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NOTES ON THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

Black Urban and Ethnic Studies Programs

And the Needs of the Black Community

A Working/Position Paper

Institute of the Black World
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Prefatory Statement: On Assumptions

The Steering Committee of the National Association of Black Urban and Ethnic Directors asked the Institute of the Black World to prepare a position/working paper in preparation for its consultation in Claremont, June 20-23. The paper was to be addressed to two specific questions:

1. What should be the goals of these Black, Ethnic and Urban Studies Programs in the light of the needs of the black community?
2. Specifically, what are the standards which shall be proposed for such programs and how shall these standards be maintained?

Basic Assumptions

Our work on these questions is based on a number of assumptions which will inform the documents. Among the most important are these:

1. We have assumed that the distinctions among Black, Urban and Ethnic Studies programs are not of basic importance for our purposes. The key issue at stake is that these are all segments of a colonizing white higher education (in both black and white schools) which black students, faculty and directors may be able to turn to the purposes of the black community. This does not mean that we do not understand the

local politics which brought these different manifestations into being, or the variations which may be present in the specific roles they can play. What it does mean, however, is that when we think of national goals, we see all such programs in a single basic identity: contested territory over which black people seek hegemony, control and direction for the good of the struggle of the black community.

2. We assume that it is not profitable to discuss such programs without attempting to place them in some historical, institutional and ideological context. For the identity, purpose and direction of the programs cannot be fully addressed without at least minimal reference to those contexts.
3. Therefore we also assume that it is important to propose some ways in which at least a minimal assessment may be made of the varying potential these institutions possess for being transformed--through serious political/educational struggle--into centers of liberating black education.
4. We assume that in such an assessment some special focus ought to be placed on those institutions where black people are already gathered in large concentrations--the black colleges and universities.
5. We assume that any discussion of goals (and the related standards) of these programs "in the light of the needs of the black community" must be tentative in nature,

and that such a discussion must insist on the development of serious attempts to determine as precisely as possible these needs on local, regional and national levels. Only after that work has begun can there be the kind of necessary correspondence developed between needs and goals.

CONTENTS OF THE PAPER

With the above assumptions as guides, we have prepared a working/position paper with these basic segments:

- I. A Brief Introduction To The Historical Context
- II. A Discussion of the White School As a Context For The Struggle Towards Black Higher Education
- III. A Discussion of the Black School As a Context For The Struggle Towards Black Higher Education
- IV. Some Tentative Approaches to Goals and Standards for Black, Urban and Ethnic Studies Programs in the Context on NABUED

I. The Historical Context: A Brief Introduction

It is likely that the single most important historical reality which must inform all thinking about the future of black direction for Black, Urban and Ethnic Studies programs is the profoundly political context out of which the vast majority of these programs sprang. By and large, they were created out of the mass political movements in the black community, movements which created new black consciousness, new black students, new black demands and some new white concessions. We can safely assume that most persons gathered for this consultation are in their current positions as a result of this black political movement and the resultant white concessions.

That historical struggle is not properly understood however unless it is placed in the perspective of the international movement of African peoples. Our activity in America has been part of a far larger action by the colonized peoples, and most significantly for us, the children of Africa. The struggle on campuses, therefore, must be related not only to the national movement towards black self-determination and liberation in America, but to the international context as well. Decolonization is the central issue, whether in Trinidad, Dar Es Salaam, Wayne State or Howard. We are engaged in an international historical movement which has not yet been clearly connected, but definitely one whose connections may clearly be seen.

In a situation like the Claremont Consultation, the historical point need not be belabored, but its implications must be made explicit, even in a very condensed form. There are at least four implications of the historical context which should be considered by those who search out the future of such programs.

1. The essentially black middle-class group which staffs and participates in these programs as directors, faculty and students owes a profound debt to the larger black community. Indeed, the programs owe their lives to the motion of that community, and may properly be expected to devote their lives and services to the building of that community for its continuous motion and struggle towards liberation.
2. The programs do not owe their existence to the "Mother" schools, especially the white ones, and therefore ought not to define their first allegiance in that way, regardless of job definitions and proposal wording.
3. There is likely no serious black-developing future for these programs if they do not become an intrinsic part of the onward movement of the community whose struggle created them. For every evidence indicates that assimilation into the destructive purposes of mainline black and white American higher education is the only future possible for programs which are cut off from the life movements of

black people. Many programs which grew out of struggles for "autonomy" and "nation-building" have already been sucked back fully into the dominating university structures.

4. The history of these programs clearly illuminates the absolutely political nature of black education generally and black higher education specifically. As in all other aspects of the political struggles of the black community, this educational sector must have black control as its first goal, not as an end in itself, but as a means towards using higher education as a weapon in our struggle and a resource for our community.
5. The drive towards decolonization of our education must be kept in its proper international context. These are its basic roots and relations. Without such connections on organizational, ideological, intellectual and personal levels, the movement will soon wither and die.

II. THE WHITE SCHOOL AND BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION: WHO IS QUALIFIED?

". . . back studies is value-laden and political because it educates people so that they can fight racism in their country. However, all other college programs are also political. Teaching students to conform to the existing cultural norms is political because it is intended to maintain the status quo. . . . Having ROTC on campus is also a political act since it helps to strengthen the military. Arguing that universities are neutral or value-free is self-deception. . . . Black studies is no more, nor any less, "political."

"Pacism in Maryland Higher Education"
The New University, Baltimore, 1970

"The thrust of Black Studies Programs must remain at the level of a movement. They must resist institutionalization and any partnership which is not. . . 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 be permitted to become token instruments for the legitimation of white institutions of higher education."

"Black Studies As an Academic Discipline"
Preston Wilcox, 1969

One of the major contributions of the Black Studies movement has been to remind us of the intensely political nature of all education, but especially the education of the oppressed. For the movement in this generation grew directly out of the moral-political struggles known as the Civil Rights movement. It was given impetus the coming of a black-consciousness which could only be political in the midst of a whitened society, and its period of most explosive development came on the heel of the assassination of the world's most prominent black political leader.

Then, when one realizes that Black Studies is simply the most recent expression of the centuries-long struggle of black men and women to define our own education, the political nature of the issue becomes even more sharply delineated. For those who control the processes of education in a system of human domination have always recognized that the system could never survive if the oppressed peoples gained full control over the means of education for their children. And in America there has never been any doubt that the larger society insisted--even under separate and unequal circumstances--that it would define the content, the direction and the ultimate legitimacy of the education of its oppressed black people.

