disciplines properly. There are three questions we are exploring through this lens that I think will contribute to a better understanding of African and African-American history and

**Six Ideas That Can Change the World**



**Core Curriculum for Black Studies**

(Adopted at 4th Annual Conference for National Black Studies, March 26-28, 1980)

improved race relations. First, there is the story of Africa and human origins. Three bodies of scientific data place Africa as the site of human origins—the archaeological study of fossil remains, the analysis of genetic materials called mitochondrial DNA, and the work of linguists such as Joseph Greenberg and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza at Stanford.<sup>11</sup> This has not, however, been fully grasped in terms of our humanities understanding of world and African history.

Second, there is the story of Africa and ancient world civilizations. The National Science Foundation (NSF) in 1999 awarded me \$2.1 million for a project called “The Science, Mathematics, Engineering and Technology of Discovery: Uncovering Ancient Nubian Culture.” We have also conducted three institutes on Nubia funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and we are about to launch our web site called NUBIANET. The NSF project will focus on archaeology; will produce an exhibit to tour sixty cities, a web site, and a CD-ROM; and

will in the future allow students and others to engage in virtual archaeological digs in Sudan.

The third topic is based on a book I am (still) writing that focuses on the vital role that slave labor and slave-grown cotton played in the rise of the industrial revolution in Great Britain and the United States. Slave-produced commodities such as sugar, tobacco, and rice undergirded both the international “triangular trade” and early American commerce and provided goods and profits that financed commercial expansion and industrialization. When cotton became king, African laborers working as slaves in the U.S. South produced 90 percent of this pivotal crop. This story is too often missed when we discuss the industrial revolution.<sup>12</sup>

My point here is the same one that C. P. Snow, the British intellectual, made in his analysis in *Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, the need to talk to each other across disciplines.<sup>13</sup> In Black studies, we need to be careful of the fragmentation of knowl-

edge, because I think it fragments our power to address the role of knowledge and knowledge creation in creating a better world.

### A Paradigm of Unity

“Let a thousand flowers bloom” should be the motto of Black studies. But somehow we must develop the higher-order thinkers who will be keepers and synthesizers of the knowledge, who will help us be self-conscious and reflective about what knowledge is being produced and how it relates to new knowledge. And what are the critical gaps in our knowledge that need attention? In our work, we have called this developing a “paradigm of unity” for Black studies and used it as the basis for our textbook, *Introduction to Afro American Studies: A Peoples College Primer*.<sup>14</sup>

What is the stuff of the Black experience? And how can we study it without particularizing it so that it is not a part of the human experience? We suggest this.

First, we propose a set of key concepts that reflect four aspects of human reality and corresponding key manifestations in the Black experience.

General	Particular:
	Black Experience
Biology	Color (Note: Gender and Age are key biological variables)
Economy	Class
Society	Culture
Consciousness	Consciousness

Second, we propose seven or eight historical periods, alternating periods of social cohesion and social disruption: Africa, the Slave(ry) Trade, Slavery, Emancipation, Rural Life, Migration, and Urban Life. (A current period of disruption called “Crisis” can also be added.) The figure on p. 83 depicts this

framework, though we must caution that the vertical lines should be seen as porous. The benefits from this approach are these:

- It is a useful heuristic device and helps us to map the tremendous amount of materials on the Black experience being produced.
- It facilitates what my mentor, St. Clair Drake, in private correspondence called diachronic and synchronic analysis.
- It can serve as a guide to curriculum planning.
- Most important, I think, it encourages us to develop and catalogue our theoretical insights, our answers to why we observe the patterns we do in the Black experience.

