



# INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Howard University, Dunbarton Campus — 2900 Van Ness St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 — Notre Dame Hall (202) 686-6686

## NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Kenneth S. Tollett  
Chairman

Elias Blake, Jr.  
President-Clark College  
Atlanta, Georgia

James E. Cheek  
President-Howard University

Lewis C. Dowdy  
President-North Carolina  
A & T University  
Greensboro, North Carolina

Edward Hawthorne  
Dean-The Graduate School  
Howard University

Willie T. Howard  
Dean-School of Education  
Howard University

Clark Kerr  
Chairman-Carnegie Council  
on Policy Studies in  
Higher Education  
Berkeley, California

James R. Lawson  
Director-Office of  
University Affairs  
National Aeronautics  
and Space Administration  
Washington, D.C.

Lionel Newsom  
President-Central State University  
Wilberforce, Ohio

James Perkins  
Chairman-Board of International  
Council for Educational Development  
New York, New York

Lois Rice  
Vice President-College  
Entrance Examination Board  
Washington, D.C.

Norvel Smith  
Associate Vice Chancellor  
for Student Affairs  
University of California-Berkeley

Nancy H. Teeters  
Member of Board of Governors  
Federal Reserve System  
Washington, D.C.

Horace Traylor  
Dean of Development  
Miami-Dade Community College  
Miami, Florida

Stephen Wright  
Senior Advisor to the President  
College Entrance  
Examination Board  
New York, New York

Lorraine A. Williams  
Vice President for  
Academic Affairs  
Howard University

## M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Research Staff

FROM: Floyd W. Hayes, III  
Research Fellow

RE: The Institute of the Black World Black Studies  
Curriculum Development Project Conference,  
Atlanta University and the Ladha Hotel Downtown,  
Atlanta, Georgia, October 1-3, 1981.

DATE: October 7, 1981

Attached herewith are my personal observations and evaluation of this historic gathering. Because I represented the Institute, because of our concern for issues related to the educational development of Afro-Americans and because of our desire for social change, I feel compelled to share these remarks with you.

I should be particularly happy to talk with anyone about the conference.

*Bro. McHarter,*

*I thought you might be interested in this conference and wanted to share the attached with you.*

*Be strong,*

*Floyd*

THE INSTITUTE OF THE BLACK WORLD  
BLACK STUDIES CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT CONFERENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
OCTOBER 1-3, 1981

When I became familiar with the IBW Black Studies Curriculum Development Project, I had high hopes for a successful effort which would culminate in a significant conference. I looked forward to a meeting that would examine critically African American Studies in terms of its trends, developments and future challenges. Although I no longer teach African American Studies as such, I am tied both emotionally and intellectually to this important and significant educational enterprise. Well, the conference far exceeded my highest expectations! Some of the leading scholars, writers and thinkers in the discipline of African American Studies participated. This is the first conference that I have ever attended where the level of intellectual discussion, exchange and critique was so brilliant, precise and clear and where there was such a conscious commitment to social change and to the struggle for authentic African (in its broadest meaning) liberation.

I must say, at the outset, that my comments do not/cannot touch every aspect of the conference. It is impossible for a single person to have grasped the total magnitude of the serious and committed work which transpired. Other participants are certain to write their own assessments of this historic gathering. Hopefully, these can be shared. Finally, I write as a participant and not as an observer. Thus, I did not see or hear everything and share with you only a portion of what took place. Nevertheless, I try to be as accurate as possible.

The IBW Black Studies Curriculum Development Project is under the directorship of Dr. Vincent Harding, founder of the 12-year old educational research center and present chairman of the IBW Board. The residential coordinator of the Project is Dr. Douglas Davidson, former head of Black Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Boston and at Amherst College.

