

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Perry A. Hall, *In the Vineyard: Working in African American Studies* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 17.
2. Naomi Schaefer Riley, "The Most Persuasive Case for Eliminating Black Studies? Just Read the Dissertations," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (April 30, 2012). <http://chronicle.com/blogs/brainstorm/the-most-persuasive-case-for-eliminating-black-studies-just-read-the-dissertations/46346> (last accessed December 7, 2014).
3. William R. Jones, "The Legitimacy and Necessity of Black Philosophy: Some Preliminary Considerations," *The Philosophical Forum* 9(2-3) (Winter-Spring 1977-1978), 149.
4. *Ibid.*, 149.
5. Joseph Neff and Dan Kane, "UNC Scandal Ranks Among the Worst, Experts Say," *Raleigh News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC) (October 25, 2014). <http://www.newsobserver.com/2014/10/25/4263755/unc-scandal-ranks-among-the-worst.html?sp=/99/102/110/112/973/>. This is just one of many recent instances of "academic fraud" and sports that include Florida State University, University of Minnesota, University of Georgia and Purdue University.
6. Robert L. Allen, "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," in *African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 594.
7. See Shawn Carrie, Isabelle Nastasia and StudentNation, "CUNY Dismantles Community Center, Students Fight Back," *The Nation* (October 25, 2013). <http://www.thenation.com/blog/176832/cuny-dismantles-community-center-students-fight-back#> (last accessed February 17, 2014). Both Morales and Shakur were former CCNY students who became political exiles. Morales was involved with the Puerto Rican independence movement. He was one of the many students who organized the historic 1969 strike by 250 Black and Puerto Rican students at CCNY that forced CUNY to implement Open Admissions and establish Ethnic Studies departments and programs in all CUNY colleges. Shakur was a member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army. For more information about Assata Shakur, see Assata Shakur, *Assata: An Autobiography* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1987).

- See also, Joy James, "Framing the Panther: Assata Shakur and Black Female Agency," in *Want to Start a Revolution?: Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle*, ed. Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 138–160.
8. Revolutionary Student Coordinating Committee, "Defend the Guillermo Morales/Assata Shakur Community Center," (October 28, 2013) <http://revolutionarystudents.wordpress.com/2013/10/28/defend-the-guillermo-morales-assata-shakur-community-center/> (last accessed December 7, 2014).
 9. African American philosophers like John McClendon and Charles Frye have done groundbreaking work on the philosophy of AAS. See Charles Frye, *Towards a Philosophy of Black Studies* (San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates, 1978); Charles Frye, "The Role of Philosophy in Black Studies," *Contributions in Black Studies* 4 (1980), 65–74; John H. McClendon III, "Materialist Philosophical Inquiry and African American Studies," *Socialism and Democracy* 25(1) (2011), 71–92; John H. McClendon III, "On the Dialectical Relationship of Philosophy to African-American Studies: A Materialist Assessment on The Black Scholar and Its Intellectual Legacy," *The Black Scholar* 43(4) (2013), 108–116; John H. McClendon III, "The Afro-American Philosopher and the Philosophy of the Black Experience: A Bibliographical Essay on a Neglected Topic in Both Philosophy and Black Studies," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 7 (1982), 1–51.
 10. For a materialist examination of Blackness, see John H. McClendon, "Act Your Age and Not Your Color, Blackness as Material Conditions, Presumptive Context, and Social Category," in *White on White/Black on Black*, ed. George Yancy (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 275–295.
 11. Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Revised and Expanded) (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2003), 55. All citations will be from this edition unless otherwise stated.
 12. McClendon, in *White on White, Black on Black*, 284.
 13. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 223.
 14. Jennifer Jordan, "Cultural Nationalism in the 1960s: Politics and Poetry," in *Race, Politics, and Culture: Critical Essays on the Radicalism of the 1960s*, ed. Adolph Reed (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 34.
 15. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Germany Ideology in Collected Works*, Vol. 5 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), 31.
 16. This is important to understand. Religion and mythology accept what is habitual or traditional based on the principle of authority. The tribunal of reason is sacrificed on the basis of the authority of the gods. In the specific instance of religion, the authority of a given individual (e.g., Jesus, Buddha or Muhammad), institution (e.g., the Roman Catholic Church) or religious text (e.g., the Qur'an or the bible(s)) gives authority to our claims, which we then accept primarily on the basis of *faith*, or unjustified belief. So, while religion and mythology are forms of social consciousness, however, all forms of social consciousness are not philosophical consciousness.
 17. Oftentimes, philosophy is seen as any activity in which we engage in introspection, contemplation and speculation. I want to submit that this is not

- necessary philosophy. Philosophers do engage in such activities; however, these activities are not a necessary and sufficient condition for being classified as a philosopher. In folklore, proverbs and wives tales, we find, for example, gems of wisdom, but this does not necessarily constitute philosophical labor. See Paul Gomberg, *What Should I Believe? Philosophical Essays for Critical Thinking* (Buffalo, New York: Broadview Press, 2011).
18. T. Oizerman, *Problems of the History of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 148. See also, T. I. Oizerman, *The Main Trends in Philosophy: A Theoretical Analysis of the History of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988).
 19. Paulin Hountondji, "What Can Philosophy Do," *Quest: An International African Journal of Philosophy* 1(2) (1987), 18.
 20. Holmes' three articles are: "The Main Considerations of Space and Time," *American Journal of Physics* 18(9) (1950), 560–570; "The Kantian Views of Time and Space Reevaluated," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* (1955), 240–244; and "Philosophical Problems of Space and Time," *Science and Society* 24(3) (1960), 207–227. See John H. McClendon, "Eugene C. Holmes: A Commentary on a Black Marxist Philosopher," in *Philosophy Born of Struggle*, ed. Leonard Harris (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1983), 36–50.
 21. A. J. Kershaw, "Evolution: Its Darwinian and Jordanic Theories Compared," *The A.M.E. Church Review* 14(4), (April 1898), 495–502; Edward A. Clarke, "Evolution: God's Method of Work in His World," *The A.M.E. Church Review* 15 (January 1899), 729–733. See also, Lawrence S. Little, "The African Methodist Episcopal Church Media and Racial Discourse, 1880–1900," *The North Star: Journal of African American Religious History* 2(1) (Fall 1998), 1–14.
 22. Louis Althusser, *Philosophy and the Spontaneous Philosophy of the Scientists & Other Essays* (New York: Verso, 2011), 88.
 23. John H. McClendon, Phone Interview with Author, March 27, 2015. See "Earl E. Thorpe to Mr. William C. Turner, January 14, 1976," Department of African and African American Studies Records, Duke University Archives, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
 24. For a penetrating critique of the "underclass thesis" and the value assumptions that undergird it, see Adolph Reed, *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 179–196.
 25. See John Arena, "Bringing In the Black Working Class: The Black Urban Regime Strategy," *Science & Society* 75(2) (April 2011), 153–179.
 26. Robert L. Allen, "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Normnt (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 496. This article originally appeared in *The Black Scholar* September 6(1) (1974), 2–7.
 27. In Hegel's *Logic*, he makes a point about a "presuppositionless" starting point for philosophy. Hegel confronted a paradox of sorts. Philosophy, unlike other sciences, is not entitled to make assumptions or presuppositions. And, yet, it seems inevitable to assume certain concepts, propositions, or methods of procedure. See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Encyclopaedia Logic*,

- with the Zusätze: Part I of the Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences with the Zusätze.* Translated by Théodore F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1991). See also Paul Ashton, "The Beginning before the Beginning: Hegel and the Activation of Philosophy," *Cosmos and History: The Journal of Natural and Social Philosophy* 3(2–3) (2007), 328–356.
28. C. L. R. James, "Black Studies and the Contemporary Student" in *At the Rendezvous of Victory*, ed. C. L. R. James (London: Allison & Busby, 1984), 191–192.
 29. C. L. R. James, "Revolution and the Negro" in *C. L. R. James and Revolutionary Marxism: Selected Writings of C. L. R. James 1939–1949*, ed. Scott McLemee and Paul Le Blanc (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1994), 77; italics added. Also in the same collection read, "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the United States," originally written in 1948. Also see Glenn Richards, "C.L.R. James on Black Self-Determination in the United States and the Caribbean," in *C. L. R. James: His Intellectual Legacies*, ed. Selwyn R. Cudjoe and William E. Cain (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 320–326.
 30. See C. L. R. James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Washington, DC: Drum and Spear Press).
 31. See, "THE BLACK SCHOLAR Interviews: C.L.R. James," *The Black Scholar* 2(1) (1970), 35–43; C. L. R. James, "Presence of Blacks in the Caribbean and Its Impact on Culture," in *At the Rendezvous of Victory* (London: Allison & Busby, 1985).
 32. See Alex Dupuy, "Toussaint-Louverture and the Haitian Revolution: A Reassessment of C.L.R. James's Interpretation," in *C. L. R. James: His Intellectual Legacies*, ed. Selwyn R. Cudjoe and William E. Cain (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 106–117.
 33. *Ibid.*, 116n1.
 34. *Ibid.*, 116n1.
 35. *Ibid.*, 116n1.
 36. See also C. L. R. James, "The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery: Some Interpretations of Their Significance in the Development of the United States and the Western World," in *A Turbulent Voyage: Readings in African American Studies*, ed. Floyd W. Hayes III (San Diego, CA: Collegiate Press, 1992), 213–236.
 37. Langston Hughes, "Air Raid over Harlem," in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 186.
 38. Brian Lloyd, *Left Out: Pragmatism, Exceptionalism, and the Poverty of American Marxism, 1890–1922* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 3.
 39. Molefi K. Asante, "Harold Cruse and Afrocentric Theory," in *Harold Cruse's the Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, ed. Jerry Watts (New York: Routledge, 2004), 235.
 40. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1984), 712.
 41. Henry Wiencek, *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 251.

42. Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007); Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997)
43. On the concept of release time, see John H. McClendon and Stephen C. Ferguson, *Beyond the White Shadow: Philosophy, Sports and the African American Experience* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt, 2012), particularly chapter 2, “The Emergence of the African American Athlete in Slavery: A Materialist Philosophical Perspective.”
44. See Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978; and John Lovell, *Black Song: The Forge and the Flame; the Story of How the Afro-American Spiritual Was Hammered Out*. New York: Macmillan, 1972
45. Karl Marx, “Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right (1843),” in *Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 182.
46. Robert S. Wachal, “The Capitalization of Black and Native American,” *American Speech* 75(4) (2000), 365. For a further discussion of this issue, see John H. McClendon, “Black/Blackness: Philosophical Considerations,” in *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*, Vol. 3, ed. Carol Boyce Davies (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 198–203; and and Richard B. Moore, “The Name ‘Negro’—Its Origin and Evil Use,” in *Richard B. Moore, Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings, 1920–1972*. Edited by W. Burghardt Turner and Joyce Moore Turner (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988), 223–239.

I CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE IVORY TOWERS

1. See Jewel Graham, “Remarks for Panel on Black Studies,” Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, San Francisco, CA. March 23–26, 1970. http://antiochcollege.org/antiochiana/songs_from_the_stacks/remarks-panel-black-studies (Accessed May 15, 2014).
2. See Armstead L. Robinson, *Black Studies in the University: A Symposium* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).
3. E. H. Carr notes in reference to Cleopatra’s nose: “This is the theory that history is, by and large, a chapter of accidents, a series of events determined by chance coincidences and attributable only to the most causal causes.” See E. H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 128.
4. In the Introduction to Karl Marx’s *Class Struggle in France 1848–1850*, Engels observes: “The materialist method has here often to limit itself to tracing political conflicts back to the struggles between the interests of the social classes and fractions of classes encountered as the result of economic development, and to show the particular political parties as the more or less adequate political expression of these same classes and fractions of classes.” See Karl Marx, *Class Struggle in France, 1848–1850* (New York: International Publishers, 1986), 10.

5. John Arena, "Bringing in the Black Working Class: The Black Urban Regime Strategy," *Science & Society* 75(2) (April 2011), 156.
6. As Karl Marx observes: "I paint the capitalist and the landlord in no sense *couleur de rose* [i.e., seen through rose-tinted glasses]. But here individuals are dealt with only in so far as they are the personifications of economic categories, embodiments of particular class-relations and class-interests. My standpoint, from which the evolution of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history, can less than any other make the individual responsible for relations whose creature he socially remains, however much he may subjectively raise himself above them." See Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1967), 20–21. For discussions of class analysis, see Nicos Ar. Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes* (New York: Verso, 1987); Scott G. McNall, Rhonda F. Levine, and Rick Fantasia, *Bringing Class Back in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991); Rhonda F. Levine, *Enriching the Sociological Imagination: How Radical Sociology Changed the Discipline* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2005). For Marxist works on social movements, see Peter Alexander, "Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protests—A Preliminary Analysis," *Review of African Political Economy* 37(123) (2010), 25–40; Colin Barker and Gareth Dale, "Protest Waves in Western Europe: A Critique of 'New Social Movement' Theory," *Critical Sociology* 24(1–2) (1998), 1–2; Colin Barker, "Some Reflections on Student Movements of the 1960s and Early 1970s," *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 81 (June 2008), 43–91; Satnam Virdee, "A Marxist Critique of Black Radical Theories of Trade-Union Racism," *Sociology* 34(3) (2000), 545–565; Alf G. Nilsen and Laurence Cox, "What Would a Marxist Theory of Social Movements Look Like?," in *Marxism and Social Movements*, ed. Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf G. Nilsen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 63–81.
7. I have borrowed this title from Barbara Foley. See Barbara Foley, "Looking Backward, 2002–1969: Campus Activism in the Era of Globalization," in *World Bank Literature*, ed. Amitava Kumar (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 26–39.
8. Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), 4.
9. C. L. R. James, "Key Problems in the Study of Negro History," in *C.L.R. James on the Negro Question*, ed. Scott McLemee (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996), 127. See also, C. L. R. James, "The Philosophy of History and Necessity: A Few Words with Professor Hook, Part 1," *The New Internationalist* 9(7) (July 1943), 210–213; "The Philosophy of History and Necessity, Part 2," *The New Internationalist* 9(9) (October 1943), 273–274. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/james-clr/works/1943/07/hook.htm#a1> (Accessed April 18, 2014).
10. For a representative work in the philosophy of social science that employs methodological individualism, see Martin Hollis, *The Philosophy of Social Science: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For a broad overview of the philosophy of social science, see Alexander Rosenberg, *Philosophy of Social Science* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988). For a

- critique of methodological individualism in the context of Black sport history, see John H. McClendon and Stephen C. Ferguson, *Beyond the White Shadow: Philosophy, Sports, and the African American Experience* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 2012). For instances of methodological individualism in Black sports history, see Albert N. D. Brooks, "Democracy through Sports," *Negro History Bulletin* 15(3) (December, 1951), 56ff.; Albert N. D. Brooks, "Negro History—A Foundation for Integration," *Negro History Bulletin* 17 (January 1954), 94, 96. Edwin B. Henderson, "Foreword: The Negro in Sports," *The Negro History Bulletin* 15(3) (December, 1951), 42–56. This issue of the *Negro History Bulletin* was specifically devoted to African Americans in sports. The contributionist philosophy of history still remains as an influence on a good number of African American intellectuals today who are scholars of the Black experience. One only has to observe the groundbreaking research on African Americans in sports. Far too many, manuscripts and biographies are focused on "Black first" who broke through the "Color-Line" in the sports arena. See, for example, Charles Kenyatta Ross, *Outside the Lines: African Americans and the Integration of the National Football League* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); David L. Porter, *African American Sports Greats: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995).
11. Earl E. Thorpe, *The Dissertation of Man: A Critique of Philosophy of History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Ortlieb Press, 1958), xxii.
 12. See Berkley B. Eddins, *Appraising Theories of History* (Cincinnati, OH: Ehling, 1980).
 13. Karl Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 15. See also Berkley B. Eddins, "Historical Data and Policy-Decisions: The Key to Evaluating Philosophies of History," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 26(3) (March 1966), 427–430.
 14. Carr, *What Is History?*, 174.
 15. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 10.
 16. See E. P. Thompson, "On History from Below," in *The Essential E. P. Thompson* (New York: New Press, 2001), 481–489. See also, Sterling Stuckey, "From the Bottom Up: Herbert Aptheker's *American Negro Slave Revolts* and *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*," *Nature, Society and Thought* 10(1–2) (January–April 1997), 39–67.
 17. For an example of African American history as people's history, see Richard Wright, *12 Million Black Voices* (New York: Basic Books, a member of the Perseus Books Group, 2008).
 18. Marx, *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, 15. The Oxford philosopher and historian R. G. Collingwood observed: "the past which an historian studies is not a dead past, but a past which in some sense is still living in the present." R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. David Boucher and Teresa Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 97.
 19. For recent histories of Black Studies, see N. M. Rooks, *White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis of Race in Higher Education* (Boston: Beacon, 2006); Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to*

- Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2007).
20. For another example of narrative history in African American Studies, see John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
 21. "Charles Darwin to Henry Fawcett, 18 September 1961," in *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin*, Vol. 9, ed. Frederick Burkhardt (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 269.
 22. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 5.
 23. *Ibid.*, 433. For a Marxist critique of White's *Metahistory*, see Alex Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 44–94.
 24. *Ibid.*, ix.
 25. Peter Gay, *Style in History: Gibbon, Ranke, Macaulay, Burckhardt* (New York: Norton, 1974), 189.
 26. Examples of recent scholarship treating the Black Studies movement, as part of the Black Power movement, see Peniel Joseph, "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement," *Journal of African American History* 88(2) (Spring 2003), 182–203; Ibram H. Rogers, "The Black Campus Movement and the Institutionalization of Black Studies, 1965–1970," *Journal of African American Studies* 16(1) (March 2012), 21–40. Both these works employ a narrative history of the Black Studies movement. For Joseph's attempt to elaborate a philosophy of history, see Peniel Joseph, "Waiting till the Midnight Hour: Reconceptualizing the Heroic Period of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1965," *Souls: Critical Journal of Black Politics & Culture* 2(2) (2000), 6–17. For critiques of Peniel Joseph's work, see Jonathan Fenderson, "Towards the Gentrification of Black Power(?)," *Race & Class* 55(1) (2013), 1–22; Bruce A. Dixon, "Dr. Peniel Joseph: Peoples Historian or Establishment Courtier? Part One of Two," *Black Agenda Report: News Commentary and Analysis from the Black Left* (June 16, 2010), available at: <http://www.black-agendareport.com/content/dr-peniell-joseph-peoples-historian-or-establishment-courtier-part-one-two> (Accessed March 3, 2014); Bruce A. Dixon, "Dr. Peniel Joseph: Peoples Historian or Establishment Courtier? Part Two of Two: Peniel Joseph vs. Hubert Harrison on Democracy," *Black Agenda Report: News Commentary and Analysis from the Black Left* (July 7, 2010), available at: <http://www.black-agendareport.com/content/dr-peniell-joseph-peoples-historian-or-establishment-courtier-part-two-two-peniell-joseph-vs-h> (Accessed March 3, 2014). For a Marxist discussion and critique of narrative history (or "narrativism") as a method, see Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives*.
 27. Joseph, "Waiting till the Midnight Hour," 7.
 28. This is not to imply that a historical work should be an exhaustive presentation of a historical moment.
 29. Robert S. Boynton, "The New Intellectuals," *Atlantic Monthly* 275(3) (March 1995), 53. For a leftist critique of Black public intellectuals, see Adolph L. Reed, "What Are the Drums Saying, Booker?" *The Curious Role of the Black*

- Public Intellectual,” in *Class Notes: Posing As Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 77–90.
30. James Boggs, “Culture and Black Power,” in James Boggs, *Pages from a Black Radical’s Notebook: A James Boggs Reader*, ed. Stephen M. Ward. (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2011), 184.
 31. See George Orwell, *1984: A Novel* (New York: Plume, 2003), 39.
 32. Marx, *Class Struggle in France*, 56.
 33. Here I am assuming that racism and sexism are rooted in capitalist relations of production. For a Marxist political analysis of the events of 1968, see Chris Harman, *The Fire Last Time: 1968 and After* (London: Bookmarks, 1998). For a discussion of the New Left and “New Communist Movement” in the United States after 1968, see Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (London: Verso, 2002).
 34. San Francisco State University is usually cited as the first Black Studies program. However, there are two other schools that are ignored, Merritt College (California) and Antioch College (Ohio). For a case study of the emergence of Black Studies at Merritt College, see Sidney F. Walton, Jr., *The Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies* (East Palo Alto, CA: Black Liberation Publishers, 1969).
 35. See Robert A. Malson, “The Black Power Rebellion at Howard University,” *Negro Digest* 27(2) (December 1967), 20–30; and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Paul Starr, *The University Crisis Reader*. Vol. 1, *The Liberal University Under Attack*, and Vol. 2, *Confrontation and Counterattack* (New York: Random House, 1971). For a documentary on the Howard University student takeover, see *Color Us Black* (New York: National Educational Television, 1968).
 36. Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Paul Starr, *The University Crisis Reader*, Vol. 2, *Confrontation and Counterattack* (New York: Random House, 1971), 486. For various positions on the concept of a “Black” university vis-à-vis Negro university, see “What We Mean by ‘The Black University,’” “Basic Concepts of the Black University,” and “A Policy Statement on the Black University,” in Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Paul Starr, *The University Crisis Reader*. Vol. 1, *The Liberal University Under Attack* (New York: Random House, 1971), 356–363. See also, Valerie Jo Bradley, “Black Colleges Start New Year with Changes Student Demand,” *Jet* (October 30, 1969); Vincent Harding, “Black Students and the ‘Impossible’ Revolution,” *Ebony* (August 1969) (The Black Revolution: Special Issue), 141–146, 148; James Turner, “Black Students and the Changing Perspective,” *Ebony* 24(10) (August 1969), 135–140.
 37. Senegal under Leopold Senghor was a bureaucratic petit bourgeois regime. By a “bureaucratic petit bourgeois” regime, I mean it functioned as an intermediary between French capital and the masses of Senegalese people. While it promoted the overall agenda of France, it could—under pressure—advance what appeared to be egalitarian and democratic reforms for Senegal. On the details of the revolt in Senegal, see Andy Stafford, “Senegal: May 1968, Africa’s Revolt,” in Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke, *1968: Memories and Legacies*

- of a *Global Revolt* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2009), 129–135; Robert Fatton, “Gramsci and the Legitimization of the State: The Case of the Senegalese Passive Revolution,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 19(4) (1986), 729–750; William John Hanna, “Student Protest in Independent Black Africa,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 395 (May 1971), 171–183.
38. The 32 countries represented by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, in 1968, were Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central Africa Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Dahomey (now Benin), Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic (Egypt), Uganda, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), and Zambia. See Amy Bass, *Not the Triumph but the Struggle: The 1968 Olympics and the Making of the Black Athlete* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).
 39. See John Carlos, *The John Carlos Story: The Sports Moment that Changed the World* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2011), 81–82.
 40. See Harry Edwards, *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: Free Press, 1969). Also consult, Douglas Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: The 1968 Olympic Protests and Their Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 41. See Samantha Christiansen and Zachary A. Scarlett, *The Third World in the Global 1960s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); particularly, James Bradford, “Brother Wally and de Burnin of Babylon: Walter Rodney’s impact on the reawakening of Black power, the birth of reggae, and resistance to global imperialism,” 142–156, and Pedro Monaville, “The Destruction of the University: Violence, Political Imagination, and the Student Movement in Congo-Zaire, 1969–1971,” 159–170.
 42. John F. McDonald, *Urban America: Growth, Crisis, and Rebirth* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 150.
 43. Adolph Reed, “Black Particularity Reconsidered,” *Telos* 39 (1979), 71–93.
 44. For recent efforts to document the “forgotten” history of the Black student movement, see Peniel E. Joseph, “Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement,” *The Journal of African American History* 88(2) (2003), 182–203; Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem Vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Ibram H. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). For an examination of the role of Black students in the formation of Black Studies at a particular campus, see Rhett Jones, “Dreams, Nightmares, and Realities: Afro-American Studies at Brown University, 1969–1986,” in *A Companion to African-American Studies*, ed. Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 33–58.
 45. Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2005), 206.

