THE EVOLUTION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1968-1978

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An Introduction to Black Studies

During the late 1960s, higher education institutions within America began to undergo a turbulent revolution in academic curriculum. The push for African American or Black Studies programs became prevalent on college campuses nationwide. In a plethora of historical accounts, militant force is seen as a means of establishing programs and institutions focused on the study of African Americans within the United States. Specifically, between the years of 1968 to 1978, more than five hundred units (programs or departments) offering African American or Black Studies were in place across the country. [1] When surveying the development of African American Studies programs in higher education institutions it is vital to define these studies, examine their origins, explore student activism, discuss realms of advocacy and opposition, as well as, cite problems in their initial years.

African American Studies may be defined as a field of study that systematically assesses the past and present experiences, achievements, issues and plights of African American citizens within the United States.[2] These studies do not begin with enslavement in America, but their origin is in African where the identity, culture, history and philosophy of black people are derived.[3] The study, research and assessments of African American culture have not always been available in the form of an organized curriculum within higher education institutions. It is important to note that there was no uniform structure for the study of African American culture on campuses in the latter 1960s, being that many of these programs did not arise under the same conditions at each university. While student activism,

along with occasional militancy, is seen within the infant stages of many African American Studies programs on the collegiate level, this is not the case for every program implemented to study African American culture. From its development, readers can also notice there is no uniform name for all programs revolving around the study of African American culture, as it has been referred to as African American Studies, Afro-American Studies, Black Studies, and Negro Studies. Ethnic Studies is another term used describe programs that focus on indigenous peoples and those minorities within the United States.[4]

Before the student activism, the Black Power Movement, and the Civil Rights Era, African American culture was being assessed in the early 1900s. Notable pioneers such as W.E.B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and Carter G. Woodson made strategic research efforts and studies to explore the state of African American culture within the United States to promote advance. These men, along with other influential African American figures, are considered the fathers of African American Studies within the U.S. The first section of this research study will focus on the inferiority complex found in early American education. The following sections will explore the demands for African American Studies programs followed by opposition and problems many of these programs faced during their infant stages. The last section of this historical account will assess the gains of African American Studies and the state of these programs years after establishment.

The Inferiority within American Education

Before assessing the revolutionary actions of students to create Black Studies programs on college campuses nationwide, the researcher or student must consider the linkage of racial inferiority and education in American society prior to the 1960s in order to fully understand that the demands for black studies were made possible by broader trends

of desegregation present during the Civil Rights Movement and before. African American scholars and intellectuals from the early 20th century were among the first to criticize the American education system.

Carter G. Woodson, often times referred to as the father of African American history, founder of the Journal of Negro History and the Association of the Study of Negro Life and History, gave early criticisms of the lack of African American influences in American education within his book *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Within his theoretical and historical account, Woodson suggested that early institutions within the U.S. were misleading black students by presenting an education in a format that ignores essential African American needs, therefore, producing subservient blacks who were not reflective of their own race but of white supremacy.[5] From Woodson's perspective, early American institutions were producing brainwashed African Americans that had little to no knowledge of self.[6]

To support Carter G. Woodson's theory of American educational inferiority, it is important to explore the indistinguishable linkage between American intellectuals and American oppressors of blacks. Sterling Stuckey, chairman of the Afro-American Curriculum Committee at Northwestern in the early 1970s, suggested that a large portion of black inferiority in education evolved from two major factors: fabricated history presented by American intellectuals at a few of America's most prominent institutions and the dissociation of blacks in American with Africans of the actual motherland.[7] When focusing on the influence of American intellectuals and their role in creating inferiority within education, it is necessary to note that many of these figures asserted that blacks in America had no significant ties with Africa and have contributed practically no scholarship on Africa. This is

false, while record shows that free blacks for two centuries proudly referred to themselves as African and placed the word in most organizational titles. Harvard's Louis Agassiz, a leading antebellum scientist and a member of the American School of Anthropology, stated the Africans have always "groped in barbarism and never originated a regular organization among themselves."[8] During the 1890s, John Burgess, Dean of the faculty of Political Science at Columbia University, argued "a black skin means membership in a race of men which… has never created any civilization of any kind."[9] The teachings and theories of intellectuals like Agassiz and Burgess were popular during the stages of early American higher educational development.