The broad purpose of the conference was to examine and assess critically the present state of African American Studies curricular offerings in the fields of history and political economy, especially courses dealing with Africa, Afro-America and the Afro-Caribbean. The Project's goals are to publish a series of directories of model courses in African American Studies following the workshops and conferences, and to establish at IBW a Black Studies Curriculum Materials Repository/Clearinghouse. The stated objectives of the Project are as follows:

1. To work with Black Studies faculties in enhancing knowledge of -- and systematic access to -- new materials and approaches being used in their disciplines;
2. To promote the exchange of materials, ideas and methodologies for teaching in selected disciplines in Black Studies;
3. To provide Black Studies faculties with ready access to innovative and effective course materials, including many hard to find materials;
4. To promote integrative approaches to the teaching and the study of the Black experience;
5. To encourage a higher level of critical self-evaluation in the field; and
6. To continue to refine the issues, problems and possibilities that are within the purview of Black Studies as a field of inquiry.

Certainly, an unstated objective of the conference was that the serious intellectual work and deliberation, which occurred, should contribute to the ongoing struggle for authentic African liberation.

The method utilized by the Project for the purpose of curriculum evaluation is the following. Faculty teaching in African American Studies were asked to send their course outlines/syllabi to IBW. These materials along with a list of criteria were then forwarded to external reviewers, authorities in each discipline area. The external reviewers were responsible for evaluating critically syllabi received and for presenting their findings during the conference workshops. Finally, external reviewers were to present also their own perspectives on the trends, developments and future challenges of their respective disciplines.

The IBW Project was originally funded by the Fund for the Improvement of Secondary Education of the U.S. Office of Education.

Finally, the conference is significant because it represented a major effort by IBW to bring together African, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American scholars, thinkers, writers and activists who were engaged in the struggle to establish African American Studies and thereby change radically American higher education and American society in the 1960s and early 1970s. College and university faculty, administrators, researchers and students who possessed a profound interest in African American Studies and who were committed to the struggle for African liberation attended the conference. It was an historic event and the "African place to be."

"Black Studies in The 1980's: The Challenge to Blackness Revisited,"  
A Symposium

The conference commenced with a one day symposium, "Black Studies in the 1980's: The Challenge to Blackness Revisited," which took place Thursday, October 1, 1981, on the campus of Atlanta University.\* About 300 persons attended the symposium, including a large number of students. Douglas Davidson, the Project Coordinator, welcomed those in attendance and discussed the nature and goals of the Project. He was followed by Dr. Alan Colon, Assistant Professor of Afro-American Studies at Howard University, who introduced very warmly his former mentor, Dr. St. Clair Drake, Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Anthropology and former chairman of African and Afro-American Studies at Stanford University and co-author of the classic, Black Metropolis. Dr. Drake had the task of speaking on the title of the symposium. He spoke about various aspects of his long life as scholar and activist, and he assessed the trends and developments in African American Studies. For him, African American Studies hit its high water mark around 1974, in terms of the establishment of African American Studies enterprises at colleges and universities. While there has been a lull -- due to program consolidation, acquisition of Ph.D.'s by faculty and struggles for promotion and tenure, etc. -- Drake was impressed with the resurgence of the African American Studies movement and the struggle for social change. He suggested rather strongly that we study the 1930's, the march on Washington movement led by A. Philip Randolph and, particularly, the

---

\*Please find attached herewith agendas for the one day symposium and for the entire conference.

relation between Afro-Americans and Marxism in the 1930's (accomplishments, mistakes, etc.) for the purpose of gaining insight and guidance for the present and future challenges to Afro-American intellectual independence and the struggle for self-determination. Dr. Drake was received warmly and was given a standing ovation. Questions and answers followed.

Later in the afternoon, Dr. Mack Jones, of Atlanta University's Department of Political Science, served as moderator of the panel discussion, "Black Political-Economy: Problems and Prospects." Dr. Barbara Jones, Professor and chairperson of the Department of Business Administration and Economics at Clark College, examined the fundamental elements of and contradictions within Reaganomics. She was followed by Dr. William Strickland, IBW Senior Fellow and Board member and Associate Professor of Political History at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. A prolific writer with a serious commitment to African American Studies, Strickland presented a thoughtful discussion about the "crisis of bourgeois social knowledge" and future directions for the discipline of political economy. He pointed out the need for a Marxian political economy that would incorporate the important factor of race. He indicated that he was experimenting with the term, "racial economy."

