

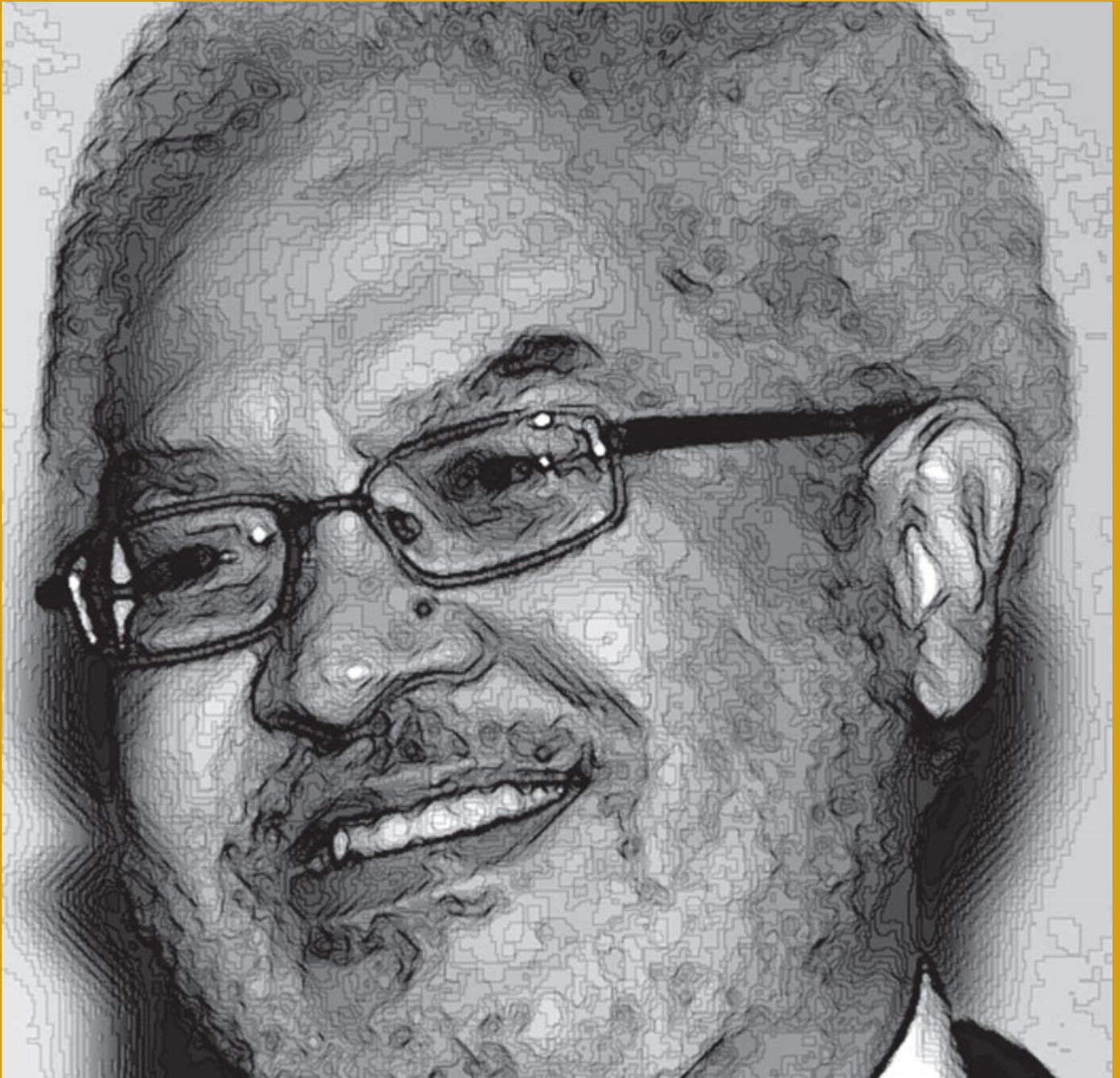
BUNCHE

Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA

REVIEW

Volume 8

2008-2009



Manning Marable's 2009 Thurgood Marshall Lecture and more . . .

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

The UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies (now the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA) was founded in 1969 and is celebrating its 40th anniversary during the academic year, 2009-2010.

The original proposal to create the Center noted that “[d]espite the obvious importance of Afro-Americans...neither the public at large nor scholars know very much about the precise role of Afro-Americans in American life, past and present...This situation has encouraged among white Americans the growth and spreading of ideas and attitudes that are not only incorrect but destructive to the most important, admirable values Americans affirm. At the same time, ignorance on the part of black Americans about the history and culture of their race in America has left them sadly vulnerable to the corrosive effects of American racism and has reduced their ability to understand and control the forces and attitudes presently shaping their lives.”

Forty years later, unfortunately, these words still ring true. Despite the fact that America elected its first black president last year, much work remains to be done in the arena of racial equality. The mass of black Americans continue to lag behind their non-black counterparts on nearly every measure of socioeconomic status, prestige, and wellbeing.

The Bunche Center, throughout its forty-year history, has contributed mightily to our understanding of this reality, to the unique and vexing challenges confronting blacks in America and throughout the diaspora:

***Research** — Since its founding in 1969, the Bunche Center has funded more than 350 students and scholars conducting research into the experiences of blacks in America and beyond. The Center has also organized dozens of research projects of particular significance for black communities, such as the Cultural Studies in the African Diaspora Project, the College Access Project for African Americans, and the Black Los Angeles Project.

