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Standing in the Gap: The Past and Future of Pan-African Studies at the University of Louisville

by

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In the 4th Century BC, Plato begins *Republic* with the classic dialogue between Socrates and others as they attempt to answer the query, “What is justice?” Ultimately, the ensuing conversation reveals that the answer is much more complicated than the question. As we close this special issue dedicated to the University of Louisville’s Pan-African Studies Department (PAS), I think it apropos to pose the question, “What is Pan-African Studies?” Or better yet, what does Pan-African Studies *do*? Why is it needed? What does it address and how does it contribute to the ongoing humanization project that has sat at the heart of so many national and global struggles? I believe the answers concerning Black Studies in general and PAS in particular are not as complicated as Plato’s dialogical misdirections, but just as impactful.

Founded in 1973, PAS recently celebrated its 40th anniversary this past academic year. It is one of the oldest and largest Black Studies departments in the country – currently housing 15 full-time faculty members. During its four decades, the department has garnered many laudable honors. It launched the iconic “Conference on the Black Family” in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the department began an industrious faculty expansion spearheaded by then chairman Robert L. Douglas that extended into the next decade. After a quarter century of achievement, the late Dr. Manning Marable of Columbia University rated PAS among the top 10% of Black Studies programs nationally in 1997. Similarly, in 1999, the Department was again rated in the top 10% by a team of extramural reviewers. At the turn of the century, PAS equaled the number of undergraduate graduates with Black Studies majors of Cornell, Howard, and Stanford Universities. It ranked just behind Harvard and just ahead of Yale.

In 2002, PAS established its Master of Arts program - the first graduate degree program in Black Studies in Kentucky. At the time, it was one of only twenty-one Black Studies graduate programs in the country (only five offered the Ph.D.) and one of only three in the South (Clark Atlanta University and Florida International University). A decade later in 2012, PAS launched its Ph.D. program, becoming the first department to do so in the South. PAS has also been the home department of a number of outstanding scholars and achievers. These include the late Dr. James Blaine Hudson, the first African American Dean of the University of Louisville's College of Art & Sciences and the Honorable Brian Edwards, one of only three black circuit court judges in the State of Kentucky.

For those concerned that units like PAS are passing fancies, an examination of the current composition of America and how higher education deals with its ever-evolving constituencies is warranted. An argument can certainly be made that those who believe Area and Ethnic Studies are no longer needed have little sense of history and an even poorer grip on the future. Presently, we live in the most multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural America ever. For good or ill, this demographic trend is not likely to change – the country is becoming more “colorful.” In this new 21st Century American reality, no university can call itself a “serious” educational institution without housing *good* Black, Native American, Asian, Latin, and Women's and Gender Studies. It is not unreasonable then for one to argue that Black Studies will grow rather than wither as we move forward.

Quantitative exploration of Black Studies' current footprint in American higher education is also encouraging. Indeed, Abdul Alkalimat et al. (2013) report that of 1,777 institutions surveyed, “76% have some form of Black Studies, 20% (361 institutions) with formal units and 56% (999 institutions) without units but with a course or courses . . . dedicated to the Black experience” (Alkalimat et al., 2013, p.6). This important study goes on to note that 91% of public colleges and universities and 77% of private schools have either units or courses. More than a third (37%) of public colleges and universities have formal Black Studies units (Alkalimat et al., 2013, p.6).

Supporters of Pan-African Studies and units like it who believe we are viable because of the notable achievements mentioned above or the growing presence of Black Studies programs and classes nationally actually miss the point of the discipline and the Department. Growth and achievement are important, but they are less important if we never answer the initial question of, “What does Pan-African Studies *do*?” Reaching back to Plato, the answer to this question is both philosophical and political. While departmental missions may be stated differently, the core philosophical impetus for Black Studies since its genesis at San Francisco State University has been the training of a core group of scholars and community members to recognize and combat permanent hegemony. Pan-African Studies is simply another asset in this mandate to increase possibilities and space for human liberation.