46. Angela Y. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1988), 161.
47. Stokely Carmichael and Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 431–435; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 147–148. For a critique of Carmichael's position, see Maxine Williams, "Black Women and the Struggle for Liberation" in *Black Woman's Manifesto* (New York: Third World Women's Alliance, n.d.); Linda La Rue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," *The Black Scholar* 1 (May 1970), 36–42.
48. Judith Lowder Newton, *From Panthers to Promise Keepers: Rethinking the Men's Movement* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 65. See also, Tracye A. Matthews, "'No One Ever Asks What a Man's Role in the Revolution Is': Gender Politics and Leadership in the Black Panther Party, 1966–1971," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998), 267–304. Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution Black Feminist Organizations, 1968–1980* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).
49. A Gambian student Lamin Janha attending Central State University reported to Kwame Nkrumah in April 1971 that study groups were held on campus and in the community about philosophical consciencism. John H. McClendon III who was the student body president at Central State and a member of Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) organized these study groups. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Conakry Years, His Life and Letters*. Compiled by June Milne. (London: Panaf, 1990), 398.
50. Robert Allen, "The Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 6 (September 1974), 2–7. Historically Black colleges and universities were governed by locus parentis. Consequently, the administrators, faculty, and staff were viewed as the caretakers of students, and governed in a paternalistic manner. For an excellent discussion of the pre-history of African American Studies, see Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," *Daedalus* 100(3) (Summer 1971), 678–719.
51. Spike Lee's 1988 film *School Daze* captures both the political quiescence and paternal authoritarianism at Black colleges and universities, while simultaneously feeding into petit bourgeois romanticism. For a good review of the film, see Janet Maslin, Review of *School Daze*, *New York Times* (February 12, 1988). For a leftist critique of Spike Lee's films, see Amiri Baraka, "Spike Lee at the Movies," in *Black American Cinema*, ed. Manthia Diawara (New York: Routledge, 1993), 145–153.
52. Noliwe Rooks, *White Money/Black Power* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2006), 4. See also, "Student Strikes: 1968–1969," *The Black Scholar* (January–February 1970), 65–75.
53. Rogers, "The Black Campus Movement and the Institutionalization of Black Studies, 1965–1970," 26. For a more extensive discussion of the Black Student movement as part of the "long duree" of Black campus movements, see Rogers, *Black Campus Movement*.

54. Peniel Joseph, "Dashikis and Democracy: Black Studies, Student Activism, and the Black Power Movement," *Journal of African American History* 88(2) (Spring 2003), 197.
55. Take for instance the members of the board of trustees for the HBCU Tuskegee Institute (Tuskegee, Alabama) in 1968: Retired General Lucius D. Clay, E. B. Goode, Frances Bolton (U. S. House of Representative-Ohio), Basil O'Connor (President, National Foundation, New York City), Alexander Aldrich (Executive Assistant to New York's then-governor Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller), Arthur P. Cook (retired publisher of the Sun Papers, Birmingham, Alabama), A. G. Gaston (Birmingham businessman and attorney), Melvin A. Glasser (director of Social Security for the United Auto Workers Union), William Rosenwald (president of American Securities Co. of New York), Frederick D. Patterson (president emeritus of Tuskegee College), Dr. Montague Oliver (president of the Gary, Indiana School Board of Trustees), and William G. Gridley, Jr. (vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York). See "Tuskegee Students Lock Up Trustees 13 Hours," *St. Petersburg Times* April 8, 1968, A1, A8. For a more general discussion of this issue, see David N. Smith, *Who Rules the Universities? An Essay in Class Analysis* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974). For recent instances of the collaboration between the corporate capital and universities, see William J. Broad, "Billionaires with Big Ideas Are Privatizing American Science," *New York Times* (March 15, 2014). http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/16/science/billionaires-with-big-ideas-are-privatizing-american-science.html?_r=0 (Accessed April 19, 2014).
56. See V. I. Lenin, *State and Revolution* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 25 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), 381–492.
57. "Students to Be Readmitted at Tuskegee," *The Times-News* (Hendersonville, NC) (April 22, 1968), 11.
58. No police officer was ever held accountable for these murders. The only person convicted and sentenced was SNCC activist, Cleveland Sellers, who was shot in the back and one of the people injured in the campus shooting. See Jack Bass and Jack Nelson, *The Orangeburg Massacre* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2002); Cleveland Sellers, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC* (New York: Morrow, 1973).
59. See "Texas Southern University Riot of 1967," in *Encyclopedia of American Race Riots*, Vol. 2, ed. Walter C. Rucker and James Nathaniel Upton (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 635–636.
60. Tabula rasa, meaning blank slate in Latin, makes reference to the epistemological theory of John Locke, who argued that individuals are born without a prior knowledge and that all knowledge comes from experience and perception. John Locke refers to the mind as "white paper void of all characters." See John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Book 2, Chapter 1, Section 2 (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1996), 33.
61. Nathan Hare, "War on Black Colleges," *The Black Scholar* 9 (May–June 1978), 18.
62. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 78.

63. Quoted in Jelani Manu-Gowan Favors, *Shaking Up the World: North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University and the Black Student Movement, 1960–1969*. Thesis (M.A.) (Ohio State University, 1997), 97.
64. Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission “From Black Power to multicultural organizing in Greensboro,” (2006), 49–50. See also *The Danville Register* (March 15, 1969), 5.
65. The role of education in Black political struggles was debated over three successive years in special issues of *Negro Digest* (later changed to *Black World*) on the “Black University”. See *Negro Digest* 17 (March 1968), 17; *Negro Digest* 17 (March 1969), 4–97; *Negro Digest* 19 (March 1970), 4–97.
66. James A. Foley and Robert K. Foley, *The College Scene: Students Tell It Like It Is* (New York: Cowles Book Company, 1969), 24.
67. See Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
68. Quoted in Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 51.
69. Angela Y. Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1988), 196.
70. See George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement: 1965–1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); particularly Chapter 6, “To demand that the university work for our people.” The then left-radical “third” college Lumumba-Zapata College was opened in September 1970. It was eventually renamed after the liberal Thurgood Marshall in 1993.
71. See Chuck Hopkins, “Malcolm X Liberation University: Interim Report,” *Negro Digest* 19(5) (March 1970), 39–42.
72. See Fanon Che Wilkins excellent dissertation, “‘In the Belly of the Beast’: Black Power, Anti-Imperialism, and the African Liberation Solidarity Movement, 1968–1975” (PhD diss., New York University, 2001). G. A. McWorter, “Struggle Ideology and the Black University,” *Negro Digest* 18(5) (March 1969), 15–21; See also, Vincent Harding, “Toward The Black University,” *Ebony* (August 1970), 156–159; “Malcolm X University Crumbles,” *The Spartanburg Herald* (June 28, 1973), A5; James T. Wooten, “Malcolm X University to Open,” *New York Times* (October 28, 1969); Willie E. Davis, “Malcolm X Liberation University,” *SOBU Newsletter* (February 6, 1971), 10. Malcolm X Liberation University was originally located in a converted brick warehouse located at the corner of Pettigrew and Ramsey streets in Durham’s historic Black business section. In 1971 MXLU relocated to Greensboro, North Carolina. See Devin Fergus, *Liberalism, Black Power, and the Making of American Politics, 1965–1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), particularly Chapter 2, “‘We Had a Beautiful Thing’: Malcolm X Liberation University, the Black Middle Class, and the Black Liberation Movement.” See also Brent H. Belvin, “Malcolm X Liberation University: An Experiment in Independent Black Education” (PhD diss., North Carolina State University, 2004). After leaving the movement in the mid-1970s, Howard Fuller

- eventually served as the superintendent of Milwaukee schools. He is an advocate of school vouchers and charter schools. He is currently on the board of a charter high school, CEO Leadership Academy. He is also Distinguished Professor of Education and Director of the Institute for the Transformation of Learning. Reportedly, he is good friends with the Walton family and former president George W. Bush. See Rob Christensen, "The Winding Journey of Howard Fuller," *Durham News & Observer* (November 19, 2013.) <http://www.newsobserver.com/2013/11/19/3387943/christensen-the-winding-journey.html> (Accessed April 14, 2014).
73. See, for example, The Center Staff, "Center for Black Education: Position Paper," *Negro Digest* (March 1970), 44–47. A Federation of Pan-African Education Institutions was formed in 1972. See *Black World* (July 1972), 80. On the East, see Kwasi Konadu, *A View From the East: Black Cultural Nationalism and Education in New York City* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009).
 74. See Sundiata Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "Providence, Patriarchy, Pathology: Louis Farrakhan's Rise and Decline," *New Politics* 6(2) (Winter 1997), 47–71.
 75. Lerone Bennett, "The Challenge of Blackness," *Black World* 20(4) (February 1971), 21.
 76. Ernest Kaiser, *In Defense of the People's Black & White History and Culture* (New York: Freedomways, 1970), 2.
 77. *Black Studies: Myths and Realities*. ed., Martin Kilson (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1969), 21–22.
 78. *Ibid.*, 30.
 79. Kenneth B. Clark, "Letter of Resignation from Board of Directors of Antioch College," in *Black Studies: Myths and Realities*. ed., Martin Kilson (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1969), 34.
 80. Marxist theorist and activist Robert Rhodes led the Black Studies program at Antioch. The Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare used the double-edge sword of the 1964 civil rights law to hinder the development of the Afro-American Studies Institute. Antioch College was threatened with possible loss of federal assistance for violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for discriminating against white students at Antioch. Rhodes later taught in African American Studies at Ohio University. See his important article, "Internationalism and Social Consciousness in the Black Community," *Freedomways* 12 (1972), 230–236.
 81. Bayard Rustin, "Black Studies and Inequality," in *Bayard Rustin: American Dreamer*, ed. Jerald E. Podair (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 147.
 82. Martin Kilson, "Reflections on Structure and Content in Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 3(3) (March 1973), 300. This article was a thinly veiled attack on Ewart Guinier, then-chair of Harvard's Black Studies department. Kilson viewed Guinier as an ill-trained, Marxist ideologue, "a politician sporting intellectual garb."
 83. *Ibid.*, 307.

84. "Inclusive scholarship" refers to Nathan I. Huggins's report to the 1982 report on Black Studies. See Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Inclusive Scholarship: Developing Black Studies in the United States: A 25th Anniversary Retrospective of Ford Foundation Grant Making, 1982–2007* (New York: Ford Foundation, 2007), particularly the 1982 report by Nathan I. Huggins, "Afro-American Studies: A Report to the Ford Foundation."
85. Bundy played a crucial role in all of the major foreign policy and defense decisions of the Kennedy and part of the Johnson administration. These included the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and, most controversially, the Vietnam War. See Lloyd Gardner, "Harry Hopkins with Hand Grenades? McGeorge Bundy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years," in *Behind the Throne: Servants of Power to Imperial Presidents, 1898–1968*, ed. Thomas J. McCormick and Walter LaFeber (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 204–229.
86. Robert Allen, "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 6 (September 1974), 2–7. For a discussion of parallel developments in African Studies, see Africa Research Group. *The Extended Family—African Studies in America—A Tribal Analysis of U.S. Africanists: Who They Are; Why to Fight Them* (Cambridge, MA: The Group, 1970). See also Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Building Intellectual Bridges: from African studies and African American studies to Africana studies in the United States," *Afrika Focus* 24(2) (2011), 9–31.
87. In 1941, the Julius Rosenwald Fund sought to encourage the appointment of Black professors at white colleges and universities. Most white educational institutions and administrators responded that they could not locate or identify qualified applicants as the main reason for maintaining all white faculties. So, Fred G. Wale, a member of the Rosenwald Fund, circulated a list of qualified African American scholars, most with PhD degrees in 26 fields, to 509 college administrators. The Rosenwald Fund offered as an additional incentive. They would pay the salary of any Black faculty hired. It wasn't until 1945 that Olivet College in Michigan hired Cornelius Golightly (becoming the second African American philosopher to teach at a predominantly white college (after Patrick Healy)) and the University of Chicago hired Allison Davis in the sociology department. Olivet College hired Golightly in philosophy and his wife in the English Department. He later became Dean of Liberal Arts at Wayne State University. See A. Gilbert Belles, "The College Faculty, the Negro Scholar and the Julius Rosenwald Fund," *The Journal of Negro History*, 54(4) (October 1969), 383–392. For an analysis of the relationship between industrial education, corporate philanthropy, and Black education at HBCUs, see Henry Allen Bullock, *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865–1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001).

88. See also N. M. Rooks, *White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis of Race in Higher Education* (Boston: Beacon, 2006); Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2007). The Ford Foundation, for example, funded the Civil Rights Documentation Project, whose aim is to collect information on the civil rights movements, including oral history and unpublished material. It was established formally on May 1, 1967 by the Fund for the Advancement of Education at the suggestion of Fund board member and United Nations Under Secretary Ralph J. Bunche.
89. This would be equivalent to nearly \$60 million today.
90. Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 138–139. The only exception to the rule—in regards to Ford Foundation funding—was the Institute of the Black World. See Derrick E. White, *The Challenge of Blackness The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011).
91. John T. Bethell, *Harvard Observed: An Illustrated History of the University in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 263–264. For an insider perspective on Black Studies at Harvard, see Eileen Southern, “A Pioneer: Black and Female,” in Werner Sollors, Caldwell Titcomb, and Thomas A. Underwood, *Blacks at Harvard: A Documentary History of African-American Experience at Harvard and Radcliffe* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 499–503.
92. See “Guinier: Harvard Admin. Undermines Black Studies,” *Black Panther Newspaper* (1975).
93. Ewart Guinier was a labor activist who was active in the struggle for Black worker’s rights and community organizing efforts from 1938 to 1962. He was the International Secretary-Treasurer of the United Public Workers of American Union. In 1949, he was the American Labor Party’s presidential candidate for the Borough of Manhattan presidency and the following year he became vice-president of the National Negro Labor Council. He was also the father of Lani Guinier, lawyer, scholar, and civil rights activist, who was nominated by William Clinton for Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in April 1993. See Cassandra Zenz, “Ewart Guinier (1910–1990),” BlackPast.org <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/guinier-ewart-1910-1990> (Accessed April 18, 2014). See also “Harvard Professors Feud Over Black Studies Plan,” *Jet* (January 2, 1975), 49. Ewart Guinier, “Black Studies: Training for Leadership,” *Freedomways* 15 (Summer 1975), 196–205; Ewart Guinier, “Impact of Unionization on Blacks,” *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 30(2) (December 1970), 173–181.
94. Richard M. Benjamin, “The Revival of African-American Studies at Harvard,” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 9 (Autumn 1995), 64.
95. *Ibid.*, 62.
96. Ewart Guinier Papers, 19. Kilson was the first tenured professor in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University. He received tenure in 1969.

97. Douglas E. Schoen, "Kilson and Guinier Debate the Role of Black Studies," *The Harvard Crimson* (December 10, 1973). <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1973/12/10/kilson-and-guinier-debate-the-role/> (Accessed April 19, 2014).
98. See Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America, an Analytic History* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990).
99. The earliest known usage of the term, "Black Power" is found in a 1954 book by Richard Wright titled *Black Power*. For contrasting views of Black Power, see Roy Wilkins, "Black Power is Black Death," *New York Times* (July 7, 1966), 35; Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 421–428.
100. For an example of the communitarian foundation to Black Power, see Nathan Hare, "Can Blacks Ever Unite? Black Leaders and Street Brothers Alike Are Optimistic," *Ebony* (September 1976), 96–98, 100, 102.
101. See, Joshua D. Farrington, "'Build, Baby, Build,' Conservative Black Nationalists, Free Enterprise, and the Nixon Administration," in *The Right Side of the Sixties: Reexamining Conservatism's Decade of Transformation*, ed. Laura Jane Gifford and Daniel K. Williams (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 61–80.
102. For scholarship on the history of CORE, see James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Arbor House, 1985); August Meier and Elliott M. Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942–1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Nishani Frazier, *Harambee Nation: Cleveland CORE, Community Organization, and the Rise of Black Power*. Thesis (PhD)—Columbia University, 2008.
103. See Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 1992), 182–192.
104. Harold Cruse, "Behind the Black Power Slogan," in *Rebellion or Revolution?* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1968), 201.
105. In 1973, Innis announced plans to send hundreds of African American doctors, engineers, technicians and other professionals to take the place of white-collar Indian workers who were expelled from Uganda after Amin seized power in 1971. Amin was made a life member of CORE, and returned the favor by granting Ugandan citizenship to Innis. See, "CORE's Uganda Plan Delayed by Idi Amin," *Jet* (July 19, 1973), 24.
106. See Gerald Horne, *From the Barrel of a Gun: The United States and the War against Zimbabwe, 1965–1980* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 352, n28.
107. Historically, AFSCME has been one of the most progressive unions inside the AFL-CIO. During the 1960s, AFSCME joined students and civil rights activists as they took to the streets to protest racism and imperialism. This alliance culminated in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968 when sanitation workers struck for union recognition after two Black workers were crushed to death in a garbage truck. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was organizing the Poor People's March, went to Memphis to support the strike. Only after Dr. King's assassination did the city agree to recognize the workers' union, AFSCME Local

1733. See Joan Turner Beifuss, *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishers, 1989); Michael K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road: The Memphis Strike, Martin Luther King's Last Campaign* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).
108. Martin Luther King, Sr. is quoted as saying: "No mayor is going to put a tax on in his election year—now, that may come later on... Now, if you do everything you can to accommodate them [striking workers], then I say, fire them." See "Strike Is Criticized by Dr. King's Father," *New York Times* (5 April 1977), 22.
109. Mayor Goode also ordered the bombing of the MOVE organization in 1985, killing 11 people, including 5 children. Michael Boyette and Randi Boyette, *"Let It Burn!": The Philadelphia Tragedy* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1989). There is also a documentary about the MOVE bombing: Osder, Jason, Christopher Mangum, and Michael Moses Ward, *Let the Fire Burn* (New York: Zeitgeist Films, 2014).
110. For a general discussion of Black mayors, see David R. Colburn and Jeffrey S. Adler, *African-American Mayors: Race, Politics, and the American City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001). This tendency was the logical outgrowth of racial uplift ideology. See, for example, J. Phillip Thompson, *Double Trouble Black Mayors, Black Communities, and the Call for a Deep Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Clarence Nathan Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1964–1988* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989). For a discussion of Wilson Goode, see Ann Cohen and James Dooley, "Privatizing Philly vs. AFSCME DC 33," *Labor Research Review* 1(15) (1990), 15–23.
111. Amiri Baraka, "A Reply to Saunders Reddings' 'The Black Revolution in American Studies,'" in *Daggers and Javelins* (New York: Quill, 1984), 282.
112. I do not want to imply that the defeat of the Black left was only the result of State repression. There were a combination of political mistakes and errors, which led to the demise of the political influence of the Black left during this period including revisionism, ideological dogmatism, factionalism, Stalinist-Maoist cult of personality, and voluntarism.
113. Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 135.
114. The following college students were murdered: Samuel Younge, Jr. (Tuskegee), Samuel Hammond (South Carolina State), Henry Smith (South Carolina State), Phillip Lafayette Gibbs (Jackson State), James Earl Green (Jackson State), Leonard D. Brown, Jr. (Southern University), Denver A. Smith (Southern University), Willie E. Grimes (North Carolina A & T), Rick Dowdell (University of Kansas). James Earl Green (Jackson State), Delano Middleton (South Carolina State), and Larry D. Kimmons (Pepperdine) were high school students. And Benjamin Brown (Jackson State) was a community activist. See Rogers, *Black Campus Movement*.
115. Hugh E. Gibson, "3 Voorhees Rebels Are Sought," *The News and Courier* (Charleston, SC) (May 1, 1969), 1–2A; "Voorhees College's Future Uncertain," *The Daily Item* (Sumter, SC) (March 21, 1970), 2A; "Voorhees Students Feel School Oriented to White Society," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal* (Spartanburg, SC) (March 22, 1970), B9.

116. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement*, 138.
117. In 1949, at the height of McCarthyism, the University of California Board of Regents passed a bylaw banning the hiring of members of the Communist Party or other organizations that advocate the overthrow of the Government by force or violence.
118. "The Radicalization of Angela Davis," *Ebony* (July 1971), 114.
119. Robert Allen, "Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 6 (September 1974), 2–7.
120. Students from both organizations had been active in the National Student Association (NSA). The National Association of Black Students (NABS) was founded in El Paso, Texas. It broke from the National Student Association (NSA) in August 1969. Some former student activists associated with NABS were Gwendolyn Patton, James Forman, Ken Amos and Mickey McGuire. It held its first convention at Wayne State University from June 26 through July 5, 1970. See "Black Students Tell White Supports to Get Lost," *Jet* (October 9, 1969), 48.
121. For an overview of SOBU/YOBU, see Jelani Favors, "North Carolina A & T Black Power Activists and the Student Organization for Black Unity," in *Rebellion in Black and White: Southern Student Activism in the 1960s*, ed. Robert Cohen and David J. Snyder (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 255–279. See also, "Student Organization for Black Unity—Developmental Background," (unpublished document) in author's possession.
122. Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU), "Developmental Background," (Unpublished Document), 7. In author's possession.
123. For an excellent introduction to the white settler regimes in Southern Africa and the African liberation movement, see Africa Research Group, *Race to Power: The Struggle for Southern Africa* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1974).
124. Milton Coleman is currently the deputy managing editor of *Washington Post*. Coleman graduated from University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. He was a Southern Education Foundation Fellow in 1971 and a fellow in the Michele Clark Summer Program for Minority Journalists at Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism in 1974. He joined the staff of the *Washington Post* in 1976. See Milton Coleman, "Student Organization for Black Unity Explains Program," *The A & T Register* (NCAT, Greensboro) (October 23, 1970), 1, 3. Later, Jerry Walker became the editor of *The African World*, after Coleman's departure from SOBU.
125. Ronald Washington, "The Rise and Fall of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) Or as was said in the 'Bronx Tale,' There's Nothing Worse Than Wasted Potential." <http://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-1a/#rwl> (Accessed May 15, 2014).
126. *Ibid.*
127. By January 1974, YOBU was dissolved in order to form the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL-ML). It was composed of members from Youth Organization for Black Unity, Owusu Sadaukai's Malcolm X Liberation University, Abdul Alkalimat's Peoples College, Lynn Eusan Institute (Houston, Texas), and the Marxist Leninist Collective (San Francisco and Detroit). The

organizations formed the left-wing faction of the African Liberation Support Committee. At its birth, RWL was the largest Black leftist organization in the “New Communist Movement.” RWL-ML later merged with the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRWO), an offshoot of the Young Lords Party, to form the Revolutionary Wing. See Rod Bush, *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 209–211. See also Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (New York: Verso, 2002).

128. Lenin argues that the central task of Marxists is to help train working-class revolutionaries who must be on the same level in regard to party activities as the revolutionaries from among the intellectuals. This required a party organization made up of people who, regardless of their class origin, made revolutionary political activity their profession, that is, “professional revolutionaries”—who were trained by the party to be professional Marxist propagandists, agitators, and organizers. See V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement in Collected Works*, Vol. 5 (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), 440–492.
129. See Jefferson R. Cowie, *Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2012).
130. See Martha Biondi, *The Black Revolution on Campus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 111–112.
131. John Lewis among other union officials argued that the businesslike functioning of a union required bureaucratic norms of organization as opposed to rank-and-file democracy. For an excellent examination of business unionism and the decline of the US labor movement, see Kim Moody, *An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism* (New York: Verso, 1988).
132. Philip F. Rubio, *There’s Always Work at the Post Office African American Postal Workers and the Fight for Jobs, Justice, and Equality* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), particularly Chapter 10, “The Great Postal Strike of 1970.”
133. Aaron Brenner, *Rank-and-File Rebellion, 1966–1975* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1996). See the excellent anthology, Aaron Brenner, Robert Brenner, and Calvin Winslow, *Rebel Rank and File: Labor Militancy and Revolt from Below in the Long 1970s* (London: Verso, 2010).
134. See Karen Brodtkin, *Caring by the Hour: Women, Work, and Organizing at Duke Medical Center* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). For a good analysis of the unionization drive of 1978 at Duke, see Tony Dunbar, “The Old South Triumphs at Duke,” *Southern Changes* 1(9) (1979), 5–8. See also, Christina Greene, *Our Separate Ways: Women and the Black Freedom Movement in Durham, North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2005).
135. See James P. Comer, “Nixon Policies and the Black Future in America,” *Black World* 22(5) (March 1973), 36–39, 66–69.
136. See Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI’s Secret Wars against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988); Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall,

- The COINTELPRO Papers: Documents from the FBI's Secret Wars against Domestic Dissent* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1990); Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: Free Press, 1989).
137. State-sanctioned violence was not just limited to the United States. It was an international phenomenon reflected in the assassinations of Eduardo C. Mondlane (1969), Walleign Mekonnen Kassa (1972), Amilcar Cabral (1973), Walter Rodney (1980), Ruth First (1982), Maurice Bishop (1983), Samora Machel (1986), and Thomas Sankara (1987)—to name a few.
 138. See Clarence Lang, “Freedom Train Derailed: The National Negro Labor Council and the Nadir of Black Radicalism,” in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: “Another Side of the Story”*, ed. Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 161–188.
 139. For a passionate account of the Greensboro Massacre, see Signe Waller, *Love and Revolution: A Political Memoir—People's History of the Greensboro Massacre, Its Setting and Aftermath* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002). Other notable accounts are: Amilcar Cabral/Paul Robeson Collective, *The Greensboro Massacre: Critical Lessons for the 1980's* (Raleigh, NC: Amilcar Cabral/Paul Robeson Collective, 1980); Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, *Never Forgive or Forget the Greensboro Massacre: Nazis, Klan & Kops Go Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy* (Greensboro, NC: Revolutionary Communist Party, 1980); Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *Final Report: Examination of the Context, Causes, Sequence and Consequence of the Events of November 3, 1979. Presented to the Residents of Greensboro, the City, the Greensboro Truth and Community Reconciliation Project and Other Public Bodies on May 25, 2006* (Greensboro, NC: Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2006); Elizabeth Wheaton, *Codename GREENKIL: The 1979 Greensboro Killings* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987).
 140. Gerald Horne, “Blowback: Playing the Nationalist Card Backfires,” in *After Political Correctness: The Humanities and Society in the 1990s*, ed. Christopher Newfield and Ronald Strickland (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), 84. See also, Erik S. McDuffie, “Black and Red: Black Liberation, The Cold War, and the Horne Thesis,” *The Journal of African American History* 96(2) (2011), 236–247.
 141. See Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World, 1992). Many left-radicals are influenced by Marxism–Leninism rather than being Marxist–Leninists per se. For example, the Eldridge Cleaver's concept of “Lumpen” ideology is a clear example of left-radicalism, but definitely not Marxist–Leninist. See Eldridge Cleaver, “On Lumpen Ideology,” *The Black Scholar* 3 (November–December 1972), 2–10; Kathleen Cleaver, “On the Vanguard Role of the Black Urban Lumpen Proletariat,” Pamphlet (London: Grass/Roots Publications, 1975). For a Marxist critique of “Lumpen Ideology,” see Clarence J. Munford, “The Fallacy of Lumpen Ideology,” *The Black Scholar* 4 (July–August 1973), 47–51. See

- also, Henry Winston, "Crisis of the Black Panther Party," in *Strategy for a Black Agenda* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 207–233; Chris Booker, "Lumpenization: A Critical Error of the Black Panther Party," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles Earl Jones (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998), 337–362.
142. Floyd W. Hayes, III and Francis A. Kiene, III, "'All Power to the People': The Political Thought of Huey P. Newton and The Black Panther Party," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998), 169. See also Floyd W. Hayes, III and Judson L. Jefferies, "Us Does Not Stand for United Slaves!," in *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast*, ed. Judson L. Jefferies (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 2006), 67–92.
143. Huey P. Newton, *War against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* (New York: Harlem River Press, 1996), 78–81. Months later, members of the San Diego branch of the Black Panther Party Sylvester Bell and John Savage were murdered by members of Karenga's Us organization.
144. For Karenga's counterargument against charges that US collaborated with the FBI, see Maulana Karenga, "US, Kawaida and the Black Liberation Movement in the 1960s: Culture, Knowledge and Struggle," in *Engines of the Black Power Movement: Essays on the Influence of Civil Rights Actions, Arts, and Islam*, ed. James L. Conyers (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007), 95–133.
145. John H. McClelland III, "From Cultural Nationalism to Cultural Criticism: Philosophical Idealism, Paradigmatic Illusions and the Politics of Identity," in *Decolonizing the Academy: African Diaspora Studies*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 3–26.
146. See Harold Cruse, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: Morrow, 1967). For Left-Radical/Marxist critiques of Cruse's *Crisis*, see Robert Chrisman, "The Crisis of Harold Cruse," *The Black Scholar* 1(1) (1969), 77–84; Sterling Stuckey and Joshua Leslie, "Reflections on Reflections About The Black Intellectual, 1930–1945," *First World: An International Journal of Black Thought* 2(2) (1979), 26–29; Ernest Kaiser, Review of *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, *Freedomways* (1969), 24–41; Julian Mayfield, "Crisis or Crusade? *Negro Digest* (June 1968), 10–24; Ernest Allen, "The Cultural Methodology of Harold Cruse," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5(2) (1977), 26–49; "Childe Harold," *Negro Digest* (November 1968), 26–28; Ernest Allen, "The Cultural Methodology of Harold Cruse," *The Journal of Ethnic Studies* 5(2), 31–39; Tony Thomas, *Black Liberation and Socialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 157–176.
147. See, for example, Cornel West, "The New Cultural Politics of Difference," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-ha, and Cornel West (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1990), 19–36.
148. Adolph Reed, *W. E. B. Du Bois and American Political Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 130. For a similar argument, see Robert Young, "The Linguistic Turn, Materialism and Race: Toward an Aesthetics of Crisis" *Callaloo* 24(1), 334–345.

149. E. P. Thompson, "Commitment and Politics," *Universities and Left Review* 6 (Spring 1959), 51.
150. Earl Ofari, "Black Labor: Powerful Force for Liberation," *Black World* (October 1973); Haki R. Madhubuti (Don L. Lee), "Enemy from the White Left, White Right and In-Between" (October 1974); Kalamu ya Salaam, "Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories," *Black World*; Amiri Baraka, "Toward Ideological Clarity," Amiri Baraka, "Why I Changed My Ideology: Black Nationalism and Socialist Revolution," Ladun Anise, "Tyranny of a Purist Ideology" (May 1975). For a good anthology on Black nationalism, see William L. Van Deburg, *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).
151. Hutchings, "Report on the ALSC National Conference," *The Black Scholar* 5 (July–August 1974), 48.
152. *Ibid.*, 52.
153. See Pan-African Congress, *Resolutions and Selected Speeches from the Sixth Pan African Congress* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1976); Walter Rodney, *Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa* (Atlanta: Institute of the Black World, 1975); Courtland Cox, "Sixth Pan African Congress," *The Black Scholar* 5(7) (1974), 32–34; Modibo M. Kadalie, *Internationalism, Pan-Africanism and the Struggle of Social Classes: Raw Writings from the Notebook of an Early Nineteen Seventies African-American Radical Activist* (Savannah, GA: One Quest Press, 2000), 246–358. For a recent assessment of the Sixth Pan African Congress, see Fanon Che Wilkins, "A Line of Steel': The Organization of the Sixth Pan-African Congress and the Struggle for International Black Power, 1969–1974," in *The Hidden 1970s Histories of Radicalism*, ed. Dan Berger (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 97–114.
154. See "Nathan Hare," *History Makers* <http://www.thehistorymakers.com/biography/nathan-hare-38> (Accessed March 19, 2014).
155. See Haki R. Madhubuti, "The Latest Purge: The Attack on Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism by the New Left, the Sons and Daughters of the Old Left," *The Black Scholar* 6 (September 1974), 43–56. Madhubuti's position was in the same tradition as the anti-communism of Walter White, George Schulyer, and Roy Wilkins. See, for example, Walter White, "The Negro and the Communists," *Harper's* (December 1931).
156. Mark Smith, "A Response to Haki Madhubuti," *The Black Scholar* 6 (January–February 1975), 44–53.
157. See the articles and letters by S. E. Anderson, Alonzo 4X (Cannady), Ronald Walters, and Chancellor Williams, *The Black Scholar* (October 1974); Maulana Karenga and Kalamu Ya Salaam, *The Black Scholar* (January–February 1975); Preston Wilcox and Jomo Simba, *The Black Scholar* (March 1975); Gwendolyn M. Patton and Mark S. Johnson, *The Black Scholar* (April 1975). See also, Kalamu Ya Salaam, "Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories," *Black World* (October 1974), 18–34.
158. A compromise formation is an attempt to bring together mutually inconsistent ideologies and/or theories. See Roy Bhaskar, *Scientific Realism and*

- Human Emancipation* (New York: Verso, 2009), 6. See Maulana Ron Karenga, "Kawaida and Its Critics: A Sociohistorical Analysis," *Journal of Black Studies* 8 (December 1977), 125–148. After his imprisonment for four-and-a-half years during the 1970s, Karenga flirted with left-radicalism. See the following: Maulana Karenga, "Which Road: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, Socialism?," *The Black Scholar* 6(2) (1974), 21–30; Maulana Karenga, "Ideology and Struggle: Some Preliminary Notes," *The Black Scholar* 6(5) (1975), 23–30. All of these articles were republished in Maulana Karenga, *Essays on Struggle: Position and Analysis* (San Diego: Kawaida Publications, 1978).
159. Here what I have in mind is what Alvin Gouldner's concept of "culture of critical discourse". He argues: "The culture of critical discourse (CCD) is an historically evolved set of rules, a grammar of discourse, which (1) is concerned to justify its assertions, but (2) whose mode of justification does not proceed by invoking authorities, and (3) prefers to elicit the voluntary consent of those addressed solely on the basis of arguments adduced. CCD is centered on a specific speech act: justification. It is a culture of discourse in which there is nothing that speakers will on principle permanently refuse to discuss or make problematic; indeed, they are even willing to talk about the value of talk itself and its possible inferiority to silence or to practice." See Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class: A Frame of Reference, Theses, Conjectures, Arguments, and an Historical Perspective on the Role of Intellectuals and Intelligentsia in the International Class Contest of the Modern Era* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 28.
 160. For a discussion of voluntarism and the generally complex history of the "New Communist Movement," see Max Elbaum, *Revolution in the Air: Sixties Radicals Turn to Lenin, Mao and Che* (New York: Verso, 2002), particularly Chapter 8, "Bodies on the Line: The Culture of a Movement."
 161. Recent leftist/Marxist works that have not followed down the path of "Black Marxism" are: Malik Simba, *Black Marxism and American Constitutionalism: An Interpretive History from the Colonial Background to the Ascendancy of Barack Obama* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 2013); John H. McClendon, *CLR James's Notes on Dialectics: Left Hegelianism Or Marxism-Leninism?* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004).
 162. Quoted in St. Clair Drake, "What Happened to Black Studies?," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 269.
 163. Rhett Jones, "Dreams, Nightmares, and Realities: Afro-American Studies at Brown University, 1969–1986," in *A Companion to African-American Studies*, ed. Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 41. See also, Abdul Alkalimat, "Black Power in U. S. Education: Ideology, Academic Activism and the Politics of Black Liberation," *Africa World Review* [London, England] 2 (May–October 1992), 13–15.
 164. Abdul Alkalimat, "Toward a Paradigm of Unity in Black Studies," in *African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 391–407. Alkalimat was born Gerald A. McWorter in 1942 in Chicago, Illinois. In the late 1960s, he helped establish the

- Atlanta-based Institute of the Black World, which would later become the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center. Alkalimat attended Ottawa University, where he earned a BA in sociology and philosophy in 1963. He received his doctorate in sociology from the University of Chicago in 1974. In the early 1970s, Alkalimat established Peoples College, a Marxist collective that published *Introduction to Afro-American Studies: A Peoples College Primer*, one of the first introductory textbook in African American Studies. He is currently a professor in African American Studies and the Graduate School of Library and Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. See Abdul A. Alkalimat (Gerald A. McWorter), *Introduction to Afro-American Studies: A Peoples College Primer* (Chicago: Twenty-first Century Books and Publications, 1986); Abdul A. Alkalimat, *Scientific Approach to Black Liberation: Which Road against Racism and Imperialism for the Black Liberation Movement* (Nashville, TN: Peoples College, 1974).
165. See Abdul Alkalimat, "Black Marxism in the White Academy: The Contours and Contradictions of an Emerging School of Black Thought," in *Paradigms in Black Studies: Intellectual History, Cultural Meaning and Political Ideology*, ed. Abdul Alkalimat (Chicago: Twenty-first Century Books and Publications, 1990), 205–222. For "Black Marxism" contra "Ebony in Marxism," see John H. McClendon, "Marxism in Ebony Contra Black Marxism: Categorical Implications," *Proud Flesh: New Afrikan Journal of Culture, Politics & Consciousness* 6 (2007), 1–44. See also Greg Meyerson, "Rethinking Black Marxism: Reflections on Cedric Robinson and Others," *Cultural Logic: An Electronic Journal of Marxist Theory & Practice* 3(1) (Fall 1999), <http://cllogic.eserver.org/3-1&2/meyerson.html>
166. Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 57.
167. Consult, V. I. Lenin, "Marxism and Revisionism," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 15 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 29–39. Eduard Bernstein a leading member of the German Social Democratic Party (he served as co-executor of Engels' estate and was editor of the party's paper-*Sozialdemokrat*) was considerably influenced by the Fabians, Bernard Shaw and Beatrice and Sidney Webb, during his exile in England from 1888 to 1901. Bernstein's acceptance of Fabianism was consciously done despite Engels's harsh reproach of the Fabians.
168. See, for instance, Nah Dove, "An African-Centered Critique of Marx's Logic," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 19(4) (1995), 260–271.
169. Prior to teaching at Temple, Monteiro was a tenured professor at the University of the Sciences (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania). See Eric Drahtser, "Dr. Anthony Monteiro and the Assault on the Black Radical Tradition," *Counterpunch* (March 7–9, 2014). <http://www.counterpunch.org/2014/03/07/dr-anthony-monteiro-and-the-assault-on-the-black-radical-tradition/> (Last accessed November 10, 2014).
170. Howard Goodman, "Panel Report Sheds Light on Asante Controversy Temple Faculty Board Sought A Tribunal," *The Inquirer* (November 14, 1996). http://articles.philly.com/1996-11-14/news/25649100_1_faculty-senate-committee-members-report.

171. See Myung Oak Kim, "Temple Black Studies Rift Widens," *Philly.com* (June 21, 1997). http://articles.philly.com/1997-06-21/news/25528453_1_asante-grievance-faculty (Last accessed November 10, 2014).
172. John Moritz and Erin Edinger-Turoff, "Ousted Professor Re-ignites Protests within Department," *The Temple News* (February 18, 2014). <http://temple-news.com/news/ousted-professor-re-ignites-protests-within-department/> (Last accessed November 10, 2014).
173. These quotes are from a Facebook post on Molefi Asante's Facebook page title, "The Monteiro Affair at Temple University," dated May 11, 2014. (Last accessed November 10, 2014).
174. On Cleaver's evolution, see Jacob Zumoff, "Eldridge Cleaver," in *African American Lives*, ed. Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 173–175.
175. For a great analysis of Fuller's organization The Black Alliance for Educational Options, see Erica Lasdon and Eric Evenskaas., *Community Voice or Captive of the Right? A Closer Look at the Black Alliance for Educational Options* (Washington, DC: People for the American Way, 2003), 1–16. See also Sarah Barber, *Never Stop Working: Examining the Life and Activism of Howard Fuller*. Master's Thesis. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012; Jeanette Mitchell, *Fighting the Inequalities in Education for African Americans: A Comparative Analysis of Two Leaders' Stories* (PhD diss., Cardinal Stritch University, 2001). See also Howard Fuller and Lisa Frazier Page, *No Struggle, No Progress: A Warrior's Life from Black Power to Education Reform* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2014). For a recent critique of Howard Fuller, see also, Adolph Reed, "The Real Problem with Selma: It Doesn't Help Us Understand the Civil Rights Movement, the Regime it Challenged, or Even the Significance of the Voting Rights Act," *Nonsite.org* (January 26, 2015). <http://nonsite.org/editorial/the-real-problem-with-selma> (Last accessed February 25, 2015).
176. Here is a partial list of some of Munford's Marxist writings: "Sartrean Existentialism and the Philosophy of History," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 11 (1968), 392–404; "The Fallacy of Lumpen Ideology," *The Black Scholar* 4(10) (July–August 1973), 47–51; "Slavery and Racism in the U.S.—A Critique of Current Bourgeois Historiography," *Revolutionary World: An International Journal of Philosophy*, vols. 43–45 (Amsterdam, 1981), 65–97; "Marxism and the History of Africa," in *Dialectical Perspectives in Philosophy and Social Science*, ed. Pasquale N. Russo (Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner, 1983).
177. See, Anthony Monteiro, "Review Essay—Race, Class and Civilization: On Clarence J. Munford's *Race and Reparations*," *The Black Scholar* 29(1) (1999), 46–59.
178. See Charles Mills, "Red Shift: Politically Embodied/Embodied Politics," in *The Philosophical I: Personal Reflections on Life in Philosophy*, ed. George Yancy (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 155–175. See also, Charles W. Mills, *From Class to Race: Essays in White Marxism and Black Radicalism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). For a Marxist philosophical and ideological critique of Mills' position, see John H. McClendon III, "Black and White contra Left and Right? The Dialectics of Ideological Critique in African