***Publications** — Bunche Center-generated grants, Center staff and faculty, and the Center’s CAAS publications have contributed over the years to hundreds of journal articles, books, monographs, and research reports on issues of significance to black communities. Its newest sponsored publication, *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*, is forthcoming from New York University Press (May 2010).

***Library and Media Center** — The Bunche Center’s Library and Media Center (LMC) is one of the largest libraries West of the Mississippi focusing on African American issues. Open to the public, the LMC features more than 8000 volumes, journals, CDs, DVDs, cassette tapes, photographs, newspapers, and vertical files on a wide array of topics related to African American history, experiences, and culture.

***Public Lectures/Conferences/Teach-Ins** — Since its founding, the Bunche Center has sponsored more than 400 major public events focused on research of significance to black communities.

***Public Intellectuals, Artists and Black Leaders** — Since its founding, the Bunche Center has brought hundreds of renowned public intellectuals, artists and black leaders to UCLA and to Los Angeles. Among the most notable (in alphabetical order): Chinua Achebe; Maya Angelou; James Baldwin; Amiri Baraka; Claude Brown; Mary Frances Berry; Harry Belafonte; Derrick Bell; Julian Bond; Elaine Brown; Octavia Butler; Stokeley Carmichael; Johnnie Cochran, Jr.; Angela Davis; St. Clair Drake; Louis Farrakhan; Henry Louis Gates; Lani Guinier; A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.; bell hooks; C.L.R. James; Maulana Karenga; Rev. James Lawson; Audre Lourde; Manning Marable; Constance Baker Motley; Nell Irvin Painter; Deval Patrick; Marlon Riggs; Randall Robinson; Gil Scott-Heron; Anna Deveare Smith; Ivan Van Sertima; Cornel West; Roger Wilkins; Juan Williams; William Julius Wilson; and Andrew Young.

Chancellor Gene Block has established academic year 2009-2010 as “Celebrating 40 Years of Ethnic Studies at UCLA.” Please join us as we commemorate the Center’s 40-year legacy and look ahead to the challenges and opportunities of the next 40.

Darnell M. Hunt
Director

SUMMER HUMANITIES INSTITUTE 2009

The Summer Humanities Institute (SHI) provides intense training in humanities scholarship to students primarily from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Generously funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the SHI is designed to prepare the participants for academic work at the graduate level. This year we welcomed ten undergraduates from the following schools:

Clark Atlanta University
Fisk University
Hampton University
Howard University
Morehouse College
Paine College
North Carolina Central University
Spelman College

Past participants have continued their education at universities such as UCLA, Carnegie Mellon, Indiana University, and Georgetown University.

SHI Participant Comments:

“All of the mentors were very helpful and very open to meeting with us. The seminars were excellent”.

— Melanie Chambliss

“I absolutely enjoyed the seminars. The interdisciplinary approach is great. Dr. Moore was a phenomenal mentor who truly helped me advance in my research.”

— Tatiana Benjamin

The Leimert Park field course was a “Wonderful experience for interactive learning”. — Eric Stephens



DEGREE PROGRAMS IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

Dr. Brenda Stevenson (History) continued as Chair of the IDP.

Graduate Program

The current two-year MA Program in Afro-American Studies continues to attract a wide range of top young graduate-level scholars who wish to ground themselves in key theoretical issues regarding African Americans and the Diaspora. Several of the most recent graduating cohort have gone on to PhD programs, and others have plans to do so. There is also an MA/JD Program in which students spend one year in the Interdepartmental M.A. Program and three years in the UCLA Law School.

Departmentalization Proposal

In order for the Afro-American Studies IDP to grow and develop, the IDP Committee has begun to prepare a proposal to the university for departmentalization.

As a department, Afro-American Studies will continue to draw on the strengths of core Afro-American Studies and Bunche Center professors, as well as affiliated faculty in other departments. Afro-American Studies faculty continue to be committed to developing students' critical thinking skills to allow scholars to analyze African American issues and situate them within the matrix of global concerns.

Program Administration

In order to facilitate the admissions process, Chair Dr. Brenda Stevenson maintains an IDP Admissions and Awards Committee, composed of affiliated faculty. The committee discusses and votes on key issues regarding potential graduate students and assists in making recommendations for admissions and awards to the Graduate Division. To support students preparing for

graduate school and other professional endeavors, the IDP encourages both undergraduates and graduates to present conference papers of the research they have undertaken while at UCLA.

The IDP hopes that donors will come forward to provide funding for these undertakings and other programmatic endeavors.

For more information, please contact Dr. Lisbeth Gant-Britton at 310.825.3776, lbritton@bunche.ucla.edu, web: www.afro-am.ucla.edu.

RESEARCH

Established as an organized research unit (ORU) in 1969, the Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA has a primary commitment to undertake and sponsor research that enhances our understanding of the history, lifestyles, material conditions, and sociocultural systems of women and men of African descent in the Americas, and in the Diaspora.