Hegemony in Liberal America

Unlike most departments, PAS and similar units were constructed organically to combat socio-political marginalization. In effect, Black Studies is a “warrior’s discipline standing in the gap” between peripheralized populations facing domination and hegemony. While the terms domination and hegemony are often deployed, it would be useful to clarify them in our current universe of discourse. When examining societal marginalization in its many forms in his profound *Quaderni del carcere (Prison Notebooks)*, Antonio Gramsci (1971) noted hegemony and domination are not necessarily the same. Cultural and political studies have often invoked Gramsci’s concept of hegemony to describe moments of national socio-political struggle, but the term remains ambiguous to many. Probably the most common perception of hegemony sees it as a process through which domination of one group over another is achieved by constructing an ideological consensus (Gitlin, 1980; Goldfarb, 1991; Grossberg, 1992). This formulation of Gramsci is not altogether correct. A repeatedly ignored fact is that while hegemonic struggle always involves coercion and consent, it does not necessarily involve the negativity of domination.

A key variable in this political equation is power and how it is used. While power is necessary for domination to occur, domination and power are different in that power is not always negative. Unlike power, domination is marginalization marked by an exercise of supremacy over *and* oppression of another (Jones, 2008). This state is always retrograde. Hegemony, however, according to Gramsci, does not necessarily seek or equate to domination. He speaks of hegemony as having two faces by observing, “*Permanent* hegemony is always bad; *temporary* hegemony of one group or region may be beneficial to all. Hegemony of north over south in Italy has been bad but need not have been so” (Gerrantana, 1975, p.130). From this perspective, temporary hegemony (at its best) may result from positive leadership aimed at reaching some noble end for the collective. In some ways, Pan-African Studies has provided such leadership on matters of race at the University of Louisville. Permanent hegemony cannot be regarded as such.

If permanent hegemony in a socio-political space is established and maintained effectively, the ideas of the controlling class insinuate themselves into the lives of the oppressed to the point that subjugated people eventually do not regard themselves as worthwhile beings. Consequently, they base their worth on how well they mimic the behavior and life circumstances of the society’s dominant group (Marx, 1936, 1959). As Robert Owen and others have realized, “perverse social systems [such as this] create deformed human beings” (Susser, 1995, p.121). Among the consequences of this reality are American obsessions with material gain, money, image and gross consumerism rather than matters of the mind and human rights. To paraphrase Marx, the oppressor in a capitalist society believes, “to have is to be” and the oppressed believe, “to be is to be like the oppressor.” Once such de-humanizing deformation takes effect, re-humanization of the masses can only take place through a deconstruction of oppressive institutions (Jones, 2008).

More often than not, capitalist preoccupations do not contest permanent hegemony or birth humanization. This is largely a result of the philosophy of liberalism, which has driven American capitalism and politics since the country's inception. Modern liberalism, which emerged out of the Glorious Revolution of the 17th century, has enjoyed a near ideological monopoly for most of American history. Bernard Susser (1995) comments that liberalism initially "represented the revolt of a rising urban middle class of merchants and entrepreneurs against the pre-modern alliance of throne, sword, and altar - the absolute monarchy, the feudal aristocratic order, and the vast powers of the church"(p. 59). Ironically, liberalism has contributed to the development of an oppressive system of its own. For decades, Black Studies scholars have worked to clarify the causes and consequences of this reality.

Simply stated, liberalism espouses three basic values that seem noble at first glance: individualism, freedom, and equality. Analysis of these core ideals, however, becomes complex when one examines whether or not they are evenly distributed throughout American society. For instance, Lucius Barker, Mack Jones and Katherine Tate (1999) have argued that equality in American society is not automatically bestowed upon all citizens. Equality actually has at least three aspects: political (one person, one vote), social (individuals should not be treated unfairly because of their station in life or circumstances of birth), and legal (the law handles all citizens in the same manner). They assert that these principles are so closely related that one cannot viably exist without the others. Therefore, if a person does not enjoy all three of these equalities, he or she is not truly equal. Disturbingly, they conclude that black Americans still have some distance to travel before these equalities are attained (Barker, Jones, and Tate, 1999, p.59).

Interestingly, liberalism helps to inhibit the realization of its own ideals by setting boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable American political behavior through the establishment of rarely deviated from fundamental values and mores. Even though there are certainly those who are right-wing (commonly called conservatives, who have a contemporary sub-group in modern political discourse - the neo-conservatives) and left-wing (often referred to as liberals or neo-liberals) relative to one another, in the context of American political ideology they are all adherents to the same philosophy:

To be sure, some American political activists prefer to be called conservatives. It is also true that the term liberal has come to be identified with the left branch of the liberal family tree. Nevertheless, for the sake of historical and terminological accuracy it is important to understand that political debate in the United States takes place within a single tradition of ideological discourse: liberalism. Strictly speaking, American conservatives and liberals are both liberals - estranged members of the same ideological family. Conservatives champion a position known as classical liberalism while liberals support a more recent variant often described as welfare liberalism.¹ For all of their substantial differences, they remain bound to a set of commonly accepted moral and political axioms (Susser, p. 9).