Dismantling Inferiority of American Education Through Integration

In post WWII years, burgeoning racial liberalism is seen within American society in hopes of dismantling formal race barriers and rapidly reducing racism amongst whites.[10] Specifically, liberal legislation reforms passed in the field of education set the stage for blacks to integrate previously all white schools. One notable educational reform passed by the United States Supreme Court was the decision issued in the Brown v. Board of Education case. On May 17, 1954, the Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the ruling stating that segregation of public schools was a violation of the 14th amendment and was therefore unconstitutional.[11] Shortly after the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, African Americans began to make strides to integrate grade school and collegiate institutions nationwide. In 1957, Daisy Bates led a group of nine African American students in attempts to desegregate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1962, James Meredith made strides to become the first African American student to enroll at the University of Mississippi, also

known as Ole Miss. These two incidents and many more fathered or where precursors to the protests and demands for academic programs centered on the African American experience.

Before African American or Black Studies programs could restructure American higher education institutions, black students had to first enroll in many of these established or prominent schools. From many perspectives, college administrators saw the implementation of minorities on college campuses as an academic crisis that defied racial norms of higher education.[12] The implementation of African Americans and other minorities only comprised one front of the race dilemma on college campuses. The demand for minority or multicultural studies such as Black Studies or African American Studies developed a new front. In many cases, college officials questioned the reputation of their institution if these program proposals were to pass as valid by administrators.[13] In the late 1960s, a nationwide survey of major state universities reported that African Americans were severely underrepresented in higher education, with an average black enrollment of 1.34 percent in the West and 1.76 percent in the South.[14] It is important to note that many state universities in the North and West had launched special admissions programs that the South had not implemented. The few African Americans that managed to enroll in predominantly white higher education institutions were beneficiaries of affirmative action programs. Deriving from John F. Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 and President Lyndon B. Johnson's Executive Order 11246 that outlawed discrimination on basis of race and sex, these programs were special efforts to recruit, admit, enroll, retain and graduate underrepresented groups in higher education at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.[15] A good example of low African American enrollment at prominent American universities can be seen in Ithaca, New York and New Haven, Connecticut.

Between the years of 1964 to 1968, the black student population at Cornell University grew from ten to 250.[16] While these 250 black students only comprised about one percent of the student population at Cornell at the time, their presence and impact on campus was much larger.[17] Even at Yale University, less than 150 African American undergraduates where present on campus as of 1968.[18] These African American students complained that coursework was not relevant to them and asserted that the current curriculum was designed by and for whites only. African American students at Cornell wanted not only courses, but also a program that helped them examine themselves and their relationship to the majority of society.[19] The voices of African American students, similar to those at Cornell, echoed nationwide throughout the latter 1960s and 1970s.

The Demand and Advocacy for African American Studies

Student Activism and the demand to implement African American or Black Studies programs did not rise over night. While some historians note a spark in student activism amongst African Americans after the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., arguably, these students were products of revolutionary student leaders such as Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael. These leaders pushed students to gain cultural nationalism in higher education institutions. Initially, student activism focused related to the issues of housing, enrollment, and university-community relations.[20] Student advocacy for Black Studies would give a new twist to the student movement.

The thought of implementing programs centered around the study of African Americans on the collegiate level was revolutionary during the 1960s. Revolutionary, in the sense, that these programs would radically reconstruct the American education system and cause intellectuals and scholars to question long accepted academic rules and standards.[21] In

the initial years of implementation, historical evidence shows that Black Studies programs dismantled old theories of African American culture and fabricated truths, while forcing new perspectives and studies on the black experience. Dr. Vincent Harding, former head of the Atlanta based Institute of the Black World, stated that Black Studies demanded a new definition of America and its institutions, a total re-evaluation from a black perspective.[22] Many scholars saw Black Studies as an opportunity to help African-Americans cope with social issues of the era. Preston Wilcox, a former Columbia University professor of education, asserted that programs centered on African American culture gave black students the opportunity to learn how to survive within a society that was undoubtedly stacked against them.[23]