Primary Research

Studying Community Action

CAPAA researchers completed an ethnographic study that sought to gain a comprehensive understanding of the purpose and functions of the political organization, the Alliance for Equal Opportunity in Education (AEOE). The AEOE is a multi-organization collaborative comprised of national, state and local African American organizations. Member groups include the NAACP, the Los Angeles Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Los Angeles, the African American Collaborative, the Brotherhood Crusade, local churches, the UCLA Black Alumni Association, and the UCLA African Student Union. This Los Angeles-based organization was formed in response to the staggeringly low numbers of African American students accepted and enrolling in the freshman class at UCLA in June of 2006. The mission of the AEOE is to provide educational opportunity and access to higher education to underrepresented students through activism, advocacy, and legal efforts.

Through observations gathered from attending AEOE meetings, and hour-long, in-depth interviews with AEOE members, this study investigated how and why the organization was founded, how it functions, its challenges and accomplishments, its membership's commitment, and its future. Most importantly, this study's findings revealed a model of effective community collaboration that may be used in other cities across the country. The findings will be released in a chapter of the *Black Los Angeles* book in spring 2010.

Black Los Angeles Project

Black life in Los Angeles has been understudied relative to other important African American urban areas around the nation. Yet Los Angeles has been and remains an essential reservoir of black activity whose input on broader cultural, political and social developments is insufficiently understood. The Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies at UCLA aims to correct this oversight. The Center has been engaged in a multi-year research initiative, The Black Los Angeles Project, a monumental and historic undertaking that explores the historical and contemporary contours of L.A.'s black community by bringing together the work of scholars from across Southern California.

The culmination of this groundbreaking research will be the book, *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*. Radically multi-disciplinary in approach and comprehensive in scope, the 16-chapter volume will rely on detailed case studies of black life in Los Angeles in order to connect the dots between the city's racial past, present, and future. Each of its case study chapters, in its own way, connects with five central themes that focus the volume: communities and neighborhoods; political participation; religious life; cultural production; and social justice. Historical and contemporary anecdotes employ oral histories, maps, photographic images, demographic data, and other statistics in order to stitch contributors' chapters together into a coherent and compelling narrative about the relationships between Los Angeles and being black in America. The volume will be published by NYU Press in early 2010.

Primary Research

The Center is working on various projects within the Black Los Angeles Project. In 2008-09, two projects are funded by the Center for Community Partnerships (CCP). Dr. Belinda Tucker is the PI for the first project titled "Examining the Needs of Adult Family and Close Ties of Incarcerated Persons in L.A. County," which is in partnership with Friends Outside in Los Angeles County and the UCLA Center for Culture and Health. It sets out to present a detailed description of the psychosocial impacts of incarceration on the adult family members and close friends of inmates in California, particularly in Los Angeles.

The second project is titled: "The Black Los Angeles Oral History Project: Black Politicians and How They Make Community," and is in partnership with the African American Museum and the UCLA Center for Oral History Research (COHR).

For more information on any of the research projects at the Bunche Center, visit www.bunchecenter.ucla.edu.

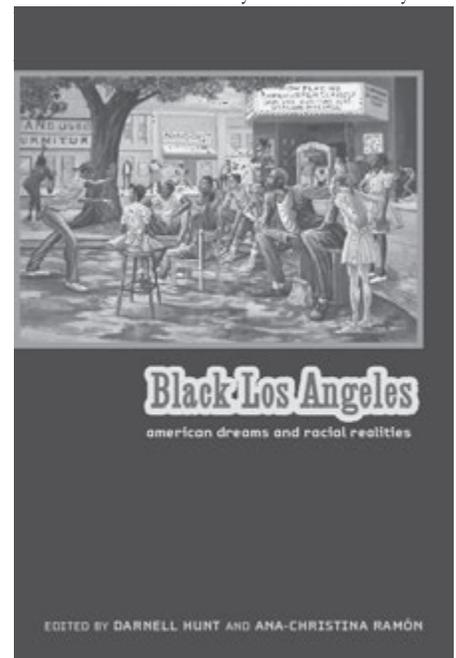
Funding Received

The Center received an archival grant for \$25,000 from the Haynes Foundation to digitize archival materials in the library media center.

The Center received a \$10,000 award from the California Program on Opportunity and Equity (CalPOE), the UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center and funds from the Willam and Flora Hewlett Foundation to conduct analysis on the Los Angeles County Social Survey (LACSS).

Forthcoming Publication

Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities, a multidisciplinary volume that explores the historical and contemporary contours of Los Angeles's black community, will be released in spring 2010 by NYU Press. The volume is a culmination of the Bunche Center's Black Los Angeles Project. It includes chapters by Bunche Center-affiliated faculty and is edited by



INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN CULTURES (IAC)

Each year the IAC, an administrative entity composed of UCLA's four ethnic studies centers, with oversight from the UCLA Graduate Division, sponsors a competitive fellowship and grant program to support research by faculty, visiting postdoctoral scholars, and graduate students.

This year the Center has awarded one post-doctoral fellowship, one pre-doctoral fellowship, and seven faculty/student research grants (including one interethnic grant).

Visiting Scholar:

Dr. Robert Singleton, is the Bunche Center's 2009-2010 IAC Visiting Scholar. Dr. Singleton was the Bunche Center's first director in 1969. He is a professor at Loyola Marymount University teaching Labor Economics, Urban Economics, Local Economic Development, and Regional Economics. Dr. Singleton proposed to study the efforts behind the founding of the Center for African American Studies at UCLA by conducting interviews of those involved and researching the UCLA Archives.