Black Studies entered into that older struggle for black education, a struggle which is ultimately one for self-definition and self determination. In the process it illuminated the essential bankruptcy of American higher education. For it clarified what we should have known clearly all along: If the university is meant to be a transmitter of the best of the traditions and values of a society, then in a time when that society, its past, present and future, are under profound attack, it is understandable that one of its most sensitive institutions should be in serious difficulties. For the vacuous corruption of the society at large at once grows out of and enters into the corruption of the institutions of higher education which serve it and are in turn served by it.

In that context, the use of Black, Urban and Ethnic Studies

at its best is a part of the historical drive towards a new order, one in which black people control and define the kind of education we need for our own sense of wholeness. At its best the movement is focussed on the creation of that wisdom which offers to us the proper perspective on the life and struggles of our peoples (and all people). It is a search for a correct understanding of the nature of white, western civilization with its development from colonization to neo-colonization to what--now represented most starkly by America--may be a serious attempt at re-colonization. Black people on white campuses must be involved in the search for a new sense of what is necessary in personal as well as corporate ways to carry on the struggle, joining the cultural, economic and political strengths of our people, creating new strengths wherever possible.

With such definitions in mind, black people who approach the white American university must devise an entirely new approach to its significance for our education. For when one considers our needs in the light of the record of these institutions as participants in the American Way or in the American Order, then the older questions and approaches are no longer adequate. At least they are not adequate for those black persons who proclaim any serious commitment to the struggles of our people.

We can no longer come for individual "benefits" in prestige, advancements or finances--whether we are students faculty or staff. Nor can we any longer deceive ourselves into the role of craven suppliants who will be lost in the fires of nonentity if

if we do not receive the blessings and degrees of these schools which have lost their own way. For these are the same institutions which not only helped to create the America of our oppression, but they are the institutions which since World War II have been faltering, stumbling, wondering confusedly through issues having to do with their own specialty: white education for white people. Therefore, we must surely examine them carefully on the question of Black education for Black people.

If we come at all to the white universities, they must be approached for strategic reasons having to do with the struggles of the black community. They must be examined because some of them are supported by the taxes of black people. They must be considered because large numbers of black people are located in close proximity to them, because they have certain resources which may be potential sources of assistance for the future development of the black community.

Therefore the old colonial question is absolutely irrelevant. We can no longer give legitimacy to their foolishness concerning which of the "natives" are qualified (either through a proper intellectual subservience or more recently, through a loud but harmless "militance") to enter the institutions of the colonizers, to be fitted for the service of the white Mother Country. Now the time for reversal has come, and we must seriously ask: Which of the highly questionable white institutions --including the so-called Great Universities--have the highest potential to be transformed through black struggle to deal with

the needs of black people and our education.

Black education is too important to be approached in a random way, and those who approach the white universities should carry at least the following list of questions and qualifications in order to assess properly their potential for black people.

1. Is the institution located in easy access--preferably walking distance--to a large and varied black community? The experiences of the last five years, especially, have indicated how crucial is the issue of black proximity. Not only is it necessary for the maintenance of spiritual and psychological balance among black students and staff, but Black Education insists that the Black community must be a major classroom and learning context for black students. Of great consequence, too, is the fact that a surrounding black community provides a pool of resources for staff employment at the institution, and under the best circumstances provides a circle of protection whenever that is necessary.
2. Does the university have a commitment--plus articulated plans created by black people--to develop its black student population to a minimum of 15 to 20 per cent within the next four years? Does its recruitment procedures delve below the high school senior level, down into the grade levels where black students must begin to think seriously about college for the first time?

Here the principle is partly one of reparations. We must have a presence which represents not only our proportion in the national population, but which goes beyond that to recognize

how many of our mothers and fathers and uncles and aunts have been bypassed and crushed by American education in the years now passed. They must be accounted for. However this figure also represents the current black pre-school population in America. Of course, too, it is obvious that if black people are to establish a presence capable of serious struggle for self definition, it must be as strong as is possible.

3. What has been the attitude and action of the institution towards those black persons who have been involved in open struggles to define and control black education on the campus? Have there been arrests, physical abuse, retaliations--basic intransigence? If this is the case, the current group of black persons must give serious thought to the meaning of their own presence and the strategies and possibility of their own struggle--if they intend to enter into that historic and necessary engagement.
4. Has the university created special programs, with a high percentage of "hard," university-based money for the financial and academic support of black students? Are these programs under the control of black people who understand their role as servants of the black community? The obvious havoc which the American public school system has wreaked against black students make it unnecessary to elaborate on the absolute necessity of such programs. However, it is necessary to indicate how crucial is the nature of their funding, which cannot be will o' the wisp resources.

It is also important to note that black control must be present in such programs not only for the obvious reasons of sensitive

development and administration, and the necessary autonomy, but because black students must be protected as much as possible from developing a life style which depends upon jiving and bogarding white folks. It ill prepares them for the realities of struggle.

5. Does the institution have a commitment--plus clearly articulated plans developed by black people--for the expansion of the black presence to 15-20 per cent in each of the following categories: faculty, staff, administration and governing body--within the next four years? Is it seeking to build faculty by providing resources for its own black students to move as rapidly as possible through graduate education? Wherever trained persons are not available for administrative and staff positions, is it developing training programs which will create such skills within the black community?

Here the issues are basically the same as in the matter of student population. The development of a critical mass, the creation of a unified community of black persons within the university, the creation of jobs and skills which must be placed at the service of the black community--all these things are involved. (Of course, when one thinks about staff and administration levels the issue of easy access to the black community is raised again.)

6. If the institution is engaged in large scale, spectator--oriented athletic programs, and black students are on teams in numbers well beyond their proportion on campus, is the school contributing any of the income from these events to the needs of black people on or off the campus? For instance, in schools where black students

represent 1 per cent of the student body and 80 or 100 per cent of the starting basketball line-up, it is clear that certain kinds of exploitation are taking place. Such black skills ought to bring benefits to the Black Community at least as much as they bring glory and financial gain to the white controlled institution. In this way black athletes can begin to develop some firmer sense than they have now of their responsibility for the life of their people.

