Blackness, Empire and migration: How Black Studies transforms the curriculum

Student led campaigns, such as ‘#Why is My Curriculum White?’ and ‘Rhodes Must Fall’ emerged because of the Eurocentric nature of university knowledge. There is a now a widespread movement to ‘decolonise’ education and bring onto curricula a wider set of theories, voices and ideas (Arday and Mirza 2018; Rhodes Must Fall 2018). However, as the movement gathers momentum we must be careful to not simply add some token diversity and not fundamentally transform the university knowledge base. Adding a few more diverse authors to reading lists, or offering optional modules in subjects mostly neglected is not action enough. Oxford University announcing that its history students will be required to take one exam in non-European history is exactly the kind of ‘difference that makes no difference’ (Hall 1993, 361). Decolonising the curriculum means using non-Eurocentric perspectives to transform the core categories of knowledge.

 We have been spearheading the development of Black Studies in Britain because the discipline calls for the necessary re-examination of our basic assumptions. Rather than studying race or ethnicity as an addendum and through Eurocentric theory, Black Studies centres the concept of Blackness in order to transform our conceptual frameworks (Andrews 2018). Black Studies aims to be the ‘science of liberation’, designing the conceptual tools and methodologies for social change (Staples 1973, 168). Central to this notion is that the Eurocentric framework of knowledge is a part of the ‘masters tools’, fashioned to perpetuate the unequal status quo (Lorde 1984, 110).

 This paper will explore the transformative nature of Blackness and its rejection of European notions of race. We will also examine how Blackness necessitates moving beyond the limiting framework of the nation state, providing a different set conceptual tools for understanding key contemporary issues such as migration. In doing so the paper will argue that by drawing on the work of those engaged in the battle for liberation, like Claudia Jones and Malcolm X, Black Studies presents a counter hegemonic and liberatory knowledge basis for education.

*Black Studies*

Black Studies is a new academic discipline in Europe. There were attempts to introduce Black Studies at the University of Kent in the 70s, and there have been courses on African history and Black Studies ideas brought into the university by Black scholars. But in terms of developing a full Black Studies degree, with a cohort of staff who research in the area, the work at Birmingham City University is pioneering. In some sense disciplines like African Studies and Caribbean Studies are the closest subjects related to Black Studies but in others they are the most distant and explain the need for new theoretical paradigms.

 Both African and Caribbean Studies are rooted in colonial histories. European universities wanted to understand colonial subjects and sent in researchers to capture the native’s realities. The aim in both is to study Black people, and historically this was from a Eurocentric body of knowledge and analysis. Both disciplines have opened up to more critical post-colonial work, and Black scholars. But the central aims remain to study Black people, and whilst this is an important component of Black Studies it is not what distinguishes Black Studies as a discipline.

 Black Studies emerged in the late 1960s in the United States, when Black students demanded a curriculum that challenged Eurocentric knowledge (Biondi 2012). The movement was also part of a wider movement for de-colonial knowledge, which demanded the creation of ethnic and Chicano studies (Pulido 2006). One of the first Black Studies course was founded at San Francisco State College in 1969, after a five month long strike that included students and faculty, who were organising for a range of ethnic studies to be incorporated into campus. Nathan Hare (1972) called the emergence of Black Studies a ‘battle’, which is apt given that students at Cornell University felt the need to arm themselves in defence of threats by the KKK after they occupied Willard Straight Hall (Downs 1999). Black Studies only emerged because of student and community mobilisations and was rooted in the Black liberation struggle of the time. This politics is absolutely indispensable in the transformative nature of the discipline.