- American Studies," *APA Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 2(1) (Fall 2002), 47–56.
179. See Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Retreat from Class: A New "True" Socialism* (New York: Verso, 1986).
 180. See especially John Foster Bellamy, "Introduction to a Symposium on the Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought," *Monthly Review* 45(2) (June 1993), 8–16. See also, Robert Gooding-Williams, "Evading Narrative Myth, Evading Prophetic Pragmatism: Cornel West's *The American Evasion of Philosophy*," *The Massachusetts Review* (Winter 1991–1992), 519–523; John P. Pittman, "Radical Historicism, Antiphilosophy, and Marxism," in *Cornel West: A Critical Reader*, ed. George Yancy (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 224–244. For a penetrating left critique read Eric Lott, "Cornel West in the Hour of Chaos: Culture and Politics in Race Matters" *Social Text* 40 (Autumn 1994), 39–50. Also see Reed, Jr., *W. E. B. Du Bois and American Political Thought*, 12, 95–96, 99.
 181. Cornel West, *Prophetic Fragments* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988), 48.
 182. Alf G. Nilsen and Laurence Cox, "What Would a Marxist Theory of Social Movements Look Like?" in *Marxism and Social Movements*, ed. Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf G. Nilsen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 71.
 183. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. Translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 263.
 184. I have intentionally focused on three tendencies in this period: liberalism, nationalism, and left-radicalism/Marxism. I have attempted to neatly point out the objective manner in which a given class's ideological position manifested itself on a series of political questions. The real history of the development of these tendencies is much more shambolic. In fact, a particular individual may be within one tendency on one question and another on a different political issue. More importantly, the "epistemological break" between nationalism and Marxism was an ongoing process of historical development. This must be kept in mind, particularly within this section. For instance, Black communists were generally lukewarm to the left-nationalism of Malcolm X after his "epistemological break" and political departure from the Nation of Islam. This was reflected in the fact that Malcolm X was never given the opportunity to publish in the Black leftist journal *Freedomways*, which was financed by the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and ran by Black communists such as W. Alphaeus Hunton, James and Ester Jackson, who were members of the CPUSA. The exclusion of Malcolm X occurred despite the inclusion of many Black liberals such as Roy Wilkins within the pages of *Freedomways*. However, Shirley Graham Du Bois, a non-Communist Black leftist and a member of the editorial board of *Freedomways*, openly embraced Malcolm X, particularly during his visit to Ghana in 1964. See Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 219–220.
 185. This is taken from June Jordan's poem, "On the Murder of Two Human Being Black Men, Denver A. Smith and Leonard Douglas Brown, at Southern

- University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 1972." It was published in March 1973 issue of *Black World* 22(5), 63–65.
186. "Blues for Brother George Jackson," was a song on Archie Shepp's classic jazz album *Attica Blues* released in 1972.
 187. After nearly 96 hours of negotiations, authorities agreed to 28 of the prisoners' demands. However, they refused to grant complete amnesty from criminal prosecution to the prisoners who participated in the uprising. Subsequently, Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered state police to storm the prison. When the uprising was over, at least 39 people were dead, including ten correctional officers and civilian employees. See Donald F. Tibbs, *From Black Power to Prison Power: The Making of Jones v. North Carolina Prisoners' Labor Union* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
 188. The ALSC was organized on the following platform: "The principle task of our movement at this time has two aspects. We must merge the Black liberation struggles in the U.S.A. with the National liberation struggles in Africa because a victory anywhere in the fight against U. S. imperialism is a victory everywhere." *Statement of Principles of the African Liberation Support Committee* (Washington, DC, n.d.), 4.
 189. For coverage of African Liberation Day in 1973, see Don L. Lee, "African Liberation Day," *Ebony* 28(9) (July 1973), 41–44, 46. For a discussion of African Liberation Day in the context of African American involvement in the decolonization movement, see Brenda Gayle Plummer, *In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956–1974* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). From March 23 to 24, ALSC sponsored a Conference on Racism and Imperialism at Howard University: "Which Way Forward in Building the Pan African United Front?" with over 800 attendees. See Phil Hutchings, "Report on the ALSC National Conference," *The Black Scholar* 5(10) (July–August 1974), 48–53. See also, Chris Harris, "Canadian Black Power, Organic Intellectuals and the War of Position in Toronto, 1967–1975," in *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*, ed. M. Athena Palaeologu (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 2009), 324–339. For a Marxist analysis of African American National Conference on Africa sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus at Howard University, May 25–27, 1972, see Robert Rhodes, "Internationalism and Social Consciousness in the Black Community," *Freedomways* 12 (1972), 230–236. For information on the Council on African Affairs, see Hollis R. Lynch, *Black American Radicals and the Liberation of Africa: The Council on African Affairs, 1937–1955* (Ithaca, NY: Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 1978); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).
 190. For a recent history of the Black Panther Party, see Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, *Black against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). See also Elain Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).
 191. Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (London: Verso, 1986), 257.

192. Cedric Johnson, *Revolutionaries to Race Leaders: Black Power and the Making of African American Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 128.
193. Stokely Carmichael, "What We Want," *New York Review of Books* (September 22, 1966), 8.
194. For a rightist critique of the concept of Black Power, see Bayard Rustin, "'Black Power' and Coalition Politics," *Commentary* (September 1966), 35–40. See also, Robert Lee Scott and Wayne Brockriede, *The Rhetoric of Black Power* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969); especially, Martin Luther King, Jr., "The President's Address to the 10th Anniversary Convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, August 16, 1967."
195. "Unemployment Rates, total and black or African American, 16 years and over, 1972–2009," U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. http://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2010/african_american_history/data.htm#figure07_unemployment_rate (Accessed March 14, 2014).
196. This is a reference to Gil Scot-Heron and Brian Jackson's album *Winter in America*, which was released in May 1974 and the television situation comedy *Good Times*, which aired on February 8, 1974. The lyrics to the theme song (composed by Dave Grusin with lyrics written by Alan and Marilyn Bergman and sung by Jim Gilstrap and Blinky Williams) contain the following: "Ain't we lucky we got 'em—Good Times."
197. Adolph Reed, "The Study of Black Politics and the Practice of Black Politics: Their Historical Relation and Evolution," in *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*, ed. Ian Shapiro (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 111.
198. Adolph Reed, *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 121.
199. Robert Weems and Lewis Randolph argue that Nixon's advocacy of "Black Capitalism" complimented his "Southern Strategy." See Robert E. Weems, Jr. and Lewis A. Randolph, "The Ideological Origins of Richard M. Nixon's 'Black Capitalism' Initiative," *The Review of Black Political Economy* 29(1) (Summer 2001), 49–61. For a critique of Black Power, see Eldridge Cleaver, "Open Letter to Stokely Carmichael," in *The Black Panthers Speak*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995[1970]), 104–108.
200. According to Andrew Bimmer, by June 1986, "there were 44 Black-owned banks out of a total of 14, 253 insured commercial banks in the United States. Black-owned banks represented 0.309% of the total and had total assets of \$1,680 million. The average Black-owned bank had \$38 million in assets and was about one-fifth as large as the average bank in the nation." See Andrew Brimmer, "Black Banks: High Risks and Slow Growth," *Black Enterprise* (March 1987), 31.
201. See Christopher Strain, "Soul City, North Carolina: Black Power, Utopia, and the African American Dream," *The Journal of African American History* 89(1) (Winter 2004), 57–74.
202. Joshua D. Farrington, "'Build, Baby, Build': Conservative Black Nationalists, Free Enterprise, and the Nixon Administration," in *The Right Side of the Sixties*:

- Reexamining Conservatism's Decade of Transformation*, ed. Laura Jane Gifford and Daniel K. Williams (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 61–80.
203. See Robert Lekachman, *Greed Is Not Enough: Reaganomics* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Ken, Cole, John Cameron, and Chris Edwards, *Why Economists Disagree: The Political Economy of Economics* (London: Longman, 1983); Bob Rowthorn, *Capitalism, Conflict, and Inflation: Essays in Political Economy* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980).
204. This trend was part of a larger dynamic to restructure education in light of market pressures, particularly to “commodify” and “marketize” learning and teaching from pre-school to post-secondary education and beyond. For a rightist analysis of these dynamics, see Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). This “neo-liberal” turn was reflected in England and China. For an analysis of the neoliberal turn in China, see Ahmed Shawki, “China: From Mao to Deng,” *International Socialist Review* 1 (Summer 1997), http://www.isreview.org/issues/01/mao_to_deng_1.shtml. See also, David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
205. Norman Harris, “‘Can the Big Dog Run?’ Developing African American Studies at the University of Georgia,” in *Africana Studies: A Disciplinary Quest for Both Theory and Method*, ed. James L. Conyers (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1997), 55.
206. See John Arena, “Bringing in the Black Working Class: The Black Urban Regime Strategy,” *Science and Society* 75(2) (April 2011), 153–170. See, for example, Cornel West, *Race Matters* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1993).
207. William J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978). For a Marxist critique of Wilson’s work, see Steven Rosenthal, “How Liberal Ideology Assists the Growth of Fascism: A Critique of the Sociology of William Julius Wilson,” *Journal of Poverty* 3(2) (1999), 67–87. For a discussion of the concept of underclass by African American philosophers, see *The Underclass Question*, ed. Bill Lawson (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992).
208. See Luke Tripp, “The Political Views of Black Students during the Reagan Era,” *The Black Scholar* 22(3), 46.
209. Adolph Reed, *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 50.
210. For a leftist analysis of the Million Man March, see Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, “Providence, Patriarchy, Pathology: Louis Farrakhan’s Rise & Decline,” *New Politics* 6(2) (Winter 1997), 47–71. See also Adolph Reed, “The Rise of Louis Farrakhan,” in *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 37–60.
211. The so-called melanists would include: Dr. Frances Cress Welsing, Dr. Richard King, Dr. Wade Nobles, Dr. Leonard Jeffries, Hunter Havelin Adams, Dr. Jawanza Kunjufu, Anthony Browder, Carol Barnes, and Dr. Naim Akbar. For an excellent discussion of the pseudoscientific character of the melanin school

- of Afrocentricity, see Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, "Melanin, Afrocentricity and Pseudoscience," *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 36 (1993), 33–58.
212. This paraphrases a line from Paul Beatty's remarkable novel, *Slumberland* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2008), 3–4.

2 THE AFROCENTRIC PROBLEMATIC

1. For a general survey of academic racism at the beginning of the twentieth century, see I. A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America, 1900–1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965). For "scientific racism" in the field of psychology, see Robert V. Guthrie, *Even the Rat Was White: A Historical View of Psychology* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1998).
2. This phrase is attributed to the sociologists Robert E. Park. See Robert Ezra Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1921), 136.
3. See Ralph Crowder, *Street Scholars and Stepladder Radicals: Self-Trained Black Historians and the Harlem Experience* (New York: New York University Press, 2010). See also Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York: Morrow, 1971). See, also, Carter G. Woodson, "Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 10(4) (October 1925), 598–606; Ernest Kaiser, "The History of Negro History: A Survey," *Negro Digest* (February 1968), 10–15, 64–80; Arthur A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 231–244; L. D. Reddick, "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks of the South," *Journal of Negro History* 19(3) (July 1934), 225–265; J. A. Rogers, "The Suppression of Negro History," *Crisis* 47 (May 1940), 136–137, 146; W. M. Brewer, "Acquainting the Negro with History," *Negro History Bulletin* 8 (December 1944), 54, 68; Charles H. Wesley, "The Reconstruction of History," *Journal of Negro History* 20(4) (October 1925), 411–427; John Hope Franklin, "The New Negro History," *Crisis* 64 (February 1957), 73–75.
4. Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2003), 2. All quotes are from this edition unless otherwise stated.
5. Molefi K. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987), 9. All citations are from this edition unless otherwise stated.
6. See Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Encyclopedia Africana, 1909–63," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000), 203–219; W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Study of the Negro Problems," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000), 13–27.
7. Quoted in Wilson J. Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2.

8. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 125.
9. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 23. David Levering Lewis in his biography, *W. E. B. Du Bois, Biography of a Race*, argues for the influence of Josiah Royce's Hegelianism. See also Robert Gooding-Williams, "Philosophy of History and Social Critique in *The Souls of Black Folks*," *Social Science Information* 26 (1987), 99–114. Initially Du Bois establishes his philosophy of history on dialectical idealist foundations. Yet, with the publication of his *Black Reconstruction*, he sets out to ground his philosophy of history and, more broadly, philosophy of social science on the basis of materialist dialectics. Du Bois's shift from idealist to materialist dialectics is reflected in the fact that between 1918 and 1928, he was "absorbed in Hegelian dialectics and the doctrine of Karl Marx." See Mozel C. Hill, "The Formative Years of *Phylon Magazine*," *Freedomways* 5 (Winter 1965), 129–142. For other arguments on Du Bois's materialism and materialist understanding of dialectics, consult Eugene C. Holmes, "W. E. B. Du Bois-Philosopher," *Freedomways* (Winter 1965), 44. See also, James Jackson, *Revolutionary Tracings* (New York: International Publishers, 1974). For leftist critiques of Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, see Abram Harris, "Reconstruction and the Negro," in *Race, Radicalism, and Reform: Selected Papers of Abram L. Harris*, ed. William A. Darity, Jr. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 209–212; Loren Miller, "Let My People Go!," *New Masses* (October 29, 1935), 23; Ralph Bunch, "Reconstruction Reinterpreted: Book Review of W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction*," *Journal of Negro Education* 4(4) (October 1935), 568–570.
10. We should not take Asante's position on Du Bois as definitive within the African-centered school of thought. James B. Stewart, a proponent of Afrocentricity, has argued that Du Bois's corpus of work is foundational to a philosophy of Black Studies. See James B. Stewart, "In Search of a Theory of Human History: More on W. E. B. Du Bois's Theory of Social and Cultural Dynamics" and "The Legacy of W. E. B. Du Bois for Contemporary Black Studies," in *Flight: In Search of Vision* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004), 65–85, 249–260.
11. See Clovis E. Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African American Development* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); Joyce Ann Joyce, "African-Centered Scholarship: Interrogating Black Studies, Pan Africanism, and Afrocentricity," in *Decolonizing the Academy: African Diaspora Studies*, ed. Carole Boyce-Davies (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 125–147; Tunde Adeleke, "Will the Real Father of Afrocentricity Please Stand," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 25(1) (2001), 21–29.
12. See John Henrik Clarke, "The Fight To Reclaim African History," *Negro Digest* (February 1970), 10–15, 59–64. The African Heritage Studies Association was an offshoot of the African Studies Association, and was founded in 1968 by the ASA's Black Caucus and led by John Henrik Clarke.
13. J. A. Rogers, *World's Greatest Men of Color*, Vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1972), xxiii–xxiv.
14. John Henrik Clarke, "The Mean of Black History," *Black World* (February 1971), 34, *Italics Added*. In the introduction to the 1978 edition of Cheik

- Anta Diop's *Cultural Unity of Black Africa*, Clarke credits Diop with starting "the Afrocentric approach to history." See Cheik Anta Diop, *Cultural Unity of Black Africa* (Chicago: Africa World Press, 1978), i, v. Clarke also suggested the need for an "Afrocentric view of the woman in power" based on Diop's analysis of matriarchy in pre-colonial African societies.
15. P. Chike Onwuachi, "Negritude in Perspective," *Black World* (October 1971), 6. See also P. Chike Onwuachi, *African Identity and Black Liberation* (Buffalo, NY: The Black Academy Press, 1972).
 16. Clovis Semmes, *Cultural Hegemony and African American Development* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 15–16.
 17. Jacob Carruthers, "Reflections on the Revision of the African Centered Paradigm," (1999). http://www.africanbynature.com/eyes/openeyes_carruthers.html (Accessed May 25, 2014).
 18. Lerone Bennett, "The Challenge of Blackness," *Black World* (February 1971), 21.
 19. St. Clair Drake, "What Happened to Black Studies," in *African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 269. See also James B. Stewart, *Flight in Search of Vision* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 2004), 23–29. See also, Abdul Alkalimat, *The Academic Journals of Black Studies: A Preliminary Report*. December 2008. http://blackstudies.org/may2009/draft_report_black_studies_journals_dec_2008.pdf (last accessed February 13, 2015).
 20. See, for example, Gerald A. McWorter and Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies Curriculum Development in the 1980s: Its Patterns and History," *The Black Scholar* 15(2) (1984), 18–31; Robert Allen, "Politics of the Attacks on Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 6(1) (1974), 2–7; Molefi Kete Asante, "African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline," *The Black Scholar* 22(3) (1992), 20–29; "Black Studies: A Review of the Literature," *The Black Scholar* 2(1) (1970), 52–55; Melba Joyce Boyd, "The Legacy of Darwin T. Turner and the Struggle for African American Studies," *The Black Scholar* 41(4) (2011), 11–16; Elridge Cleaver, "Education and Revolution," *The Black Scholar* 1(1) (1969), 44–52; Angela Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *The Black Scholar* 3(4), (1971), 2–15; Darlene Clark Hine, "The Black Studies Movement: Afrocentric-Traditionalist-Feminist Paradigms for the Next Stage," *The Black Scholar* 22(3) (1992), 11–18; Manning Marable, "Blueprint for Black Studies and Multiculturalism," *The Black Scholar* 22(3) (1992), 30–35; William H. McClendon, "Black Studies: Education for Liberation," *The Black Scholar* 6(1) (1974), 15–25; Sydney Walton, "Black Studies and Affirmative Action," *The Black Scholar* 6(1) (1974), 21–28.
 21. Yosef ben-Jochannan argues that only Black people are qualified to teach in African American Studies. See Yosef ben-Jochannan, *Cultural Genocide in the Black and African Studies Curriculum* (New York: ECA Associates, 1998). It was originally published in 1972.
 22. Norman Hill characterized African American Studies as a "pretext for separatism." See Norman Hill, "Integration or Segregation?," in *Black Studies: Myths and Realities*, ed. Martin Kilson (New York: A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 1969), 45.

23. Born in 1942, in Valdosta, Georgia—with the Christian name Arthur Smith—Asante later earned his doctorate in communications from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1968. After spending a year at Purdue University, he returned to UCLA as a faculty member. From 1969 to 1973, as director of UCLA's Center for Afro-American Studies, he helped establish its MA program. In 1971, he founded and served as the editor of the *Journal of Black Studies*. After visiting the University of Ghana in 1973, he discarded his "slave name." In the same year he was appointed a full professor and chair of the communications department at the State University of New York at Buffalo. In 1977, he became chair of the Black Studies department at SUNY-Buffalo. In 1984, he was appointed chair of the African American Studies department at Temple University. In 1995 he was made a traditional king, Nana Okru Asante Peasah, Kyidomhene of Tafo, Akyem, Ghana.
24. Molefi K. Asante, "The Afrocentric Idea in Education," *The Journal of Negro Education* 60(2) (Spring 1991), 171.
25. *Ibid.*, 11.
26. For a rather interesting intellectual genealogy of Afrocentricity, from the standpoint of idealism, see Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era: Its Antecedents and Methodological Implications for the African Contribution to World History," PhD Thesis, Temple University, 1998.
27. Between 1991 and 2013, there have been over 150 doctoral dissertations from the department of African American Studies at Temple. For a listing of doctoral dissertations from Temple University's African American Studies department, see <http://www.cla.temple.edu/africanamericanstudies/graduate/doctoral-dissertations-in-the-department-of-african-american-studies/>
28. See Asante, "African American Studies," 220–229.
29. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 83.
30. A. Mazama, "The Afrocentric Paradigm: Contours and Definitions," *Journal of Black Studies* 31(4), 403.
31. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 76.
32. Asante, "African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline," 24.
33. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 4.
34. For a discussion of intensional and extensional definitions, see Patrick J. Hurley, *A Concise Introduction to Logic* (Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2006), 94–100.
35. For an insightful discussion of this point, see Stephen Howe, *Afrocentrism: Mythical Past and Imagined Homes* (New York: Verso, 1998).
36. There have been various attempts to come to terms with the diversity within Afrocentricity by Gerald Early, Moses Wilson, and Stephen Howe. See Howe, *Afrocentrism*; Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Gerald Early, "Understanding Afrocentrism," *Civilization* 2(4) (July–August 1995), 31–39.
37. John H. McClendon III, "The Afrocentric Project: The Quest for Particularity and the Negation of Objectivity," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* 18(2) (1996), 21–22.

38. See Amy J. Binder, *Contentious Curricula: Afrocentrism and Creationism in American Public Schools* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).
39. It is in fact true that biological determinism can be put to different uses. Langston Hughes flirtation with primitivism led him to defend and illustrate Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven*; or Du Bois's early writings such as *The Conservation of Races* and *The Souls of Black Folk* valorizing the notion of racial gifts. These are all uses of the basically biological concept of race different from theories of outright inferiority. They have been rightly rejected as false. For a Marxist critique of biological determinism, see, Richard C. Lewontin, Steven Peter Russell Rose, and Leon J. Kamin, *Not In Our Genes: Biology, Ideology, and Human Nature* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).
40. Richard C. Lewontin, Steven P. R. Rose, and Leon J. Kamin, *Not In Our Genes: Biology, Ideology, and Human Nature* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 18.
41. Here are two important works from the so-called melanin scholars: Charles S. Finch, *The African Background to Medical Science* (London: Karnak House, 1990); Richard D. King, *African Origin of Biological Psychiatry* (Germantown, TN: Seymour-Smith, 1990). For a critique of strong Afrocentricity as a form of pseudoscience, see Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, "Afrocentric Creationism," *Creation/Evolution* 11(2) (Winter 1991–1992), 1–8; Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, "Afrocentric Pseudoscience: The Miseducation of African Americans," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 775 (1996), 561–572.
42. Frances Cress Welsing, *The Isis (Ysis) Papers: The Keys to the Color* (Chicago, IL: Third World Press, 1991), 233.
43. V. N. Voloshinov, *Freudianism: A Marxist Critique* (New York: Academic Press, 1976), 70.
44. Francis Cress Welsing, "The Cress Theory of Color Confrontation," *Black Scholar* 5 (May 1974), 34.
45. *Ibid.*, 36–37.
46. Similar to "scientific" creationism, "melanin scholars" blur the fundamental distinction between science and religion. Religion makes use of supernatural explanations, whereas science employs naturalistic explanations to explain observed phenomena. For a cursory overview of the Cress Theory of Color Confrontation, see Welsing, "The Cress Theory of Color Confrontation," 32–40. For a discussion—with little substantive criticism—of the Cress Theory of Color Confrontation, see Eddie Glaude, Jr., "An Analysis of the Cress Theory of Color Confrontation," *Journal of Black Studies* 22(2) (December 1991), 284–293. For an excellent critique of Afrocentricity as pseudoscience, see Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, "Melanin, Afrocentricity, and Pseudoscience," *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 36 (1993), 33–58.
47. Welsing, *The Isis (Ysis) Papers*, 135–136.
48. Someone like Asante espouses both the weak and strong variants of Afrocentrism. See Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 62–63. See also, Linda J. Myers, "The Deep Structure of Culture: Relevance of Traditional African Culture in Contemporary Life," *Journal of Black Studies* 18(1), 72–85.
49. Asante, *Afrocentric Idea*, 7.