7. Has the university developed under black leadership (or is it clearly working towards) a curriculum which allows for the concentration by students on the study of peoples of African descent? Where the older, colonially-oriented African Studies programs exist under white control, can these be coopted--with their funding--towards the building of a unified program around the experiences of African peoples, rather than separating African and Black (or Afro-American or Ethnic) Studies? Black people can accept nothing less than that. We need a unified curriculum which will make it possible for black students to focus on the study of the African experience, in the homeland and the Diaspora, as well as on an African-oriented analysis of the development of the western world. We need that under black control.
8. Are these Black, Urban or Ethnic Study programs planned or presently existing at the level of the most autonomous academic model on that campus?--whether it be department, school, college or Institute? Essentially the question is: do these academic programs have the power, status and economic support which are necessary to control hiring, dismissal, creation of new curri-

culum, community commitment, maximum control of budget? The thrust towards Black control of Black Education must be a strong and fully empowered black presence developed to protect some of the fragile experiments as well as to assess critically those which do not serve the purposes of black students and their community. The power to act, to change, to transform must be in our hands--if fundamental movement is to take place. Episodic confrontations are never sufficient. Indeed, they are dangerously deceiving if the levers of power remain in the same hands.

9. Is the entire curriculum being subjected to full assessment from the point of view of the black experience, so that the no student (especially black ones) will be able to miss a serious encounter with the reality of who black people are, what we have said and done and what has been done to us? In other words, the record of the black encounter with the world must not be compartmentalized into an ersatz department and patronized during a Black Culture week. From the freshman to senior levels, and into the graduate schools all of the arts, philosophy, history, must be exposed to the coming of blackness. The voyeurism that characterizes the present approach of the social sciences to black people must be overturned.

The inhumanity of the western approach to the sciences must be addressed from a reconstructed black humanistic position. Ultimately the failure of white education to deal with reality will be identified and attacked, for black students cannot afford that deadly luxury.

10. In places where "Ethnic Studies" programs have developed, is the university prepared to allocate funds, faculty positions and administrative control according to the ethnic percentages of student and community population?

Generally the practice has been to throw a meager amount for such programs into the arena (See Invisible Man) and to watch the black people, Indians, Chicanos, Asians and anyone else available--fight each other to exhaustion and bitter divisiveness. Black people cannot afford to expend energies on such battles in order to grasp an education for our community.

11. Does the university have any significant library and archival holdings on the Black experience? Does it have specific plans developed by black authorities to expand its holdings in this area to the point where they represent at least 15 to 20 per cent of all library materials? Does its book store have similar plans or holdings?

It is obvious that serious research on the black experience cannot take place unless there are materials and facilities. With more and more black students exposed to some study of black subject matter in elementary and secondary schools, the universities cannot be satisfied with materials suited to carelessly constructed, introductory courses. With the reprint and microfilm mills grinding away, no institution has any excuse for a lack of materials sufficient to service a program of major concentration on black people.

Does the institution have clear and articulated plans to place

all functions relating to black education for black people in the hands of black people? Are such plans now in operation for: student recruiting and admissions, testing and evaluation, counselling and guidance, financial and academic support, black urban and ethnic studies curriculum, faculty and staff recruitment, special library collections, community relations?

The evidence of the last 350 years on these shores leads vividly to the conclusion that we cannot trust the education, life and destiny of our people into white hands. Indeed, any careful examination of the historical and contemporary evidence makes it rather clear that the white leadership of this society cannot handle its own life, education and direction. As Fanon said of Europe, so we say of America: "we must invent and we must make discoveries. . . we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man." This is why black education must be in the hands of committed black people. It has nothing to do with black racism. Rather it has to do with black and white reality. It has to do with the absolute necessity of a new creation.

12. Is the university using, and willing to use, its money, prestige and technical skills to support black-controlled educational and research institutions? Is it prepared to develop joint proposals, sub-contracting arrangements, training in fund-raising for such institutions?

In other words, does the university recognize that it is indeed being granted a privilege to deal with black education, and that

it would not have been afforded this privilege had it not been for the sacrificial work and accomplishments of black-controlled institutions of higher education in the days when white universities could not see black people in numbers larger than one? Is it now ready to cooperate in the sustaining and building of these institutions--now that they are coming under serious attack from every side? No white-controlled school (especially private ones) ought to be allowed to escape that question. For it has to do with the basic integrity of the black community, and with the integrity of those black people who live within white walls.

Has the university committed itself to make its facilities available to aid the movement of the local black community towards self-definition and self-determination? Has it formulated clear plans for this development?

For instance:

- a. Is its curriculum developed in such a way that the local leaders and institutions can call upon the services of students and faculty for research and assistance in the light of their own needs? Can students and faculty obtain appropriate credit, for example, if they assist the local black community with an oral history of its major institutions and leadership?
- b. Are the institution's technical facilities--from data processing to classrooms, gymnasias and auditoriums available to the community's organizations under mutually agreed on stipulations?

- c. Is the university consulting with the local black community regarding future land use and the possibility of developing new university buildings in such a manner and in such places as to make them available for the black community's needs as well?
- d. Is the university developing training and other programs for the local black high school push-outs?

The use of university facilities is one of the clearest test's of the institution's commitment to the development of the black community, and those black persons on campus who see themselves as extensions of that community, must develop their own set of possibilities around this issue.

This list of criteria is obviously not exhaustive. It is meant to begin serious discussion about a most serious issue: the means by which we assess institutions of higher education which claim to want black students, faculty and programs. It assumes that education is one of the most cherished national resources for black people, and that there can be no fundamental changes in the ideology of our people without a constant struggle to control the goals, content and methodology of that education. We assume that is essentially a political struggle.

These black criteria also assume that white education, from beginning to end, is essentially bankrupt and corrupt, tied as it is to the heart of American domestic and international systems of exploitation. Therefore we cannot submit ourselves or

our children to it without entering into a contest for control and fundamental change. Moreover, it also assumes that black students, black faculty and black people generally are now scattered across the white dominated institutions of the land (averaging some 10 persons per campus!). But it also assumes that accidental presence is not ideological political or strategic presence, and that some of us are responsible for beginning to articulate a set of black criteria for where we ought to be in currently white-controlled institutions of higher education in America. This is clearly one possible role for NABUED.