### Black Folks—Here, There, and Everywhere: Making the Pan-African Connection

Here, I choose the title of a book by St. Clair Drake to call attention to the continuing quest for Pan-Africanism or a Pan-African frame of reference.<sup>15</sup> It was a fateful summer in 1971 when many Afro-Americans visited Africa, drawn by the surge of Black nationalism in the United States and the armed liberation movements in southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies. A group of us had raised funds, and I took over a check to buy guns. Although the check was accepted graciously—by an inspiring elderly freedom fighter from the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), we were advised that we should go back and build a political movement to support Africa with as powerful a voice as the anti-Vietnam war movement had had.<sup>16</sup> And many of us came together in the African Liberation Support Movement, an organization that made a significant yet

*Toward a Paradigm of Unity in Afro-American Studies*

<i>Logic of Change</i>	<i>Social Cohesion</i>	<i>Traditional Africa</i>	—	<i>Slavery</i>	—	<i>Rural Life</i>	—	<i>Urban Life</i>
	<i>Social Disruption</i>	—	<i>Slave Trade</i>	—	<i>Emancipation</i>	—	<i>Migrations</i>	—
<i>Units of Analysis</i>	<i>Consciousness</i>	A1	B1	C1	D1	E1	F1	G1
	<i>Culture</i>	A2	B2	C2	D2	E2	F2	G2
	<i>Class</i>	A3	B3	C3	D3	E3	F3	G3
	<i>Color</i>	A4	B4	C4	D4	E4	F4	G4

The overall framework constitutes a paradigm of unity in Afro-American Studies. The figure defines a logical space for the entire field of Afro-American Studies [and for an overview of the Black Experience]. The columns are historical stages marked with letters, and the rows are aspects of the Black experience marked with numbers. Each box (e.g., A1 or G4) is a logical connection of experience within a specific historical context. With this analytical tool, it is possible to have a conception of the entire field and begin to identify boxes and sets of boxes to codify and sum up existing research, as well as to chart the path for additional new research. . . . The paradigm is the basis for locating a topic of debate or discussion in such a way that it is comprehensible across ideological lines.

Reprinted (with revisions) from Abdul Alkalimat and Associates, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies: A People's College Primer* (Chicago: Twenty-first Century Books), 1986, p. 26.



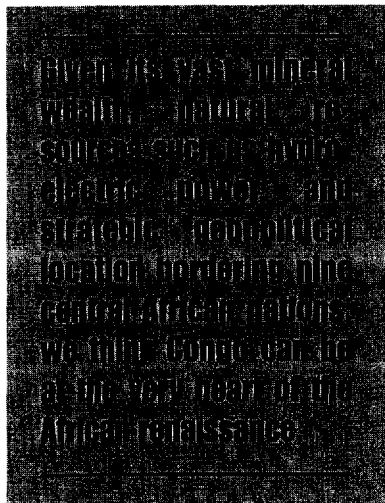
*Schoolgirl Inside the Townships. Photo by Delphine Fawundu.*



largely unheralded contribution to the radical tradition of the Black liberation movement.

There is today an even more urgent need for our support of Africa. On the one hand, the conditions of poverty and underdevelopment are as sharp as ever. In addition, there is the scourge of AIDS and the scourge(s) of war, and it is almost impossible to tell which of these two scourges represents the greatest evil. There are also bright hopes. I would point to the example of South Africa under Mandela and now under President Thabo Mbeki. His call for promoting the "African Renaissance" is an important rallying cry for his generation of new African leadership and for all of us in the African diaspora.<sup>17</sup> I would also like to suggest that although there are many struggles in Africa, none is perhaps more important than the one now being waged in the Democratic Republic of Congo. We are not as clear on the battle against neocolonialism as we were about the battle against settler colonialism and White minority rule.