The third panelist was Dr. Michael Witter, Professor of Economics at the University of the West Indies in Kingston, Jamaica. He is the co-author with George Beckford of the recently published (during the recently past Jamaica national election) Small Garden, Bitter Weed: The Political Economy of the Struggles of the Jamaican People. Witter

gave a brilliant and moving analysis of the study of the history and political economy of the Caribbean. He discussed the importance of periodization in Caribbean History and related smoothly this topic to the trends and developments in the study of the Caribbean political economy: the early influence of Sir Authur Lewis' economics of Caribbean development, weak attempts of interdisciplinary studies (i.e., economics and political science), the problems of the mechanistic application of historical and dialectical materialism with respect to a Marxian political economy of the Caribbean, and the struggle for a new synthesis in political-economic theory and analysis that incorporates the objective forces of race (and color in the Jamaica) and class, as well as the subjective dimensions of peoples' will to change their material reality. That is to say, the central driving force in our analysis, according to Witter, must be the struggles of oppressed peoples. Eloquently, he said we must be people's scholars and partisan intellectuals who write from the perspective and in the interest of the masses of our people. Witter also noted scholarly work on the position of women in Caribbean society. Questions and answers followed.

In the evening session, "Black History: The Search for Alternatives," Dr. Alton Hornsby, a member of the Department of History at Morehouse College, introduced Dr. Vincent Harding, who read from the introduction to his recently published book on Afro-American History, There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America. Well, what can I say? The introduction deals with how Dr. Harding came to write his book, how he came to use the river as metaphor, how he attempted to resolve contradictions he faced. One had to be present at his reading -- poetic

and spiritual, strong and grounded in concrete reality -- in order to fully appreciate it. "Magnificent" is an understatement! Dr. Harding received a standing ovation and then was gracious enough to autograph copies of his book at the reception and book party which followed.

#### Overview of the Project and Condition of African American Studies

The serious assessment and evaluation of course outlines/syllabi began Friday morning, October 2, 1981, at the Latha Hotel downtown, when Douglas Davidson commenced with an overview of the Black Studies Curriculum Project. He indicated that the Project staff was encouraged by the response to the call for course outlines/syllabi from faculty who teach courses in African, Afro-American and Caribbean history, economics, politics and political economy; yet, an even greater response would have been appreciated. He said that he was pleased with the number of people who were present at the initial plenary session (approximately 40-50 people); yet, he had hoped that there would have been more in attendance.

Douglas discussed the evaluation process and gave an overview of syllabi/course outlines received in history and political economy. He noted that the object of evaluating these materials was the serious endeavor to assess the present development of courses in African American Studies and to point out model courses in the discipline which would be published around the month of December. The object, he noted firmly, was not that of one-up-manship. Douglas then expressed his concern that the quality of many syllabi received was not as high as he had hoped. The external reviewers would have more to say.

on that score.

Al Colon followed with a presentation drawn from his important Ph.D. dissertation, A Critical Review of Black Studies Programs, in which he assessed African American Studies enterprises at ten institutions: Brown University, City College of the University of New York, Cornell University, Howard University, Indiana University, The Ohio State University, San Jose State University, State University of New York at Albany, University of Cincinnati and Yale University. Al discussed the trends, developments and challenges in African American Studies. He grouped the major problems confronting the discipline in the following manner:

1. Historical continuity;
2. Definition: Philosophical Orientation, Standardization and Specialization;
3. Institutionalization and Legitimacy;
4. Funding;
5. Faculty: Academic Preparation, Tenure, Research and Publication;
6. Expansion;
7. Leadership; and
8. Community Outreach.

Al's presentation was followed by questions and answers. One participant commented that Al might have obtained a broader picture of African American Studies had he interviewed more than just the heads of these enterprises. It was also noted that, in addition to Yale and Cornell Universities, the University of Wisconsin at Madison

offers graduate work in African American Studies; it can be used as one of the fields for the Ph.D. degree.

#### History and Political Economy of the Caribbean

Dr. Howard Dodson, IBW Executive Director and Board member, served as the moderator of the workshops.