50. Molefi K. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990), 4.
51. Linda James Myers, "The Deep Structure of Culture: Relevance of Traditional African Culture in Contemporary Life," *Journal of Black Studies* 18(1) (September 1987), 81.
52. Norman Harris, "A Philosophical Basis for an Afrocentric Orientation," in *The Afrocentric Paradigm*, ed. Ama Mazama (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 113. See also, Adisa A. Alkebulan, "Defending the Paradigm," *Journal of Black Studies* 37(3) (January 2007), 410–427.
53. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 5 (New York: International Publishers, 1976), 24.
54. I make a similar argument in my article, "Social Contract as Bourgeois Ideology," *Cultural Logic: An Electronic Journal of Marxist Theory and Practice* (2007), 1–19.
55. For a similar argument, see Christopher J. Williams, "In Defence of Materialism: A Critique of Afrocentric Ontology," *Race & Class* 47(1), 35–48.
56. John H. McClendon, "Materialist Philosophical Inquiry and African American Studies," *Socialism and Democracy* 25(1) (March 2011), 71–92. For a critique of Asante's Afrocentricity as a distinctive form of idealism rooted in religious mythology read James Palermo, "Reading Asante's Myth of Afrocentricity: An Ideological Critique" http://www.edu/PES/97_pre/palermo.html
57. This argument ignores the tradition of secular humanism (atheism) associated with Richard B. Moore, Hubert Harrison, J. A. Rogers, George S. Schulyer, Walter Everette Hawkins, A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, Kwame Nkrumah, Eugene C. Holmes, C. L. R. James, and Neil DeGrasse Tyson just to name a few. Anthony B. Pinn has been a trailblazer in terms of documenting and discussing the tradition of African American humanism. See, for example, *Moral Evil and Redemptive Suffering: A History of Theodicy in African American Religious Thought* (2002), *Why Lord? Suffering and Evil in Black Religious Thought* (1999), and *African American Humanist Principles* (2004). For an introductory history of Black atheism, see John G. Jackson, "The Black Atheists of the Harlem Renaissance, 1917–1928," Speech given at 1984 American Atheists Convention. http://nationofatheism.tripod.com/cgi-bin/the_black_atheist.html (Accessed on May 25, 2014). For information on Richard B. Moore, see John H. McClendon, "Richard B. Moore, Radical Politics and the Afro-American History Movement: The Formation of a Revolutionary Tradition in African American Intellectual Culture," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 30 (July 2006), 7–46. For information on Hubert Harrison, see Jeffrey Babcock Perry, *Hubert Harrison: The Voice of Harlem Radicalism, 1883–1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). For Hubert Harrison's writings, see Hubert H. Harrison, *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey Babcock Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 13, 35–36, 41, 42–46, 102, 114, 116, 225, 308, 327, 356, 362. For a discussion of atheism and materialism, see Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970); John H. McClendon, "Nkrumah's *Consciencism*: Philosophical

- Materialism and the Issue of Atheism Revisited,” *Journal of African Philosophy* 4(2012), 29–52. For a recent discussion of Black atheism, see Sikivu Hutchinson, *Moral Combat: Black Atheists, Gender Politics, and the Values Wars* (Los Angeles, CA: Infidel Books, 2011); Juan Marcial Floyd-Thomas, *The Origins of Black Humanism in America Reverend Ethelred Brown and the Unitarian Church* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
58. Dona Richards (Marimba Ani), “The Implications of African American Spirituality,” in Molefi Asante and Karimu Welch Asante (eds.), *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 210. See also, Ani, *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1994. . Mazama also agrees with Ani that Africans are essentially spiritual people. See Mambo Ama Mazama, “Afrocentricity and African Spirituality,” *Journal of Black Studies* 33(2) (November 2002), 218–234.
 59. See John S. Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy*. Oxford: Heinemann, 1989. For a critical treatment of Mbiti, see D. A. Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 103–123.
 60. Kwasi Wiredu, “Morality and Religion and Akan Thought” in *African American Humanism: An Anthology*, ed. Norm R. Allen (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 210–211.
 61. Kwame Gyekye, *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 133.
 62. *Ibid.*, 132.
 63. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 4.
 64. In the *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*, Qui-Gon Jinn says to Anakin Skywalker: “Without he midi-chlorians, life could not exist, and we would have no knowledge of the Force. They continually speak to us, telling us the will of the Force. When you learn to quiet your mind, you’ll hear them speaking to you.”
 65. Paulin J. Hountondji, *African Philosophy Myth and Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 38. For a Marxist critique of ethnophilosophy by an African philosopher, see E. Wamba-Dia-Wamba, “Philosophy in Africa: Challenges of the African Philosopher,” in *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Tsenay Serequeberhan (New York: Paragon House, 1991), 211–246. Afrocentricity bears a strong family resemblance to what is putatively referred to as ethnophilosophy. The family resemblance, among texts in ethnophilosophy, is the hosts of discursive practices, wherein descriptions and/or explanations given are thought to be distinctive and exclusive African conceptions of, for example, being, becoming, force, space, time, ethics, epistemology, and so on, that stand contra to the Western or European prototype. Representative texts in this tradition are: Tempels’ *Bantu Philosophy* (1949), Alexis Kagamé’s *La Philosophie bantou-ruwandaise de l’ère* (1956), W. E. Abraham’s *The Mind of Africa* (1962), Jomo Kenyatta’s *Harambee* (1964), Marcel Griaule’s *Conversations with Ogotemmêli* (1948,1965), Julius K. Nyerere’s *Uhuru na Ujamaa* (1968), and Mbiti’s *African Religions and Philosophy* (1969). See Christian Neugebauer, “Ethnophilosophy in the Philosophical Discourse in Africa: A Critical Note,” *Quest: An International*

- African Journal of Philosophy* 4(1) (June 1990), 43–64. In *The Afrocentric Idea*, we find Asante throws praise on Father Placid Tempels' *Bantu Philosophy*. See Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987), 93–94.
66. Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1989), 2.
 67. See Hountondji, *African Philosophy Myth and Reality*; D. A. Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Tsenay Serequeberhan, *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings* (New York: Paragon House, 1991).
 68. See Paul Gilroy, "Tyrannies of Unanimism," in *Postcolonialisms: An Anthology of Cultural Theory and Criticism*, ed. Gaurav Gajanan Desai and Supriya Nair (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 220–247
 69. See Barbara Ransby, "Afrocentrism and Cultural Nationalism," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 216–223.
 70. Walter Rodney, "Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism," *African Review* [Dar es Salaam, Tanzania] 1(4) (1972), 61–76. This article is available online: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/rodney-walter/works/ujamaaandscientificsocialism.htm> (Accessed April 11, 2014).
 71. Jonas Savimbi was the leader of an Angolan anti-Communist political organization, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) that was in opposition to the leftist People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during the Angolan Civil War of 1975–2002. He was supported by the United States and its ally Apartheid South Africa. Most recently, he is featured in the videogame *Call of Duty: Black Ops II* (2012). In January 1986, Savimbi meet with Ronald Reagan and, in turn, was given \$15 million in military aid by the Reagan administration. Therefore, given Savimbi's anti-Communism, Ronald Reagan feted him as a freedom fighter. For a definitive account of reactionary role in the Angola's war of independence, see Piero Gleijeses, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959–1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). See also Terence Hunt, "Reagan Tells Savimbi He Wants to Be Very Helpful," *Associated Press News Archive* (January 30, 1986) <http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1986/Reagan-Tells-Savimbi-He-Wants-to-Be-Very-Helpful/id-aac4344cb87abdb-200515823dcf2b712> (Accessed March 10, 2013).
 72. Barbara Ransby, "Afrocentrism and Cultural Nationalism," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 219.
 73. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 5; Italics Added.
 74. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 15, 41.
 75. "Dancing between Circles and Lines" is the title of the introductory chapter to Asante's *The Afrocentric Idea*. He argues for a distinction between an Afro-circular and Euro-linear views of the world. See, Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 18.
 76. Karl Marx, "Introduction to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1843)," in *Collected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 182.

77. Adisa A. Ajamu, "From Tef Tef to Medew Nefer: The Importance of Utilizing African Languages, Terminologies, and Concepts in the Rescue, Restoration, Reconstruction, and Reconnection of African Ancestral Memory," in *African World History Project: The Preliminary Challenge*, eds. Jacob H. Carruthers, and Leon C. Harris (Los Angeles: Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations, 1997), 182.
78. See Albert G. Mosley, *African Philosophy: Selected Readings* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995); Kwasi Wiredu, *Philosophy and an African Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Hountondji, *African Philosophy Myth and Reality*.
79. Chidi Amuta, *The Theory of African Literature: Implications for Practical Criticism* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Zed Books, 1989), 41.
80. C. V. Roman, "Philosophical Musings in the By-Path of Ethnology," *A. M. E. Church Review* 28(1) (July 1911), 446–447.
81. Kwame Gyekye, "Philosophy, Culture and Technology in the Post Colonial," in *Post-Colonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader*, ed. Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 25–44. Paulin Hountondji, "Tradition, Hindrance or Inspiration?," *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy* 14(1–2) (2000), 5–11. For an opposing view, see Albert Mosley, "Science, Technology and Tradition in Contemporary African Philosophy," *African Philosophy* 13(1) (March, 2000), 25–32.
82. On Nkrumah's commitment to materialism, see Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 28, 79. For treatment of Nkrumah's materialism see, John H. McClendon III, "Kwame Nkrumah's Materialism contra Representative Realism," *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 5(1) (Fall 2005), 1–14. See also, McClendon's important article, "Nkrumah's Consciencism as Philosophical Text: Matter of Confusion," *Journal on African Philosophy* 3 (2003), 1–39. For an idealist reading of *Consciencism*, from the standpoint of Afrocentricity, see Kwasi Boadi, "The Ontology of Kwame Nkrumah's Consciencism and the Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa: A Diopian Perspective," *Journal of Black Studies* 30(4) (March 2000), 475–501. For the most extensive treatment of *Consciencism* as a philosophical work to date, see John H. McClendon, *Consciencism: The Philosophy of Nkrumahism* (PhD Thesis, University of Kansas, 1999). For discussions of Nkrumah's conception of philosophy vis-à-vis ethnophilosophy, see Martin Odei Ajei, "Nkrumah and Hountondji on Ethno-Philosophy: A Critical Appraisal," in *Hegel's Twilight: Liber Amicorum Discipulorumque Pro Heinz Kimmerle*, ed. M. B. Ramose and H. Kimmerle (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 131–150. See also, Paulin Hountondji, "From the Ethnoscience to Ethnophilosophy: Kwame Nkrumah's Thesis Project," *Research in African Literatures* 28(4) (1997), 112–120. I might add that Asante ironically cites *Consciencism* as a major influence on the development of Afrocentricity! See Molefi K. Asante, *An Afrocentric Manifesto* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 6, 32–34. Nkrumah offers an insightful critique of subjective idealism, particularly Rene Descartes. In Nkrumah's defense of philosophical materialism, he argues that subjective idealism wrongly makes "the existence of matter dependent on perception,

- or on the possession of ideas by the mind.” Citing the Ghanaian philosopher Anthony William Amo, Nkrumah argues with great force that idealism is “enmeshed with contradictions” because the “distinction between reality and appearance slips between the spectral fingers of idealism, for in idealism reality becomes merely a persistent appearance.” See Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 15–19.
83. In response to the notion of the “disappearance of matter,” Lenin distinguishes the *scientific* investigation of the structure of matter contra ontological and epistemological (*philosophical*) formulations. This difference allows for the dialectical unfolding of scientific progress without resort to idealism. He argues: “For the sole ‘property’ of matter with whose recognition philosophical materialism is bound up is the property of being an objective reality, of existing outside our mind.” This definition of matter is opposed to both objective and subjective idealism. See V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 14 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 260. See also, John H. McClendon, *C.L.R. James’s Notes on Dialectics: Left Hegelianism or Marxism-Leninism?* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004); particularly, “Afterword: Beyond the Boundary of the Johnson-Forest Tendency”; Helena Sheehan, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Science: A Critical History* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1985).
 84. Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 20–27.
 85. Théophile Obenga, *African Philosophy: The Pharaonic Period, 2780–330 B.C.* (Penguin: Per Ankh Books, 2004), 31. For a similar argument, see George G. M. James, *Stolen Legacy* (Newport News, VA: United Brothers Communications Systems, 1989).
 86. *Ibid.*, 33.
 87. Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 30–36.
 88. For a materialist analysis within African American Studies, see Angela Y. Davis, “Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation,” in *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*, ed. Joy James (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 161–209; Stephen C. Ferguson II, “The Utopian Worldview of Afrocentricity: Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy,” *Socialism and Democracy*, 25(1), (2011), 44–70; Eugene C. Holmes, “A Philosophical Approach to the Study of Minority Problems,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 38(3) (1969), 196–203; John H. McClendon III, “On the Nature of Whiteness and the Ontology of Race: Toward a Dialectical Materialist Analysis,” in *What White Looks Like: African American Philosophers On the Whiteness Question* ed. George Yancy (New York: Routledge, 2004), 211–225; John H. McClendon III, “Black and White or Left and Right?: Ideological Critique in African American Studies,” *American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 2(1) (2002), 47–56; Clarence J. Munford, *Production Relations, Class and Black Liberation: A Marxist Perspective in Afro-American Studies* (Amsterdam: B. R. Gruner, 1978); Robert Young, “Putting Materialism Back into Race Theory: Toward a Transformative Theory of Race,” *THE RED CRITIQUE*, 11 (Winter/Spring 2006) <http://redcritique.org/WinterSpring2006/index.html>
 89. See Vanessa D. Johnson, “The Nguzo Saba as a Foundation for African American College Student Development Theory,” *Journal of Black Studies*

- 31(4) (March 2001), 409–416. Mazama, “Afrocentricity and African Spirituality,” 218–234. On the idealist character of postmodernism, see John H. McClendon, “From Cultural Nationalism to Cultural Criticism: Philosophical Idealism, Paradigmatic Illusions and the Politics of Identity,” in *Decolonizing the Academy: African Diaspora Studies*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003), 3–26. See also Alex Callinicos, *Against Postmodernism: A Marxist Critique* (New York, 1989).
90. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 171.
91. Asante, “African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline,” 25.
92. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 172.
93. Asante, “African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline,” 22.
94. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 8.
95. *Ibid.*, 3. See also Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 172.
96. “The best that has been thought and known in the world” is in reference to Matthew Arnold’s view of culture. See Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
97. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 174.
98. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, vi.
99. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 172.
100. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 12; Italics added.
101. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 58.
102. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 4. “Dancing between Circles and Lines” is the title of the introductory chapter to Asante’s *The Afrocentric Idea*. He argues for a distinction between an Afro-circular and Euro-linear views of the world.
103. This seven points are adopted from James Rachels’s discussion of cultural relativism, see James Rachels, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003). See also, Steven Lukes, *Moral Relativism* (New York: Picador, 2008).
104. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 24–25.
105. The African American philosopher Cornel West makes the very same relativist argument. He labels it radical historicism. See Cornel West, *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (New York: Monthly Review, 1991).
106. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 172.
107. Asante, *The Afrocentric Manifesto* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 16.
108. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 12.
109. Walter Benn Michaels, *Our America: Nativism, Modernism and Pluralism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 137.
110. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 9.
111. Asante, “The Afrocentric Idea in Education,” 173.
112. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 63.
113. Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*, 160.
114. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 4.
115. On the incoherence of the relativist position, see Alan Garfinkel, *Forms of Explanation: Rethinking the Questions in Social Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 156–184.

116. V. I. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question in Collected Works*, Vol. 20 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964), 24.
117. See Michael Parenti, *The Culture Struggle* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006).
118. Kati Whitaker, "Ghana Witch Camps: Widows' Lives in Exile," <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-19437130> (Accessed April 21, 2014).
119. "Somalia: Girl stoned was a child of 13," *Amnesty International* (October 31, 2008) <http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/somalia-girl-stoned-was-child-13-20081031> (Accessed April 21, 2014). See also, "Stoning victim 'begged for mercy,'" *BBC News* (November 4, 2008) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7708169.stm> (Accessed April 21, 2014).
120. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 9.
121. Mualana Karenga, *The Quotable Karenga*, ed. Clyde Halisi and James Mtume (Los Angeles, CA: US Organization, 1967), 27–28. For a fuller treatment of gender politics and the Black Power movement, see Tracey Matthews, "No One Ever Asks, What a Man's Place in the Revolution Is: Gender and the Politics of the Black Panther Party 1966–1971," in *The Black Panther Party (Reconsidered)*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1998), 267–304. See also, Maxine Williams, "Black Women and the Struggle for Liberation" in *Black Woman's Manifesto*, ed. Third World Women's Alliance (New York: Third World Women's Alliance, 1970), 9–18; Linda La Rue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation," *The Black Scholar* 1(7) (May 1970), 36–42.
122. It should be noted that in 1971 Karenga and two of his followers were convicted of torturing two Black women—Deborah Jones and Gail Davis. He was sentenced to 1–10 years in prison on counts of felonious assault and false imprisonment. See Bruce Michael Tyler, "Black Radicalism in Southern California, 1950–1982," Phd. Thesis (University of California-Los Angeles, 1983), 374–375.
123. Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 122.
124. I would argue that the root of Karenga's idealism has to be found in his method of constructing Nguzo Saba. Karenga proceeds to deductively construct a Black value system from the abstract concept of African cultural traditions rather than from the real social relations which African Americans find themselves in. Kwanzaa is a mythical construction based on a set of ahistorical moral principles, virtues, and values that are impervious to changes in material reality. With Kwanzaa, we are stuck in an ontological gap between the utopian ideal and the sordid actuality. The glorified and ineffective trivialities of Karenga's Nguzo Saba principles are no different than the idealist ethical theories of divine command theory or Aristotelian virtue ethics. Karenga's idealist approach leads us to believe that abstract virtues or the "pure self-determination of free will" could casually override materials conditions, or substitute for political organization and struggle. See Renzo Llorente, "Maurice Cornforth's Contribution to Marxist Metaethics," *Nature, Society and Thought* 16(3) (2003), 261–275. See also, Paul Blackledge, *Marxism and Ethics Freedom, Desire, and Revolution* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012); Vanessa Wills, "Marx and Morality" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2012). For an attempt to

- elaborate a secular theory of rights, see Alan M. Dershowitz, *Rights from Wrongs: A Secular Theory of the Origins of Rights* (New York: Basic Books, 2004). For a Marxist treatment of rights, see William Ash, *Morals and Politics: The Ethics of Revolution* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).
125. Ajamu, "From Tef Tef to Medew Nefer: The Importance of Utilizing African Languages, Terminologies, and Concepts in the Rescue, Restoration, Reconstruction, and Reconnection of African Ancestral Memory," 184.
 126. On Einstein's theory of relativity, Bernoulli's principle, Boyle's law and Hubble's law, see Bill Bryson, *A Short History of Nearly Everything* (New York: Broadway Books, 2010). On Marx's law of value, see, Maurice Dobb, *Theories of Value and Distribution since Adam Smith* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
 127. Richard Dawkins, *River Out of Eden: A Darwinian View of Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 32.
 128. See John H. McClendon III, "The Afrocentric Project: The Quest for Particularity and the Negation of Objectivity," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* 18(2) (1996).
 129. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, 6–7.
 130. For a treatment of subjectivism read the Essay-Review of Robert Staples's *Introduction to Black Sociology*, John H. McClendon, "Black Sociology: Another Name for Black Subjectivity," *Freedomways* 20(1) (Spring 1980). 53–59.
 131. Malcolm X, "Appeal to African Heads of State: A Speech to African Summit Conference," in *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 75. For a recent discussion of Malcolm's humanism, see Moshik Temkin, "From Black Revolution to 'Radical Humanism': Malcolm X between Biography and International History," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 3(2) (2012), 267–288.
 132. *Ibid.*, 75–76.
 133. Malcolm X, "Racism: The Cancer That Is Destroying America," *Egyptian Gazette* (August 25, 1964).
 134. See Gerald Horne, *Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988).
 135. William Strickland, *Malcolm X: Make it Plain* (New York: Viking, 1994), 160–161.
 136. See George Breitman, *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary* (New York: Pathfinder, 1967); William W. Sales, *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1994); Jack Barnes, *Malcolm X, Black Liberation & the Road to Workers Power* (New York: Pathfinder, 2009).
 137. Malcolm X, *By Any Means Necessary: Speeches, Interviews and a Letter by Malcolm X*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Pathfinder Books, 1970), 46.
 138. For an excellent analysis of the house Negro/field Negro concept in Malcolm's political philosophy, see Adolph Reed, "The Allure of Malcolm X and the Changing Character of Black Politics," in *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1999), 220–221. For an Afrocentric reading of Malcolm X, see Asante,

- Afrocentricity*, 26–27. See also, Molefi Asante, “Afrocentricity and Malcolm X,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Malcolm X*, ed. Robert Terrill (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 150–157.
139. Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*, ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 121.
 140. Aristotle, *Categories in the Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1970), 7a–7b.
 141. See W. T. Stace, *The Philosophy of Hegel: A Systematic Exposition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955), 203.
 142. See Paulin Hountondji, “The Particular and the Universal,” in *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*, ed. Albert Mosley (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995), 172–198. Jay N. Van Hook, “Universalism and Particularism: African Philosophy or Philosophy of Africa?,” *African Philosophy* 12(1) (March, 1995), 11–19. For a penetrating as well as pioneering view on how philosophy of the African American experience can be established as a particularity see William R. Jones, “The Legitimacy and Necessity of Black Philosophy: Some Preliminary Considerations,” *The Philosophical Forum* 9(2–3) (Winter–Spring, 1977–1978), 149–160.
 143. On the concept of Ground, see Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Encyclopaedia Logic, with the Zusätze: Part I of the Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences with the Zusätze*. Translated by Théodore F. Geraets, W. A. Suchting, and H. S. Harris (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1991), 188–192, 329n9.
 144. For a study of abstract universality as it relates to African American Studies see Robert Fikes, “The Persistent Allure of Universality: African American Authors of White Life Novels, 1845–1945,” *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 21(4) (Winter 1997), 225–231.
 145. For a recent instance of abstract universality in Black popular culture, see Raven Symoné’s comments on Season 4, Episode 411 of *Oprah: Where Are They Now?*. This episode aired on October 5, 2014. Symoné stated: “I’m tired of being labeled. I’m an American. I’m not an African American; I’m an American.” For a critique of abstract universality, see Langston Hughes, “The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain,” in *The Collected Works of Langston Hughes: Essays on Art, Race, Politics and World Affairs* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 31–36.
 146. An argument on behalf of the color blind thesis presented by an African American philosopher is Naomi Zack, *Race and Mixed Race* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993). For a critical appraisal of the color blind thesis read philosopher William A. Banner, “Guest Editorial: Thoughts on a Colorblind Society,” *The Journal of Negro Education* 54(1) (Winter 1985), 1–2.
 147. According to the liberal symmetry thesis, if racial identification is immoral, then it is just as wrong for African Americans to appeal to them as it is for whites.
 148. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 78.
 149. See, Jay-Z, *Decoded* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2010), 235. For a favorable review, see Kelefa Sanneh, “Word: Jay-Z’s ‘Decoded’ and the language of hip-hop,” *The New Yorker* (December 6, 2010). <http://www.newyorker.com>.