And the Congo struggle has a special Black studies and generational connection. Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, who studied in the United States and taught Black studies at Brandeis, Harvard, and Boston University, is president of the Congolese Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement (RCD-ML). His son is on the staff at *Africana.com* and has just written a book titled *Kinship*.<sup>18</sup> Jacques Depelchin, a key leader in the RCD, got his Ph.D. at Stanford in African history and has also taught *Africana* studies in the United States. I want to suggest that Black studies programs consider building on these connec-



tions and adopting Congo as our key focal point over the next few years and use it to focus our collective energies. Can we build a major U.S.-Congo Friendship Highway to span the distance of the country? Can we go and build schools and hospitals? Can we expand the number of Congolese students in U.S. colleges and universities? Can we use Congo's history to educate ourselves about the struggle against neocolonialism and imperialism as Africa enters the third millennium?

Given its vast mineral wealth, natural resources such as hydroelectric power, and strategic geopolitical location bordering nine central African nations, we think Congo can be at the very heart of the African renaissance. Abdul Alkalimat and I have just completed work on *A New Congo For A New Millennium!: Essays by Wamba Dia Wamba and Documents from the Rally for Congolese Democracy*, which will be published by Africa World Press in spring 2000. Many who read this book will come to understand anew just how important Congo can be and how important a contribution Wamba is making in the tradition of Amilcar Cabral and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania.

Finally, let me also say that Black studies opens the dialogue about the relationship of Black people to the broader international arena. It was at Stanford that I had the opportunity to work with Frank Bonilla, who went on to found the Latino Studies Association. For the greater part of a year, I participated in a seminar called "Structures of Dependency," looking at the relationship of imperialism to international and domestic communities. Among the participants was then-professor

Fernando Henriques Cardoso, now President Cardoso of Brazil.<sup>19</sup>

### **Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility, or Study and Struggle**

Too often there is an unnecessary tension and argument about the proper relationship between the two elements of our role as scholars and as engaged and active citizens. This is unfortunate because our Black studies enterprise is rooted in this dual tradition, as is all of higher education. Michigan State University and other land grant institutions amply illustrate the historical role of the Morrill Act in hastening the agricultural improvement and the role of political scientists there in the Vietnamese counterrevolution. At Stanford, the role of the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) in planning bombing sorties over Vietnam left no doubt in our minds whose side these institutions were on and whose side we had to fight to win them over, or at least neutralize them. More recently, the role of Stanford and MIT in fostering the growth of Silicon Valley and the 128 corridor around Boston provides additional evidence of the role of the university in addressing real problems and needs of the

broader society. Why or how can Black studies be different?

My basic point is that we Black studies professionals must rededicate ourselves to academic excellence and social responsibility. We must not only produce good scholarship and get good grades, but we must create opportunities where this knowledge can be used to improve conditions that exist in our communities. We must solve problems that face Black people and exist for the broader society.

Much of my work has involved this dynamic, and we can have some long conversations about how much emphasis should be put on which side of the scale and with what consequences. An early effort to focus on curriculum development work began at Stanford where Drake helped me create the Multi-Ethnic Education Resources (MEER) Center and to publish a book called *Teaching Black*. This guide to Black studies curriculum material was a precursor to my contributions to *Introduction to Afro American Studies* and other efforts. Our concern with addressing pressing social issues included the work we did and published as *Black People and the 1980 Census: Proceedings from a Conference on the Population Undercount*—an issue that is still being contested because of the negative impact on Black and other underserved commu-

**It is important that Black studies again play a leading role in an endeavor for which we were once the leading change agent in higher education: that of breaking down the generally artificial walls that separate the disciplines or fields of knowledge into little turfs or fiefdoms.**



*Solidarity.* Photo by Kristen Clarke.

nities.<sup>20</sup> This includes efforts to understand and document the election of Harold Washington in Chicago and other Black mayors.<sup>21</sup> My *Black Business Enterprise: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* was my earliest effort to contribute to community development initiatives.<sup>22</sup> This work continues with my collaboration to create the Art, Culture, and Trade Roxbury Consortium in Boston.<sup>23</sup>

This kind of work—and I mention this list to inspire your own—is what Carter G. Woodson meant when he “sought to turn history to the best racial account.” And it is what John Hope Franklin said thirty-five years ago: “I now assert that the proper choice for the American Negro Scholar is to use his knowledge and ingenuity, his resources and his talents, to combat the forces that isolate

him and his people, and like the true patriot that he is, to contribute to the solution of the problems that all Americans in common.”<sup>24</sup>

We need not wonder why he chaired the Commission on “One America” for President Clinton at the ripe old age of eighty-three!