It is clearly not about random movement anymore--if we are serious about black struggle. Nor is it about movement to where whites are most easily frightened (or is it titillated?), or to where we can have easiest access to white bodies, white controlled drugs or white-controlled money. Rather, those of us who are committed to the life of our people must ask where we ought to be. We must assume that many of us will move into black institutions--carrying a set of criteria for them as well. But others must struggle with those schools across the nation which have the potential for being transformed into centers or outposts of black education. These criteria suggest one approach to the analysis of the question of which are the schools.

It should be obvious to anyone who knows white institutions of education that the number of schools which will bring forth a positive response to even half of those questions is in a small minority. There is nothing wrong with that. Every school where

black people now exist or where they contemplate existence must be subject to the scrutiny of such criteria. Many schools ought to be abandoned to their own white death. But some are worth contesting for, and some will serve our ends. The important thing is that we identify them and move to concentrate our energies in the struggle for their transformation.

For the harsh reality is that we must either struggle or surrender. There is no random or neutral black education at this stage of America's development--if there ever was. It either serves the purposes of the colonizers, or it is involved in the battle to free the minds of the colonized. But if we decide to struggle, we must do it with patient, indomitable persistence, looking for no easy victories. New worlds are not created out of easy victories.

III. THE BLACK SCHOOL AS A CONTEXT FOR BLACK EDUCATION:

GOALS AND REALITIES

In the period immediately following Martin Luther King, Jr.'s death black presidents and boards and faculties acted amazingly (but not so amazingly) like white ones. Hurt, anguished and threatening black students were promised everything at black schools that they were at whites--but very little more. Promises were made concerning the recruiting of more black faculty. Promises were made concerning the development of new courses and new curriculum and Black Studies departments. Promises were made about new relationships to the community and the phasing of new black people onto the governing boards.

In those frightening days many promises were made and a few were kept, and for the most part students had neither the shrewdness, the persistence nor the leadership to continue fighting after many of the promises were broken. So some new courses were added to most curricula. and sometimes they were taught. Black schools attempted to create all of the same committees and study groups leading to new majors and new departments. Many of them petered out, partly because of the failure of consistent student pressure, partly because the burnings across the land had apparently died down, and largely because black leadership on the campuses is not committed to the creation of new visions, new institutions and new participa-

tion in the struggles of the black community.

In many situations the problem was insufficient money to compete with the white institutions which were now seeking to grasp every black Ph.D. they could find. But money is not always the problem, for it is now well known that the largest foundation in the country recently had to force one of the major black graduate schools to accept a significant grant for the development of its Afro-American Studies program after the President of the school had initially refused it.

Lack of commitment to a new society, lack of vision and imagination to conceive what the Black University might mean for black people, lack of courage to move against the mainstream of dying white thought--all of these have contributed to the failure of most black schools in moving from token responses to Black Studies demands towards the creation of new institutions. But in the places where courage and commitment and vision and imagination are beginning to grow, what steps would be necessary to create real centers of Black Education, centers which will create a new cadre of black people who are aware of and devoted to the life and struggles of the black community? In other words, what must the former Negro colleges do to become the Black Universities for which so many of their students once hoped and fought? Indeed, what must be done to bring back to black campuses that sense of high purpose and existence on behalf of black people which has characterized their life at various points in their history? (This

is no idle question, for it is clear, for instance, that the current ravages of drugs across the length and breadth of the black student community is closely tied to the sense of apathy, purposelessness and despair which haunts so many of them and their schools.)

What are suggested here are some of the goals which must be set if the transformation from Negro to modishly black to serious black higher education for black struggle is to take place.

1. At the highest level of leadership, the administration must make clear its commitment to the development of such new, black-defined education. The words may vary, but the commitment must be clear.

Such public commitment is absolutely necessary so that brothers and sisters who are now scattered in the black diaspora may know where they will be received if they wish to come to black schools for serious work.

Of course, such public commitment is also dangerous because it makes the institution and its leadership more vulnerable to attack--from within and without--but there are really no alternatives if a national constituency for serious black education is to be built

2. The governing bodies of the university must be black-controlled in both formal and informal structures. For instance, blacks must take control over the management of the investment portfolios of the private institutions,

and well organized political battles must be fought to bring them to policy-making positions where public institutions are concerned. Internally black people must control the treasurer's office and the business manager's office, and must generally have the essential responsibility for the financial life of the institution.

The limited research that has been done in this area indicates that the white presence near the financial helm of the institutions does not really exist for purposes of making it easier for them to contribute their money. For they give proportionately far more money to the white schools on whose boards they serve--often with no fiscal control--than to the black ones. At least as often, they make no significant fiscal contribution at all. (Indeed, in the percentage and influence that is available through portfolio management, some of the philanthropist-business men actually make money from the black schools.) The main purpose that they serve is to assure other white funding agencies that these institutions are safe investments. Such insults are not for the good of black people.

3. The Board of Governors must be at least overwhelmingly black in make-up. A significant portion of its membership should come from persons who have been students at black schools since 1955 and have therefore sensed the nature of the ferment which has brought us to the present moment. Representatives of current faculty, students and community

persons ought to be present on the Board--with or without vote. In addition, a system of black technical advisers drawn from various parts of the country, would help to broaden the vision and blacken the experience of the Governing Board.

In state-controlled institutions this will present, of course, the most serious of obstacles. However, the issue of the uses of black people's tax monies must be faced sooner or later, and the institutions of education are probably among the best grounds for the waging of that struggle. The future of black state-supported schools must be a part of every state-level struggle for political leverage and power. Combinations of black educators, community organizers/leaders and black elected political officials must be formed to develop common strategies in this area.

If the university is to give itself fully to the life and struggles of the black community, then all policy-making administrators should be black. But blackness is not sufficient, for they must offer a clear commitment to the articulated policies and directions set forth by the leadership of the administration.

All departmental chairmen should be black, and the faculty should be overwhelmingly black (Chairmen, Deans and Presidents must find ways--without taking unnecessary

political risks--of letting all persons concerned know that this is the institution's clear direction, in recruitment, promotions, appointments and separations. It will also be important that there be developed as carefully as possible a set of internally created criteria for faculty hiring, retention, promotion and separation. In the black-directed university, there probably ought not to be automatic tenure for anyone, since all are participants in a precarious adventure where technical immunity to risks is at least inappropriate.