Predoctoral Fellowship:

Erica Morales, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology, will be the Bunche Center's 2009-2010 IAC Predoctoral Fellow. Ms. Morales' project, "Unpacking Blackness: How Black Undergraduate Students Define and Express Black Racial Identity," will examine how class and gender influence the ways black students at UCLA experience their race on campus.

IAC Research Grants:

Lorrie Frasure, Faculty, Political Science, "Multiracial Politics after Obama: Results from the Collaborative Multiracial Post Election Survey." Frasure will use data from the Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey to examine respondents' views about the impact of a deracialized campaign strategy in the context of the 2008 Presidential Election.

Negin Ghavami, Grad Student, Psychology, "Black Homophobia and White Racism: The Effects of Proposition 8." Ghavami examines how black gay men and lesbians fare with rejection from both the black community and the gay/lesbian community in light of the passage of California's Prop. 8.

Nataria Joseph, Grad Student, Psychology, "Stress and Sociocultural Resilience in African American Hurricane Katrina Survivors: Stress Exposure and Perceived Stress Endurance Beliefs as Predictors of Mood and Cortisol." Joseph seeks to determine which cultural and mainstream factors continue to protect African American Hurricane Katrina survivors from life stress-associated vulnerability to mental and physical health difficulties.

Mignon Moore, Faculty, Afro-American Studies/Sociology, "Social Histories of African American Lesbians and Gay Elders: A Two-City Study." Moore will collect oral history and video-recorded interviews for a pilot study for African American LGBT elders born in or before 1954 to examine how they understood and experienced a gay sexuality in the context of other group memberships based on race, gender, and class during the 1960s and 1970s liberation movements.

Chinyere Osuji, Grad Student, Sociology, "Marriage and Mistura: Black-White Interracial Marriage in Los Angeles and Rio de Janeiro." Osuji seeks to compare the experiences of black-white couples in Rio de Janeiro with those of black-white couples in Los Angeles.

Natasha Rivers, Grad Student, Geography, "An Evaluation of Historical and Contemporary Sub-Saharan African Migration to and within the United States." Rivers aims to highlight the diversity of black groups in the United States and also to address the immigration and community services needed for African Diaspora groups, both immigrant and native born.

Jesse Ruskin, Grad Student, Ethnomusicology, "Teaching Tradition, Marketing Culture: Educators, Entrepreneurs, and the Globalization of the Yoruba Talking Drum." Ruskin will focus on the educational and community-based work of Nigerian Yoruba "talking drummers" in two major American cities, Atlanta and San Francisco.

UC PRESIDENTIAL POSTDOC

Libby Lewis

Dr. Lewis' work as a television news anchor/reporter for CBS and NBC is what motivated her interest in television news. She gave a lecture that examined how notions of "Blackness" are circulated and resisted in the United States corporate television news media. She examined how dominant readings of raced, gendered, and sexualized subjectivities are exercised and struggled over in the knowledge production process of television news. Her research project attempted to better understand how relations of power and representations of "Blackness" operate in corporate newsroom culture. Dr. Lewis also examined television news and its professionalizing process; the ways in which "Blackness" is promoted through the lens of the dominant culture order and grid of intelligibility; how "Blackness" is placed spatially and geographically and how Black journalists negotiate race, gender, and sexuality differences in a hetero-normative newsroom culture.

Manning Marable's Lecture

...My talk this evening is titled, "Thurgood Marshall, Barack Obama, and the struggle for human rights." I believe that there is a long arc, a trajectory that brings together the contributions of Thurgood Marshall with the trajectory of hope and vision that Barack Obama represents. The fundamental impulse behind all of African American history and all Black American social movements throughout U.S. history has been the quest for freedom and for human rights.

Throughout much of the long nightmare lasting nearly 250 years, freedom had a clear and unambiguous meaning to those who were shackled together and branded together, living by the whips and chain; it meant reuniting Black families that had been divided and sold apart. Freedom and human rights meant the ownership of farms and private property by Black people; it meant the personal and collective feelings of safety and integrity that are guaranteed by state power and Constitutional rights.

Deeply embedded even within these notions of freedom, moreover, were two strategic concepts implying the collective action to maximize Black civic capacity. The strongest of these was the struggle for equality supported primarily but not solely by the African American middle class—the diverse social movement that championed the cause of all racial segregation laws, the granting of Blacks' voting rights, and the guarantee of civil liberties and the Constitutional rights guaranteed to all citizens.

A second tendency drawing upon greater working-class support can be described as the social movement for collective self-determination. Many African Americans perceived themselves as an oppressed nation or a national minority group with a distinctive history, culture, traditions, and a unique political history, and as such they had the right to determine for themselves what kinds of political arrangements should define Blacks' relationships to the U.S. nation-state. In everyday political terms, African American activists who favored this perspective since the 19th century generally called themselves, Black Nationalists.

Tactically, Black Nationalist oriented social movements have encouraged the development of Black-owned enterprises, the cultivation of a Black business class, the initiation of political,

cultural, and commercial contacts with Africa, the Caribbean, and other regions in the African Diaspora, and the construction of an African American centered cultural set of rituals, traditions, and identities that reinforce an oppositional politics to the U.S. nation-state.