When surveying the demand for Black Studies units on campuses nationwide during the 1960s and 1970s, many historians highlight the militancy that was prevalent in gaining these departments. The first institution accredited with developing a Black Studies unit was San Francisco State College in 1968. This was only achieved after the Third World Liberation Front, composed of African American, Asian, Latino and Native American students, organized a strike that lasted for months in which over seven hundred people were arrested on campus, eighty students injured by police, and thirty-two policemen injured.[24] These students demanded an Ethnic Studies department for those minorities and a separate Black Studies department for African Americans.[25] The Third World Liberation Front was also seen in full effect at the University of California at Berkeley during 1969. Here, minority students went on strike after refusing to accept a Black Studies unit without the creation of an autonomous College of Ethnic Studies for Chicano Studies, Asian American Studies, and Native American Studies as well.[26] At the University of California at Santa Barbara, twenty members of the

Black Student Union occupied a campus building housing the main computer center in demand that a Black Studies department be created.[27] The use of militancy to gain Black Studies departments is seen on a plethora of campuses nationwide. In many cases, if militancy isn't seen in the initial stages of Black Studies departmental development, it is seen when students and administrators conflicted over the structure of these programs shortly after their development. Beyond the use of militancy, advocates of Black Studies presented reasonable rationale for their implementation.

Relevance and the need for black consciousness were amongst the strongest of reasons. African American students advocated to implement programs centered on African American culture. Black consciousness, as it is relevant to higher education institutions, refers to the consistent emphasis of African American culture within education.[28] This concept ties to the students' argument of the late 1960s, which stated that coursework in higher education institutions lacked relevance and in turn lacked black consciousness. In many perspectives, students did not feel connected to the education they were receiving and saw no presence of African American culture within the curriculum. Many scholars of the era petitioned the term "relevance", by stating that it did not accurately express the requests of students. What students really meant was that courses they were taking failed to consider black contributions to society and as Harry Edwards points out in his account, *Black Students*, the social science and history textbooks used in the latter 1960s where viewed by as primers of white supremacy.[29] Specifically, there were thoughts that curriculums intentionally neglected black subject matter to develop a "homogenous and just society" in which race relations were ignored.[30] As mentioned earlier, prominent African American scholars like Carter G. Woodson saw a homogenous society and education as one that neglects the African

American. Dr. Lamar P. Miller, the education director of the Institute of Afro-American Affairs at New York University in 1971, reported "Our educational institutions have assumed that the most useful way in which to encourage Americanism is to ignore racial and ethnic distinctions, submerging them in an undifferentiated curriculum."[31] Like Edwards, Miller also perceives the American education system as one that has neglected individualities in order to promote a homogenous state.

Advocates of African American or Black Studies programs saw racial benefits from these new institutions. One Cornell faculty member stated that programs centered on the black experience started in many places to produce a "renaissance of the psyche."[32] This theory proposed a therapeutic reasoning from implementing Black Studies programs, in which coursework would allow the African American youth to bolster pride and self confidence in their ethical history and religious identity.[33] In many aspects, these newly proposed programs would allow African American students to concentrate on their heroic past, instead of focusing on their less glorious chapters of history. Lenneal J. Henderson, a graduate student within the political science department at Berkeley during the late 1960s, stated, "we should inform people that blacks have contributed integral and invaluable things to America."[34] Also, in reference to the "renaissance of psyche" or new psychological implications offered through Black Studies, is the opportunity to redefine success and accomplishments from academic programs. Many blacks of the late 1960s saw America as a white dominated professional, educational and business based society. Troy Duster a black sociologist at Berkeley explained that success had always been defined as joining the white elite.[35] Black Studies had the opportunity to defy this inferiority and allow students to weigh postgraduate success in a new field.[36]