Black institutions can develop strategies for cooperative black faculty recruitment through an already existing agency: the Southern Education Program in Atlanta, a six-year old recruitment agency which specializes in the identification and channeling of prospective black faculty to black schools.

The rationale for such black control of the faculty should be at least as obvious as the rationale for black control of the administration and governing board. The issue is neither black racism nor separatism, but the need to take whatever steps are necessary for black men and women to take full responsibility for the education of our children--for the securing of our future.

5. Though this may seem a minor matter, it is nonetheless important that at some point in the life of the re-directed institutions there be serious discussion of the names of buildings and of the institution itself wherever black names

do not prevail. Symbols are more than pointers to reality. They participate in a mode of reality themselves; and there is something crucial about black people deciding what the names of their educational structures shall be. For African peoples, a name is a deep part of identity. Seriousness concerning purpose and direction will lead to seriousness concerning identity, and vice-versa.

Thus the possibility of a grand re-naming day must always be entertained, carrying with it the vision of hundreds and of thousands of students, faculty and community persons walking and dancing from building to building, pouring libations to the fathers and brothers who have gone before us in the struggle, and attaching their name to the rededicated structures.

6. Students must be recruited from as wide a spectrum of backgrounds and experiences within the black community as is possible. (The Black-devoted university should give no time to the recruiting of white students--regardless of the advice of the Carnegie Commission or the Federal Government. Neither of those bodies or the institutions they represent have any significant history of serious commitment to black education. Their advice must be at least partially judged on such grounds.)

Special attention must be given to those students who have been mangled by the system of public education, until the day comes when black people control and transform their children's lower school education. Indeed, the service of such students must self-consciously become one of the hallmarks of the black institution--and not an accidental apologetically performed task. The skills we have built, and can continue to build in this area, can then be passed on to those brothers who face the same challenge in white-dominated schools north and south. Together we may learn and teach some things about the possibilities of mass higher education which have not yet been understood or discovered. Again our history need not simply be burden. For this is the age when the oppressed will either come into their own across the earth or the earth will be a vast arena of death. Our history provides us a passageway into this frightening but amazing destiny. To create the educational tools which will help our children--the children of oppression and slavery--to fulfill their destiny of struggle towards freedom is a privilege not given to every people in every generation.

7. Not only must the institution recruit the normal college aged students from the widest possible set of backgrounds--specializing in the oppressed--it must also be committed to gathering in students from outside of the usual college pool. Black schools are the places in which new approaches

to adult education must be attempted. We know how many underdeveloped geniuses walk our mail routes, sweep our streets, and generally live lives of sometimes unique desperation. These persons must be another part of the special agenda for black schools; and the various experiments with the external degree and the university without walls must be tested out in black institutions. The red tape and the walls which make it so difficult for brothers and sisters to walk into our classes from off the street must be eliminated in the black-committed university.

8. There must be a well-conceived set of attempts to reach out beyond America's shores to establish relationships with persons and institutions in other parts of the African diaspora, as well as in the homeland. Students from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America and wherever African peoples exist should be welcomed and supported as fully as possible.

In addition, institutional relationships should be established with educational institutions in other parts of the Black World, making possible the exchange of students, faculty and information. For we are essentially at work on the same tasks: the decolonization of the minds of our people, the creation of our own educational models, towards the establishment of our ultimate liberation. We have much to teach and much to learn from our experiences on these and other shores.

9. In the same way, serious black schools must be committed to the theory and practice of black unity. Therefore, wherever possible, they must seek to reach out to other black colleges and universities, to independent black educational centers, always with the goal of developing more fully a liberating education for our children.

The attacks which are now being made upon the fiscal life of black institutions must not force them into relationships with white partners who are really the dominating forces. Nor must it press them into the internecine warfare which leads to oblivion. Almost every black school is located in a situation in which there could be serious consolidation with other black educational forces. Petty rivalries, institutional and personal ambitions, white restraints, bureaucratic tangles--none of these should get in the way of the creation of new consortia of black institutions. This must come primarily because it is able to multiply the potentials for that black education which serves the black community. But it must also come because the society is after our blood.

10. Black schools, by concerted action, must either challenge and transform the role of the regional accrediting agencies or set up new agencies of our own which are totally committed to the principles and needs of the new black education. There is an obvious illogic (to be found in all oppression) about having the institutions of our

oppressors standing in judgment upon the education we provide for our children as we seek to prepare these children to seize the time.

With careful assessment of the risks, there must begin at least to be serious discussion of the possible options. White America--even when accompanied by black legitimizers--is in no moral or intellectual position to judge the plans, goals and accomplishments of newly-awakened black educational institutions.

11. The tyranny of white dominated accrediting agencies is no less than that of white-dominated Boards of Education. These Boards which have been the mechanism for so much of the degradation of black education now continue to serve as the mechanism for determining how and what black teachers ought to be taught to deal with our children. Black schools have two major alternatives for dealing with this tragic irony:
 - a. To join formally or informally in political struggles for black hegemony over the work of these boards.
 - b. To by-pass them and to make special arrangements with cities and other communities where black people are in positions of control or effective power in Boards of Education. Black schools could then develop with such Boards new approaches to the training of our teachers, based on real needs and real understanding of our struggles.

12. As a result of significant recent developments, the black members of congress are now claiming to be representatives of the black community at large. If education is indeed one of our most precious commodities, then their help must be enlisted fully in the survival and transformation of black higher education.

Black schools and other organizations of the black community must plan with our congressional representatives to develop means of intercepting some of the billions of dollars which flow from black people into the federal treasuries (to say nothing of money from white sources which we may claim).

The newly created National Foundation for Higher Education, with a special, partially black section is not sufficient. If there is need for a National Endowment for the Arts, then certainly there is a need for a National Endowment for Black Education, funded by the federal government with billions of dollars over the next ten year period.

The fiscal crisis of black higher education will not and ought not to be solved by primary dependence upon private funds and tuitions. Black monies go into state and federal treasuries. Both southern states and the Federal government have been malignant in their neglect of black higher education. Black schools must organize

more fully, more audaciously and more persistently than ever before around that reality. Now that we have self-proclaimed national black representatives, the time has come for them to act on this national black educational issue with the proper prompting from black schools. Their action must be on behalf of both "public" and "private" black-controlled schools. All must become a national resource.