From the vantage point of contemporary Black history, modern African American political history actually begins with two signature events that occurred roughly (50-55) years ago. The first of these events, which I will talk about in a few minutes, occurred on May 17, 1954, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of Topeka, Kansas. The *Brown* victory was the culmination of decades of legal and political efforts by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and other civil rights organizations.

Over 90 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, African Americans could demand of the federal government their constitutional rights of a quality education for their children without the barriers and material inequities of Jim Crow, the U.S. version of what South Africa called, Apartheid.

The second political event occurred in Montgomery, Alabama on the 1st of December 1955, when Rosa Parks, a respected seamstress, 43 years old and NAACP local activist, refused to relinquish her seat to a white man while riding on a segregated public bus. Local Black labor union organizer Edie Nixon outraged by Rosa Parks' arrest, urged the African American community in Montgomery to stage a 1 day boycott—it was only supposed to last one single day.

...The Women's Political Council, headed up by Joann Robinson, was largely responsible for the success of the boycott. ...Also a decision was made to select Dr. King as the leader of the boycott, a minister who was the youngest Black minister in the city and was the least influential in the city at the time....

An unusual number of talented and even extraordinary women and men emerged during the Black Freedom Movement in the 1950's and the 1960's. You can begin, of course, with Dr. King, but then you go immediately to Ralph Abernathy, Martin's closest friend and confidante, one of the favorites; the brilliant tactician Bayard Rustin; Medgar Evers, the leader of Mississippi's NAACP

branch organization, who was brutally assassinated in front of his home and family in June 1963; Septima Poinsette Clark who created the Citizenship Education Program, which taught thousands of poor and illiterate African Americans to read and to write and to register to vote; the courageous Ella Baker, veteran of Civil Rights organizations who inspired the creation of SNCC—the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in 1960; the legendary Fannie Lou Hamer, a former cotton field laborer who was co-founder of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, who challenged the racism of all-white delegation from Mississippi at the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City, on television....

There had been a long tradition of women and men who fought the fight for human rights and social justice, yet few stand as tall and few have had such a profound impact upon our history today than Thurgood Marshall, born on July 2, 1908, the younger of two sons of a poor man railroad car porter and a school teacher.... Both of his parents reinforced in him the expectation of achievement and self-confidence. His mother even pawned her wedding ring and other precious items to pay for her son's tuition to enroll in the University of Maryland Law School, but during the 1930's, he was immediately rejected solely on the basis of his race. Marshall decided, therefore, to attend Howard University Law School, where he quickly rose to the top of his class as an articulate, aggressive, and quarrelsome student.... In 1933, Marshall was awarded his law degree, his LLB, Magna Cum Laude.

One of the first actions as legal counsel of the NAACP chapter of Baltimore, which must have given Thurgood an immense amount of pleasure was to force the University of Maryland Law School to admit its first African American student in 1935.

During the Great Depression, Marshall developed a private practice in Baltimore by taking on the most difficult [and] demanding Civil Rights cases one after another.... He became Charles Hamilton Houston's chief lieutenant in the legal department of the NAACP and he was appointed Houston's successor in late 1938.

During the next 16 years, it was Marshall who was the field commander in the legal assault against Jim Crow segregation. These were glorious days in the fight for freedom, legal rights, and social justice, because in a series of brilliant legal maneuvers, Marshall successfully argued case after case before the Supreme Court. He won 29 out of 32 cases.... But, the most important legal victory, of course, occurred on the issue of racial segregation in public schools.

Challenging the influential Constitutional attorney John W. Davis, Marshall argued before the Supreme Court that racial segregation was a direct violation of African Americans' constitutional rights. By segregating the public schools, Marshall argued, "slavery is perpetuated;" the High Court agreed. On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled that racial segregation in public schools was indeed unconstitutional....

The *Brown v. Board* decision provided the legal rationale for the [insurgence] of Civil Rights activism in the 1950's and 60's, symbolized by the work of those who fought for Black freedom in many Civil Rights organizations, including the NAACP.... Marshall was not only a brilliant lawyer, he articulated a theory of the law that spoke to racial justice, and I regret deeply that at the end of his professional life, that he did not speak more because there are a number of speeches that he gave that are truly extraordinary....

In a speech from Thurgood he says, "Our government is based on the principle of equality of man, the individual, not the group. All of us can quote the principle, 'that all men are created equal.' Our basic document, the Constitution of the United States, guarantees equal protection of the laws to all of us. Many state constitutions have similar provisions. We even have a Bill of Rights in the constitution of Louisiana. These high sounding principles we preach and teach.

However, in the eyes of the world, we stand convicted of violating these principles day in and day out. Today, 177 years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence and 86 years after the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution we adopted...we have a society where in varying degrees throughout the country, especially [in] the south, Negroes are... segregated. We are ostracized, set apart from all other Americans; the discrimination

extends from cradle to grave, and I emphasize graveyard rather than the grave. Or, to put it more bluntly, in many areas of this country, a white paroled murderer would be welcomed in places which would at the same time exclude people such as Ralph Bunche, Marion Anderson, Jackie Robinson, and many others....

