

## VITA

2006

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PLACE OF BIRTH: Benton, Louisiana

MARITAL STATUS: Married, three children

WIFE'S NAME: Scottie Gibson Smith

## EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

C.H. Irion High School, Benton, Louisiana - Graduate: 1965

Los Angeles City College - 1965-67 - American Studies - Associate of Arts.

California State University, Los Angeles - 1967-69 - International Relations.

University of California, Berkeley - 1969-70 - Political Science - Bachelor of Arts  
(Honors)

University of California, Los Angeles - 1970-72 - Political Science - Master of Arts.

New School for Social Research, New York - 1972-73 - Graduate Department of Urban  
Affairs and Policy Analysis.

Howard University, Washington, D.C. 1973-76 - Political Science - Doctoral

**MAJOR FIELDS OF STUDY AND  
AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION**

African American Politics  
American Government  
Urban Politics and Public Policy  
Ethnic Politics

**TEACHING AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

Professor - San Francisco State University, 1989 - .

Associate Professor - Howard University, 1980-88

Professor - Prairie View A. & M. University, 1988-89.

Guest Scholar - Joint Center for Political Studies, 1985.

Assistant Professor - SUNY, College At Purchase, 1975-80.

Research Associate - Conservation of Human Resources Project - Columbia University, 1977-80.

Graduate Teaching Fellow - Howard University, Political Science Department, 1973-75.

Research Associate - Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1972-73, Co-director, Ethnic Block Survey, New York City Neighborhood Project.

Teaching Assistant - University of California, Los Angeles, Political Science Department, 1970-72.

Teaching Assistant - University of California, Berkeley, Ethnic Studies Department, 1970.

Research Assistant - California State College, Los Angeles, Office of the Dean of Academic Planning: (Ethnic Studies Curriculum Development Committee, 1968). In this capacity I developed Course Proposals in Black Politics, Economic and History and Co-authored (with A. Akoni) the proposal accepted by the Academic Senate as the basis for the creation of the Afro-American Studies Department.

**PROFESSIONAL PAPERS**

"Interaction and Cooperation Among National Level Black Elites: An Exploration of the Black Quasi-Government Theory." Presented at the 1978 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Jackson, Mississippi.

The Black Vote and the Carter Administration: The Political Payoff." Presented at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Washington, D.C.

“Black Power and the Transformation From Protest to Politics.” Presented at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Gatlinburg, Tennessee.

“The Impact of the Black Power Symbol on American Politics.” Presented at the 1980 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientist, Atlanta.

“Black Appointed Officials: A Neglected Category of Political Participation Research.” Presented at the 1981 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baltimore.

“The Role of the Congressional Black Caucus in the American Political System.” Prepared for presentation at the 1981 Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Roundtable on “The Emerging Congress: Impact of A Decade of Reform.” Newark, New Jersey.

“The Tasks of Black Leadership: Perspectives From the Literature.” Presented at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, New Orleans, Louisiana.

“Factors Inhibiting the Success of a Black Political Party: A Retrospective and Prospective on the Gary Convention and the Independent Black Political Party.” Presented at the 1984 African Heritage Studies Association Mini Conference, Washington, D.C.

“The Challenges of A Black Presidential Candidacy,” (Co-author Joseph P. McCormick, II). Presented at the Howard University Conference on Blacks and Presidential Politics, November 17, 1983, Washington, D.C.

“Race and Ideology: Patterns of Issue Differentiation,” (Co-author Richard Seltzer). Presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Washington, D.C.

“The Place of Liberalism in Afro-American Thought.” Presented at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

“The Failure of the Sixth Congressional District of New York to Elect a Black Congressman.” Presented at the 14<sup>th</sup> Annual Congressional Black Caucus Legislative Weekend, Workshop on “Voter Participation,” September 28, 1984.

“The Political Economy of the Black Vote: Campaign Finance in Majority Black Congressional Districts.” Prepared for presentation at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago.

“Liberal Jurisprudence and the Quest For Racial Representation.” Prepared for presentation at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

“Skin Color Differences in the Afro-American Community and the Differences They Make” (Co-author Richard Seltzer). Presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

“Class and the Patterning of Racial Differences in Mass Opinion” (Co-author Richard Seltzer). Presented at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

“Politics is Not Enough: On the Institutionalization of the Afro-American Freedom Movement.” Prepared for presentation at the National Conference on the Status and Future of African Americans and Other Minorities.” Howard University, Washington, D.C., November 8-12, 1989.