 Hare outlined the key principles that underline the intellectual work that is being done in Black Studies in BCU,

Black education must be education for liberation, or at least for change… All courses - whether history, literature, or mathematics - would be taught from a revolutionary ideology or perspective. Black education would become the instrument for change…crucial to Black studies, Black education, aside from its ideology of liberation, would be the community component of its methodology. This was designed to wed Black communities, heretofore excluded, and the educational process, to transform the black community (Hare 1972, 33)

Rooting Black Studies in the wider communities of knowledge should transform the work that we do. Including Black communities into the process of education cannot be done in a tokenistic gesture and is not just about the curriculum. It means making meaningful links with communities of practice and placing the work in the university in the service of liberation. In Britain the long history of Black community education has been central to the work we are developing. For example, the Black supplementary school movement has been providing education in Black studies in Black communities for over fifty years (Andrews 2013; Dove 1993; Simon 2016). We have tried to bring the knowledge and pedagogy from such educational settings into the mainstream university. To do so means having to challenge some of the key assumptions upon which our academic practice is based (Staples 1973). One of the main ways to do this is by broadening what we mean by knowledge. Academia’s credibility is largely based on the notion that it is the academy which presents authoritative knowledge, marked out by its professionalism from popular ways of knowing (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991). At the basis of Black Studies is entirely the opposite position, that so called popular knowledge of activist figures who have attempted to change society is equal to, if not more important than, the attempts by academics to understand the world from the ivory tower. Therefore, the works of figures like Malcolm X and Claudia Jones (explored later) are foundational to the ontological and epistemological claims within the discipline. Going outside the confines of the academy for key definitions is essential, particularly because Blackness, or Black consciousness, is central to the discipline but anathema to most academic frameworks. Not much has changed since Essien Udom (1970) warned that:

The intelligentsia of the present have lost touch with [Black consciousness]. In their anxiety not to appear racist in their thinking they have repudiated all race conscious movement and organisations, but at the same time they find themselves, because of this repudiation, powerless to move the Negro masses

Underpinning Black Studies is the concept of Blackness, which is defined by embracing a connection to Africa and her Diaspora, and using the link as the basis of political solidarity (Andrews 2016). However, the concept of Blackness has been widely misunderstood in the academic literature by conflating Blackness with race; culture or; anti-racist strategies.

*Blackness*

Perhaps the most important step in decolonising knowledge is to separate Blackness from the Western construction of race. Whilst Europeans viewed difference in racial terms that were used to enslaved and colonise the globe, Blackness is a concept that derives in rejection of race and is not produced by it. Acknowledging the agency of those outside the West to create their own theoretical tools and understanding is an essential step to transforming knowledge.

 Race is clearly a problematic concept, with a brutal history. In order to procure the materials necessary for the industrial revolution, European powers colluded to imagine the ‘Negro’ as a sub-human beast who could toil on plantations in the America’s and the Caribbean (Robinson 1983). Racial hierarchy is best captured in Swedish Botanist Linnaues’ eighteenth century treatise on the species *Systame Natura,*

Eurpaues albus: ingenious, white, sanguine, governed by law, Americus rubescus; happy with his lot, liberty loving, tanned and irascible, governed by custom, Asiatic luridus; yellow, melancholy, governed by opinion, Afer Niger; crafty, lazy, black, governed by arbitrary will of the master (Niro 1995, 65)

The global hierarchy of white supremacy was used to justify genocide, slavery and colonialism. Racialising the globe into various levels of inferiority has been an essential part of the Western project (Winant 2001). Due to this history, hundreds of thousands of words have been spent by academics trying to retain the political link of Blackness but battling against the dogma of race (Andrews 2018). Scholars are terrified of replicating the essentialism of race, which reduces black people to a single, fixed and inferior essense. Authors like Gilroy (2002, 102) tie themselves in theoretical knots like offering blackness as an ‘anti-anti-essentialism’ in order to avoid reifying race. These debates have missed the point because they are rooted in the Eurocentric body of academic thought. Whilst race has been used, and exploited, as the primary definition of difference, it is by no means the only one. Blackness and race are two different and diametrically opposed concepts. Race is a top down, European construct, whilst Blackness is a concept from the grassroots, created in large part to dismantle Western racial hierarchy. To view Blackness as a production of race is to deny agency to forms of knowledge produced by black people.