Michael Witter, the external reviewer for Caribbean History and Political Economy, conducted the morning workshop. He presented a sterling critique of the syllabi that he received and offered important prescriptions with respect to pedagogical concerns. For instance, he pointed out that he encourages his students to know well conventional economic analysis so that they can come to political economy prepared to deal with the challenges it offers for intellectual work and for the struggle for black liberation. Michael noted once more that political economy was not interdisciplinary but a synthesis of economics and political science. He stressed again that we must be partisan scholars whose academic work is informed by the struggles of oppressed peoples. Considerable discussion followed Michael's presentation, which was very well received.

#### African History and Political Economy

The evaluation and critique of course outlines/syllabi in African History and Political Economy took place in the afternoon session. It was agreed to discuss both topics together in this and following sessions in view of how well the discussion had gone in the preceding session. Dr. Thomas W. Shick, Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, was the external reviewer of the course

outlines/syllabi in African History. He noted that shortcomings in course outlines were exhibited in the use of textbooks, most of which were published prior to 1978 and which demonstrated the conventional approach to the study of African History: (1) a heavy emphasis on individual kings and queens and (2) empire and state formation. Shick noted the importance of recent trends in African History, such as the position of women, the use of oral history and local history or the historical development of African communities.

Dr. Bernard Magubane, Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Connecticut, served as the external reviewer of the course outlines/syllabi on African Political Economy. His major critique of the syllabi was that very few of them appeared to examine the nature of pre-colonial African societies. Hence, Dr. Magubane pointed out the necessity of understanding this phenomenon. Additionally, he specified the importance of investigating the role of Africa in the development of the world capitalist economy (e.g., capital accumulation in Western Europe), the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference and the partition of Africa, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Dependency theory, he said, must be up-dated with serious attention given to the analysis of comprador classes and the role of the African working class. Questions, answers and comments followed with further attempts to define the nature, scope and limitations of political economy.

Afro-American History (pre-Reconstruction) and Political Economy/  
Political Science

Afro-American History and Political Economy course outlines/syllabi were evaluated in the evening session. Dr. Betty J. Gardner, Department

of History at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland, was the external reviewer of the pre-Reconstruction Afro-American History syllabi. She criticized soundly many of the course outlines that she received, indicating that the integrity of African American Studies required that poor work be exposed and corrected. She noted that the syllabi gave the impression that many instructors were simply not keeping abreast of new trends and developments in the historiography of the ante-bellum Afro-American experience. In the question, answer and discussion period which followed, it was pointed out that in many instances, the syllabi were not representative of the entire content of the courses. Indeed, Dr. DeWitt Dykes, of Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, stated that for various reasons (including secretarial overload) his syllabi contained the bare essentials of the course and the actual content of his course possessed considerably more depth and breadth than the syllabi would indicate. This perspective was echoed by several other participants.

Dr. William Strickland, of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, presented an assessment of the course outlines/syllabi in Afro-American Political Economy submitted by political scientists. He indicated that a good number of the syllabi centered on black politics. He did, however, receive syllabi that demonstrated a clear attempt to study the political economy of the Afro-American experience. He then presented a critical assessment of these syllabi. Further, Strickland offered his own thoughts about the nature and scope of political economy. Political economy encompasses the systematic analysis of how a society

organizes, accumulates and creates wealth, according to Strickland. Hence, political economy is concerned with, among other things, the role of the state, social reproduction and exploitation.

In the discussion which followed Strickland's presentation, the issue of the mechanistic overemphasis on objectivity to the exclusion of subjectivity in the analysis of political economy was countered by Strickland when he stated that subjectivity opposes bourgeois objectivity and not objectivity as such. Once again, Strickland pointed out the crisis in the production of bourgeois knowledge. That is to say, Western scholarship is worried about the decline of capitalism and Western civilization. Dr. Magubane rose to put forth the perspective that political economy must create a way in which the oppressed can negate themselves (as an oppressed class) and lay out a way that the oppressed can use to create a society wherein their humanity is recognized and respected. Additionally, questions were posed regarding the definition and elements of black political economy, the political economy of Afro-America, etc.

The evening session terminated with brief comments by Dr. Vincent Harding.