Within liberalism's "set of commonly accepted moral and political axioms" are elements that should particularly concern oppressed populations. Among these worries are the principles of inequality and immobility of income and wealth and the belief that economic deprivation is a necessary stimulant for economic growth and development. Present-day liberals never seriously seek to deconstruct the national economic reality in which a minuscule segment of America's population controls a disproportionately large share of the nation's income and wealth. This discrepancy has remained relatively constant over time. In 1962, a landmark study by Gabriel Kolko concluded that the top 10% of America's population received an economic amount equal to (or at times exceeding) the share received by the bottom 50% through nearly the first two thirds of the 20th century. More than a half century later, this trend continues and more recent reports suggest that changes in this pattern are unlikely to occur in the foreseeable future.

To exacerbate the problem of economic marginalization, liberalism espouses the view that economic deprivation is an acceptable American reality. In arguing for the preeminence of individualism, liberals purport that "government's primary responsibility is to create and safeguard conditions under which individual fulfillment can be pursued" (Barker, Jones, and Tate, 1999, p.57). It logically follows that in a supposedly individual-friendly, equal opportunity environment, equal outcomes are achieved if equal effort is given. If individuals do not work hard enough, they suffer. If they suffer enough, they will perform at a more competitive and productive level. If a person is not successful within the system, his/her failure is considered an individualistic flaw, not a systemic one. Thus, "liberal philosophy (especially the classical variant) condones drastic income inequality but depicts poverty and deprivation as the result of individual or group failure" (Barker, Jones, and Tate, 1999, p. 58).

Contesting this stance is the belief from the true left that the reality of permanent hegemony and how it impacts marginalized people can be evaluated from a perspective that calls the system, not individuals, into question. For instance, there is no shortage of disturbing discrepancies between blacks and whites in America. National statistics reveal black American males are five times more likely to serve time in jail or prison than white men are. While black men make up 5% to 6% of the country's population, they represent almost half of its jail and prison population. The income of the average black family has never been more than 60% of what white families earn. Currently, whites' per capita wealth holdings averages five times that of blacks.

There is also a staggering 4 to 1 discrepancy between mean wealth holdings among whites and blacks. Even though the poverty rate for blacks since the beginning of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" has actually declined, over a quarter of black Americans continue to live below the poverty line. More than one-third of black children live in poverty. These are the highest rates of any single racial group in the country - including legally immigrated Hispanics. The black rate of poverty continues to be more than three times that of whites. The consistence, persistence, and occasional augmentation of gaps such as these would seem to indicate that there might be something more amiss than a lack of individual effort on the part of African American citizens.

PAS and the Training of Leaders

To combat the myriad troubles noted above, PAS and units like it are central in the ongoing efforts of black Americans and their allies to build a cadre of leaders to combat hegemony. Across leadership communities, from education to religion to politics to media and entertainment; from Charles Hamilton Houston to Martin Luther King, Jr. to Shirley Chisholm to Barack Obama, most modern black leaders usually have at least one thing in common - they are educated and, therefore, members of what Du Bois labeled the Talented Tenth. Du Bois presented a number of perspectives on this group of black educated elites. They were both the source of great hope and deep-seated frustration for him. Even today, opinions on the Talented Tenth's place in the black freedom struggle vary, but few evaluators of the subject disagree that education plays an important role in the shaping of minds and their approaches to racial uplift. Therefore, Black Studies continuously re-evaluates and challenges the dominant educational paradigm in use at American post-secondary institutions. What Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1970) called the *banking education* model must be at the heart of our concerns when we consider the socio-political orientation of all students matriculating through the American educational system.

Freire opines that the banking model is an institutional tool that necessarily hampers emancipatory thought among disenfranchised groups because of its purely narrational character. While some form of narration is usually present in identity formation, in many cases this narration may be oppressive instead of generative. Freire believed that the banking model uses narration as a socializing agent that does not engender, but combats critical consciousness²:

Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. . . Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat . . . It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result in their intervention in the world as transformers of the world (Freire, 1970, p.58-59).