13. On the other hand, foundations and corporations cannot possibly be allowed to get away with the paltry sums they make available--in relative as well as absolute terms--to black schools. Certain tactics which may have become outmoded in some places for black political liberation have not even been tried in this struggle. Therefore they are still new and possible.

For instance, it ought not to be inconceivable to organize a relatively small number of committed black schools each to send 20 students and faculty members to picket simultaneously the three largest, educationally-oriented foundations in New York City, carry certain specific proposals and goals with them.

In those black schools where men and women are serious about wresting what we need from the hands of the exploiters --rather than waiting for morsels to be bestowed on their terms--there ought not to be anyone too dignified for such unconventional but totally legal action.

Because black people do not yet have the same levers within the structures of power for extracting the promises and commitments which are old hat to the "great universities," we must move at the levels of strength that we do have. Here again, the models of the northern universities are useless to us. Indeed, these universities have been among our foremost detractors in the search for funds.

14. In addition to systematic assaults on white-controlled funding sources, new approaches to the resources of the black community must be found. In the light of a new commitment of the schools to the life and future of the black community, it may well be possible to discover new possibilities. One strategy must obviously involve a renamed, reorganized and redirected United Black College (perhaps Black Education) Fund which will focus special attention on the responsibilities of the black community for the funding of its schools--all of the schools which it decides ought to be funded.
15. Closely related to the issue of funding is the need for research, analysis and long-range planning for the future of serious black higher education. Up to now, with a few exceptions, the major aspects of that work have been done by white persons who were largely chosen by white funding sources--or recently, a few black persons, also chosen by white funding sources.

It is clear that whether or not the black community does its own planning for its higher education, others will plan for it. And one of the highest priorities of others seems to be to plan black controlled higher education out of existence. (When one considers the black disturbers of the status quo who have come out of black colleges, and when any reasonably reflective person considers the implications of black self-determination in education, it is not surprising that the major white impulse would be to destroy independent black higher education.) No responsible people can leave the planning of their children's future in the hands of those who have been at best faint friends, and at worst willing accomplices in the crushing of black life and hope.

Therefore a group of black schools must find ways to pick up various and isolated and ill-conceived planning bodies and mould them into a National Commission for Black Higher Education, perhaps tied to the new United Black College Fund, perhaps to the National Endowment, but firmly in black hands.

16. Wherever an institution decides to commit itself on the pathway to a liberating black education, it must create curriculum, develop physical resources and educate students in such a way that there will be no doubt about its ultimate commitment to the life and struggles of all the peoples of African descent. Obviously the focus of the school

will be on these shores, but the range of concerns must cover the diaspora, both intellectually and politically.

17. In each black-committed institution the obvious place for the beginning of this concern must be in the surrounding black community. Much could be said about this, but certain preliminary mandates may be sufficient as points of beginning:
- a. Each school must seek to survey and assess as precisely as possible the needs of the local black communities for skills and personnel. Such a survey might be done on a cooperative basis with other black schools and institutions in the area. Thus these concrete needs must be fed into the career counseling, the curriculum development and the community service sectors of the schools and must give them new direction.
 - b. The curriculum of the institution must make it possible for learning to be carried out as fully as possible in the immediate environs of the contiguous--and other--black communities. The curriculum must also make it possible for the resources of the community--especially its human ones--to be drawn into the learning experience of the campus. For instance, courses dealing with the life, history, creativity and struggles of the local community (covering the traditional disciplines of history, economics,

political science, anthropology and the arts in newly organized ways) should incorporate those who have lived that life as fully as possible.

- c. The institution must serve as celebrant and legitimizer of the healthy black life styles, traditions and institutions which are found in the local community. For instance, in the area of black religion, histories of key churches could be developed with archival resources rescued from destruction. Significant preachers and gospel groups could be recorded and studied. The oral history of an entire congregation might be developed and published.
- d. The institution which commits itself to black education for the black community must serve as advocate and defender of the local black community in its necessary struggles with the oppressive and exploitative systems of the dominating society. It must help to clarify the issues and help to identify the opponents. Its students and faculty should be available--with or without credit and pay--for the research and the sharing of expertise which the community needs; needs jointly defined by the on-campus and off-campus black community. (Indeed, that institution must now become part of the total community.) For instance, a senior seminar in history could survey the history texts being used in the schools to assess the levels of racism and ignorance within them and

to provide the appropriate organizations with materials for the struggle to control the content of black childhood education.

- e. Existing and projected physical facilities at the schools must be redesigned or created, defined and redefined with constant thought being given to the needs of the surrounding black community.
- f. To help develop the most healthy possible meshing of campus and community life, it may prove necessary to create an Office of Campus-Community Affairs.

18. Renewed Black schools must enter the political struggles against the U.S. military presence on our campuses. One crucial goal would be to remove it. Beyond that, Black schools should in concert with other agencies, work towards the creation of a federally-funded National Service Corps under Black control for needs of our community. Black young men would be able to serve in such a corps as an alternative to the draft if it continues in existence, and as an act of commitment whether there is a draft or not. Young women would have the same opportunity. Some training for the corps would be on selected black campuses.

19. The curriculum of the resurrected Negro/Black schools must obviously make it possible for students to concentrate on the study of the experiences of African peoples.

Such study must move beyond the older disciplinary boundaries, must be shaped by the ways in which African

peoples have organized their lives, and must thereby demand greater flexibility, creativity and patience than ever before. (Eventually the older, western oriented disciplines might be replaced by the organization of knowledge around such experiences and developments as: The Family Experience, The Religious Experience, Systems of Communication and Creativity, Systems of Economic Survival and Development; Systems of Justice, etc. These become at once more faithful to human experiences of past and present, and more amenable to the nation building process.)

Curriculum concentration would begin with the homeland experience, would examine carefully the nature of the forces which made for African life and society, as well as the forces which broke in on the life of the continent. Such study would follow the movement of the Diaspora, but most of its focus would likely be on the life and struggles of our own part of the scattered people.

It is likely that a newly created department or school within the institution (depending on its size) would have to be organized to develop and administer this concentration with the fullest possible creativity and flexibility. The still current habit of tiredly grouping old Negro History and Negro Literature courses into something called Black Studies is absolutely unworthy of the rich experiences and ancient struggles of our people.