In the reflex to reject race, Blackness has been inadequltely theorised as being a cultural expression. This has been done regressively in the cultural nationalism of groups who equate Blackness with some primordial and biological connection to an African past (Woodard 1999). Just as problematically Blackness has been reduced to the level of culture or representation. For instance, Gilroy (2002) talks about the cultural connections of the Black Atlantic, whilst Hall (1991) analysed how Blackness was used a cultural signifier in order to oppress Black communities. Both authors articulate the how these representations of Blackness are used to cement structural oppression but ultimately reduce the concept as one used to oppress or necessary as a form of cultural expression for Black communities (Andrews 2018). Wright (2004, 3) dismisses centuries of political organising around Blackness to argue that ‘political traditions serve only a limited use’ and that we need to understand the concept in relation to the literary fiction form the diversity of African and diasporic writers. When Blackness is defined solely in relation to cultural formations it becomes relative, subjective, the ‘difference that makes no difference’ (Hall 1993, 361).

In order to try and maintain a political grounding, whilst still avoiding the notion of race, a strategic essentialism of blackness to ‘make explicit the racist divide within society’ and unite ethnic minorities (Cole 1993, 671). ‘Political blackness’ is therefore defined as including those who experienced racism on the basis of skin colour and is strategic because it is only utilised as an identity to fight racism (Maylor 2009; Phoenix 1998; Sudbury 2001). There is a very real history of politically black organising but the problems within the concept are manifold, not least because it marginalises Asian and other minorities (Modood 1994). Elsewhere, I explore in depth the serious limitations of political blackness it is here enough to highlight the reactive nature of defining a group in relation to their oppressor (Andrews 2016). To define as ‘politically black’ is to construct our being on the principle of not being white. This is to normalise Whiteness and create an ontological position rooted firmly within the framework of dominant knowledge.

Blackness, in African ancestry has always been political and is related to race only related in the sense that the latter is a rejection of the former. When Africans were taken in chains onto slave ships, they were purposefully mixed with different tribes so they could no communicate; were stripped of their names to take away their identities; and brutalised into submitting to the inhuman system (Williams 1975). In response enslaved Africans embraced the one connection that could not be taken away, the shared colour, which represented their common link to the African continent. That connection was used a source of strength and resistance, maintaining cultural and political ties to each other and the continent (Andrews 2018a). Malcolm X (1971, 91) was drawing on this rich tradition when he declared in the 1960s that ‘there is a new type of Negro on the scene. This type doesn’t call himself a Negro. He calls *himself* a Black man’. The Negro was seen to represent the image of the racists, those who conformed to the framework of race. Blackness overturned this, called for a new view of society and a radical reshaping of society. Unlike race, this link of colour was not based on biology or even a cultural essense. Blackness connected those in the diaspora to each other politically and demanded only a commitment to the politics of liberation. By centering Blackness we engage in new forms of social analysis that offer transformative knowledge about the world.

The most fundamental reframing of knowledge that Black Studies offers is to demonstrate how race is so woven into the fabric of both the political economy and the knowledge that it produces. Linnaeus’ racial hierarchy is not just a biased representation of humanity, it is the foundation for which society is built. It is no coincidence that Africa is the poorest continent and there are varying levels of development in other regions, with the West being at the pinnacle of wealth, dominated by white majority countries. The West is built on and maintained by global racial inequalities and Black Studies does not allow us to reduce racism to the margins in how we understand the world. A good example of how Black Studies transforms how we understand basic concepts would be in its re-examination of the nation state.

*Empire, nationalism and migration*

Nation states are central not only in how the politics of governance are organised but also to academic analysis. Following from Martins (1974), Beck (2007, 286) argues that we have fallen into the trap of ‘methodological nationalism’, where we ‘equate society with nation-state, and see states and their governments as the cornerstones of analysis’. Nations are treated as objective entities that are the containers for social research. In this climate even to engage in global research is to do so on a national basis, often comparing the experiences between distinct nation states. This is one of the main ways in which racism is limited to a secondary explanation, as we compare the situation in different nations, as though the nation state has authority over the production of racism. The problem with methodological nationalism is that the nation state has never existed, let alone had the power that our analyses assume.

 Rather than being hallmarked by great nation states who did battle to advance social progress, the West is in reality a collection of empires (Walker 1999). Much is made of globalisation, and the decline of the power of nation states, but the global order is nothing new, after all ‘what is more global than a few European countries colonising almost all of Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas and organising them into a hierarchical world system?’ (Allen 2001, 470). Britain is the perfect example of the fallacy of nation state. In the eighteenth century when Britain was competing with France for control of slavery in the Caribbean, it was British ships that carried half of all those Africans who were enslaved on French colonies (James 1938). Even though the two nations were at war for most of this period there was a great deal of collusion to maintain the system of racial domination that underpinned the West.