- com/magazine/2010/12/06/word-3 (last accessed November 24, 2014). For a similar argument, see Adam Bradley, *Book of Rhymes: The Poetics of Hip Hop* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2009). For a critique of Wynton Marsalis, see John H. McClendon III, "African or American? A Dialectical Analysis of Jazz Music," in *The African Presence in Black America*, ed. Jacob U. Gordon (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004), 85–114.
150. See Harry Targ, "Legacies of the Musical Cultural Front: Robeson, Guthrie, and Seeger." <http://ouleft.sp-mesolite.tilted.net/?p=1285> (last accessed November 24, 2014). See also the following articles by Paul Robeson: "The Source of the Negro Spirituals," "Paul Robeson and Negro Music," "Soviet Culture," "Songs of My People," "Some Aspects of Afro-American Music," "The Related Sounds of Music," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1978), 73–76, 81–82, 136–137, 211–217, 436–439, 443–448; See also Paul Robeson, "A Universal Body of Folk Music—A Technical Argument by the Author," in *Here I Stand* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971), 115–117.
 151. V. I. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, 24.
 152. Paul Robeson, "The Related Sounds of Music," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1978), 444.
 153. Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971), 44.
 154. Paul Robeson, "I, Too, Am American," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1978), 191.
 155. Paul Robeson, "Soviet Culture," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, 136.
 156. Paul Robeson, "Songs of My People," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, 211.
 157. *Ibid.*, 213.
 158. Paul Robeson, "The Related Sounds of Music," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, 444. For a classic study of the influence of African culture on African American musical culture, see Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States* (New York: Citadel Press, 1978), 6, 210. Fisher draws upon the research of Kwame Nkrumah, particularly, "The History of Religion in a Critique of West African Fetishism," unpublished paper, 1940.
 159. E. Wamba-Dia-Wamba, "Philosophy in Africa: Challenges of the African Philosopher," in *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Tsenay Serequeberhan (New York: Paragon House, 1991), 242.

3 NEW WINE IN AN OLD BOTTLE?

1. Molefi Asante, "Afrocentricity, Race and Reason," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 198.

2. Marimba Ani, *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1994), 1.
3. George Granville Monah James was born in Georgetown, Guyana, South America. Born in Georgetown, Guyana, South America, James received his Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Theology, and Master of Arts degrees from Durham University in England. After doing postgraduate work at Columbia University (New York), he gained considerable teaching experience, having been an instructor for 18 years at a number of Black colleges including: teaching logic and Greek at Livingstone College (Salisbury, North Carolina); for ten years, he was Professor of Languages and Philosophy at Johnson C. Smith (Charlotte, North Carolina); two years as Professor of Mathematics and Dean of Men at Georgia State Industrial College (Savannah, Georgia); one year as Professor of Social Science at Alabama A & M College (Normal, Alabama); and five years as Professor of Social Sciences at Arkansas State College (Pine Bluff, Arkansas). Unfortunately, while James gained recognition from his contemporaries, today's scholars of the history of Africana philosophy such as Lewis Gordon do not see James as deserving of scholarly attention. See Lewis Gordon, *An Introduction to Africana Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See my review of Gordon's book, *APA Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 9(1) (Fall 2009), 22–25. For biographical information about James, see "In Pursuit of George G. M. James' Study of African Origins in 'Western Civilization,'" <http://www.nbufront.org/MastersMuseums/DocBen/GGJames/OnGGJamesGGMJames.html> (Last accessed June 19, 2014).
4. Pauline Hopkins, "Venus and Apollo . . .," *Colored American* 6 (May/June, 1903), 465.
5. Carter G. Woodson, "Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro," *The Journal of Negro History* 10(4) (October 1925), 598. See also, Robert L. Harris, Jr., "Coming of Age: The Transformation of Afro-American Historiography," *The Journal of Negro History* 67(2) (Summer 1982), 107–121.
6. George G. M. James, *Stolen Legacy* (Newport News, VA: United Bros. Communications Systems, 1989), 7.
7. See Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth As History* (New York: BasicBooks, 1996).
8. Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2003), 50. All citations are from this edition unless stated otherwise.
9. Molefi K. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990), 4, 32.
10. *Ibid.*, 48. Asante's pamphlet *The Egyptian Philosophers* is a vulgar attempt at reproducing James' philosophical historiography. See Molefi Kete Asante, *The Egyptian Philosophers: Ancient African Voices from Imhotep to Akhenaten* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2000). For a sympathetic, but shallow Afrocentric review of James' book, see John A. Williams, "The Stolen Legacy," in *African Presence in Early Europe*, ed. Ivan Van Sertima (New Brunswick,

- NJ: Transaction Books, 1985), 83–89. For a short, but insightful, review of James's work, see William Leo Hansberry, "Book Review: *Stolen Legacy*," *The Journal of Negro Education* 24(2) (1955), 127–129.
11. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 4.
 12. See Roy MacLeod, *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* (London: Tauris, 2000); especially the introduction by Roy MacLeod, "Introduction: Alexandria in History and Myth."
 13. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 2.
 14. *Ibid.*, 3, 46–47. James's pupil Y. A. A. ben-Jochannan in *Africa, Mother of Western Civilization* later repeats this assertion.
 15. *Ibid.*, 26.
 16. *Ibid.*, 21.
 17. George Thomson, *The First Philosophers* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1972), 302.
 18. For a good overview of Hegel's political philosophy, see Paul Franco, *Hegel's Philosophy of Freedom* (New Haven: CT: Yale University Press, 1999).
 19. James, *Stolen Legacy*, 68.
 20. *Ibid.*, 164.
 21. See I. F. Stone, *The Trials of Socrates* (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 99–100. Stone points to the internal political/class contradictions that led to the rejection of Platonic reactionary aspirations vis-à-vis Solon's democratic reforms. Thus, Socrates' ideas were far from foreign to Athens rather it exemplified an effort at the restoration of landed aristocratic interests.
 22. There is a growing list of philosophical literature on the influence on Egyptian culture and philosophy on Greek philosophy. See Diop, *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill, 1974); Henry Odelela, *From Ancient Africa to Ancient Greece: An Introduction to the History of Philosophy* (Atlanta, GA: The Select Publishing Corporation, 1981); Innocent C. Onyenuenyi, *The African Origin of Greek philosophy: An Exercise in Afrocentrism* (Nsukka: University of Nigeria Press, 1993); Lansana Keita (Edward P. Philips), "African Philosophical Systems: A Rational Reconstruction," *The Philosophical Forum* 9 (2–3) (Winter–Spring 1977–1978), 169–189; Henry Odelela, "The African Foundation of Greek Philosophy," in *African Philosophy: An Introduction*, ed., Richard A. Wright (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979), 113–147; Molefi K. Asante and Shaza Ismail, "Akhenaten to Origen: Characteristics of Philosophical Thought in Ancient Africa," *Journal of Black Studies* 40(2), 296–309; Molefi Kete Asante, *The Egyptian Philosophers: Ancient African Voices from Imhotep to Akhenaten* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2000). See also Ivan Van Sertima, *Egypt: Child of Africa* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995).
 23. Wesley C. Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 282.
 24. The trip to Africa ran from September 11 to October 4. The delegation consisted of Julian Bond, James Forman, Prathia Hall, Fannie Lou Hamer, Bill Hansen, Donald Harris, Mathew Jones, John Lewis, and Ruby Doris Robinson. See Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust: Remembering SNCC*

- (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998). See also Fanon Che Wilkins, "The Making of Black Internationalists: SNCC and Africa Before the Launching of Black Power, 1960–1965," *The Journal of African American History* 92(4) (2007), 467–490. See also James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries: A Personal Account* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 407–411.
25. "Interview with Askia Touré," in Joyce Ann Joyce, *Black Studies as Human Studies: Critical Essays and Interviews* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 144–145.
 26. For a good overview of the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, see Julie Burnett Nichols, "Freedom Schools, Mississippi," in *Encyclopedia of African-American Education*, ed. Faustine C. Jones-Wilson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 177–178. See also Daniel Perlstein, "Teaching Freedom: SNCC and the Creation of the Mississippi Freedom Schools," *History of Education Quarterly* 30(3) (Autumn 1990), 297–324.
 27. "Interview with Askia Touré," 144–145. We should also note that Ani's/Richards's anti-communism put her in the position of opposing SNCC's developing antiwar position. She disagreed with Robert Moses and others over whether SNCC should be involved with the anti-war movement. Eric Burns recounts that she "did not endorse the idea that SNCC officially should take a position on the nation's involvement in Vietnam, because she feared it would lead to additional charges of communist infiltration within the organization and cripple efforts to raise funds." Eric Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parris Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 219.
 28. See "Marimba Ani," Civil Rights Digital Library. http://crdl.usg.edu/people/a/ani_marimba/ (Accessed April 19, 2014).
 29. "Dogon," in David Adams Leeming, *Creation Myths of the World: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 96–99. The source for this myth is a supposed conversation between French ethnologist Marcel Griaule and a blind Dogon sage, Ogotommeli. See Marcel Griaule, *Conversations with Ogotommeli: An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas*; For a discussion of Ogotommeli's "sage philosophy," see D. A. Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 68–83.
 30. Marcel Griaule, *Conversations with Ogotommeli; An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas* (London: Published for the International African Institute by the Oxford University Press, 1965).
 31. For critical discussions of Griaule's ethnology, see Walter E. A. van Beek, "Dogon Restudied: A Field Evaluation of the Work of Marcel Griaule," *Current Anthropology* 32(2) (April 1991), 139–158. See also, James Clifford, in *Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 55–91
 32. For Ani's critique of Hegel, see Ani, *Yurugu: An African Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1994), 89.

33. Ani, *Yurugu*, 2.
34. Ibid., 3.
35. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 111.
36. Ani, *Yurugu*, 1.
37. Ibid., 10.
38. Ibid., 9.
39. Ibid., 12, Italics added.
40. Ibid., 12.
41. Ibid., 13.
42. For a helpful discussion about Dawkin's concept of cultural meme, see Jeremy Trevelyan Burman, "The Misunderstanding of Memes: Biography of an Unscientific Object, 1976–1999," *Perspectives on Science* 20(1) (2012), 75–104.
43. See, Sheperd W. McKinley, "John W. Burgess, The Godfather of the Dunning School," in *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction*. Edited by John David Smith and J. Vincent Lowery (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2013), 49–76; and David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959) especially chapter, "Teutonic Germs."
44. Ani, *Yurugu*, 98–99.
45. Quoted in Ernest Mkalimoto, "Theoretical Remarks on Afroamerican Cultural Nationalism," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 2(2) (Summer 1974), 5. See also, Maurice Godelier, "Epistemological Comments on the Problem of Comparing Modes of Production and Societies," in *Toward a Marxist Anthropology: Problems and Perspectives*, ed. Stanley Diamond (New York: Mouton, 1979), 71–92.
46. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, Vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 346.
47. John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2012), 87.
48. Ani, *Yurugu*, 15–16.
49. Ibid., 17.
50. Ibid., 48; For a similar endeavor, see Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge: And, the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).
51. Ibid., 7.
52. Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth* (London: Tavistock, 1980), 47. There are several excellent introductions to Foucault's architectonic. See Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Mark Cousins and Athar Hussain, *Michel Foucault* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984).
53. Ani, *Yurugu*, 29. For a similar account of non-European worldviews, see *Yurugu*, 82.
54. Ibid., 44.

55. *Ibid.*, 24, Italics added.
56. *Ibid.*, 4.
57. *Ibid.*, 18–19.
58. In the case of the sixteenth-century French philosopher Rene Descartes, some feminists have argued that Cartesian mind–body dualism, and its abstract characterization of reason has gender implications. On the assumption that women are emotional and bodily creatures, it is argued that reason is an inherently gendered concept—an element in a discursive system organized by the assumption of male supremacy. See, for example, Naomi Scheman, *Engenderings: Constructions of Knowledge, Authority, and Privilege* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 75–102; Susan R. Bordo, *The Flight to Objectivity: Essays on Cartesianism and Culture* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987); Genevieve Lloyd, “Maleness, Metaphor, and the ‘Crisis’ of Reason,” in *A Mind of One’s Own: Feminist Essays on Reason and Objectivity*, ed. Louise M. Antony and Charlotte Witt (Boulder, CO: Westview View, 1993), 69–83; Genevieve Lloyd, *The Man of Reason: “Male” and “Female” in Western Philosophy* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1984). The Afrocentric psychologist Linda James Myers takes Rene Descartes as her starting point for the critique of Eurocentrism. See Linda James Myers, “Optimal Theory and the Philosophical and Academic Origins of Black Studies,” in *African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 300.
59. Ani’s entire conception of Plato depends more on secondary sources than Platonic dialogues themselves. She quotes and summarizes more from the British scholar of classical studies Eric Havelock than Plato himself.
60. Ani, *Yurugu*, 41–42.
61. *Ibid.*, 51–56.
62. *Ibid.*, 36–44.
63. *Ibid.*, 105.
64. *Ibid.*, 524.
65. *Ibid.*, 519.
66. *Ibid.*, 551–552.
67. Steven Lukes, *Liberals and Cannibals: The Implications of Diversity* (New York: Verso, 2003), 11.
68. Ani, *Yurugu*, 58.
69. *Ibid.*, 30, Italics added.
70. *Ibid.*, xxvii.
71. *Ibid.*, 30.
72. See Stephen Priest, *Theories of the Mind* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), 8–15, 80–97.
73. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 14.
74. *Ibid.*, 30–31.
75. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, ed. Robert Drew Hicks (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972). <http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0004.tlg001.perseus-eng1:9.7>

76. For a discussion on the transition from materialism to idealism in ancient Greek philosophy, see George E. Novack, *The Origins of Materialism* (New York: Merit Publishers, 1965).
77. The Black philosopher Cornel West misreads Plato's position on the relationship between form and matter. The Forms are ontologically independent of their instantiation in material objects. West wrongly argues that Marx's treatment of atoms in his doctoral dissertation is similar to Plato's treatment of the beautiful and its relation to beautiful things. On the contrary, Marx's treatment more closely resembles Aristotle. See Cornel West, *The Ethical Dimensions of Marxist Thought* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1991), 20–22.
78. Friedo Ricken, *Philosophy of the Ancients* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 141–152.
79. Plato's account of the soul is discussed in such dialogues as the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, *Timaeus*, *Republic*, *Gorgias* in addition to the *Meno*. For a good discussion on the relation of recollection (anamnesis) and intuition in Plato's philosophy, see A. S. Bogomolov, *History of Ancient Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985), 180–183. See also Friedo Ricken, *Philosophy of the Ancients* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).
80. For an excellent philosophical discussion of the relation of rationalism to innate ideas, see Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 14–15.
81. Ani, *Yurugu*, 33.
82. *Ibid.*, 39.
83. *Ibid.*, 44.
84. This is a type of informal fallacy that involves a situation in which only limited alternatives are considered, when in fact there is at least one additional option. See S. Morris Engel, *With Good Reason: An Introduction to Informal Fallacies* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 153–156.
85. Leopold S. Senghor, "On Negrohood: Psychology of the African Negro," in *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*, ed. Albert G. Mosley (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), 121.
86. For a fuller discussion of Senghor and the intellectual and social influences on Negritude, see Abiola Irele, "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3(3) (1965), 321–348; Abiola Irele, "Negritude—Literature and Ideology," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3(4) (1965), 499–526.
87. Abiola Irele, "Contemporary Thought in French-Speaking Africa," in *Africa and the West: Legacies of Empire*, ed. Isaac James Mowe and Richard Bjornson (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1986), 129. See also, Clyde A. Winters, "The Afrocentric Historical and Linguistic Methods," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 22 (2) (Summer 1998), 76.
88. It is important to note that Senghor's formulation of Negritude owes much to the epistemology of the French philosopher Henri Bergson. See Abiola Irele, *The African Experience in Literature and Ideology* (London: Heinemann, 1981), 80. For a similar argument, see Donna V. Jones, *The Racial Discourses of Life Philosophy: Négritude, Vitalism, and Modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). For a discussion of the influence of Bergson's philosophy on

- Senghor, see Messay Kebede, "Negritude and Bergsonism," *Journal of African Philosophy* 3 (2003), 1–22.
89. Jacqueline Trimier, "The Myth of Authenticity: Personhood, Traditional Culture, and African Philosophy," in *From Africa to Zen: An Invitation to World Philosophy*, ed. Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M. Higgins (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993), 205.
 90. Ani, *Yurugu*, 43.
 91. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 8.
 92. Ani, *Yurugu*, 30.
 93. *Ibid.*, 45.
 94. *Ibid.*, 100.
 95. *Ibid.*, 119, Italics added.
 96. *Ibid.* 102, 573n1. See also, T. Obenga, *African Philosophy in World History* (Princeton: Sunagui Books, 1995); George G. M. James, *Stolen Legacy* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954).
 97. *Ibid.*, 70–71.
 98. *Ibid.*, 70–71.
 99. I would like to thank John McClendon for bringing this insight to my attention.
 100. Cheikh Anta Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991), 311.
 101. Ellen Meiksins Wood and Neal Wood, *Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory: Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle in Social Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 8–9.
 102. Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 39.
 103. *Ibid.*, 39.
 104. See, for example, John H. McClendon, "The Afro-American Philosopher and the Philosophy of the Black Experience: A Bibliographical Essay on a Neglected Topic in Both Philosophy and Black Studies," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 7(4) (November 1982), 1–53; D. A. Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994). See also, Stephen C. Ferguson, "The Philosopher King: An Examination of the Influence of Dialectics on King's Political Thought and Practice," in *The Liberatory Thought of Martin Luther King Jr.: Critical Essays on the Philosopher King* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 87–107; John H. McClendon III, *C.L.R. James's Notes on Dialectics: Left-Hegelianism or Marxism-Leninism?* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005).
 105. Ani, *Yurugu*, 32, 33–36.
 106. Plato, *Timeaus* in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato, Including the Letters* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1961), 22b.
 107. *Ibid.*, 21c–26e.
 108. Ani cites the following sources: George G. M. James, *Stolen Legacy* (San Francisco, CA: Julian Richardson, 1976); Théophile Obenga, "African Philosophy of the Pharaonic Period," in *Egypt Revisited*, ed. Ivan Van Sertima (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 286–324.
 109. Marx, *Capital*, 346. Also see Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization, Vol. 1—The Fabrication of Ancient Greece, 1785–1985*

- (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 25, 103–108. For a contrast between Diop's and James's methodological approach to the connection between Egyptian and Greek philosophy, see Jeffrey Crawford, "Cheik Anta Diop, the 'Stolen Legacy,' and Afrocentrism," in *African Philosophy: Selected Readings*, ed. Albert G. Mosley (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), 128–146.
110. Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 41.
 111. Plato. *Republic*. Translated by G. M. A. Grube (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1992), 473 c11. For an analysis of the antidemocratic character of Socrates's philosophy and his student Plato, see I. F. Stone, *The Trial of Socrates* (New York: Doubleday, 1989).
 112. See Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 40–44.
 113. Wood and Wood, *Class Ideology and Ancient Political Theory*, 120.
 114. Karl Marx, "The Leading Article of No. 179 of Kolnische Zeitung," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, ed. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), 195.
 115. Alban Dewes Winspear, *The Genesis of Plato's Thought* (New York: S. A. Russell, 1956), 77.
 116. For an account of family resemblance see Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 32.
 117. See Christian Neugebauer, "Ethnophilosophy in the Philosophical Discourse in Africa: A Critical Note," *Quest: An International African Journal of Philosophy* 4(1) (June 1990), 43–64.
 118. Kwasi Wiredu, *Philosophy and African Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 30.
 119. See, for example, John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1990).
 120. Paulin Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 51–53.
 121. The Cameroonian Marcien Towa, even more pointedly, remarks that ethnophilosophy (with negritude included) are generally hostile to innovation, science, and technology. As such, it is servant to an unholy alliance with colonial or neo-colonial exploiters in Africa. See Marcien Towa, *Léopold Sédar Senghor, négritude ou servitude?* (Yaounde: Editions CLE, 1971).
 122. Paulin Hountondji, "Occidentalism, Elitism: Answer to Two Critiques," *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy* 3(2) (December 1989), 7. See also Christian Neugebauer, "Ethnophilosophy in the Philosophical Discourse in Africa: The Critical Note," *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy* 4(1) (June 1990), 43–64.
 123. Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality*, 47.
 124. See Theodor Oizerman, *Problems of the History of Philosophy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973).
 125. Kwasi Wiredu, "On Defining African Philosophy," in *African Philosophy: The Essential Readings*, ed. Tsenay Serequeberhan (New York: Paragon House, 1991), 95.
 126. *Ibid.*, 106.
 127. Ani, *Yurugu*, 73.