“On the Failure to Learn the Lessons of History: An Anatomy of the National Black Political Convention, 1972-1984.” Prepared for presentation at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

“The Death of Black Politics.” Prepared for presentation at the 1990 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

“Political Correctness, and the Degradation of Academic Discourse.” A discussion paper prepared for the Roundtable “PC and Multiculturalism,” 1992 Annual Meeting Western Political Science Association, San Francisco.

“Race and Ethnicity in Multicultural America: Prospects for the Future With Special Reference to the Predicament of African Americans.” Presented at the 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Black Studies Conference, Olive Harvey College, Chicago, April 20-23, 1994.

“New Crisis, Old Strategies: Racism and the Afro-American Freedom Struggle in the Post Civil Rights Era.” Prepared for presentation at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baltimore.

“NAACP Special Project Panels.” Prepared for presentation at the 1995 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Savannah, GA.

“The NAACP in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Perspective.” Prepared for presentation at symposium sponsored by the Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland at College Park, The Smithsonian Institution, American Museum of History, July 8, 1997, Washington, D.C.

“The Politics of the Black `Nation’: A Retrospective.” Prepared for presentation at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

“Nationalist Principles, Integrationist Ends”. Prepared for presentation at the Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Commemorative Program, Michigan State University, January 21, 1999.

“The Clinton Presidency and African Americans”. Prepared for presentation at the 2000 Annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Washington , D.C.

“Nationalist Principles As A paradigm for 21<sup>st</sup> Century Black Politics”. Prepared for presentation at the 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual Black Studies Conference, Olive-Harvey College, Chicago, April 12-15, 2000.

"Presidential Leadership, Black Political Power and the Struggle for Racial Equality, 1968-2000". Prepared for the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Hendricks Symposium on Race in America in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, November 1-3, 2000.

"The Irrelevancy of the 2000 Election to Urban Policy As a Legacy of the Clinton Administration". Paper prepared for presentation at the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Conference on Race in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, Michigan State University, April 4-6, 2001.

"Immigration and African Americans in the Context of Globalization", (co-author Steven Shulman). Paper prepared for presentation at the Forum on Globalization, *The New Economy and United States Minorities*. City College of San Francisco, (October 25, 2002).

### **CONSULTANT PAPERS AND REPORTS**

"Enhancing Citizen Participation in Westchester County." Prepared for the Urban League of Westchester County, 1977.

"Project Youth: An Evaluation of the Street Theater Program," (Co-authors Mary Edwards and Heidi Most). Prepared for the Youth Bureau of Westchester County, 1978.

"On Black Leadership in America." Prepared for the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C., 1983.

"AIDS: A Report on Attitudes in the Afro-American Community." (Co-author, Richard Seltzer). Prepared for the National Urban League, New York, 1987.

"Race, Law and Politics: When Majority Black Districts Elect White Representatives." Prepared for the Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, 1992.

"San Francisco State University Human Relation Survey, Focusing on Racism and Campus Intolerance" (with R. DeLeon and J. Newton), 1990.

### **ARTICLES**

"Beyond Marx: Fanon and the Concept of Colonial Violence," *Black World*, Vol. 27, 7(May 1973): 23-33.

"Student Participation in the Black Liberation Struggle: A Short History," *The Black Collegian*, Vol.6, No. 3(January/February 1976): 39-41.

"The Changing Shape of Urban Black Politics, 1960-70," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 439(September 1978): 16-28. Reprinted in Kenneth Kusmer (ed.) *Black Communities and Urban Development in America, 1720-1990*, Vol. 6 (Hamden, CT., Garland Publishing, 1990).

"The Black Education Strategy in the Seventies," (Co-author, Ronald Walters), *Journal of Negro Education* Vol.48, No. 2(1979): 156-73.

"The Black Congressional Delegation," *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 2(June 1981): 203-21.

"Black Power and the Transformation from Protest to Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 96, No. 3(Fall 1981): 431-43. This article is reprinted by the Stanley Kaplan Education Center in its guide for preparation course work for standardized tests such as SAT, LSAT, GRE, GMAT.

"Black Leadership in a Neo-Conservative Era," *Urban League Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1(Winter 1982/83): 47-52.

"Black Appointed Officials: A Neglected Area of Research on Black Political Participation," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2(March 1984): 369-88.

"The Political Behavior of Black Presidential Appointees, 1960-80," *Western Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 3(Fall 1984): 139-47.