Scholars argued that Black Studies programs did not only have the opportunity to benefit African Americans therapeutically, but whites as well. In 1969, L.F. (Skip) Griffin, the new president of the Afro-American Association at Harvard, suggested that Black Studies legitimizes blackness in the minds of both blacks and whites. Warren Hewitt, a senior at the University of Southern California stated "We're hung up on the same mythologies."[37] In response to Hewitt, Griffin asserted that these programs could possibly destroy myths that blacks were inferior to whites. In supporting the liberation of racial mythologies and supporting the role of whites in black studies, a Harvard student at a protest shouted "I yield to none in thinking that every respectable university should give courses on African and Afro-American life … it is, however, my hope that such courses will be attended by white students …"[38] In the eyes of many black students, the incorporation of whites within Black Studies programs would allow whites to discover the extent of racism and learn how to reduce it.[39] Overall, within the demand for Black Studies lies a demand for a basic change in the relationship of the races in America. African American students were demanding equality and distinctiveness, coexistence rather than simply integration.[40] Specifically, these students wanted recognition for being black rather than a chance to become white.[41]

The possible vocational function of black studies programs was also a popular element in the rationale for these new programs in the latter 1960s. Many advocates of curriculums focusing on the black experience argued that current and traditional American studies developed a perpetuating severance between black intellectuals and the black community. Jim Nabors, head of the Black Student Union at Berkeley suggested that black studies were the "bridge between people who have expertise and those who need it most desperately in the ghetto."[42] In a Yale alumni meeting, reviewers of black studies programs

saw the newly created field as an opportunity for black students to serve as teachers in African American communities or academicians of the new field.[43] Other Black Studies leaders agreed with those of the Yale alumni by specifying the community work of Black Studies students in the form of tutoring in local schools or daycare centers, operating cultural programs for children and establishing reading programs for adults.[44]

Initially divided on the aims of African American Studies programs, African American students at Cornell eventually agreed that the institute of African American culture should develop skills that would aid African American students as activists in the ghetto rather than develop a black intellectual class, which was proposed by Mr. Dubois.[45] Don L. Lee, a Chicago poet and Cornell's first writer-in-residence, did not favor the idea of a new class or elite group. In agreement with Yale's alumni, he stated, "We've got to produce people who will go back and work in their community."[46] From many perspectives, an elite black class would create a gap within African America culture, as the "talented tenth" of African Americans would become disassociated with the other ninety percent that really need them. One white professor at Cornell asserted that confusion and guild within many black students stemmed from simply being enrolled at a prominent white institution, while their brothers and sisters were struggling in the ghettos.[47] These students were determined not to allow the education of an elite white university to separate them from the black community.

The Demands Meets Opposition and Problems

While some college administrators suggested that programs centered on African American culture would eventually expand and achieve full academic status as other traditional disciplines, others saw Black Studies programs as temporary issues that would eventually wither away when student activists turned to other issues, similar to the interest

in Irish Studies by Irish Americans at the turn of the twentieth century.[48] Despite those who saw a future for African American Studies as a legitimate field of focus, opposition and problems would plague early attempts to structure these disciplines.

Legitimacy was amongst the highest of concerns, as the demand for Black Studies became a pressing issue on college campuses across America. Those scholars who were in favor of Black Studies as a valid discipline stated that the study of African American culture had a long tradition within independent academic fields on the American collegiate level but only lacked organized curriculums and programs of autonomy.[49] These scholars pointed to the works of the late 19th century sociologists and historians such as W.E.B. Dubois and Carter G. Woodson, who produced major studies on topics such as the African American involvement in the slave trade, Reconstruction, education and religion.[50] Specifically, Carter G. Woodson's Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, which sponsored Negro History Week, which now has transformed into Black History month, dates back to World War I.