4 THE HERITAGE WE RENOUNCE

1. In Greek mythology Olympus was regarded as the “home” of the 12 Olympian gods of the ancient Greek world. Woodson’s writings on African history are: *African Myths, Together With Proverbs* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, 1928); *The African Background Outlined* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1936); and *African Heroes and Heroines* (Washington, DC: The Associated Publishers, 1939). Also consult, William Leo Hansberry, “The Material Culture of Ancient Nigeria” *Journal of Negro History* 6(3) (July 1921), 261–295; and William Leo Hansberry and Joseph Harris, *The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1974.
2. Wayman B. McLaughlin, “History and the Specious Moment,” *History Magazine* (North Carolina A & T State University) 1 (Spring 1979), 10–11; Wayman B. McLaughlin, “Is History a Good Training for the Mind?,” *History Magazine* (North Carolina A & T State University) 3 (Spring 1982), 26–27. Here are Berkeley Branche Eddins’s writings: *The Role of Value-Judgments in the Philosophies of History of Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee*. PhD Thesis—University of Michigan, 1961; *Appraising Theories of History* (Cincinnati, OH: Ehling, 1980); “Speculative Philosophy of History: A Critical Analysis,” *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 6(1) (1968), 52–58; “Historical Data and Policy-Decisions: A Key to Evaluating Philosophies of History,” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 26(3), 427–430.
3. No doubt Thorpe’s writings on intellectual history and the philosophy of history are deserving of a detailed study. See, for example, Earl E. Thorpe, *The Desertion of Man: A Critique of Philosophy of History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Ortlieb Press, 1958); Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969); Earl E. Thorpe, *The Central Theme of Black History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979).
4. Michele Foucault, we should note, calls into question previous systems of periodization, and sometimes of the very enterprise of periodization itself. See, for example, Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).
5. For concrete examples of periodization in AAS, see Abdul Alkalimat and Associates, “Toward A Paradigm of Unity,” and Robert L. Harris, Jr., “Coming of Age: The Transformation of Afro-American Historiography,” in *Paradigms in Black Studies: Intellectual History, Cultural Meaning and Political Ideology*. ed. Abdul Alkalimat (Chicago, IL: Twenty-First Century Books and Publications, 1990), 29–49, 51–70.
6. Peniel E. Joseph, “Waiting till the Midnight Hour: Reconceptualizing the Heroic Period of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1965,” *Souls* 2(2) (Spring 2000), 8.
7. Peniel E. Joseph, “Introduction: Toward a Historiography of the Black Power Movement,” in *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel E. Joseph (New York: Routledge, 2006), 8. For similar

- attempts to stretch the periodization of the Black Freedom movement, see Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights As a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Robert J. Norrell, *Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichstein, "Opportunities Lost and Found: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988), 786–811. For a discussion of the Black Student movement as part of the "long duree" of Black campus movements, see Ibram Rogers, *Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstitution of Higher Education, 1965–1972* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). For a contrasting treatment of the Black Power era from a leftist perspective vis-à-vis Peniel Joseph, see Robert L. Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytical History* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).
8. See, for example, Sundiata Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *The Journal of African American History* 92(2) (Spring 2007), 265–288.
 9. Adam Fairclough, "Historians and the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American Studies* 24(3) (December 1990), 388. For a good discussion of the fallacy of false periodization, see David H. Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 144–149.
 10. See Devin Fergus, *Liberalism, Black Power and the Making of American Politics, 1965–1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 196–231.
 11. Peniel Joseph, *Dark Days, Bright Nights: From Black Power to Barack Obama* (New York: BasicCivitas Books, 2010), 201. For leftist analysis of Obama, see Paul Louis Street, *The Empire's New Clothes: Barack Obama in the Real World of Power* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010); Barbara Foley, "Rhetoric and Silence in Barack Obama's *Dreams from My Father*," *Cultural Logic* 12 (2009), 1–46; and Adolph Reed, "Nothing Left: The long, slow surrender of American liberals," *Harper's Magazine* 328(1966) (March 2014), 28–36. For Obama's pragmatic support of Ronald Reagan, see *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), 289.
 12. Karl Marx, *Selected Writings*, ed. Lawrence H. Simon (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1994), 277.
 13. Paul Blackledge, *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 27.
 14. The literature on this subject is vast. See David Seddon, *Relations of Production: Marxist Approaches to Economic Anthropology* (London: Frank Cass, 1978); Jean Suret-Canale, *Essays on African History: From the Slave Trade to Neocolonialism* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988); Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1981); Samir Amin, *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976). For an insightful overview, see Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "The Political Economy Approach in African Studies," in *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research issues in Africana Studies*, ed. James Turner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Africana Studies and Research Center, 1984), 301–339.

15. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The German Ideology* in *Collected Works*, Vol. 5 (New York: International Publishers, 1976), 37. Paul Blackledge notes: "As a mode of production is a distinct articulation of forces and relations of production, to define the mode dominant within any society is to provide a framework from within which the class struggle, politics, ideology, etc., of that social formation can be explained. However, to define the dominant mode of production within a specific social formation is only the first step along the process to articulating the many determinations of a specific concrete process." See Paul Blackledge, *Reflections on the Marxist Theory of History* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 28.
16. For Alexander Crummell the appeal of Hegelianism centered on its idealist and racialist philosophy of history transposed into a theory of civilization. Du Bois in his classic work, *The Souls of Black Folk* not only pays homage to Crummell, in an essay devoted to him, he openly seeks to elaborate and expand upon Crummell's Hegelian philosophy of history. Du Bois further develops the notion of a theory of recognition and consciousness drawing on Hegel's *Phenomenology*. Du Bois's often cited concept of double consciousness owes much to Hegel's treatment of "Lordship and Bondage." See Shamoon Zamir, *Dark Voices: W.E.B. Du Bois and American Thought, 1888–1903* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Creative Conflict in African American Thought: Frederick Douglass, Alexander Crummell, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Wilson J. Moses, "W.E.B. Du Bois's 'The Conservation of Races' and Its Context: Idealism, Conservatism and Hero Worship," *The Massachusetts Review* 34(2) (1993), 275–294.
17. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 134.
18. William Henry Ferris, *The African Abroad, Or, His Evolution in Western Civilization, Tracing His Development Under Caucasian Milieu*, Vol. 1 (New Haven, CT: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Press, 1913), 17.
19. William H. Ferris, *The African Abroad: Or His Evolution in Western Civilization*, vols. I & II (New Haven, CT: The Tuttle, Moorehouse and Taylor Press, 1913), 34–35. For additional commentary of Ferris's text, see John H. McClendon, "The Afro-American Philosopher and the Philosophy of the Black Experience," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 7(4) (November 1982), 22–25. Also read Alfred Moss, *The American Negro Academy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1981). For a similar moral critique, from another African American philosopher, see Rufus L. Perry, *The Cushite or the Descendents of Ham* (Springfield, MA: Wiley, 1893).
20. G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*. Translated by J. Sibree (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 33.
21. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1958), 44. For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Stephen Ferguson, "The Philosopher King: An Examination of the Influence of Dialectics on King's Political Thought and Practice," in *Philosophical Perspectives on Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. Robert E. Birt (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012),

- 87–107. See also, John J. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Making of a Mind* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Press, 1982); George Russell Seay, Jr., *Theologian of Synthesis: The Dialectical Method of Martin Luther King, Jr. As Revealed in His Critical Thinking on Theology, History and Ethics* (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 2008).
22. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, 30.
 23. It is worth noting that Alexander Crummell in his Wilberforce University Commencement address—attended by Du Bois—stated Hegel’s dictum, “The Real is Rational and the Rational is Real.” See David L. Lewis, *W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868–1919* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1993), 165.
 24. Karl Marx, “Preface,” to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 19–23.
 25. Alex Callinicos, *Marxism and Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 51.
 26. See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991), 103.
 27. On Hegel’s philosophy of history in relation to Africa, see Shannon M. Mussett, “On the Threshold of History: The Role of Nature and Africa in Hegel’s Philosophy,” in *Tensional Landscapes: The Dynamics of Boundaries and Placements*, ed. Gary Backhaus and John Murungi (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), 1–18. This article also appeared in *The American Philosophical Association Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 3(1) (Fall 2003), 39–46.
 28. Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1981), 46–47.
 29. Alex Callinicos, *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 95–109.
 30. M. C. Lemon, *Philosophy of History: A Guide for Students* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 102.
 31. See Wilson Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also, St. Clair Drake, *Black Folk Here and There: An Essay in History and Anthropology* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California, 1987).
 32. Molefi K. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 96.
 33. Ibid., 96. For similar arguments, see Messay Kebede, “The Ethiopian Conception of Time and Modernity,” in *Listening to Ourselves: A multilingual anthology of African philosophy*, ed. Jeffers, Chike (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2013), 15–35. ; Nikitah Okembe-RA Imani, “The Implications of African-Centered Conceptions of Time and Space for Quantitative Theorizing: Limitations of Paradigmatically-Bound Philosophical Meta-Assumptions,” *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 5(4) (June 2012), 101–111.
 34. For a general discussion of cyclical philosophies of history, see Earl E. Thorpe, *The Desertion of Man: A Critique of Philosophy of History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Orlieb Press, 1958), 119–136.
 35. T. C. Keto, *The African Centered Perspective of History* (Chicago, IL: Research Associates School Times/Karnak House, 1994), 119.

36. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 9.
37. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1901), 2.
38. In class society the masses may include various social classes. But whatever the historical changeability of the class composition of the masses, this concept always (1) has its core in the mass of the working people who produce material goods; (2) embraces the overwhelming majority of the population, as opposed to the anti-popular upper crust of society, the reactionary classes; and (3) includes all social strata who promote social progress (hence in certain historical circumstances the concept “masses” or “people” may include certain nonworking classes, for example, the national bourgeoisie, inasmuch as it participates in the progressive movement of society, say, for example, during national liberation movements).
39. Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2003), 59. All citations are from this edition unless otherwise stated.
40. Maulana Karenga, *Quotable Karenga*, ed. Clyde Halisi and James Mtume (Los Angeles, CA: Kawaida Publications), 5.
41. Adolph makes a similar point. See Adolph Reed, Jr., “Marxism and Nationalism in Afro-America,” *Social Theory and Practice* 1 (Fall 1971), 6.
42. Jennifer Jordan, “Cultural Nationalism in the 1960s: Politics and Poetry,” in *Race, Politics, and Culture: Critical Essays on the Radicalism of the 1960s*, ed. Adolph Reed (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 34.
43. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981), 44.
44. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 18.
45. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1970).
46. Makungu M. Akinyela, “Rethinking Afrocentricity: The Foundation of a Theory of Critical Afrocentricity,” in *Culture and Difference: Critical Perspectives on the Bicultural Experience in the United States*, ed. Antonia Darder (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1995), 21–39.
47. Richard B. Moore, “Africa Conscious Harlem,” in *Richard B. Moore, Caribbean Militant in Harlem: Collected Writings, 1920–1972*, ed. W. Burghardt Turner and Joyce Moore Turner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 163–164.
48. See Joseph E. Holloway, *Africanisms in American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).
49. Manthia Diawara, “Afro-Kitsch,” in *Black Popular Culture*, ed. Michele Wallace and Gina Dent (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1992), 289.
50. T. C. Keto, *Vision and Time: Historical Perspective of an African-Centered Paradigm* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001), 6.
51. *Ibid.*, xii.
52. See Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slaves in the United States* (New York: Citadel, 1990).
53. The notion of infrapolitics is drawn from James C. Scott. See James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, CT: Yale

- University Press, 1985); James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990). For an application of Scott's notion of infrapolitics in African American Studies, see Robin Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994). For a critique of infrapolitics, see Adolph Reed, "What Are the Drums Saying, Booker?," in *Class Notes: Posing As Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York: New Press, 2000), 77–90.
54. For an insightful historiography on Black workers, see Joe William Trotter, Jr., "African-American Workers: New Directions in U. S. Labor Historiography," *Labor History* 35(4), 495–523. For Marxist critiques of Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, see Abram Harris, "Reconstruction and Negro," in *Race, Radicalism, and Reform: Selected Papers*, ed. William A. Darity (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 209–212; Chandler Owen, "Du Bois on Revolution," in *The Messenger Reader: Stories, Poetry, and Essays from the Messenger Magazine*, ed. Sondra K. Wilson (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 317–321.
 55. See Joe William Trotter, *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Joe William Trotter, *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–45* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Joe William Trotter, *Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915–32* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).
 56. A. J. Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique—Post-Colonial Historiography Examined* (London: Zed Press, 1981).
 57. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* in *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels*, Vol. 11 (New York: International Publishers, 1979), 103.
 58. For further discussion, see Alex Callinicos, *Making History: Agency, Structure and Change in Social Theory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).
 59. See Peter T. Manicas, *A History and Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1988).
 60. Keto, *Vision and Time*, 127.
 61. *Ibid.*, xii.
 62. *Ibid.*, xiii.
 63. Gregor McLennan, *Marxism and the Methodologies of History* (New York: Verso, 1981), 103.
 64. Keto, *Vision and Time*, 46.
 65. Keto, *The African Centered Perspective of History*, 24.
 66. *Ibid.*, 19. See also, Keto, *Vision and Time*, 105.
 67. *Ibid.*, 53.
 68. Molefi K. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987), 4.
 69. See, for example, Nah Dove, "An African-Centered Critique of Marx's Logic," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 19(4) (1995), 260–271. See Bobby E. Wright, "Mentacide: The Ultimate Threat to Black Survival" (unpublished, n.d.).
 70. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 8.

71. Karenga, *The Quotable Karenga*, 25.
72. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 43.
73. Molefi Kete Asante and Abdulai S. Vandi, *Contemporary Black Thought: Alternative Analyses in Social and Behavioral Science* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980), 27.
74. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 102–103; Italics added.
75. Ibid., 126–127.
76. For Julius Nyerere's concept of Ujamaa, see Nyerere's *Freedom and Socialism – Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–67* (Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968). For a leftist critique of Nyerere's party, TANU, see, Issa G. Shivji's *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).
77. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1977), 587.
78. For a leftist analysis of Black capitalism, see Earl Ofari Hutchinson, "The Continuing Myth Of Black Capitalism," *The Black Scholar* 23(1) (1993), 16–21; Abram Lincoln Harris, *The Negro As Capitalist; A Study of Banking and Business Among American Negroes* (College Park, MD: McGrath Publishing Co., 1968).
79. Guillemette Andreu, *Egypt in the Age of the Pyramids*. Translated by David Lorton (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 28.
80. A tributary mode of production vis-à-vis a feudal mode of production involves the extraction of surplus labor through extra-economic coercion, for example, in the form of state tax-raising. Under feudalism, the extraction of surplus labor involves coercive rent-taking by landlords. For a fuller discussion, see Chris Wickham, "The Uniqueness of the East," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 12(2–3) (1985), 166–196; Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989).
81. Andreu, 14.
82. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 65.
83. See Molefi K. Asante, *Classical Africa* (Maywood, NJ: Peoples Publishing Group, 1994), 27–29; Leonard H. Lesko, *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir El Medina* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt Anatomy of a Civilization* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Rosalind Janssen and Jac. J. Janssen, *Growing Up in Ancient Egypt* (London: Rubicon Press, 1990). Ironically, this same line of reasoning—the harmony thesis—was widely employed by Southern segregationist who claimed that Northern agitators disrupted the harmonious race relations of segregation.
84. Molefi K. Asante, "African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 343.
85. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 10.
86. V. I. Lenin, "A Great Beginning: Heroism of the Workers in the Rear 'Communist Subbotniks,'" in *Collected Works*, Vol. 29 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), 421. See also, Charles Loren, *Classes in the United States:*

- Workers against Capitalists* (Davis, CA: Cardinal Publishers, 1977); Bade Onimode, *A Political Economy of the African Crisis* (London: Zed Books with the Institute for African Alternatives, 1988); Bade Onimode, *An Introduction to Marxist Political Economy* (London: Zed Books, 1985); Teresa L. Ebert and Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, "ABC of Class," *Nature, Society and Thought* 17(2) (April 2004), 133–141.
87. Russell Keat and John Urry, *Social Theory as Science* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1975), 94–95.
 88. Christopher J. Williams makes a similar point in his excellent article, "In Defence of Materialism: A Critique of Afrocentric Ontology," *Race & Class* 47(1), 35–48.
 89. Bill Fletcher, Jr., "Black Studies and the Question of Class," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Towers: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 161.
 90. See, for example, Abram Lincoln Harris, *The Negro As Capitalist; A Study of Banking and Business Among American Negroes* (College Park, MD: McGrath Publishing, 1968); G. Nzongola-Ntalaja, "The Political Economy Approach in African Studies," in *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies*, ed. James E. Turner (Ithaca, NY: Africana Studies & Research Center, 1984), 301–339; Chidi Amuta, *The Theory of African Literature: Implications for Practical Criticism* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books, 1989); Bernard Magubane and Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *Proletarianization and Class Struggle in Africa* (San Francisco, CA: Synthesis Publications, 1983).
 91. Molefi K. Asante, "The Ideological Significance of Afrocentricity in Intercultural Communication," *Journal of Black Studies* 14(1) (September 1983), 7.
 92. Asante, *Classical Africa*, 27–28.
 93. *Ibid.*, 29.
 94. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 52.
 95. For a Marxist analysis of class struggle in ancient Greece, see G. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981); and Peter W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). For a recent discussion of class struggle in Africa, see Leo Zeilig (ed.) *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2009).
 96. Asante, *Classical Africa*, 29.
 97. See Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class, & Race; A Study in Social Dynamics* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959).
 98. Asante, *Classical Africa*, 29.
 99. Cheikh Anta Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill, 1991), 141–143; See also, Diop, *African Origins*, 205. We should note that Diop was influenced by the work of French Marxists anthropologists who have had a major impact on our understanding of the internal social structures tied to the forces of production in African rural societies, on the analysis of social relations of production (including the

- control over land, crafts, or trade), and especially on identifying the interactions between economic domination and political power. See Cheikh Anta Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill, 1991), 109–207.
100. Diop, *Civilization or Barbarism*, 142.
 101. Akinyela makes a similar point. See Akinyela, “Rethinking Afrocentricity,” 29–30.
 102. Bernard M. Mugabane, “The Evolution of Class Structure in Africa,” in *African Sociology—Towards a Critical Perspective: The Collected Essays of Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000), 255. Nkrumah’s *Class Struggle in Africa* attacks the myth that class structures which exist in other parts of the world did not exist in Africa. See Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*.
 103. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 126–127.
 104. Akinyela, “Rethinking Afrocentricity,” 28–29.
 105. Melba Joyce Boyd, “Afrocentrics, Afro-elitists, and Afro-eccentrics,” in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower* in *Dispatches from the Ebony Towers: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 207.

5 WHAT’S EPISTEMOLOGY GOT TO DO WITH IT?

1. Roy Bhaskar, *Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom* (New York: Verso, 1993), 214.
2. Friedrich Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lies in a Nonmoral Sense,” in *The Portable Nietzsche*. Edited and Translated by Walter Kaufman (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 46–47.
3. See, Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979); Charles Mills, *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 21–39.
4. For a further discussion of the “death of epistemology,” see Ian Hacking, “Is the End in Sight for Epistemology,” *The Journal of Philosophy* 77 (10) (October 1980), 579–588.
5. See Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1996).
6. For a history of the development of American Social Sciences, see Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also, J. D. Bernal, *Science in History*, Vol. 4, *The Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT. Press, 1971). Representative works outlining the racist nature of various disciplines include: in psychology, Robert V. Guthrie, *Even the Rat Was White: A Historical View of Psychology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). In history, August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). In sociology, Stanford M. Lyman, *The Black American in Sociological*

- Thought: A Failure in Perspective* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1972). In philosophy consult, John H. McClendon, "The Afro-American Philosopher and the Philosophy of the Black Experience: A Bibliographical Essay on a Neglected Topic in Both Philosophy and Black Studies," *Sage Race Relations Abstracts* 7(4) (November 1982), 1–51. In economics, Robert Cherry, "Racial Thought and the Early Economics Profession," *Review of Social Economy* 33 (October 1976), 147–162. Mark Aldrich, "Progressive Economists and Scientific Racism: Walter Wilcox and Black Americans," *Phylon* 40(1) (Spring 1979), 1–14. Mark Aldrich, "Capital Theory and Racism: From Laissez Faire to the Eugenics Movement in the Career of Irving Fisher," *Review of Radical Political Economy* 7(3) (Fall 1975), 33–42. For an overview, see Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," *Daedalus* 100 (Summer, 1971), 678–719; I. A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense: Anti-Negro Thought in America 1990–1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965) especially chapter 1, "The Contributions of Science and Social Science"; John H. Stanfield, *Philanthropy and Jim Crow in American Social Science* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).
7. The Leon Gardiner collection of American Negro Historical Society records, 1715–1962 is currently held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
 8. See W. E. B. Bois, "Sociology Hesitant," *Boundary* 2, 27(3) (2000), 37–44. See also, D. S. Green and E. D. Driver, "WEB Du Bois: A Case in the Sociology of Sociological Negation," *Phylon* 37(4) (1976), 308–333; Francis L. Broderick, "German Influence on the Scholarship of WEB Du Bois," *Phylon* 19(4) (1958), 367–371.
 9. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 51.
 10. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 714.
 11. Founded in October 1935 at Johnson C. Smith College, the Association of Social Science Teachers later in 1968 became the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists. On these early developments in Black intellectual societies, see Benjamin Quarles, "Black History's Antebellum Origins," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 89 (April 1979), 89–122; James G. Spady, "The Afro-American Historical Society: The Nucleus of Black Bibliophiles, 1897–1923," *Negro History Bulletin* 37 (June–July 1974), 254–257; Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Lawrence Crouchett, "Early Black Studies Movement," *Journal of Black Studies* 2 (December 1971), 189–200; August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915–1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 1–76; Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," *American Archivist* 48 (Summer 1985), 261–271; Tony Martin, "Bibliophiles, Activists and Race Men," in *Black Bibliophiles and Collectors: Preservers of Black History*, ed. Sinnette, Elinor Des Verney, W. Paul Coates, and Thomas C. Battle (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990), 23–34. It would not be until 1979 that the Association

- of Black Women Historians would be founded. See Janice Sumler-Edmond, "Association of Black Women Historians, Inc.," in *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 48–49.
12. James Turner and C. Steven McGann, "Black Studies as an Integral Tradition in African-American Intellectual History," *Journal of Negro Education* 49 (1980), 52–59.
 13. See *Race, Radicalism and Reform: Selected Papers, Abram L. Harris*, ed. William Darity, Jr. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1986). Also consult, William Darity, Jr., "Soundings and Silences on Race and Social Change: Abram Harris Jr. in the Great Depression" and Julian Ellison, "Formulating the Negation: Abram Harris Jr. as Critic," in *A Different Vision: African American Economic Thought Volume One*, ed. Thomas D. Boston (New York: Routledge, 1997), 250–269. See also, Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris, Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
 14. See also, Oliver C. Cox, Introduction to Nathan Hare's *The Black Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Marzani and Munsell, 1965). For a similar effort, see Ernest Kaiser's powerful and perceptive *In Defense of the People's Black & White History and Culture*. See also, Ernest Kaiser, "Racial Dialectics: The Aptheker-Myrdal School Controversy," *Phylon* 9(4) (1948), 295–302. Herbert Aptheker, *The Negro People in America: A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma"* (New York: International Publishers, 1946). For a contemporary example of the caste school of race relations—with a leftist perspective—see Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2011).
 15. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1944), lxxii.
 16. Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class, and Race* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1948), 520. For an in-depth study of Cox's sociological perspective, see *The Sociology of Oliver C. Cox: New Perspectives*, ed. Herbert M. Hunter (Stamford, CT: JAI Press, 2000). While Cox was a socialist, he was not a Marxist–Leninist. See Oliver C. Cox, "Marxism: Looking Backward and Forward," *Monthly Review* 26 (June 1974), 53–59.
 17. *Ibid.*, 541–542.
 18. *Ibid.*, 525. For a similar analysis, see Richard Wright, *12 Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States* (New York: Viking Press, 1941).
 19. In *Theories of Surplus Value*, we find Marx's dialectical (critical) evaluation of Adam Smith. The focal point of Marx's critique is a class analysis of Smith's theoretical positions, which highlights both his scientific contribution to political economy and his corresponding deficiencies. Both Smith's contribution to the scientific cognition of political economy as well as his limitations are materially due to his accompanying bourgeois ideological perspective. See Karl Marx, *Theories of Surplus Value*, Part I (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), 69–151.