"The Challenges of a Black Presidential Candidacy," (Co-author, Joseph McCormick, II). *New Directions*, Vol. 11, No. 2(April 1984): 139-47.

\_\_\_\_\_. Reprinted in Basil Bryan (ed.), *Introduction to Social Science*, (Littleton, Massachusetts, 1985).

"Leadership in Negro and Black: Retrospect and Prospect," *Urban League Review*, Vol. 9, No. 1(Summer 1985): 8-19.

"Race and Civil Liberties," (Co-author Richard Seltzer), *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 1(March 1985): 155-162.

"The Challenges of a Black Presidential Candidacy, 1984: An Assessment," (Co-author, Joseph McCormick, II), *New Directions*, Vol. 12, Nos. 2, 3(April, July 1985): 24-31, 22-25.

"Race and Ideology: A Research Note Measuring Liberalism and Conservatism in Black America," (Co-author, Richard Seltzer), *Phylon*, Vol. 46, No. 2(June 1985): 98-105.

"Causes for Alarm: The National Research Council's Study on the Status of Black Americans," (Co-authors, Bernadette Chachere and Ronald Walters), *Transaction/Society*, Vol. 24, No. 2(January/February 1987): 22-28.

"Race and Alienation: A Multidimensional Analysis," (Co-author, Richard Seltzer). *New England Journal of Black Studies*, Nos. 6/7, (1986/87): 12-28.

"Explaining Urban Ethnic Politics: A Comparison of Alternative Explanations," *Annual Review of Research On Ethnic and Race Relations*, Vol. 5(Greenwich, CT.: JAI Press, 1988): 155-87.

"Racial Differences and Interracial Differences Among Blacks in Attitudes Toward AIDS," (Co-author Richard Seltzer), *AIDS and Public Policy Journal*, Vol. 3(1988): 31-36.

"Financing Black Politics: A Study of Congressional Elections," *The Review of Black Political Economy*, Vol. 17(Summer 1988): 5-30.

"Liberal Jurisprudence and the Quest for Racial Representation," *Southern University Law Review*, Vol. 15(Spring 1988): 1-51.

"Through the Prism of Afro-American Culture: The Jackson Campaign Style," (Co-author Joseph P. McCormick, II) in L. Barker and R. Walters (eds.), *Jesse Jackson's Presidential Campaign: Challenge and Change in American Politics*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989): 96-107.

"Meeting the National Need For Minority Scholars and Scholarship: The Role of the Professional Association," (Co-author J. Garcia), *PS 22*(March 1990) : 62-63.

"Recent Elections and Black Politics: The Maturation or Death of Black Politics"? *PS 22*(June 1990): 160-62.

"From Insurgency Toward Inclusion: The Jackson Campaigns of 1984 and 1988" in Lorenzo Morris, (ed.) *The Social and Political Implications of the 1984 Jesse Jackson Presidential Campaign*, (New York: Praeger, 1990): 215-30.

"Renaming Old Realities," *San Francisco Review of Books 25*(Summer 1990):16-19.

"Skin Color Differences in the Afro-American Community and the Differences They Make," (Co-author, Richard Seltzer), *Journal of Black Studies 21*(March 1991): 279-86.

"Hammering At The Truth: The Civil Rights Era and After," *Transition Vol. 54*(1991): 90-103.

"Politics' Is Not Enough: On The Institutionalization of the Afro-American Freedom Movement" in R. Gomes and L. Williams (eds.) *From Exclusion to Inclusion: The Long Struggle for African American Political Power*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992): 97-126.

"Ideology As The Enduring Dilemma of Black Politics" in G. Persons (ed.) *Dilemmas of Black Politics*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1992): 211-24.

"A U-Turn: Martin Kilson and Black Conservatism," (Co-author Hanes Walton, Jr.), *Transition 62*(1994): 209-16.

"Democracy In America and The Representation of African American Interests," *National Political Science Review Vol. 5*(1995): 276-82.

"U-Turn: William Wilson, the Underclass and the Ghetto Poor" in J. Whitehead and C. Harris (eds), *Readings in Black Economy*, (Dubuque, Iowa, Kendall/Hunt, 1999).

"Racism in the Post Civil Rights Era" in Martin Bulmer and John Solomos (eds) *Racism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 160-68. This chapter is an excerpt from my *Racism in the Post Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't*.

"Origins and Context: The Politics of the Black Nation" and "Modifying Political Tactics: The Next Five Years" in J. McCormick II (ed.). A Retrospective on Matthew Holden, Jr's "The Politics of the Black Nation", *National Political Science Review*, Vol. 8(2001): 3-5, 28-33.