A key question here and a point of potential conflict is what guides our vision of social responsibility? What are the conditions, the needs, and the aspirations of these communities we should seek to serve? There is racism, there is the increasing wealth and increasing misery, there is the crisis in Africa, and so on. There are the increased difficulties being faced by Black women. Whatever course we choose, I would urge us to pay attention to the words of another scholar-activist who reminded us that our purpose is

not just to describe the world, but to change it!<sup>25</sup> Or as Socrates put it, "The test of knowledge is a proved capacity for action."

### Unity Without Uniformity

There are so many things that can divide us in the Black studies enterprise and, following Murphy's law, they do! Black scholars and White scholars are active in the field, as are men and women. So nationalism, chauvinism, and male supremacy can be and have been divisive. As I suggested above, there are the obvious possibilities for ideological division. There are those of us who think that capitalism and its attendant structures of political and social domination can remain as is, or at least be reformed. And there are others who reject reformism and assert that only a revolutionary change will achieve the kind of life that they desire for the masses of people and that Black people deserve. There are class differences as well.

It is here that I think a slogan from the movement of the 1970s has relevance: Unity without uniformity. We do not have to be the same or think the same to carry on collective work aimed at one or more common objectives. And we do not have to have the same overall objectives. If I was leaving California and taking the midnight train to Georgia, some might want to stop in Las Vegas and others to see the Grand Canyon; a few might want to get off in Texas; and another might want to journey on to Mississippi or Alabama. We can all leave the station on the same train and travel to our destinations. Who knows—maybe the spirited dialogue and camaraderie might lead to some of us staying on the train and going on further together than we thought possible or having the train stop at all of our important intermediary stops. I hope you get my point!

As an example of our need to forge greater unity, let me mention, for example, the grant

from the Ford Foundation that Nellie McKay received on behalf of a new consortium of Black studies programs. They include Carnegie Mellon, the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Afro-American Studies. The consortium will develop outreach initiatives with K-12 districts. UW-Madison will develop programs in theater, music, and the visual arts; establish new and strengthen existing ties with historically Black colleges (HBCUs); and sponsor public symposia on each campus. More such efforts are needed!

Finally, unity without uniformity should also be applied to generational issues: I was recently accused of being "solomonic" because of a stance I took in a 1998 Black studies conference at the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth.<sup>26</sup> I simply said that those in my generation had to listen more to the students of this generation to understand where they are coming from, what are their issues, and how they see going about the social change mission of their generation. Perhaps, if we listen well and are respectful, we might even be given the opportunity to share whatever insights and wisdom our experience has yielded. My attitude might just come from growing up with my four youngsters—soon to be nineteen, seventeen, fifteen, and thirteen. But I think it has deeper roots.

I sincerely hope that I have shared enough of my thinking that you can see how I approach what I see as our continuing quest to realize the broad mission of social transformation for which we created Black studies. I look forward to your comments and feedback. I am going to keep at it, and I trust you will too. I am confident that we as a field of study and we as a people—Black people, people of this nation, and peoples of the world—must and will make progress.

We may not have it all together, but together we can have it all!

## Notes

This essay is based on a presentation prepared for the panel titled "Future Directions for African American Studies" at the Stanford University Conference on Race, November 12, 1999. For details on this conference, consult <http://www.stanford.edu/group/RaceConf/>

1. I will use the terms Black studies, Afro-American studies, African American studies, Africana studies interchangeably in the article. There are distinctions to be made perhaps, but they will not be explored in this article.