Although a good portion of American scholars advocated for the implementation of Black Studies programs due to historical evidence, even more scholars of the late 1960s and late 1970s gave contemporary reasons to argue that organized programs centered on African American culture had little merit. One of the major uncertainties that added to the argument of the newly proposed programs as illegitimate was the term "Black Studies" itself. On many American college campuses, administrators, faculty and students were unsure of how to define "Black Studies" as a term, nevertheless present an organized curriculum for an entire program. Professor Troy Duster, a sociologist at the University of California at Berkeley, stated, "We're not sure at this point what Black Studies are."[51] Also in 1969, Karen

L. Barge, a 19-year-old freshman at the University of Arizona from Bridgeport, Connecticut expressed her concerns with the conflict between the relevance and Black Studies that many students were faced with in liberal arts coursework. Barge stated "There is no market for Black Studies … What can I do with a black studies degree? Write a book!"[52] To add to the arguments of Duster and Barge, many scholars and students feared employers would not hire students who emerged from these programs, primarily due to the fact it was not a traditional or established discipline. For example, Dr. Henry A. Bullock, director of Ethnic Studies at the University of Texas stated that he refused to send students into an occupationally blind alley.[53]

To add to the illegitimacy argument toward Black Studies was the fact that these programs were in their most embryonic of stages and were viewed as an experimental issue rather than a serious field of study in the eyes of many scholars at a large portion of American institutions. Specifically, the experimental and infancy aspects of Black Studies programs are seen in their rushed composition. Many college officials argued that many programs focusing on the study of African Americans were developed in a hurry and without fundamentally accepted standards and must solidify their place on the collegiate level over an extensive period of time.[54] While many publications seem to single out white scholars as if they were the only individuals that strongly opposed Black Studies, as if all African American intellectuals supported the development of Black Studies.

Not all negative feedback of initial Black Studies programs came from white college scholars and officials. A black civil rights leader by the name of Bayard Rustin opposed Black Studies on both intellectual and practical grounds. He reasoned that these programs were "thrown together like sausages by universities afraid of riots" and yields little more than

"sophisticated rappers" who would be ill prepared for jobs after graduation.[55] Basically, Bayard's statement served as reinforcement that Black Studies programs would produce African Americans that were sensationalized by the era and its problems instead of breeding African American intellectuals with a clear focus or aim. Rustin's analogy of rapping and Black Studies closely correlates with a Black Studies course that was taught at Kent State University. At Kent State, the Black Studies department was headed by Raymond Broaddus, a 33-year-old "graduate" of the Ohio State Penitentiary.[56] Broaddus was convicted of armed robbery and a former leader of the Nation of Islam, also known as the Black Muslims. Under Broaddus' leadership, Sociology 374 or "The Black Experience" was available within the Black Studies section. Within the course, students had "rap sessions" or meetings with residents, officials and community leaders.[57] These residents included politicians, policemen, welfare mothers, black militants, preachers, businessmen, artists, preachers, pimps and prostitutes.[58]

In 1970, one young black professor spoke negatively about the newly proposed Black Studies programs in a closed conference of African American Studies in Aspen, Colorado. He stated that the programs were "subverted products" of what students similar to him had tried to develop a few years ago.[59] He went on to state that these programs, in their infant stages, are badly conceptualized and most Black Studies directors were simply "pawns" of high ranking white administrators.[60] Martin Kilson of Harvard University held similar thoughts to those of Bayard Rustin and the young professor who spoke at the African American Studies conference in Aspen, Conference. Kilson, an African American professor of government at Harvard suggested that the university level of education was not the place to train ideological cadres.[61] He stated, "the university cannot possibly stand implications of

giving access to politically inclined groups. If it becomes politicized, you can forget the university as a place where learning and scholarship are pursued." [62] From Kilson's perspective, organized student activism had no place on the collegiate level, due to the fear that it would interfere with the true mission of higher education.

To add to the harsh criticisms of Black Studies as a valid discipline, a plethora of problems perpetuated themselves on many campuses as these new departments developed. Because many Black Studies programs where developed in a quick manner due to force, usually threats or actual physical violence, serious fragilities are seen in early Black Studies curriculums. Major problems of these programs included staffing, autonomy, spacing and financing and racial tension within the classroom.[63] Many of these issues and concerns were interrelated. Staffing was amongst the highest of priorities when implementing Black Studies programs on the American collegiate level. The questions of "Who would teach courses focusing on the African American experience? And Who would head these newly formed Black Studies departments?" were highly debatable and prevalent questions on campuses nationwide. These questions were not simple inquires but pressing and complex topics of discussion that would be answered through trial and error processes.