“Rating Black Leaders”, *National Political Science Review*, Vol. 8(2001): 69-77.

“Blacks and Presidential Policy Making” in Franklin Gilliam (ed.) *Farther to Go: Readings and Cases in African American Politics*, (New York: Harcourt College Publishers, 2002). This is an excerpt from my 1996 book, *We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post Civil Rights Era*.

“The NAACP in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Perspective” in Ollie Johnson and K. Stanford (eds), *Black Political Organizations in the Post Civil Rights Era*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers State University Press, 2003).

“The Epistemological Quest of Mack Jones”, *National Political Science Review*, vol. 9(2003): 246-49.

“The Disappearance of Urban Policy As A Legacy of the Clinton Administration’s Posture on Race” in Curtis Stokes and Theresa Melendez (eds) *Racial Liberalism and the Politics of Urban America*, (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 2003).

“Immigration, African Americans and the Rainbow Coalition”, (co-author Steven Shulman) in Cecili Conrad, John Whitehead, Patrick Mason and James Stewart (eds.) *African Americans in the American Economy*, (Boulder, CO.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

“Presidential Leadership and the Quest for Racial Equality: The Clinton Administration” in Darlene Clark Hine and Pero Dagbouie (eds.), *African Americans and the Clinton Presidency*, (Forthcoming).

“The Race Variable and the American Political Science Association’s ‘State of the Discipline’ Reports and Books” (Co-author Hanes Walton, Jr.) in Wilbur Rich (ed), *The State of the Discipline: African American Perspectives*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, Forthcoming).

“The Deck and the Sea: The African American Vote in the Presidential Elections of 2000 and 2004”. *National Political Science Review* (forthcoming).

### **BOOKS/MONOGRAPHS/EDITED WORKS**

*Urban Black Politics* (Co-editor John Howard), Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1978.

*Equal Employment Opportunity: A Comparative Micro Analysis of Boston and Houston*, (Totowa, New Jersey: Allenheld, Osmun, 1982).

*Studies in Black Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research*, (Washington: Howard University, Institute of Urban Affairs and Research, 1983).

*Reflections on Black Leadership*, (Co-editor Ronald Walters), Special Issue of the *Urban League Review*, Vol. 9, 10 (Summer 1985).

*Race, Class and Culture: A Study in Afro-American Mass Opinion*, (Co-author Richard Seltzer). Albany: SUNY Press, 1992. This book won the 1995 Outstanding Book Award of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

*Racism in the Post Civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995). Named an outstanding book on human rights in North America by the Gustavus Myers Center.

*"We Have No Leaders": African-Americans in the Post Civil Rights Era* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996). This book won an outstanding book award from the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in 1998.

*African American Leadership* (Co-author Ronald Walters), Albany: SUNY Press, 1999.

*Contemporary Controversies and the American Racial Divide* (Co-author Richard Seltzer) Boulder, CO.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

### **ENCYCLOPEDIA**

*Encyclopedia of African American Politics*, (New York: Facts on File, (2003). An A-Z volume providing students, researchers, journalists and policymakers with information concerning key concepts, events, individuals, organizations and policies that have played a part in African American politics.

### **TEXTBOOK**

*American Politics and the African –American Quest For Universal Freedom*, (Co-author Hanes Walton, Jr.), New York: Longman, 2000, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2002.

### **UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS**

*Families, Groups and Governments: A New Introduction to Political Science.*

*Spheres of Power: Politics Among Families, Groups, Governments and Nations.*

### **BOOK REVIEWS**

"After Daley: Chicago Politics in Transition." Samuel Gove and Louis Massotti (eds.), *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 76, No. 4(December 1982): 902.

"Contemporary Public Policy Perspectives and Black Americans: Issues in an Era of Retrenchment Politics." Mitchell Rice and Woodrow Jones (eds.) *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 79, No. 4(December 1985): 1202.

"Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-65" by Juan Williams, *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 57, No. 4(Fall 1988): 552-53.

"Black Entrepreneurship in America" by Shelly Green and Paul Pryde, *Political Science Quarterly* 106(Spring 1991): 164-65.

"Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi After 1969", by Frank Parker, *National Political Science Review*, Vol. 3(1992): 242-44.

"Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge" by Molefi Kete Asante, *National Political Science Review*, Vol. 4(1994): 325-28.