Seeing beyond the limits of the nation state is vital and ontological in Black Studies, particularly in relation to Blackness. The all-encompassing ‘political blackness’ is founded upon anti-racist unity within a given nation state. But the embrace of Blackness is based on a Diasporic connection that cannot be contained by nation state boundaries. One of the key concepts to emerge from American scholarship in the sixties was the idea that the ‘Black ghetto’ was an ‘internal colony’ (Carmichael and Hamilton 1968, 26). The aim was to avoid becoming trapped in the methodological nationalism of race relations. As Malcolm X (1964) argued the civil rights struggle kept activists under the ‘jurisdiction of Uncle Sam’, and by analysing the situation of those in the West using the idea of colonisation drew concrete links across the global struggle. Blackness insists that we analyse the world from a fresh perspective. Using colonialism to understand racism in Britain has similar but also different dimensions, given history of Empire.

Internal colonialism is a reminder of the concrete connection of the colonies to the mother country. African Americans migrated from the slaveholding South to the supposedly enlightened Northern cities to find themselves confined in segregated ghettoes, ruled by colonial principles. There are similarities, in particular, to the migration from the slaveholding Caribbean to the urban centres of Britain, where African Caribbeans found very similar conditions to their American counterparts (Andrews, 2018). Methodological nationalism prevents us from connecting these because Caribbeans coming to Britain are seen as foreign, economic, voluntary migrants; whereas African Americans are viewed as internal migrants within the nation state. The artificial boundary around the British Isles is the entirely wrong way to view the nation.

Britain’s place in the world was established through the scope of the Empire where the sun never set. Being able to draw on almost a quarter of the globe for labour and material resources, as well as markets, secured the enormous wealth and political power of the small island. All of the success of Britain relied on support from the colonies, including victories in both world wars (Costello 2015; Jackson 2006). The post-war social democratic settlement would not have been possible without labour from the colonies, with the NHS in particular relying on staff from the Empire (Kramer 2006). Viewing Britain as a nation state is to ignore this reality. Those who migrated to the British Isles in the post-war period were not foreigners migrating from one nation to another. They were internal migrants moving from one part of the Empire to the other. There has been a recent push to claim the history of black people on the British Isles, with Olusuga’s (2016) *Black and British* charting the black history back to the Roman times, through the Tudor Era and into the present day. Whilst it is true that there have been black people on the island for centuries this approach reifies methodological nationalism. We do not need to prove we were on the island to be part of the nation, black people and the entire Empire were part of Britain no matter where they were located.

A figure like Claudia Jones is instructive for this discussion. Born in Trinidad in 1915 her family migrated to America when she was young. She became a prominent member of the Communist Party and was deported in 1955 for being un-American. Rather than deport her to Trinidad, where they feared her influence, the American authorities sent her to London because on her passport it read “subject of the British Empire”. Whilst in London, Jones continued her activist work, setting up the *West Indian Gazette* and being instrumental in establishing the Notting Hill Carnival, following race riots in 1958 (Boyce Davis 2008). Jones died in London in 1964, meaning she was both born and died in the British Empire. To view her as a foreigner is to misunderstand the totality of Britain.

Before her death, Jones was involved in fighting the Commonwealth Immigration Act, which was passed in 1962. The purpose of the law was to deny New Commonwealth migrants automatic rights to settle in Britain, and marked the beginning of increasingly strict controls to reduce non-white migration onto the Island (Hansen 2000). It is no coincidence that Trinidad, along with Jamaica, were granted their independence from Britain in the same year. A key motivation was to create separate nation states in order to control the movement of people. In this narrow nationalism Britain is a great nation state that could no longer support the foreign intruders. Slogans like “keep Britain white”, or the jingoistic pull to vote for Brexit in order to return to the days in which Britain can ‘stand on her own two feet’ (Hartley-Brewer 2016), are not just rooted in prejudice but are fallacies. Britain was never white, those in the colonies were just as central to the nation and; Britain was powerful when it was an Empire, not from standing alone.