According to a recent statement by our State Department experts, nearly half of the recent Russian propaganda about America has been concentrated on race, linking Communist warfare charges with alleged racial brutality in this country. In addition, Americans returning from abroad consistently report having been questioned over and over again about race problems in this country. This concern about America's racial practices seems especially strong among the two-thirds of the world that is dark-skinned"....

This is the real Thurgood Marshall, challenging racial injustice, not nationally but transnationally and globally, raising the issue of equality under the law for all Americans and being an effective litigator in the courtroom, in the fight for freedom.

How has... the fight for human rights and social justice- changed since Thurgood Marshall?...

We are now confronted in the 21st century by what I call, "the Paradox of Integration." At no previous time in U.S. history has there been more influential and more powerful Black elected officials and government administrators serving the nation's capital.

Back in 1964, the year that the Civil Rights Act was signed, outlawing racial segregation in public accommodations, the total number of Blacks in Congress was five (5), the total number of African American mayors of U.S. cities was zero (0), the total number of Blacks who were elected officials throughout the entire U.S. was a paltry one hundred and four (104). This meant in practice that the voice of Black political leadership largely emanated from two sources, the African American Christian religious community, and secondly, Civil Rights organizations.

As a result, Black political leadership acquired a certain kind of character and an approach to tactics in their efforts to challenge Jim Crow segregation, but what they all had in common despite their differences tactically within Civil

Rights organizations, was a clear, unambiguous commitment to what the fight was about. Few of them entertained any illusions about trying to get elected to Congress. Their goal was the vigorous advocacy of what they perceived to be African Americans' collective interests, and to use the variety of means—nonviolent demonstrations, economic boycotts, lobbying Congress to pass legislation, etc. to pressure white leadership and institutions to make meaningful concessions to African Americans.

The passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the widespread exodus of white racist Dixiecrats into the Republican Party led to the rise of an African American electorate as the central component of the Democratic Party. The number of African American officials soared from 1,100 in 1970 to 3,600 by 1983. The Congressional Black Congress formed in 1971 to bring greater leverage within Congress for African American demands [and] increased the power of Black elected officials.

In March 1972, thousands of African Americans met in Gary, Indiana and formed the National Black Political Assembly with the explicit goal of constructing a comprehensive Black agenda of public policy issues that would guide the actions of newly elected officials across the country.... Some even anticipated the establishment of an all-Black independent political party where Blacks could exercise the greatest possible leverage within the American political system between these two white parties and institutions....

During the 1980's, political events triggered a fundamental transformation in the internal dynamics of Black leadership nationally and in the agendas that we pursued....Black politics was largely being redefined from new militant economic boycotts, street demonstrations, people going to jail, to people running for elective office. Increasingly by the late '80s and the early '90s, Black political activism was redefining itself as "electoralism," as running for office....

We need to rewrite the history of the Black Freedom Struggle between 1984 to about 2000, and what we find is that tens of thousands of veteran organizers who came through the anti-Apartheid movement, who worked with Herald Washington, who worked with the

Manning Marable cont'd

Rainbow Coalition, are women and men who ended up being field operators for Barack Obama in 2008, and that they learned their politics of grassroots not in 2008, but in the '80s and early '90s. And, that is my thesis and I think I am right.

By the mid-1990s, there were a whole host of grassroots community-based social movements. The best evidence of this is Barack Obama himself, who came out of those community struggles, and that's why he was able to defeat Hillary Clinton, because he did not operate like a "normal" politician; he operated like a community organizer.... Obama's approach to community organizing and political leadership drew upon an activist model of Civil Rights movements from a quarter century earlier. Veteran Civil Rights organizers such as Ella Baker, Medgar Evers, and Septima Clark, all characterized what they called the role of servant-leader. Servant-leaders are women and men who provide a kind of leadership that views itself as a facilitator rather than those who dictate political outcomes. The servant-leaders' task is to encourage intense group discussion and debate, fostering a sense of consensus and unity of action that could be employed in challenging institutions of power....

Now, without question, in 2007 and in 2008 Barack Obama's lieutenant ran a brilliant electoral campaign, wisely playing down the African American candidates' ethnic and racial identity, while linking him to the Democratic civil values best represented by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. What Obama's people recognized from day 1 is that the majority of white America at this moment in history, given its racial consciousness, would not elect a Black woman or man to the presidency. But it would elect an American who had a history and background of ethnicity of African descent if that was part of his background, but only part.

In other words, they weren't ready for Malcolm X or Marcus Garvey. But, a Barack Obama who could speak like other Americans, relate to their civil values, and was the smartest guy in the room when he walked in, could win the nomination and the presidency, but they would have to put their historic racism on hold....

The economic crisis of 2008 and 2009 created an unprecedented opening,

promoting an agenda for democratic renewal and the incorporation of marginalized and oppressed groups into the mainstream of American civil life. Obama won the presidency in part because tens of thousands of his volunteers and paid staff had learned over a 20 year period. Many of their formative political lessons both inside the social movement fighting for the election of Herald Washington [and] Jesse Jackson, opposing South African Apartheid, protesting police brutality cases like Amadou Diallo, defending the labor rights of the poor Black workers of the south, denouncing environmental racism. It was these campaigns that gave Barack Obama's campaign the overall activist quality and spontaneous character.