It is no surprise that the majority of African American college students participating in the newly proposed Black Studies programs requested and often times demanded to be taught by black instructors. Their reasoning was that they preferred instructors that were relevant to and familiar with the black experience in America. The problem was that many black professors were not available on campuses of predominantly white colleges and universities. Many black professors were teaching at HBCUs, or historically black colleges and universities. "There are simply not enough to meet the demand for them," said

Dr. Lawrence Silverman, vice chancellor for academic affairs at the University of Tennessee, in reference to the shortage of African American professors available to teach in Black Studies departments.[64] Even at Harvard, one of America's most established institutions, black professors were a shortage. Dr. Henry Rosovsky, a specialist in Japanese economics and head of the Black Studies panel at Harvard University, stated "There is less than a handful to choose from" in reference to push to find qualified professors by September of 1969, while the Black Studies curriculum had just been established in January of that same year.[65] The race to hire black professors at predominantly white colleges and universities created a competition that was viewed negatively by many scholars and college officials. There was a widespread fear that the competition to acquire African American professors for Black Studies programs would denude many southern historically black colleges of their best faculty. Some universities saw acquiring black professors from established historically black institutions as "robbing black colleges of their best talent."[66] In fact, administrators of black colleges pleaded with those of large predominantly white institutions not to raid their staff, as this would contribute to the destruction of historically black institutions.

When institutions could not find full time black professors, they resulted to part-time or traveling instructors. Many of which did not have proper qualifications as professors within traditional disciplines. At some institutions, community leaders and civil rights activists were used as instructors. At the University of California at Berkley, courses were taught by graduate students who had not completed work on higher degrees or by outside experts.[67] Many Black Studies departments had no choice but to used whites to teach courses. At Yale, the majority of initial courses in the Black Studies department was taught by whites, although many of these courses where not "core" courses.[68] Mr. Robert A. Dahl, Professor of

Economic at Yale in 1968, stated as soon as he could find qualified instructors, courses such as Sociology of the Slums, Politics of Poverty and Comparative History of Slavery would be able to students.[69] African American students were skeptical to allow white professors to instruct courses centering around the African American experience based on thoughts that white professors could not teach these courses meaningfully without "white washing" them or teaching them from the white perspective.

While the shortage of qualified instructors for African American Studies curriculums seemed to be an inevitable issue, staffing dilemmas took on a new face when African American students demanded a direct hand in the hiring process of instructors to teach course on the black experience. The evolution of Black Studies at one of America's most prominent and prestigious institutions, Harvard University, reflects the dissatisfaction of African American students due to the current protocol of composing faculty within the Black Studies department. After nine months of study and consultation with African American student leaders at Harvard, On January 21, 1969, university officials announced efforts to move toward the establish of a full degree granting program in American Negro studies on a par with all other academic disciplines.[70] It is important to note that the Black Studies program initially proposed did not operate in autonomy. Instead the program would be ran as a combined major with the student concentrating in an existing field, as it was a common practice at Harvard to combine two majors. Because of the prestige of Harvard, it was a thought that the university's Black Studies program would serve as a model for other institutions and have a nationwide impact.[71]

Unlike the militancy and protests that took place to acquire Black Studies units on many campuses, Harvard's African American Studies unit was agreed on by administrators

with very little resistance. Legitimacy wasn't an obstacle as discussed in Black Studies development earlier. In fact, the eight-member faculty committee on Afro-American studies agreed that the new field of proposal was an intellectually valid academic discipline by stating, "We are dealing with 25 million of our own people with a special history ... It can be hardly doubted that the study of black men in America is a legitimate."[72]

As mentioned earlier, Black Studies programs across the nation fought a huge battle with finding qualified African American professors. Specifically at Harvard, university officials sought ten specialists in African American history, sociology, government, economy, literature, and art by September of 1969.[73] While Harvard administrators allowed African American students to be represented on the Afro-American studies committee in order to recruit new professors, these students did not have the power to veto appointments. In a sense the students had little to no part in the acquiring of professors for an institute that would cater to them. By April of 1969, African American students would result to protest and militancy for their vote in choosing faculty within the Black Studies department.[74] On April 22, 1969, African American students at Harvard University won the voting right to name professors to the new Black Studies department. This advancement occurred only after African American students had organized protests and boycotted their classes. This was the first time that students had ever been given a direct role in the selection process of faculty members at Harvard University. Prior to the African American students gaining a faculty voice, radical participants of the Students for a Democratic Society had considered further militant action by possible seizing a building on campus if their demands were not met. Also, within the hearing that granted African American students a voice in faculty selection, the 251 to 158 votes served as a resolution that the Black Studies program would now be a full-

fledged department. The initial proposal for the new program presented an interdepartmental structured curriculum.