20. Karl Marx, *Capital, Vol. 1.—The Process of Capitalist Production* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 85.
21. Clarence Lang, “Freedom Train Derailed: The National Negro Labor Council and the Nadir of Black Radicalism,” in *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: “Another Side of the Story”*, ed. Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 164.
22. For seminal works on the impact of McCarthyism on Black liberation struggle, see Erik S. McDuffie, *Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of Black Left Feminism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Gerald Horne, *Race Woman: The Lives of Shirley Graham Du Bois* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Gerald Horne, *Communist Front?: The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988); Hollis R. Lynch, *Black American Radicals and the Liberation of Africa: The Council on African Affairs, 1937–1955* (Ithaca, NY: Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 1978).
23. See *Harold Cruse’s The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, ed. Jerry Watts (New York: Routledge, 2004).
24. See Jesse McDade, “Towards an Ontology of Negritude,” *Philosophical Forum* 9(2–3) (Winter–Spring, 1977–1978), 161–168; Roy D. Morrison, “Black Enlightenment: The Issues of Pluralism, Priorities and Empirical Correlation,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 46(2) (June 1978), 217–240; Amiri Baraka, “A Black Value System,” *Black Scholar* 1(1) (November 1969), 54–60. See also, Nagueyalti Warren, “Pan-African Cultural Movements: From Baraka to Karenga,” *The Journal of Negro History* 75(1–2) (Winter–Spring 1990), 16–28; Vernon J. Dixon, “African-Oriented and Euro-American Oriented World Views,” *Review of Black Political Economy* 77(2) (Winter 1972), 119–156.
25. Robert Staples, *Introduction to Black Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 21. For a Marxist critique of Staples’s *Introduction*, see John H. McClendon III, “Black Sociology: Another Name for Black Subjectivity,” *Freedomways* 20(1) (Spring 1980), 53–59.
26. See, for example, Floyd McKissick, “The Way to a Black Ideology,” *The Black Scholar* 1(2) (December 1969), 14–17; Vivian Gordon, “The Coming of Age in Black Studies,” *Western Journal of Black Studies* 5(3) (Fall 1981), 231–236.
27. Abdul Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter), “The Ideology of Black Social Science,” *The Black Scholar* 1 (December 1969), 28; Italics added. See also, Floyd B. McKissick, “The Way to a Black Ideology,” *The Black Scholar* 1(2) (1969), 14–17. For a left-nationalist critique of the social sciences, influenced by C. Wright Mills, William Domhoff and Alvin Gouldner, see James Turner and W. Eric Perkins, “Towards a Critique of Social Science,” *The Black Scholar* 7(7) (April 1976), 2–11.
28. Since I am referring to god(s) in the abstract, it is more precise philosophically to not capitalize the word. That is to say, I am talking about members of a general class or category, that is, god(s). My intention is not to insult anyone who is a theist. On the one hand, if I was referring to the specific god-concept that a group worships, then it may be appropriate to use capitalization. Confusion

- is caused by the fact that Christians don't typically ascribe a personal name to their god—some use Yahweh or Jehovah, but that is pretty rare; whereas, a Muslim, for example, refers to god as Allah.
29. See S. Morris Engel, *With Good Reason: An Introduction to Informal Fallacies* (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), 216–217.
 30. See Bill Bryson, *A Short History of Nearly Everything* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003); Clifford D. Conner, *A People's History of Science: Miners, Midwives, and "Low Mechanics"* (New York: Nation Books, 2005).
 31. B. Hessen, "The Social and Economic Roots of Newton's *Principia*," in *The Social and Economic Roots of the Scientific Revolution: Texts by Boris Hessen and Henryk Grossman*, ed. Gideon Freudenthal and Peter McLaughlin (Berlin: Springer, 2009), 41–101.
 32. George Novack, *Empiricism and Its Evolution: A Marxist View* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971), 61.
 33. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970), 19.
 34. Molefi K. Asante, "The Ideological Significance of Afrocentricity in Intercultural Communication," *Journal of Black Studies* 14(1) (September 1983), 5. We do find that Asante's view of the social sciences as "imperialistic" does not necessarily extend to the natural sciences. Asante is willing to concede that the natural sciences provide us with universal truths. For instance, he seems to believe in the truths of quantum mechanics. See Molefi K. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987), 11.
 35. Molefi K. Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change (Revised and Expanded)* (Chicago, IL: African American Images, 2003), 104. All citations are from this edition unless stated otherwise.
 36. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 5.
 37. James E. Turner, "Africana Studies and Epistemology: A Discourse in the Sociology of Knowledge," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 79.
 38. Marimba Ani, *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior* (Trenton: NJ: Africa World Press, 1994), 519.
 39. See the favorable review by the Marxist philosopher Angela Davis, "Review of *Black Feminist Thought*," *Teaching Philosophy* 16(4) (December 1993), 351–353.
 40. Molefi K. Asante, *Malcolm X as Cultural Hero* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1993), 9. See also, Molefi K. Asante, "Afrocentricity, Race, and Reason," in *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, ed. Manning Marable (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 198.
 41. Molefi K. Asante, *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Toward an African Renaissance* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2007), 17.
 42. *Ibid.*, 19. In the second edition of *Black Feminist Thought* published in 2000, Collins also distances herself from Asante's brand of Afrocentricity. At the end of the day, whether she has officially been ex-communicated from the Afrocentric school of thought or not, it is not a stretch to see that Collins's

- overall argument in *Black Feminist Thought* is an elaboration of situated or subjugated knowledge. Both Asante and Collins share a commitment to relativism, empiricist epistemology, and a rejection of epistemological realism.
43. Despite the linguistic, religious, and cultural differences within the African continent, all African cultures share a common cosmological and metaphysical beliefs—although in an unconscious form—we are told. The implication drawn from this assumption is that there is a collective system of beliefs, largely unchanging over time, unanimously shared among Africans, and unique to Africans. In a similar vein, Daudi Ajani a Azibo argues that there is an African worldview that constitutes “the universal and timeless worldview characteristic of African people throughout space and time.” Hence, the main ingredient of African authenticity is an inward essence, instinct, or soul manifesting externally in the personality or psychology of Black people. See Daudi Ajani a Azibo, “Articulating the Distinction Between Black Studies and the Study of Blacks: The Fundamental Role of Culture and the African-Centered Worldview,” in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 422.
 44. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 28. All citations are from this edition unless stated otherwise.
 45. *Ibid.*, 10.
 46. *Ibid.*, 11.
 47. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: The Harvest Press, 1980), 93.
 48. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 215.
 49. *Ibid.*, 217.
 50. *Ibid.*, 204.
 51. *Ibid.*, 25. The idea that women are inclined toward an ethic of caring was first developed by Carol Gilligan in her influential *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). Since then a number of works have continued to develop this theoretical trend: Nel Noddings, *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics & Moral Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Mary Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Sara Riddick, *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1989). A useful survey of recent developments in this area may be found in the introduction to *Women and Moral Theory* (Totowa, NJ: Roman & Littlefield, 1987).
 52. Margareta Halberg, “Feminist Epistemology: An Impossible Project?,” *Radical Philosophy* 53 (Autumn 1989), 5.
 53. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 203.
 54. It is worth noting that Collins erroneously characterizes Marxist as a form of positivism. See Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 235.
 55. For an excellent introduction to positivism, see Robert Klee, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Science: Cutting Nature at Its Seams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 28–61. For a Marxist critique of logical positivism

- as a form of empiricism, see Maurice Campbell Cornforth, *Science Versus Idealism: In Defence of Philosophy against Positivism and Pragmatism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).
56. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 205.
 57. *Ibid.*, 205, Italics added.
 58. *Ibid.*, 204.
 59. *Ibid.*, 211–212.
 60. For an excellent introduction to empiricism, see George Edward Novack, *Empiricism and Its Evolution: A Marxist View* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1971).
 61. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 207.
 62. For a similar argument, see Charles Mills, *Blackness Visible: Essays on Philosophy and Race* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 21–39.
 63. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 207.
 64. *Ibid.*, 10.
 65. See Dorothy Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1988); Nancy Hartsock, “The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism,” in *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives in Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology and Philosophy of Science*, ed. Sandra Harding and Merrill B. Hintikka (Dordrecht: D. Reidel, 1983), 283–310.
 66. Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, 5.
 67. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 202–203.
 68. *Ibid.*, 236.
 69. I wish I could take credit for this, but this is a phrase often stated by John McClendon.
 70. For an explication of how Marx addresses the relationship of fact/value (Hume’s fork) see, Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx’s Conception of Man in Capitalist Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 47–51; Roy Edgley, “Marx’s Revolutionary Science,” in *Issues in Marxist Philosophy*, Vol. 3, ed. John Mepham and D. H. Ruben (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979), 17–21; Andrew Sayer, *Realism and Social Science* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000); Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), particularly, “Social Science as Critique: Facts, Values and Theories.” On the partisan character of social science and Marxism in particular, see V. I. Lenin, “The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism,” in *Collected Works*, Vol. 19 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963), 23.
 71. On the issue of ideological critique, see John McClendon, “Black and White contra Left and Right? The Dialectics of Ideological Critique in African American Studies,” *American Philosophical Association (APA) Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 2(1) (Fall 2002), 47–56.
 72. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3 (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 817.
 73. See Norman Geras, “Essence and Appearance: Aspects of Fetishism in Marx’s *Capital*,” *New Left Review* 65(1–2) (1971), 69–85. See also, Paul Thomas, *Marxism and Scientific Socialism: From Engels to Althusser* (New York: Routledge, 2008); particularly chapter 1, “Marx and Science.”

74. Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1962), particularly chapter seven, "Capitalism and Discrimination." See also, Gary Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1957). Becker's view that discrimination hinders the capitalist market much in the way that tariffs obstruct foreign trade was not lost on Friedman. See Friedman's reference to Becker's work on p. 110 of *Capitalism*. Black conservative economist and former student of Friedman, Thomas Sowell makes the same argument in Thomas Sowell, *Race and Economics* (New York: David McKay, 1975), 165. For a critique of this position read, Michael Reich, *Racial Inequality: A Political Economic Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) especially chapter 3, "Racial Inequality and Neoclassical Economics." For research on the racist assumptions of the economics profession consult, Robert Cherry, "Racial Thought and the Early Economics Profession," *Review of Social Economy* 33 (October, 1976), 147–162; Mark Aldrich, "Progressive Economists and Scientific Racism: Walter Wilcox and Black Americans," *Phylon* 40(1) (Spring 1979), 1–14; Mark Aldrich, "Capital Theory and Racism: From Laissez Faire to the Eugenics Movement in the Career of Irving Fisher," *Review of Radical Political Economy* 7(3) (Fall 1975), 33–42.
75. Angela Davis, "Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation," in *The Angela Y. Davis Reader*, ed. Joy James (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 147. See also, Martha Gimenez, "What's Material about Materialist Feminism? A Marxist Feminist Critique," *Radical Philosophy* 101 (May–June 2000), 18–19.
76. *Ibid.*, 162.
77. *Ibid.*, 173–174.
78. See the special issue of *Science and Society*, "Marxist-Feminist Thought Today," ed. Martha Gimenez and Lise Vogel, 69(1) (January 2005), particularly, Martha Gimenez, "Capitalism and the Oppression of Women: Marx Revisited," and Teresa Ebert, "Rematerializing Feminism." See also, Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), especially chapter 5, "Claudia Jones and the Synthesis of Gender, Race and Class." For a recent Marxist analysis of women's oppression, see Sharon Smith, *Women and Socialism Essays on Women's Liberation* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2005).
79. The African American philosopher Cornel West is influenced in some ways by Foucault in his adoption of postmodernism, see West, "The Postmodern Crisis of Black Intellectuals," in *Beyond Eurocentrism and Multiculturalism: Prophetic Thought in Postmodern Times*, Vol. 1 (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993), 87–118.
80. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 39. For a critique of Foucault's concept of power, see Nancy Fraser, "Foucault on Modern Power: Empirical Insights and Normative Considerations," *Praxis International* 1(3) (October 1981), 272–287; Mark Philp, "Foucault on Power: A Problem in Radical Translation?," *Political Theory* 11(1) (February 1983), 29–52.

81. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1, (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 92–93.
82. Although Foucault's notion of governmentality is beyond the scope of this chapter, Foucault's theory of power forms the basis for his subsequent development of governmentality. For a good discussion of the theoretical limitations of Foucault's concept of governmentality, see Derek Kerr, "Beheading the King and Enthroning the Market: A Critique of Foucauldian Governmentality," *Science & Society* 63(2) (1999), 173–203.
83. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 95–96.
84. Stephen Tumino, *Cultural Theory after the Contemporary* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 25.
85. See, Didier Eribon, *Michel Foucault*. Translated by Betsy Wing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 331.
86. Joy James, *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 94–95.
87. For a Marxist critique of intersectionality, see Valerie Scatamburio-D'Annibale and Peter McLaren, "Class Dismissed? Historical Materialism and the Politics of 'Difference,'" *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 36(2) (2004), 183–199. See also, Martha Gimenez, "Marxism and Class, Gender and Race: Rethinking the Trilogy," *Race, Gender & Class* 8(2) (2001), 23–33; Linda Burnham, "Has Poverty Been Feminized in Black America?," *The Black Scholar* 16(2) (March–April 1985), 14–24. For a critique of identity politics, see James Clifford, "Taking Identity Politics Seriously: 'The Contradictory, Stony Ground . . .,'" in *Without Guarantees: Essays in Honour of Stuart Hall*, ed. Paul Gilroy, Lawrence Grossberg, and Angela McRobbie (London: Verso Press), 94–112; Ellen M. Wood, *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 238–263.
88. V. I. Lenin waged a resolute struggle against economism (or economic reductionism) and even demonstrated why it led to trade unionist reformism and not revolutionary class consciousness. See V. I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), 43–77. Prior to Lenin's efforts, Marx and Frederick Engels also tried to make it very clear (in fact on several occasions stated) that a dialectical materialist approach was not economic reductionism. See Frederick Engels, "Engels to Schmidt" (London, August 6, 1890) in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 483–485; and Frederick Engels, "Engels to J. Bloch in Königsberg" (London, September 21–22, 1890) in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 487–489.
89. For a fuller discussion, see Donald Harris, "Capitalist Exploitation and Black Labor: Some Conceptual Issues," *The Review of Black Political Economy* 8(2) (Winter 1979), 134–151.
90. See, for instance, "The 75 Most Powerful African Americans in Corporate America," *Black Enterprise* 35(7) (February 2005), 104–142.
91. Amrohini Sahay, "Transforming Race Matters: Towards a Critique-al Cultural Studies," *Cultural Logic* 1(2) (Spring 1998). <http://clogic.eserver.org/1-2/sahay.html> (Accessed March 17, 2014).

92. Adolph Reed, "Django Unchained, or, the Help: How 'Cultural Politics' Is Worse Than No Politics at All, and Why," 9 (February 25, 2013) *Nonsite.org* <http://nonsite.org/feature/django-unchained-or-the-help-how-cultural-politics-is-worse-than-no-politics-at-all-and-why> (Last accessed November 20, 2014).
93. John McClendon, "Angela Davis: Marxist Philosophy, Patricia Hill Collins, and the Matter of Black Feminist Thought," *APA Newsletter on Philosophy and the Black Experience* 10(1) (Fall 2010), 4.
94. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 225. Italics added.
95. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 25.
96. Patricia Hill Collins, "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought," *Signs* 14(4) (Summer 1989), 747–748. Italics added.
97. See Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313.
98. *Ibid.*, 10.
99. Thanks to John McClendon for this example.
100. For an overview of epistemology as a subfield of philosophy, see Louis P. Pojman, *What Can We Know? An Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2001).
101. See Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive the 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2010); Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1986).
102. Rudy Fichtenbaum, "A Critique of the Segmentation Theory of Racial Discrimination," *Nature, Society and Thought* 3(4) (1990), 397.
103. William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993), 193–194, 252–253.
104. György Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 76.
105. Fredric Jameson, *Valences of the Dialectic* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2009), 214.
106. Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991), 103. For a critique of Black standpoint epistemology in the form of "Black Marxism," see Gregory Meyerson, "Rethinking Black Marxism: Reflections on Cedric Robinson and Others," *Cultural Logic* 3(2) (Spring 2000). <http://clogic.eserver.org/3-1&2/meyerson.html> (Accessed November 20, 2014).
107. Reed Way Dasenbrock, *Truth and Consequences: Intentions, Conventions, and the New Thematics* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 149. For a sample of articles on feminist standpoint epistemology, see *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*, ed. Sandra G. Harding (New York: Routledge, 2004). For an overview of feminist epistemologies, see Alessandra Tanesini, *An Introduction to Feminist Epistemologies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).
108. R. Andrew Sayer, *Realism and Social Science* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2000), 53.
109. R. Andrew Sayer, *Realism and Social Science*, 58–62.

110. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 205.
111. Terry Eagleton, *After Theory* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 136.
112. Philip T. K. Daniel, "Theory Building in Black Studies," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2001), 377.
113. Ruth Reviere, "Toward an Afrocentric Research Methodology," *Journal of Black Studies* 31(6) (July 2001), 714.
114. Molefi K. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1980), 25.
115. Asante, "The Ideological Significance of Afrocentricity in Intercultural Communication," 10. Italics added.
116. Asante, "The Ideological Significance of Afrocentricity in Intercultural Communication," 12. Italics added. See also, Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 48.
117. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 50.
118. *Ibid.*, 111.
119. *Ibid.*, 56.
120. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 18. Italics added.
121. Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 113.
122. Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge*, 10.
123. Gregory Meyerson, "Post-Marxism as Compromise Formation," *Cultural Logic* 2009. <http://clogic.eserver.org/2009/Meyerson.pdf> (Last accessed November 24, 2014).
124. Roy Bhaskar and Tony Lawson, "Introduction: Basic Texts and Developments," in *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*, ed. Margaret Archer, Roy Bhaskar, Andrew Collier, Tony Lawson, and Alan Norrie (New York: Routledge, 1998), 3.
125. For a similar argument, see V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959). See also V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 33 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1963).
126. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization* (New York: Monthly Review, 1970); See also, Friedrich Engels, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science (Anti-Dühring)* (New York: International Publishers, 1966); V. I. Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959); Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
127. See Massimo Pigliucci, *Nonsense on Stilts: How to Tell Science from Bunk* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010). For critical commentary on the "Willie Lynch" Letter, see Manu Ampim, "Death of the Willie Lynch Speech (Part 1)" http://manuampim.com/lynch_hoax1.html; William Jelani Cobb, "Is Willie Lynch's Letter Real?" (May 2004) <http://www.ferris.edu/htmls/news/jimcrow/question/may04.htm>
128. V. I. Lenin puts it this way: "outside us, and independently of us, there exists objects, things, bodies and that our perceptions are images of the external world." Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, 99.
129. *Ibid.*, 98.
130. Alex Callinicos, *Is There a Future for Marxism?* (London: Macmillan Press, 1983), 180. Italics added.

131. Norman Geras writes: "If there is no truth, there is no injustice. Stated less simplistically, if truth is wholly relativized or internalized to particular discourses or languages games or social practices, there is no injustice. The victims and protestors of any putative injustice are deprived of their last and often best weapon, that of telling what really happened." See Norman Geras, "Language, Truth and Justice," *New Left Review* 209 (January–February 1995), 110.
132. Karl Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit* in *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Vol. 2 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1970), 54.
133. Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M. Higgins, *The Big Questions: A Short Introduction to Philosophy* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2013), 166.

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