The yet unanswered question is whether the activist-militant base of Obamaism can be reconciled with the liberalism which Obama must cleave to in order to govern a coherent organized socialist left. There is no coherent left that exists today in the United States, in its national politics.... Therefore, Obama's public policy program by necessity must be to the right of what his core political constituency is, and that's his dilemma. Whether and how President Obama can balance these divergent forces will be a major test of his leadership over the next 3 1/2 years.

I conclude with a question: from the perspective of Black social movements, does the triumph of Barack Obama represent a kind of end to Black politics? I've had people say to me, "Well, Obama's victory means the end of racism." I said, "Oh, really? Have I left this country and gone someplace else?"

A leader of African descent having achieved state power has great symbolic meaning and it seems to indicate that there are now no fundamental barriers that exist to deny Black access to political power. But once again, we must return to the paradox of integration, which unfortunately is that millions of Americans of African descent remain stigmatized, oppressed, and excluded from unemployment [benefits], from quality health care, from educational opportunities, and from home ownership, relative to whites. These dire conditions combine with the continuing incidents of police brutality and mass incarceration of 2.3 million people in

prison as I speak this evening.

All these guarantee that spontaneous local protests, grassroots mobilization of people of African descent and Latinos will continue to erupt from the bottom up in this country, even under Barack Obama. As during the Great Society of the 1960s, if Obama's reforms are successfully implemented, and I believe they will be, the irony is [that] just like in the '60s that when you had the Great Society implemented, you had what? -More grassroots protests.

[The] same thing is going to happen in the next 5 years, the best reinforcement for people to feel that they have a sense of human dignity and possibility is to give them hope, give them resources, organize at the community-based level, give people jobs and dignity, stop putting them in prison. That's going to happen under Obama's administration and as it does, people will be willing to fight back for righteous causes and for justice. And, who knows, just like [i]n October 1966, the Black Panther Party of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, etc. was founded in an East Oakland anti-poverty office.

Do you understand the irony of this in an anti-poverty office? Just like in '66, the next Black Panther Party may be on the political horizon for our time as well. Thank you.



SPECIAL PROJECTS and EVENTS

Building Relationships, Taking Ownership, The Black Convocation, co-sponsored with the African Student Union, the Interdepartmental Program for Afro-American Studies, the UCLA Office of Student Affairs, the UCLA Black Alumni Association, the UCLA Black Staff and Faculty Association, the Black Graduation Student Association, the Community Programs Office, the James S. Coleman African Studies Center, and the Academic Advancement Program, October 2, 2008.

Screening of *Ballast*, co-sponsored with Melnitz Movies, October 14, 2008.

Roxanne Chisholm and Jeannette Chisholm Moore Endowed Scholarship

This scholarship was established in 2008 to honor the memory of Jeannette Chisholm Moore's daughter and provide support for students interested in African American Studies. Five incoming freshmen were awarded scholarship funding for the 2009-10 academic year.

Screening of *Eastsidiers: A Celebration*, co-sponsored with the UCLA Library's Center for Oral History Research, February 12, 2009.

Screening of *Leimert Park: The Story of a Village in South Central Los Angeles*, co-sponsored with Melnitz Movies, February 18, 2009.

Screening of *Black on Black*, co-sponsored with the UCLA Film and Television Archive's Research and Study Center, February 25, 2009.

Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City, Mary Pattillo, Professor of Sociology and African American Studies, Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, co-sponsored with the Race and Ethnicity Working Group and the Ethnography Working Group, March 16, 2009.

CIRCLE OF THOUGHT

Libby Lewis, Postdoctoral Fellow, Bunche Center, *The Monolithic Media Myth: Struggle Over Representations of "Blackness" in Television News*, May 14, 2009.

AUTHOR'S SERIES

Carlos Moore, February 2, 2009.

C.Z. Wilson, February 11, 2009.

Devon Carbado, February 26, 2009.

Staceyann Chin, April 23, 2009.

40th ANNIVERSARY

The Bunche Center will celebrate 40 years of service to the UCLA and Los Angeles communities during the 2009-10 year with various events and activities.

The Ethnic Studies Centers will have an exhibition at the Fowler Museum from February 28, 2010 to June 13, 2010.

John Densmore Scholarship

In 1991-92 John Densmore (former drummer for the musical group The Doors) established an endowment fund to support UCLA undergraduates who have demonstrated outstanding academic achievement, with preference given to Afro-American Studies majors. Tameka Norris was the award winner for this academic year.

Adderley Scholarship

This scholarship was established in 1976 to honor the memory of the renowned jazz musician Julian "Cannonball" Adderley. Awards are made on a competitive basis to undergraduate students specializing in Afro-American Studies, music, and related areas. Sabrina Woods was the recipient for the 2008-09 academic year. The Center continues to solicit corporate and private donations to replenish the fund.

UPDATES

Library & Media Center

The Ralph J. Bunche Center for African American Studies Library & Media Center (LMC) supports academic programs and research projects in African American Studies and provides specialized reference, collection and information services on diverse aspects of African American life, history and culture in the Diaspora. The Librarian is Dalena Hunter.

Fundraising & Development

Various donors contributed to the Director's discretionary fund during 2008-09.