"Getting Beyond Race: The Changing American Culture", By Richard J. Payne, *American Political Science Review*, 94(June 2000): 464.

"Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations, by Joe Feagin, *American Political Science Review*, 95(December 2001): 1136.

"The Sociological Legacy of W. E. B. DuBois: A Review of Problem of the Century: Racial Stratification In America", edited by Elijah Anderson and Douglass Massey, *Patterns of Prejudice*, (Forthcoming).

"Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America" edited by Carol swain and Russ Nielli, *Nationatism and Ethnic Politics* (Forthcoming).

"Affirmative Action Was Always White, and Still Is", review of "When Affirmative Action was White", by Ira Katznelson, *National Political Science Reviews* (forthcoming).

### **MISCELLANEOUS**

Articles on Herbert Hill, Vernon Jordan and Kenneth Clark in *The Encyclopedia of World Biography*, (New York: McGraw-Hill 1987-88).

"Ronald Dellums" in David De Leon (ed.) *Leaders From The 1960s: A Biographical Sourcebook of American Activism*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1994): 504-09.

"Cuba/25", *Newsletter, National Conference of Black Political Scientists*, 12(Fall 1996):8-9.

"Imari Obdele: The Father of the Modern Reparations Movement", *Africana.Com*, June 1, 2000.

"Imari Obdele, the Black Nationalist Tradition and the Modern Reparations Movement", *Newsletter, National Conference of Black Political Scientists* 16(Fall 2000).

"New South Heroine: Atlanta's First Black Female Mayor", (co-author Hanes Walton), *Africana.Com*, (January 10, 2002).

Articles on "Charles Rangel", "John Lewis" and "Jesse Jackson" in Henry Louis Gates and Evelyn Higginbotham (eds), *African American Lives*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

### **WORKS IN PROGRESS**

*Conservatism and Racism, and Why They Are the Same in America: A Study in Ideas and Movements, 1950s-1960s.*

This study analyzes conservative ideas from Burke to William F. Buckley and their relationship to race and racism and the parallels between the rise and decline of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1970s and the rise and ascendancy of the conservative movement during this same period. The Reagan presidency represents the conservative movement's ascent to national power, therefore, using archival material from the Reagan Library, the study concludes with detailed analysis of the Reagan presidency and race, focusing on affirmative action, the renewal of the Voting Rights Act, South Africa policy, school desegregation, welfare reform, the Grove City case and the Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday.

### **EDITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY**

State University of New York Press, Afro American Studies, General Editor (with John R. Howard). A series of books prepared by leading authorities in the field on fundamental topics in Afro-American politics and society. Since 1985 27 volumes have been published or scheduled for publication in the series.

Associate Editor, National Political Science Review, 1996-.

Member, Editorial Board Clarity Press, 1995-.

### **PARTICIPATION IN PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS/INVITED LECTURES/SPEECHES**

Discussant, 1976 Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association Panel, "The Possibilities of Political Change," Chicago, Illinois.

Discussant, 1978 Annual Meeting, Southern Political Science Association Panel, "The Emerging Party System in the South," Atlanta, Georgia.

Moderator, Roundtable, "Black Politics in Westchester County," 1978 Annual Conference of the Afro-American Cultural Foundation, White Plains, New York.

Chair, 1980 Annual Meeting, Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. Panel, "Black Intellectuals and Neo-Conservatism." Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Discussant, Symposium on "Justice in the Black Community," Association of Black Foundation Executives and the Howard University Department of Development, January 8, 1982, Howard University.

Discussant, 1982 Annual Meeting, Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. Panel, "The Voting Rights Act," Baltimore, Maryland.

Chair, Political Theory Section, 1983 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Houston, Texas.

Chair, Howard University Conference on National Security and the Black Community. Panel, "Socio-Political Implications of the Defense Build-up," October 19-20, 1983, Washington, D.C.

Chair, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association. Panel, "Issues and Campaign Styles of Black Mayoral Candidates in Urban Areas," Savannah, Georgia.

Presenter, Joint Center for Political Studies Symposium. The 1984 Presidential Election and the Future of Black Politics," April 30, 1985, Washington.

Roundtable, "Recent Literature in Black Politics," 1986 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta.

Roundtable, "The Howard University Black Delegate Survey, 1976-84," 1987 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Washington, D.C.

Discussant, 1989 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Panel, "New Trends in Public Opinion and Survey Research on Afro-Americans," Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Roundtable, "Beyond the Boundary: Co-authorship Across Race and Gender Lines," 1990 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Atlanta.