An understanding that Britain was in large part built by her Empire would change the very nature of the immigration debate. Appeals like Nigel Farage’s to ban immigrants with HIV from using the NHS because ‘it’s *our* national health service, not an international service’ (Mason 2015) would been seen for as hollow and ignorant they are. Restricting migration from the Commonwealth, which contributed so much to the nation would be seen as the injustice that it is. Britain bears both debt and responsibility to the regions and people who were exploited to make her great.

Black Studies is based on knowledge produced in the struggle for liberation by figures such as Claudia Jones. Black internationalism has a long tradition that has never been limited by the borders of the nation state. Malcolm X (1965) insisted that racism was ‘not just an American problem, but a world one’ and in 1964 chastised the civil rights movement for being limited to the ‘jurisdiction of Uncle Sam’ in their campaigns for liberal reforms. But even in the civil rights movement the struggle was never solely confined to the United States. When he was assassinated Malcolm aimed take the problem of racism to the United Nations, a move that had already been done by figures like WEB DuBois and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People decades before (Anderson 2003). As well as being the key organising force behind the very nation state framed March on Washington, Bayard Rustin was also deeply involved in building transnational alliances (Hodder 2016). To organise on the basis of Blackness it is impossible to ignore what Mandela (1996, 698) called the ‘unbreakable umbilical cord’ between Africa and the Diaspora. This is even more so for geographies of Black resistance in Europe, where migration, either directly or through family is a feature of Blackness. Therefore there can be no methodological nationalism in Black Studies, the discipline is by its very nature global and demands theory that shatters the nation state academic consensus.

Concepts that we take for granted like the nation state are not benign or objective. How they are understood and applied are rooted in Eurocentrism. Academia must bear its share of the responsibility for narrow nationalism in the popular discourse. By accepting the nation state as the bedrock of analysis universities have colluded in producing the unequal knowledge. Nation states were imposed on former colonies as a key mechanism for controlling their political and economic destinies, as well as immigration (Andrews 2017). Worse still, in embracing the racial hierarchy of nation states, methodological nationalism privileges the voice from the advanced, European centred world. In the same way that the wealth of the West could not have been accrued without the Empire, neither could the academic canon. Viewing Western thought as something emerging from the genius of those great, dead, White male Europeans who stood on their own two feet is the root problem of the university curricula. Black Studies transform the curriculum by not only highlighting the complicity of Eurocentric knowledge in producing the racist world, but by giving a platform to the knowledge produced by those who are a victim of it. To decolonise the curriculum, the first step is to listen to those who have, and continue to fight for liberation. To do so is to almost automatically see beyond the limits of the nation state and to begin to build the science of liberation.

**REFERENCES:**

**Allen, R** 2000 The globalization of white supremacy: toward a critical discourse on the racialization of the world *Educational Theory* 51(4) 467-485

**Anderson C** 2003 *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

**Andrews K** 2013 *Resisting Racism: Race, Inequality and the Black Supplementary School Movement.* London: Institute of Education Press

**Andrews K** 2016The problem of political blackness: Lessons from the Black Supplementary School Movement *Ethnic and Racial Studies*39(11) 2060-78

**Andrews K** 2017 Beyond Pan-Africanism: The need for a revolutionary alternative that can challenge imperialism *Third World Quarterly* 38(11) 2501-2516

**Andrews K** 2018 *Black Radicalism* Zed, London

**Andrews K** 2018 The challenge for Black Studies in the neo-liberal university in **Bhambra G Nisancioglu K** and **Gebrial D** eds *Decolonizing the University* Pluto, London

**Arday J a**nd **Mirza H** eds2018 *Dismantling Race in Higher Education: Racism, Whiteness and Decolonising the Academy* Palgrave, London

**Beck U** 2007 The cosmopolitan condition: Why methodological nationalism fails *Theory, Culture and Society* 24 286-290

**Biondi M** 2012 *The Black Revolution on Campus,* University of California Press, Berkeley

**Boatca M** 2018 Caribbean Europe: Out of sight, out of mind in **Reiter** **B** ed 2018 *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge,* Duke University Press, Durham