The *College Drop In* program was funded by the James Irvine Foundation to expose L.A. high school students to African American Studies.

CAAS PUBLICATIONS

The CAAS Publications unit oversees the editing, production, marketing, and sales of texts relevant to the culture and history of people of African descent.

The publication *Resistance, Dignity, and Pride: African American Artists in Los Angeles* by Paul Von Blum is sold out. The publication *Black Folk Here and There* volume 1 and 2 is available in limited quantities.

Black Folk Here and There

\$10.00

Black Folk Here and There Boxed set

\$25.00

(price does not include shipping)

Check our Web site for order forms:
www.bunchecenter.ucla.edu

UCLA FACULTY

Faculty Awards

Cheryl Keyes, associate professor of ethnomusicology, is an award winner for a 2009 NAACP Image Award under the category of World Music for her debut CD *Let Me Take You There*. The CD is more than simply an homage to Quiet Storm aesthetics, although it may be that as well since Keyes is an accomplished historian of African American music. *Let Me Take You There* certainly succeeds as the touchstone for a number of strains in African American music broadly interpreted to take in the eclectic mix of hybrid styles that issue forth from the Black Atlantic. Keyes is the author of “Rap Music and Street Consciousness,” which received a CHOICE award for outstanding academic books in 2004. Her areas of specialty include African American music, gender, and popular music studies.

Professor Edmond J. Keller, Political Science, was the winner of the 2008 African Studies Association Distinguished Africanist Award.

Faculty News

Law Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw joined Dick Gregory, Alice Walker and Nobel Prize Laureate Jody Williams in speaking at the 2009 Inaugural Peace Ball, held Jan. 20 at the Smithsonian National Postal Museum to commemorate President Barack Obama’s inauguration and honor the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. Crenshaw spoke about the peace movement and the civil rights movement, describing the inspirational role that Martin Luther King Jr. played throughout. The Peace Ball also featured special performances by Joan Baez and other artists.

James Newton, professor of ethnomusicology, has been hired as a permanent faculty member, which will allow the Department of Ethnomusicology in the UCLA Herb Alpert School of Music to expand and strengthen core course offerings in jazz studies.

Philip Goff, who joined the UCLA faculty in July 2008, has been on leave as a Fellow at the Russell Sage Foundation in New York. Goff, an assistant professor of psychology, is the recipient of the 2008 Early Career Award from Division 48 of the American Psychological Association (Society for the Study of Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology Division). He was recognized at the January 2009 convention of the American Psychological Association in Toronto where he received a cash award and gave an address at the convention.

In Memorium

The Bunche Center mourned the passing of Dr. Mark Alleyne, Associate Professor of Communication at Georgia State University. Alleyne was the former Associate Director of Research for the Bunche Center. Professor Alleyne was coordinating a study abroad program on behalf of Georgia State University in Guatemala City, Guatemala, and his death was the result of unexpected complications from pneumonia, for which he had been hospitalized several days earlier.

Mark Alleyne was an accomplished scholar of international communication. Born in the Caribbean — he worked for Caribbean media and was a freelance broadcaster for the BBC World Service in London prior to entering the professorate — Alleyne earned his undergraduate degree in communication at Howard University. He was the first ever graduate of an American HBCU to be named a Rhodes Scholar, and subsequently earned Master’s (1988) and Doctor of Philosophy (1992) degrees at St. Antony’s College, Oxford University. After appointments at the University of Illinois and UCLA, he joined the faculty at Georgia State University in 2005.

Dr. Alleyne’s scholarship focused on the legacy of racism within the international system, and he sought in particular to better understand the anti-racism campaigns undertaken by the United Nations. In coordinating this work, Alleyne joined with scholars from across Central and South America and organized multinational projects with others similarly committed to undoing the centuries-old social and political consequences of racial discrimination.

Exhibition:

Art, Activism, Access

**40 YEARS OF ETHNIC
STUDIES AT UCLA**

*February 28, 2010 to
June 13, 2010*

Fowler Museum, UCLA

During the past year, the Bunche Center has generated substantial news interest. Outlets that have featured the Bunche Center include the following:

ADWEEK.com

Alberni Valley Times (British Columbia)

Calgary Herald (Alberta)

CBSnews.com

Hattiesburg American

KTLA Channel 5

Los Angeles Sentinel

Los Angeles Times

Maclean's Magazine

National Public Radio

UCLA Today

University Wire



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AA02



C.Z. Wilson, Author's Series, 2/11/09



Denise Nicholas, Author's Series, 2/19/09



Devon Carbado, Author's Series, 2/26/09

Bunche Review, Vol. 8 (edited by Darnell Hunt, Ana-Christina Ramon & Jan Freeman)

Darnell Hunt, Director; Ana-Christina Ramon, Assistant Director, Research; Jan Freeman, Management Services Officer; Veronica Benson, Financial Officer; Elmer Almer, Accounting Assistant; Yolanda Jones, Front Office Coordinator; Alex Tucker, Special Projects & Community Outreach Coordinator; Ulli K. Ryder, Senior Editor, CAAS Publications; Dawn Jefferson, Grants Editor; Yeng Vang, Tech Support; Lisbeth Gant-Britton, Student Affairs Officer; and Dalena Hunter, Librarian.