Through such a process, “the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” (Freire, 1970, p.58). The key concern with the banking model is that stances on what is legitimate or emancipatory knowledge are largely subjective. Through decisions on which knowledge is acceptable, desirable, and respected, teachers (as the guardians and pawns) of educational structures regulate how the world enters into students as well as how students enter into the world.

Logically, dominant group educational structures are not overly concerned with empowering the dominated. Consequently, in our examination of current realities influencing the formation of a modern liberatory vanguard, the generative and degenerative results of the banking model need scrutiny. Ultimately, our endeavor is to use the banking model as the nexus from which to partner the historical evolution of Du Bois' concept of the Talented Tenth with Freire's idea of *liberatory education* and the augmentation of Pan-African Studies. All of these elements create a powerful combination that encourages learners to challenge and change the world, not merely adapt to it.

Revisiting Du Bois' Talented Tenth

Contrary to popular belief, W.E.B. Du Bois did not coin the phrase "Talented Tenth," but popularized it in his essay of the same name that first appeared in a volume edited, ironically, by Booker T. Washington entitled *The Negro Problem* in 1903.³ In this essay Du Bois theorized, "The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men" (Storing, 1970, p.102). He strongly believed these "exceptional men" would necessarily rise from the ranks of the educated and their duty was to bring out the best in the race by guiding the "Mass [of Negroes] away from the contamination and death of the Worst, in their own and other races" (Storing, 1970, p.102). Du Bois contended that education was essential in not only producing educated people, but also ones with a clear mission concerning the race. He commented:

Now the training of men is a difficult task. Its technique is a matter for educational experts, but its object is for the vision of seers. If we make money the object of man-training, we shall develop money-makers but not necessarily men; if we make technical skill the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of schools - intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it - this is the curriculum of Higher Education which must underlie true life (Storing, 1970, p. 102).

It is important to note that Du Bois was not simply speaking of the ascent to adulthood when he spoke of making "manhood the object of the work of schools." Contrarily, the point of his argument is that the main goal of education should be the cultivation of socio-political maturity in students so that they would be better able to aid in the forward movement of black people. The mission of higher education, therefore, was to produce a cadre of black activist-intellectuals whose primary goal was the creation of an egalitarian society. An essential step in creating such a world would be the destruction of the perception of blacks as either sub-human or super-human (depending on the circumstances), but simply human.

Theoretically, the realization of such humanization should ultimately shift the foci of most questions concerning race and other associated cleavages to broader, collective human concerns. No individual effort (educational, economic, psychological, social, political, etc.) is singularly more important than others in this humanization project, but collectively all of them contribute to the noble and needed objective of human liberation. Pan-African Studies has always been a part of this process.

For Du Bois, the impact of the Talented Tenth on the black humanization project would be essential and necessarily twofold: internal to and external to the race. Internal to the race, the Talented Tenth would present hope and guidance for the supposedly directionless masses. Evaluations of the Talented Tenth doctrine in its original form that characterize it as elitist are indisputable. There is no avoiding this fact when Du Bois' own words are recalled, "Can the masses of the Negro people be in any possible way more quickly raised than by the effort and example of this aristocracy of talent and character? Was there ever a nation on God's fair earth civilized from the bottom upward? Never; it is, ever was and ever will be from the top downward that culture filters" (Storing, 1970, p.102). Despite the clear highbrow nature of this passage, history supports Du Bois' stance that liberatory thought flowing from the top downward rather than vice-versa is more realistic than the contention that a collective psychological revolution among the oppressed masses will somehow autonomously manifest itself.

For those who do not regard elites as naturally villainous, the idea of the Talented Tenth is not inherently destructive. Antithetically, it may very well be mandatory for group progress. Approaches that place ultimate faith in the appearance of a collective revolutionary consciousness have not proven realistic or reliable. The histories of most societies illustrate that massification produces people who are just as (or even more) prone to become delinquents, cynics, or nihilists as they are to become revolutionary thinkers and agents. Praxis, therefore, is not spontaneous, but born of intellectual observation and understanding of the complexities involved in socio-political marginalization and subsequent planning and action to overcome it. Unfortunate for critics who demonize Talented Tenth theory, such engagement and action is usually not brought to fruition by undirected masses.