2. The film is available from California Newsreel, 149 Ninth Street, San Francisco, Calif., 94103; phone 415.621.6196; <http://www.newsreel.org>.

3. Barbara Wards, *Five Ideas That Changed the World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1959).

4. Margaret Walker, *Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius: A Portrait of the Man, a Critical Look at His Work* (New York: Amistead Press, 1993), p. 286.

5. Abdul Alkalimat et al., *Introduction to Afro American Studies: A Peoples College Primer* (Chicago: Twenty First Century Books, 1986).

6. The following are useful for reviewing the early history of the field: Armstead L. Robinson, Craig C. Foster, and Donald H. Ogilvie, eds., *Black Studies in the University; a Symposium*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969). John W. Blassingame, *New Perspectives on Black studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971). Nick Aaron Ford, *Black Studies: Threat or Challenge* (Port Washington, N.Y., Kennikat Press, 1973). The period of professionalization can be studied using, among others, Abdul Alkalimat, *Professionalization of Achievement in Black Studies: A Report on Ranking Black Studies in Universities and Colleges* (Technical Report, Afro-American Studies and Research Program, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1991, typescript), summarized in Gerald McWorter, "On Ranking Professional Achievement in Black Studies: A Reply to Brossard," *Journal of Negro Education* 55:2 (1986), pp. 229-235.

7. One case study of community struggles linked to the history of Black studies is Ronald Bailey with Diane Turner and Robert Hayden, *Lower Roxbury: A Community of Treasures in the City of Boston* (Roxbury, Mass.: Madison Park Development Corporation, 1993). The book was awarded a certificate of merit by the American Association for State and Local History. In fact, this is an example of the kind of local community histories that should be an undertaking of all Black studies programs.

8. This was a central conclusion Gerald McWorter and I reached in our summation of the overviews produced by leading Black studies scholars when they studied the course syllabi collected by the Institute of the Black World curriculum project. See Gerald McWorter and Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies Curriculum Develop-

ment in the 1980s: Its Patterns and History," *The Black Scholar* (March-April and November-December, 1984).

9. You can imagine my surprise when, while developing the notes for this article, I came across these references in Hedit Hayes Jacobs, *Interdisciplinary Curriculum: Design and Implementation* (Alexandria, Va.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1989): "Mike, a 2nd grader, defines mathematics as something you do in the morning" (p. 1); and from the British philosopher Lionel Elvin: "When you are out walking, nature does not confront you for three quarters of an hour only with flowers and in the next only with animals" p. 2.

10. The first line of the book I am completing on the slave(ry) trade and industrial capitalism says, "What has happened in history is not what necessarily gets recorded as history!" Or, more popularly, 't'aint necessarily so. What is the role of new understanding of memory and memory distortion at the individual and social level in our vision or re-visioning of history? This goes to the heart of the Black studies enterprise. See David Schacter, *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

11. See, for example: David W. Phillipson, *African Archaeology* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *Genes, Peoples and Languages*, Mark Seielstad, trans. (New York: North Point Press, forthcoming March 2000); Nicholas Wade, "Scientist at Work: Joseph H. Greenberg—What We All Spoke When the World Was Young," *New York Times*, February 1, 2000. "In the beginning, there was one people, perhaps no more than 2,000 strong, who had acquired an amazing gift, the faculty for complex language. Favored by the blessings of speech, their numbers grew, and from their cradle in the northeast of Africa, . . ."

12. See these articles that I have published: "The Slave(ry) Trade and the Development of Industrial Capitalism in New England," in Marty Blatt and David Rodieger, eds., *The Meaning of Slavery in the North* (New York: Garland Press, 1998); "Out of Sight, Out of Mind": Black Scholars and the Significance of the Slave(ry) Trade in World Economic History," in Thomas D. Boston, ed., *A Different Vision: A History of Black Economic Thought* (New York: Routledge, 1997); and "The Other Side of Slavery: Black Labor, Cotton, and Textile Industrialization in Great Britain and the United States," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 68, no. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 35-50. A classic statement of this general thesis is Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

13. Snow, C. P. (Charles Percy), *Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

14. Our understanding of paradigms was influenced by Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1955). See also Abdul

Alkalimat, *Paradigms in Black Studies* (Chicago: 21st Century Books and Periodicals, 1990).