**Boyce Davis C** 2008 L*eft of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* Duke University Press, Durham

**Carmichael S** and **Hamilton C** 1968 *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* Penguin, Harmondsworth

**Cole M** 1993 Black and Ethnic Minority or Asian, Black and Other Minority Ethnic: A further note on nomenclature, *Sociology* 27 671–673

**Costello R** 2015*Black Tommies: British Soldiers of African Descent in the First World War* Liverpool University Press, Liverpool

**Dove NE** 1993 The emergence of Black Supplementary Schools: Resistance to racism in the UK. *Urban Education* 27(4) 430–447

**Downs, DA** 1999 *Cornell '69: Liberalism and the Crisis of the American University,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca

**Essien Udom EU** 1970*Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America* New York, Dell Publishing

**Fals-Borda O and Rahman MA** 1991 *Action and Knowledge: Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action Research* Intermediate Technology Publications, London

**Gilroy P** 2002 *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* Verso, London

**Hall S** Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities. In **King AD** ed 1991 *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, NY Press, Binghamton, 53

**Hall S** 1993 Culture, community, nation, *Cultural Studies* 7(3) 349-363

**Hansen R** 2000 *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain: The Institutional Origins of a Multicultural Nation* Oxford University Press, Oxford

**Hare N** 1972 The battle for Black Studies, *The Black Scholar* 3(9) 32-47

**Hartley-Brewer J** 2016 You don't need to trust politicians to vote for Brexit. Just trust yourself *The Telegraph* June 22

**Hodder J** 2016 Toward a geography of Black internationalism: Bayard Rustin, nonviolence, and the promise of Africa, *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106(6) 1360-1377

**Jackson A** 2006 *The British Empire and the Second World War* Hambledon Continuum, London

**James CLR** 1938 *The Black Jacobins* Penguin, London

**Kramer J** 2006 *Many Rivers to Cross: Caribbean People in the NHS 1948-69* Stationery Office, London

**Lorde A** 1984 *Sister Outsider* Crossing Press, Berkeley

**Martins H** Time and theory in sociology. In **Rex J** ed 1974 *Approaches to Sociology,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 246-294

**Mandela N** 1996 *Long Walk to Freedom,* Abacus Books, London

**Mason R** 2015 Nigel Farage's HIV claim criticised by leaders' debate rivals *The Guardian* 3 May

**Maylor U 2009** What is the meaning of ‘black’? Researching ‘black’ respondents, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(2) 369–387

**Modood T** 1994 Political blackness and British Asians, *Sociology* 28(4) 859–876

**Niro B** 2003 *Race* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills

**Olusoga D** 2016 *Black and British: A Forgotten History* Macmillan, London

**Phoenix A** 1998. Dealing with difference: The recursive and the new, *Ethnic and Racial*

*Studies* 21(5) 859–880

**Pulido L** (2006) *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles.*

Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Rhodes Must Fall** eds 2018 *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Tear Out the Racist Heart of Empire* Zed, London

**Robinson C** 1983 *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* Zed, London

**Simon A** 2018 *Supplementary Schools and Ethnic Minority Communities: A Social Positioning Perspective,* Palgrave Macmillan, London

**Sudbury J** 2001 (Re)constructing multi-racial blackness: Women’s activism, difference and collective identity in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24(1) 29–49

**Staples R** 1973 What is Black Sociology? Toward a sociology of Black liberation. In **Ladner J A** ed 1998 *The Death of White Sociology: Essay on Race and Culture*, Black Classic Press, Baltimore, 161-172

**Tharoor S** 2017*Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* Hurst, London

**Walker** C 1999 When is a nation? *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13(1) 92-103

**Williams E** 1975 *Capitalism and Slavery* Andre Deutsch, London

**Winant H** 2001 *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* Basic Books, New York

**Woodard K** 1999 *A Nation Within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (LerRoi Jones) and Black Power*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill

**Wright M** 2004 *Becoming Black: Creating Identity in the African Diaspora*, Duke University Press, Durham

**X M** 1964 The Ballot or the Bullet*.* Speech at Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, April 3

**X M** 1965 Not Just an American Problem, but a World Problem*.* Speech, Corn Hill Methodist Church, Rochester New York, February 16

**X M** 1971 *The End of White World Supremacy: Four Speeches* Merlin House, New York