Afro-American History (post-Reconstruction), Political Economy/Economics, and Afro-Americans and Legal Studies

The Saturday morning session on October 3, 1981, consisted of syllabi evaluations in post-Reconstruction Afro-American History, Afro-American Political Economy taught by economists and Afro-Americans and legal studies. Dr. Manning Marable, of the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University, gave a blistering critique of

course syllabi dealing with post-Reconstruction Afro-American History.

His criticism of many syllabi included the following and much more:

1. The use of out-of-date textbooks,
2. The use of textbooks whose authors distorted the Afro-American experience,
3. The poor treatment Afro-American social and cultural history,
4. The sparse treatment of the role of Afro-American women,
5. the lack of seriousness in the analysis of the role of the Afro-American athlete in Afro-American social history,
6. the disregard, in some cases, of such important Afro-Americans as DuBois, Garvey, Malcolm X, etc.,
7. the disregard for such organizations as the African Blood Brotherhood,
8. the absence of an examination of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements,
9. the impact of African nationalism on the emergence of Afro-American nationalism, etc., etc.

Marable was unrelent<sup>ing</sup>~~less~~ in his critique; he argued persuasively that even though instructors might not, for various reasons, indicate the totality of the course content in their syllabi, one can detect the thrust of the course from such indicators as textbooks used, the amount of reading required and the extent of written assignments for which students are responsible.

Rather than evaluate each course that he received, Dr. Lloyd Hogan, Associate Professor of Economics at Hampshire College, presented a paper entitled, "Black Political Economy as a Social Science Discipline." Hogan stated that his intent was "to stimulate some thinking about the ways in which black economists, political scientists, anthro-

pologists, sociologists, educators, and other social scientists ought to approach their analyses of the black condition in America." He continued: "The intensive exploitation of black wage laborers and the associated massive accumulation of wealth in large corporations under the ownership of a few powerful private individuals -- almost exclusively non-black -- is the fundamental social outcome of U.S. capitalism." For Hogan, "political economy deals (or should deal) with the study of the way in which a given human population, residing within a bounded geographical domain, during a specified historical period, reproduces itself as a population with its basic social characteristics left intact." Political economy, then, is the examination of social reproduction first and foremost, according to Hogan, and the discipline is composed of five sets of activities:

1. Internal Labor Process,
2. External Labor Process,
3. Distribution Process from Internal Labor Process to External Labor Process,
4. Distribution Process from External Labor Process to Internal Labor Process, and
5. Process of Wealth Accumulation.

Hogan proposed that the political economy of Afro-America -- the first authentic Pan-African nation -- be seen in its broadest terms.

It must analyze the way in which black people have been reproduced as a black population in each of the various historical epochs through which they have passed. How these five sets of fundamental activities have played themselves out in the black survival syndrome provides a clear focus for the study. Under this type of programme it will be very obvious that the political economy of black

people is really a study of world history and world political-economic developments. It spans the record of human existence from some three million years ago on the plains and river valleys of Mother Africa to the modern day 20th century capitalist America. The dynamics of the developments intertwine with, and give specific substance and color to, the origins and growth of western European capitalism and all the havocs which that system has since inflicted on mankind. More particularly, the epochs of black existence in North America are indeed the only true window through which U.S. economic development can be viewed in its proper perspective.

Hogan then applied this theoretical framework to the analysis of the economic transformation of Afro-Americans as slaves, sharecroppers and wage laborers. He concluded this discussion as follows:

The three phases of economic exploitation -- slavery, sharecropping (landless peasantry), and wage laboring -- and the attendant social and economic institutions of these systems which operated to secure the efficient functioning of the economic system all conspired to forge a set of unique historical experiences on the black nation and to imbue it with a set of characteristics -- speech, cultural, social, ethical, ethnical, religious, political, etc. -- which distinguish them as a people apart. The survival of the black population as a black population is the ultimate monument to these events.

Hogan ended his paper by calling for solidarity between the Afro-American wage working class (the natural historical leaders of the wage working class) and black scholars, both of whom "must forge the revolutionary understanding and the revolutionary strategies for the supplanting of the last great exploiting system with one truly based on the inviolability of the human conditions." A short question, answer and discussion followed.