15. For me, personally, Stanford was an important site where this journey crystallized. Not only did I study with Professors Drake, Kennell Jackson, Tetteh Kofi, David Abernethy, Donald Harris, Frank Bonilla, B. Joyce Ross, Edward Greenberg, John Gurley, and others, I had the opportunity to visit Africa in 1971.

16. This was also the case with Owusu Saudaui, who ventured behind the lines and met with FRELIMO's Samora Machel. The context is presented in "Behind the Lines," a 1972 documentary produced by Robert Van Lierop. Developments related to the African Liberation Support Committee are chronicled in the newspaper *The African World*, produced by the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU), later the Youth Organization for Black Unity, in North Carolina.

17. For a discussion of the "African Renaissance," President Mbeki's comments and his views are summarized in a speech by Joe Modise, South Africa's Minister of Defence in his opening address, "The SA Navy and an African Renaissance," at Annual Naval Conference, October 23, 1997. See [www.iss.co.za/Pubs/PAPERS/27/Paper27.html](http://www.iss.co.za/Pubs/PAPERS/27/Paper27.html). Wamba dia Wamba's "Reflections on the African Renaissance" appears in Ronald Bailey and Abdul Alkalimat, *A New Congo for a New Millennium! Essays by Ernest Wamba dia Wamba and Documents from the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD-ML)* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, forthcoming spring 2000).

18. Philippe E. Wamba, *Kinship: A Family's Journey in Africa and America* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1999).

19. Frank Bonilla and Robert Girling, *Structures of Dependency* (Stanford: Stanford University, Department of Political Science, 1973). The book was distributed by Nairobi Books.

20. Ronald Bailey, ed., *Black People and the 1980 Census: Proceedings from a Conference on the Population Undercount* (Chicago: Chicago Center for Afro-American Studies and Research, 1980).

21. The Illinois Council for Black Studies organized a major national conference to focus on the impact of Black mayors before Harold Washington was elected. Several publications have resulted. See, for example, Gerald McWorter, Douglas Gills, and Ronald Bailey, "Black Power Politics as Social Movement: Dialectics of Leadership in the Campaign to Elect Harold Washington," in Abebe Segeye, Leonard Harris, and Julia Maxted eds., *Exploitation and Exclusion: Race and Class in Contemporary Society* (Oxford, England: Hans Zell Publishing Consultants, 1992).

22. Ronald Bailey, ed., *Black Business Enterprise: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

23. In the cultural studies arena, documenting the history of the civil rights movement, including the work of Black photographers, has been one of my interests. See Ronald Bailey, "Picturing the Black Experience and Framing the Civil Rights Photography of Ernest C. Withers," in Ronald Bailey and Michelle Furst, *Let Us March On!: Selected Civil Rights Photographs of Ernest C. Withers, 1955-1968* (Boston: Massachusetts College of Art and Northeastern University, 1992). See also my *Remembering Medgar Evers . . . For a New Generation* (Oxford: University of Mississippi, African American Studies Program, 1988).

24. Quoted in McWorter and Bailey, "Black Studies Curriculum Development in the 1980s," *The Black Scholar* (March-April 1984), p. 28. Professor Franklin was the honorary cochair of the Stanford University Conference on Race and was in the audience when the talk on which this essay is based was given.

25. This is found in Karl Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach," first published as an appendix to F. Engels's *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, 1886. See *Marx/Engels Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), Volume One, pp. 13-15.

26. See Michael West, *Report on a Black Studies Conference at the University of Massachusetts* (Dartmouth, MA: University of Massachusetts, 1999).