Talented Tenth theory is certainly not without its critics. Nor has it been well understood even by its supporters. Joy James' *Transcending the Talented Tenth* (1996) is an important study because it calls latter 20th century interpretations of Du Bois' Talented Tenth into question. James submits that commentaries on the Talented Tenth that do not take Du Bois' later evaluations of the concept into account are shortsighted and not truly Du Boisian. This is so, according to James, because the older, "Marxist" Du Bois rejected much of what he asserted at the turn of the century concerning an educated black elite trained to lead the race in social, political, and cultural struggle.

She criticizes diverse groups and individuals ranging from the Black Panthers to Cornel West and Henry Louis Gates as black elites who, in one way or another, fail or refuse to recognize and acknowledge Du Bois' shift. James feels such ideologies are the result of selfish "vanguard elitism." She believes this elitism is central to the hampering of any effort to truly democratize intellectual ability and herald the coming of a viable sense of agency among the masses in the black community.

James notes that Talented Tenth theory in its original form was unquestionably elitist, but believes Du Bois began to "inch toward democratic reform" and away from this black elitism in his autobiography *Dusk of Dawn*. She acquiesces, however, that even as he made this shift, he continued to identify "black elites as natural leadership" (1940, p.23). James then argues that Du Bois later deconstructed the Talented Tenth in his 1948 speech, "The Talented Tenth: Memorial Address." It could also be argued, however, that Du Bois did not bury Talented Tenth theory, but resurrected and reinforced it by laying out an agenda for a group of black elites he dubbed the "Guiding Hundredth" (Levering Lewis, 1995). This progression of reducing the "Tenth" to a "Hundredth" makes perfect sense when we realize that Du Bois made these modifications as he spoke to his fraternity brothers of Sigma Pi Phi (also known as the Boule), an organization so elitist that Du Bois' simple membership in it serves as a testament to his continued bourgeois inclinations. Paradoxically, such was the company Du Bois kept - an organization of men that celebrated materialism and elitism, even though many contend that by this time he had become a Marxist.

Whether or not Du Bois continued to champion the idea of the Talented Tenth, we must face a disturbing reality concerning blacks and post-secondary education that continues to this day. If we concede (as Du Bois did) that college educated blacks are the true members of this vanguard group, then they continue to make up a small percentage of black America's population. No generation of blacks in America has graduated more than 20% from college. Even if one does not adhere to the notion of the Talented Tenth this is an important statistic, because research has consistently yielded strong correlations between education and financial and socio-political advancement for individuals as well as groups.

Be it a positive or negative reality of our society, college education has a definite impact on the life chances of most American citizens. An argument can certainly be made that Du Bois recognized a serious error in his original framework without totally abandoning the notion of the necessity of black elite leadership. He commented in *Dusk of Dawn*, "The power of this aristocracy of talent was to lie in its knowledge and character and not in its wealth. The problem which I did not then attack was that of leadership and authority within the group, which by implication left controls to wealth - a contingency of which I never dreamed" (Du Bois, 1940, p.217).

It becomes clear from the above passage that one of Du Bois' major initial mistakes was his failure to consider inescapable American socialization and its impact on the Talented Tenth. Of course, he eventually realized that without counters to the individualism that permeates American society, the Talented Tenth would necessarily be ineffective and misguided for it would be plagued with the selfishness and folly of materialism. Since 1973, PAS has provided such a counterweight.

Just as Fisk centered Du Bois as an undergraduate, PAS and our sister departments around the country also have long histories of educating and empowering our students. In answer to our questions at the outset – this is what Pan-African Studies *does*. Ideally, we not only seek to train organic intellectuals on and off campus, but also to highlight and destroy the “selfishness” of educated elites that so frustrated Du Bois. As the years have progressed, our reach has extended well beyond the Talented Tenth beyond lines of race. To be sure, a good number of non-black students and scholars have joined in the fight to destroy permanent hegemonic systems – be they social, political, or educational. Our individual and departmental efforts to cultivate the best attributes and destroy the worst (in our students, ourselves, our cities, and our country) are ongoing and constantly developing.

PAS and the Challenges of the 21st Century

As we move toward the University of Louisville's Pan-African Studies Department's Golden Anniversary, we believe we've put certain things in place that deserve consideration and replication as Black Studies continues its necessary expansion. First of all, fidelity to the core philosophy of hegemonic contestation upon which the discipline rests is needed just as much as it has ever been. Hopefully, that point has been emphasized enough.