The fear of "robbing black colleges of their talent" and the lack of African American students' voice in instructor selection were not the only dilemmas in composing a staff for Black Studies programs. Even African American scholars held personal reservations about accepting positions within these new programs. Prominent African American scholar Dr. St. Clair Drake, an anthropologist and sociologist at Roosevelt University in Chicago, stated that a majority of African American scholars wanted the security and prestige of being in a traditional department and feared that Black Studies might be a fad, and feared they would be "left out in the cold" after major student movements faded away.[75] Other African American scholars, particularly the younger ones, shunned predominately white schools such as Harvard and Yale due to the negatively perceived "established tone" of these institutions. These African American scholars feared being called upon to be "deans of black students" as much as teachers.

Those African American scholars that did accept positions in Black Studies departments encountered problems shortly thereafter. The denial of tenure was a common obstacle for those African American scholars who accepted jobs within Black Studies departments. For example, Finley Campbell of Wisconsin accepted the position of acting chairman of Afro-American Studies in 1972, but lost his appeal for tenure for "lack of scholarly research"; while many professors complained that they were receiving insufficient research funds.[76] Similar to Dr. Campbell's situation, Dr. Ephraim Isaac of Harvard, who held an appointment only in Black Studies, was denied tenure at the same time that two others with joint departmental appointments within the university received it.[77]

The presence of African American professors did not guarantee harmony and satisfaction in Black Studies departments, especially those on predominantly white campuses. Several institutions cited incidents of growing racial tension within the classrooms and departments after Black Studies programs were established. Specifically, many colleges and administrators feared Black Studies would encourage separatism between whites and blacks, and also within the African American race itself. At Harvard, a white student dropped his major in Black Studies because he said he was "hassled too much."[78] Even professors encountered the hostility of separatist minded African American students. For example, Dr. Sethard Fisher, the 29-year-old chairman of the Black Studies department at the University of California at Santa Barbara was forced to resign in 1969 after students charged that he was not "relevant to the black experience."[79]

Another example of separatism and racial tensions rests in the struggle over control within early Black Studies departments. In many occurrences, African American students demanded control of departmental structuring and funds to be held completely in the hands of African Americans. The reasoning behind the need to control all aspects of the Black Studies departments is simply because these students did not trust white faculty to fully implement the type of liberal program proposed. At Duke, about 25 African American students left school when university officials refused to allow them to control departmental finances or frame course with "a consistent ideology."[80] James Turner, the director of African study and research at Cornell University proclaimed "We have neither the time nor the resources to operate a race relations project wherein well-meaning but inexperienced and dysfunctional whites would occupy positions that might be better filled by blacks."[81] By Turner's tone and reference to whites as inexperience and dysfunctional in regards to Black

Studies, the reader can blatantly see that Turner does not see whites as competent in the consideration of teaching the any course relating to the black experience on the collegiate level. Before Turner accepted the role as the Black Studies department head at Cornell University, the reader can see that Cornell was a fine example of racial tension, separatism and militancy.

On September 14, 1968, an Afro-American Studies program was established on the campus of Cornell University with the intent to develop a comprehensive curriculum on the "black experience" from existing colleges and schools within the university.[82] In other words, the initial Black Studies program at Cornell was to be interrelated. Within a few days of the programs birth, the first committee of the new program was to be developed. The proposed committee would consist of eight to twelve embers with its members derived from faculty, administrators and students.[83] The committee's first duty was fulfilled when Turner, mentioned previously, was appointed director of the new department. Prior to Turner's appointment, Chandler Morse, a professor of economics at Cornell since 1950 and a specialist in economics of Africa, was the acting director of the department.[84] In December of 1968, African American students at Cornell would exemplify dissatisfaction of Morse's leadership and the current state of the Black Studies program.