Such a concentration would have as an integral part of its development significant periods of extended time off the campus, in the black communities of America, the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa. (In undergraduate schools which were large enough, there might develop a concentration in Pan-African studies, developed largely for those students who had had a significant exposure to the black experience in America at the lower levels of education or in other places, and who wanted to focus on the African experience beyond these shores.)

20. It should be clear, however, that the concentration should simply be that, a concentration of an experience which is to be amply present and widely dispersed throughout every level of the college's curriculum. It must begin with freshman orientation--which should include major aspects of an introduction to the long struggle for black education in America, as well as an introduction to the newly defined goals and purposes of the institution in relationship to the struggles of the larger black community here and overseas.

There would be no major area of the curriculum which would stand apart from the saturation of the black experience. All general education and all language studies would be based in blackness (meaning in the case of languages, of course, that overwhelming emphasis would be on the languages shared by the black world, such as

French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic and Swahili). The arts, the humanities and the social sciences are also obvious subjects for such saturation, but it should be clear that serious black schools could not afford to fall into the same deadly error as white institutions concerning the study of science and technology. At every point, both western and non-western approaches to science and technology would be assayed. Always they would be examined from the viewpoint of their service to the black community, so that every student in the sciences would clearly understand that scientific knowledge is not neutral. Black education would clarify for them the fact that scientific knowledge--no matter how supposedly "pure"--must be used either to maintain and justify the status quo of black oppression, or to transform the society on behalf of the life of the black community.

21. In cooperation with other black institutions, the developing black university would seek to create a significant set of library and archival resources, with special attention given to local black history and to the development of oral history. All students at the institution would at an early stage be introduced to precise and disciplined research work, developed largely from an agenda of issues and information needed by the black community. The still

prevalent habits of Encyclopedia-skimming and news-magazine quoting would die hard and early deaths.

22. The discipline of the black university must be creative and hard. Participation in its life must become a privilege to be sought and earned. The white deaths of drugs, alcohol abuse and sexual exploitation would be treated harshly as sources of destruction for the black community. Integrity in personal and organizational life would become the articulated goal for every element of the on-campus community. Basic integrity must be found in faculty and advisers as well.

Also, the far too ancient tradition of careless work and inadequate preparation (on the part of students and faculty) would be destroyed as quickly and as fully as possible. Celebration and song and dance would not be lost, but they would be set in the context of black struggle, and would grow out of common work, common victories and common defeat--not out of boredom, apathy and self-indulgence.

These goals are put forth in the light of the vicious attacks which are being mounted openly and quietly against the life and future of "the Predominantly Negro Colleges." The assumption here is that those schools, if they seek to be no more than poor carbon copies of second rate white schools, have nothing more than a nostalgic claim on our loyalties and our strengths for struggle. If they insist on clinging to the

burdensome, purposelessness aspects of their history, then they become a luxury in the hard days ahead. Indeed, they become counter-productive, ripe for every assimilationist proposal put forward by the white funding worlds.

Such schools, with such images of themselves, have no response to those who call for the recruiting of white students and faculty into "the mainstream" of American higher education. Ultimately they cannot call upon an embattled black community to offer them help in the time of political struggle.

But those schools who dare to press themselves to harder visions, who have begun to comprehend what they might be if their life was defined by the needs and struggles of a black community seeking independence before integration--these are the institutions of hope. The goals are addressed to them, to their students and their faculty.

Essentially it proposes that the black school, for its own life and for the life of our people, must become consciously politicized--like all really effective education. It must become consciously committed to the life and future of the black community, shaping its inner and outer life around those realities. Doing so it must realize that there can be no authentic black life or future worth experiencing unless we know (and feed off) our roots, know

our fathers, know our oppressors and their systems of oppression--and above all know ourselves and our own great possibilities. Out of those realities we create the program for our struggle and commit ourselves to its ultimate victory. Either black schools remain in the backwash of the mainstream and struggle within its systems, or they leap into the full life of the black community and struggle against the systems which colonize our lives. At this point in history, the black school not ready to make that leap is not ready to live.

IV. Goals and Standards: A Tentative Approach

The essential goals of Black, Urban and Ethnic Studies (hereafter BUES) programs must be shaped by the two basic sectors of the black community for which they have responsibility, and to which they must become accountable: the black community on campus and the black community off campus. These distinctions are made, of course, only for the sake of discussion and clarification. In practice, the communities must constantly seek and find points of coalescence.

On-Campus Goals

1. BUES programs must become the unifying centers for the on-campus black community, attempting to break down the professionally-inspired class distinctions wherever possible and appropriate. It is especially crucial that mechanisms of communication be created and established among the on-campus black community. Those who are ready to organize THE COMMUNITY without working on their immediate black community are jiving.
2. BUES programs must work with other black members of the on-campus black community towards the development of those specific goals which will make it possible to move consistently towards the establishment of black hegemony over every major aspect of black education on the campus. The areas of such hegemony must include every applicable sector, from recruitment, to freshman orientation, to

financial assistance, to ultimate governance. The mechanisms will differ from school to school and from white to black contexts, but the issues and therefore the goals must remain the same: black control of black education, towards the liberating service of the black community.

3. Recognizing the real condition of the black on-campus community, especially those which have fallen away from serious struggle, it is imperative that the BUES take leadership in the development of some mechanism for arbitration and mediation among on-campus groups and key individuals. The national office will perhaps be of assistance in developing and applying this service.
 4. One of the major internecine campus conflicts has been between the black student organizations and the BUES directors. Those aspects of the student-faculty distinction which hinder the unity of black struggle must clearly be overcome. Therefore one specific goal of BUES must be to develop structural working relationships between these two elements of the on-campus black community.
 5. The BUES program must develop mechanisms for including a minimum of one third of the black students on campus in some aspect of the formal academic and community service aspects of the program: e.g. registration in courses, community participation, program planning, governance.
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6. A minimal academic goal for any BUES program must be to have control over some specific courses for black students, rather than accepting a "coordinating" or "cultural center" role. In an academic setting in which struggle for content is a crucial matter, such roles as the latter must be unacceptable to black people.
7. A related goal of the BUES programs must be to gain the right to offer at least one (and preferably more) required course to every black student who comes on campus, beginning with an orientation to the struggle for black education and black self-determination.
8. The BUES program must be more than a one-man operation. It is unhealthy for one person to attempt to carry the role of Director, Dean of Black Students, chief faculty resource and general ombudsman for the black community.
9. The BUES program must have sufficient access to resources (personnel, fiscal, physical) to make available significant on-campus encounters with the major issues, organizations and personalities of the local, national and international black communities. (This is not the same as "cultural" programs which have no relationship to struggle. Black students can get that anywhere.)
10. In the case of white-controlled schools, the BUES program must become the monitor for assessing the on-going overall potential for transforming the university to the purposes of a liberating black education. It should create the

for producing an annual or semi-annual report on the state of the university in the light of the criteria suggested in part II of this paper, or similar criteria. This would make possible an objective assessment of the black situation and help to clarify the real, available options. The national office would also receive this report.