Secondly, beyond philosophy, the issues of departmental status and construction deserve attention. Since its inception, PAS has held departmental status. Whenever possible, programs should petition for departmental status at their universities. It is very important that they have the ability to hire, grant tenure, create curricula, and control budgets. While having a department is not mandatory, it is definitely desirable. If departmental status is achieved, the question of how a unit is populated is of great importance. Though it rightfully claims to be a multidisciplinary endeavor, some Black Studies departments are not built as such. We often find units predominantly employing historians and literature scholars. Make no mistake, these are very important concentrations, but Black Studies of the 21st Century must be so much more.

Unlike many of its predecessors and contemporaries, PAS has always been constructed in a truly multidisciplinary way. Currently, the Department houses scholars specializing in: African American History, Continental African History, Anthropology, Sociology, Gender and Sexuality, Caribbean Culture, Aging and Race, Art History, Linguistics, Literature, Ethnomusicology, Political Science, Education, Law, and Social Work. This flexibility allows PAS to effectively cover a wide range of subject matter with a great deal of expertise. We are always amenable to changing position descriptions as the world's socio-political landscape shifts.

It is also important that departments work diligently to institutionalize their course offerings. Over a decade ago, PAS was successful in joining with other advocates in creating a "cultural diversity" requirement for every student attending the University of Louisville. This requirement not only helped PAS, but also ensured that students would benefit from similar departmental and programmatic course offerings. To ensure the centrality of the University's commitment to diversity and the creation of well-rounded graduates, a good number of courses of this type were integrated into the general education curriculum. Without such initiatives, courses offered by Ethnic and Area Studies departments are often left on a veritable island. Once students are required to take courses, however, they often take more than are mandated because they find that the product is of high quality.

Finally, as federal and state governments subsidize colleges and universities less and less, departments must become increasingly innovative to ensure their financial sustainability. For PAS, this extends beyond the increasingly encountered push for individual faculty to secure grants. In 2004, the Department began an aggressive distance education initiative that shared tuition revenue with the University dependent upon student registration numbers. Distance education has been a rousing success for PAS on multiple fronts. One, because we have a quality brand, we are able to raise unprecedented amounts of discretionary departmental revenue. This enables us to offer scholarships, hire staff, increase faculty development and travel budgets, fund graduate students, and upgrade technology and facilities as never before. The gains of distance education are not only financial. Recent leaps in technology now give us the ability to teach students from Louisville to Lebanon. In effect, we are able to have a global reach. This presents unprecedented and exciting possibilities for the discipline.

In conclusion, Pan-African Studies at the University of Louisville has a rich history and stimulating future. It has been and continues to be in the vanguard of creating and disseminating new and innovative paradigmatic possibilities that stand greater chances of bringing something more beautiful and just into the world. In our efforts, we consistently engage and seek to balance many factors that face African-descended people: individual cultural debauchery against systemic oppression; the criminality of our youth against the criminalization of our people; the prophetic voices of our holy men against the hubris and nasty exploitation of many of the same; praise of the success of our middle class against oft-encountered vulgar careerism and disdain toward the less fortunate; necessary activism against people who profit from the pain of others. PAS is still "standing in the gap" and provides such balance better than anyone – and our best days are still ahead!

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Endnotes

¹ Classical liberalism advocates minimal government, absolute property rights, and laissez-faire economics. Welfare liberalism holds the view that only through government intervention in the marketplace can the initial aims of liberalism be preserved.

² In this context, critical consciousness speaks to the ability of an agent to engage in rational evaluation (critical thinking) and action after reflection (praxis). Critical thinking must be emphasized, because uncritical thinking does not have the same liberating potential. Consequently, even if a non-thinker acts he/she is not engaged in praxis, because without reflection his/her actions are not truly self-determined, but dictated from without. Finally, critical thinking without eventually engaging reality through acting to change it is also not liberating.

³ The phrase was actually created by white liberal Henry Lyman Morehouse for whom Morehouse College is named. Morehouse was the executive secretary of the American Home Missionary Society. It is believed Morehouse deployed the "Talented Tenth" phrase in 1896 largely in response to the educational ideologies of Booker T. Washington and his Atlanta Exposition Address delivered the previous year. Morehouse College was renamed in honor of Henry Morehouse during John Hope's tenure as the college's president (1906-1930). Hope also openly opposed what he saw as Washington's over-emphasis on vocational and agricultural education.