Ms. Susan Ross, of the IBW staff, read Professor Haywood Burns' critical evaluation of course outlines dealing with Afro-Americans and

legal studies. One particular weakness of many syllabi received was the absence of recent cases such as DeFunis, Bakke, Weber and Fullilove. Apparently, many syllabi seemed to incorporate cases only up to the end of the 1960's. There were, however, several excellent syllabi.

An extended question, answer and discussion period followed the Marable, Hogan and Burns/Ross presentations. Among other things, two issues were raised and discussed briefly. One dealt with the possibilities of pushing the theory and analysis of political economy further so that it can address the internal contradictions within capitalism and, hence, the transformation of this socio-economic order to the Managerial Estate in the new Age of Science and Technology. It was proposed that in the Managerial Estate -- the post-capitalist alternative to socialism -- power is shifting not to the working class, but to the managerial elite which is characterized by specialized knowledge, technical expertise and the control/management of people. The condition of the Afro-American underclass may be worse under managerialism than under capitalism. Hence, the struggle continues for Afro-American human rights and a peoples' government. The other proposal was that African American Studies take up the scientific examination of Europeans and Euro-Americans. The first proposition was soundly criticized; however, it was pointed out that America may be moving in the direction of increasing authoritarianism. The second proposition was also discussed further.

#### Curriculum and Pedagogical Issues

The last workshop consisted of an illuminating presentation on Curriculum and Pedagogical Issues by Dr. Asa Hilliard, of Georgia State

University. He contrasted the conventional pyramidal model of education with what he called a liberated education. He used the circle as the symbol of liberated education. Hilliard pointed out that the conventional model of education is characterized by control at the top and emphasizes such goals as containment, shaping, control, stasis, and fragmentation. He noted that the analogies used generally in the conventional educational process are not those from teaching and learning. Analogies usually employed include the following:

1. machines;
2. space travel: modules;
3. medicine: students are sick, diagnosed and treated;
4. building construction: contracts, vouchers;
5. Accounting: balancing, profits, losses, etc.;
6. Fantasy Island language as antedotes for dehumanization: "I'm OK, You're OK," touchy feely, etc.

Hilliard pointed out other mechanisms that are employed to maintain the pyramidal/hierarchical educational system:

1. the non-reciprocal role of the teacher,
2. testing,
3. the use of myths to stabilize society,
4. prescription,
5. the appearance of movement without changing fundamentals,
6. behavioral sciences, and
7. sociology/social work used to "help" students adapt to the present system and not to change it.

Hilliard called dualism the antecedent to the pyramidal structure of education. The world is divided into abstract and concrete thought,

theory and practice, liberal and vocational education, graduate and undergraduate, and professor and student. Obviously, in the real world there is no separation because all people do both abstract and concrete thinking; theory must be accompanied by practice; and students and teachers should be involved with the whole of the educational process.

Hilliard called for a liberated pedagogy that is similar to that discussed in Paulo Freire's book, Education for Critical Consciousness. Hence, the authenticity of the student is recognized in the liberated educational process by allowing him/her to start from his/her center and to expose to his/her peers (including the teacher) what he/she has learned. Students are encouraged to share with their peers the process by which they arrive at solutions and answers to problems and questions. Hence, there are stages in the liberated educational process when the teacher listens; we have the struggle toward authentic student-teacher reciprocity.

Finally, Hilliard pointed out the need for creating language, concepts, analogies, etc. which can contribute to the development of an authentic liberated educational process. Questions, answers and discussion followed Hillard's presentation which was very warmly received with a standing ovation.

#### Final Session

In the final session, conference participants and external reviewers made personal observations about the conference, sought additional clarity regarding the role of political economy, discussed further the struggle for the survival and development of African American Studies, and pointed out that our intellectual work must be both an act of  faith and part of political struggle. The struggle to develop critical

theory -- the Gramscian war of position -- is the struggle to change reality. The one great fear, it was observed, is the magnitude of the struggle that we must wage against our own weaknesses. Nevertheless, we must accept Mari Evans' challenge and "speak the truth to the people."

#### Evaluation of the Conference

I could not end my personal observations of the conference without a brief critique.