11. Each BUES program must develop an internal research program which can be carried out by black students and faculty within the institution. The basic purpose of such research at both white and black schools would be, for instance, to understand the mechanisms of power and change in the institution, to know the political and economic affiliations of the governing board, to identify the political, economic and other dealings of the institution which affect the black community, etc. Only through a thorough knowledge of such matters can there be realistic approaches to the struggle which is necessary to create new black education. (Moreover, it is important that such programs develop the habit of research and analysis in the experiences of black people on the campus.)
12. It will become necessary everywhere to engage in serious struggle to move consistently towards the goals and criteria which benefit the black community--for most programs were not set up with those needs in mind. Much (but, unfortunately, not all) of this struggle will be mounted against the teaching, administrative and governing structures of the

university, and the BUES program must develop the means and morale to assume major leadership in these struggles.

13. It will obviously become clear in many places over a period of time (the precise period must be decided in consultation between local and national groups) that the black forces at the university and outside the gates are unable to move consistently towards the on-campus and off-campus community goals. By then the BUES program must have developed two absolutely crucial contingency plans:

a. How to join forces with black communities at nearby campuses and in their environs to create some means joint struggle.

b. How to phase out the BUES program from the campus.

For a BUES program which is not able to move consistently towards larger areas of black control is probably moving backwards into the control of the white administration, faculty or funding agencies. As such it becomes a very dangerous, legitimizing force.

Off-Campus Goals

1. NABUED, in coordination with IBW and others, must develop what might be called a National Social Development Plan for the black community. (The work of IBW on A Black Agenda for the 70's is one of the possible first steps in this direction.)
2. In the light of such a National Development Plan the organizations involved must then create a set of instruments and processes for assessing the regional and national needs of the black community in such a way that local BUES programs can address themselves to them. The point simply is that such assessments and projections--growing out of cohesive planning--are absolutely necessary if BUES programs are to have long-term goals which are realistically geared towards "the needs of the black community."
3. While the longer-range work is being done--and as an integral part of it--local BUES programs must begin to assess the specific needs in personnel and skills which exist in the local black community. Such a survey must be among the early goals, providing rich research experience for black students at the same time that they identify needs to which the programs can address themselves.
4. Programs located within reasonable access to the communities where black elected officials are in governing offices have an even more specific and obvious responsibility in regard to

goals. Personnel and technical assistance must be channelled to such leaders. (For instance, IBW has recently been in conversation with Mayor Gibson of Newark and has identified a number of very specific needs which could be addressed by serious BUES programs at black or white schools.) In such situations, the least that should be done is to arrange for the placement of black undergraduate and graduate internes in the offices of mayors and other local elected black officials, through work-study or other similar programs.

5. Regular, organized media of communication must be established and maintained between the BUES and the off-campus black community. There must be reliable means whereby precise information concerning problems, important events, and general conditions and developments can flow in both directions.
6. All courses offered by the BUES program must have an off-campus component built into it. This is possible whether the course is in literature or anthropology, history or music. Even outside of its own program, the BUES must be responsible for pressing towards such involvement for as many black students as possible.
7. Wherever individual programs are too small to provide the kinds of services and resources needed by the local black community, cooperative arrangements should be formed with other black-controlled programs on other campuses. Such alliances are not only necessary for certain operational effectiveness, but they

remind BUES participants that their identity is not essentially defined by the campus but by the needs of the black community.

8. The BUES must become the watchdog and advocate for the local black community in its relationship to the university. The responsibility for developing steadily increasing access to university facilities, expertise and funds should come under the aegis of the BUES. (See Parts II and III of this paper for other specific advocacy tasks.) It must also develop as a system of intervention wherever possible to prevent the development of university research on the black community which is obviously detrimental to the life and struggle of black people.
9. In addition to its advocacy role vis a vis the black community and the university, the BUES must become the focal point for the general advocacy which the on-campus black community can carry on as a result of its peculiar position. Its access to research tools, media, academic and legal expertise must place it in a crucial position to press the cause of the off campus black community in that community's many struggles against the status quo.
10. In the light of the problems of the black community in moving towards unity, the BUES should make its services available to the local off-campus community as a force for mediation and arbitration. This is a sensitive matter, but that community should at least be aware of the possibility of such services.

11. In order to develop its own position of self-determination within the context of the university, the BUES must develop a black governing structure which would include members of the on-campus and off-campus communities, including, perhaps, another NABUED member. This black group would help the program to develop as concrete a sense as possible of its responsibilities beyond the walls of the university, as well as help press it towards a clear set of priorities related to the off-campus black community. (In black schools, such a committee would help to reinforce the new commitment of the university to its off-campus expression.)
12. Finally, in order to work with local BUES groups out of a stance of maximum legitimacy, the national organization (NABUED) needs to be based in an authentic black controlled setting itself. We would recommend the Institute of the Black World as such a setting for the Director and staff of NABUED. This would place the directorship of the organization not only in a black controlled setting, but in relationship to an institution whose basic drive is towards the development of a new meaning to the politics of education, towards new definitions of the role of education in the struggles of the black community. Wherever it is based, NABUED, like the individual programs has no real future if it becomes simply another black caucus concerned about professional and academic prerogatives.

A Note on Standards

In the preparation of this working/position paper it has become clear to us that the issue of standards can be addressed only by way of the discussion of contexts and goals. The standards for BUES are implicit and explicit throughout the document, but it was our belief that these ought to be discussed in discrete categories only as a secondary issue, a matter of details.

In the course of the Claremont consultation, the IBW representative will make certain specific additional recommendations concerning the maintenance of standards. All of them, however, depend upon the willingness of BUES Directors to recognize the basic historical and ideological context in which they now stand and to organize carefully so that they may become instruments in the forward movement of the black community.