Under the leadership of Marshall John Garner, vice president of Cornell University's African American Society, demanded full control of the new Black Studies program, from the instructors hiring process and coursework to program funds. In a Friday meeting, Garner and 50 students of the Afro-American Society informed acting department director, Chandler Morse, that the students of the Afro-American Society were the newly elected operating committee.[85] By force, these students overthrew the current committee within the Black

Studies department. To add to their demands, these African American students stated that all finances be given to representatives of the Afro-American Society within twenty-four hours. The previous committee for the African American Studies program had been composed of nine faculty members, administrators, and only eight African American students.[86]

Garner and the students of the Afro-American society were not yet satisfied with their demands of a new committee and full responsibility of program structure and finances. Next, these students wanted an official building on the campus of Cornell to serve as headquarters for the new African American Studies program. Autonomy and proper spacing, mentioned earlier, were goals of many student advocates of early Black Studies programs. Students were often dissatisfied with interrelated programs as proposed by Cornell administrators. On the same Friday as the previously discussed committee meeting, six African American students entered a university-owned building that had been requested for the new African American Studies program use. These six students ordered three white students to leave the building and then placed a note was placed on the door of the building proclaiming that the building was now restricted to members of the African American Studies institution as of noon on Saturday.[87] A *Cornell Daily Sun* news reporter, observing the building from across the street, was assaulted by one of the two African American students who entered the building for a short time around 1p.m. Saturday.[88] The student took film from the reporter's camera and a page from his notebook. The attack was disavowed by the Afro-American Society, according to Cornell University's vice president for public affairs.[89] The development of Cornell University's Black Studies program and the events of student militancy are vivid examples of separatism created by racial tensions.

Despite the theoretical arguments against Black Studies programs, the most vivid problem these budding programs face revolved around funds. Due to militancy and protests, many institutions did not have time to properly prepare a budget for Black Studies units. In general, any new academic program requires hundreds to thousands of dollars for faculty salaries, staff, office space, and equipment.[90] In obtaining these requirements, university administrators may take years to weigh a program proposal's intellectual merit. The emergence of Black Studies programs posed a tremendous financial burden for many universities. Many institutions resulted to taking funds away from other programs. At Antioch College, administrators stripped $500,000 from existing programs to finance the new Black Studies program.[91] Most institutions could not take the risk of Antioch College; therefore, the Ford Foundation was the next source of financial help. The Ford Foundation awarded millions of dollars to universities for Black Studies units between the years of 1969-1978. F. Champion Ward, vice president of the foundation for education and research in 1969, stated "These grants follow extensive study and consultation with scholars, students and administrators, both black and white, regarding some of the highly complex and controversial issues surrounding Afro-American studies." Recipients of these grants included Yale, Princeton, Lincoln, Rutgers, Howard University, and Morgan State University.[92] These institutions received funds in efforts that they might cooperatively share faculty and library resources for extensive development of Black Studies units.[93] The Ford Foundation would prove to be the financial backbone of many Black Studies units that developed throughout the latter 1960s and latter 1970s.

What is Gained From Surveying the Development of Black Studies?

Within the ten-year period of 1968 to 1978 over five hundred African American or Black Studies programs rise on the college campuses across America proving to be a vital source in transforming the mission of higher education institutions.[94] Specifically, these programs reevaluate the relationship between students, administrators, educators and the community through the systematic inquires of African modes of thought and traditions, the international impact of Diaspora, American culture (past, present, and future) and theoretical perspectives of race (forged experientially from the vantage point of the oppressed.)[95] The push for African American Studies programs was not one that benefited solely African Americans. The demand united a broad spectrum of African American, Latino, white, Native American, and Asian American liberals and radicals.[96] The movement for Black Studies is seen as the catalyst for other minority movements such Asian Studies, Latino Studies, and Women's Studies that would make their way to the collegiate arena in years to come.[97]

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