1. The analysis and critique of Reaganomics. While Dr. Barbara Jones gave an excellent review of Reaganomics during the October 1, symposium, there was no follow-up in the workshops. Certainly, Reagan's domestic social and economic policies, not to mention his foreign policies, are to have a significant impact on Afro-Americans, especially the underclass, as well as the African community on a world scale. This is true even if Reagan represents the temporary resurgence of old capital.
2. There was no analysis and critique of Sowellonomics. Touted as the premier black economist by old capital's reactionary right, Thomas Sowell is the theorist of petty black capitalists who look backward to the dying age, seeking "equality" within bourgeois society. He seeks the ascendancy of a small few, while the Afro-American masses fall deeper into the cavern of despair. His position is that government intervention into the marketplace has created barriers to Afro-American enterprise and that many programs, particularly affirmative action, degrade Afro-American achievement. Sowellonomics is bootstrap economics and demonstrates no appreciation of the historic and contemporary significance of the racial oppression, class exploitation and cultural domination of Afro-Americans.
3. The transition of American society from capitalism to managerialism in the new Age of Science and Technology and the implications of this process for the Afro-American, Afro-Caribbean and African communities. If Hogan's definition of political economy is accepted, then a scientific analysis of the trends, developments and future challenges with respect to capitalism can be made. This process would logically allow for the examination of the contradictions within and dilemmas of capitalism, as well as the exploration

of alternatives of capitalism. Political economy is not only the political economy of capitalism and all the socio-economic formations which have preceded it. Political economy is also the examination of the internal contradictions and dilemmas (which include the struggle of the oppressed) within any socio-economic formation which give rise to alternative possibilities -- a new synthesis. The political economy of the Afro-American experience in the Managerial Estate examines scientifically, among other things, the emergence of the black managerial elite (the "black professionals" or "new" black petty bourgeoisie) acting as a subordinate adjunct to the larger white managerial class, as well as the increasingly permanent black underclass, who may come to be viewed as unnecessary in the Managerial Estate. The tendency also toward a more authoritarian future is foretold, for instance, by Bertram Gross in Friendly Fascism: The New Face of Power in America and by Crozier, Huntington and Watanuki in The Crisis of Democracy, which was published by the Trilateral Commission. Hence, we continue to struggle for African, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American Human Rights: the recognition of our humanity, the right to and sanctity of the family and parental control over the destiny of their children, the right to literacy and education, economic self-sufficiency, and political self-determination. This is authentic African, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American liberation. William Darity, Jr., Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Texas at Austin, has begun to chart a new direction in political economy. (See Darity, "The Class Character of the Black Community: Polarization Between the Black Managerial Elite and the Black Underclass," The Black Law Journal, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1981; and Darity, Johnson and Thompson, "The Political Economy of U.S. Energy and Equity Policy," Resources for the Future, forthcoming).

4. The Scientific Examination of the European and Euro-American Experience as a component of Afro-American Studies. This topic deserves serious attention. It incorporates, among other things, the scientific examination, informed by Marx's theory of cultural domination, of the historical and contemporary impact of Judaeo-Calvinism in Europe and America. Scholars in the field of African American Studies have begun to study the European experience from a critical Afro-centric perspective. Dr. Donna Richards, of the Department of Black and Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, is doing pathbreaking work. (See her articles "European Mythology: The Ideology of 'Progress'," in Molefi Asanti and Abdulai S. Vandi, eds., Contemporary Black Thought: Alternative Analyses in Social and Behavioral Science, Beverly Hills:

Sage Publications, Inc., 1980; and "The Ideology of European Dominance," The Western Journal Black Studies, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1979).

Having noted the above concerns with respect to the conference deliberations, I say, unhesitatingly, that the IBW Black Studies Curriculum Development Project Conference was of historic significance. The level of intellectual exchange and seriousness of purpose, the clear concern for the survival and continued academic improvement of African American Studies, and the deep commitment to the struggle for political change and black survival and social development -- all of these concerns made the conference superior to any that I have attended in a long time. The conference was a definite learning experience for me, and I felt honored to be among the participants.

Floyd W. Hayes, III  
Research Fellow  
Institute for the Study of Educational Policy  
Howard University