Discussant, Claremont College Symposium, "Representation, Reapportionment and Minority Empowerment," March 19, 1990.

Presenter, 1990 Annual Meeting Northern California Political Science Association. Panel, "Minorities in State and National Politics," Santa Clara University, May 5, 1990.

Roundtable, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From: Do Black Scholars Get What They Deserve or Do They Deserve What They Get," 1990 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco.

Moderator, Roundtable, "The Black Politics of Hanes Walton, Jr., 1991 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Jackson, Mississippi.

Roundtable, "Ethnic Conflict in Large California Cities," 1992 Annual Meeting, Western Political Science Association, San Francisco.

Roundtable, "Cultural Diversity and Curriculum Coherence," California State University, 1992 Institute for Teaching and Learning, Los Angeles.

Invited Lecture, "Racial politics and American Democracy: On the Institutionalization of the Afro-American Freedom Movement, Institute for Government Studies, University of California, Berkeley, April 1993.

Discussant, "White Public Opinion and Racial Politics," 1993 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

Invited Lecture, "Racism in the Post civil Rights Era: Now You See It, Now You Don't," Department of African American Studies, Georgia State University, April, 1993

Discussant, 1994 Annual Meeting National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Panel, "Pedagogical Issues in the Infusion of Afrocentric Material Pre-Collegiate Curriculum," Hampton, Va.

Chair, "NAACP Special Project Panels," 1996 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Savannah, GA.

Invited Lecture, "The Vassar Gathering of New Generation Leadership," Vassar College, April 18-21, 1997.

Roundtable, "Author Meets Critics: Racism and African American Leadership in the Post Civil Rights Era," 1997 Annual Meeting, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago.

Keynote Address, "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Conference in Tribute to Harold Cruse," The University of Michigan, March 13-14, 1998.

Panelist "Where Are Our Leaders, We Have No Leaders..." This presentation was made at a conference organized around my book We Have No Leaders. Sponsored by a consortium of Boston area colleges; the conference was held at Brandeis University, October 28, 1998.

Invited Lecture, "Leadership in Minority Communities", Summer Leadership Development Institute, Western Illinois University, June 6, 2000.

Keynote Address, 1<sup>st</sup> Annual Virginia Tech Black Studies Symposium on Black Leadership, May 24-27, 2001.

Symposium, "The Implication of the Rise of Black Conservatism For the Future of Black America, Stanford Black Law Students Association, Stanford, CA, February 24, 2004.

Opening Plenary Address, 27<sup>th</sup> Annual Black Studies Conference, Olive-Harvey College, Chicago, April 22, 2004.

"The Civil Rights Act of 1875 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Comparative Analysis of the Constitutional Basis of Civil Rights Law". Presentation at the Conference on the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Civil Rights of 1964, Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland, College Park, April 29, 2004.

Address, 2004 Pi Sigma Alpha Gamma Chapter, Annual Induction ceremony, Howard University, Washington, April 30, 2004.

Address, 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Birthday Celebration, Hercules, Pinole, Rodeo and Crockett NAACP Branch, Hercules, CA, January 17, 2005.

Invited Lecture, "The Niagara Movement in Contemporary Perspectives, DeAnza College, Black History Month Celebration, Cupertino, CA, February 9, 2005.

Chair, Roundtable, "The 2004 Election and African Americans", 2005 Annual Meeting, National Conference of Black Political Scientists", Arlington, VA, March 23-26, 2005.

Panelist, "Hanes Walton Jr's Invisible Politics on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Its Publication", 2005 Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Arlington, VA, March 23-26, 2005.

Lecture, "Reagan, Race and Rights: Substance and Symbolism in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Reconstruction", College of Behavioral and Social Sciences Research Series, San Francisco State University, April 21, 2005.

Panelist, "American Institutional Racism and the Politics of Resentment: The Problematic of Democracy American Style 28<sup>th</sup> Annual Black Studies Conference, Chicago, April 21-23, 2005.

Keynote Address, Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday Commemoration, Pinole/Hercules/Crockett NAACP Branch, January 16, 2006.

Invited Lecture, 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Howard Thurman Lecture, Stetson University, January 19, 2006.

Respondent, Special Plenary, "The 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the publication of *We Have No Leaders: African American in the Post Civil Rights Era*", 37<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 22-25, 2006, Atlanta, GA.

Invited Observer. "China in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", Annual Conference of Association of Chinese Political Studies, June 9-11, 2006, Renmin University, Beijing, China.

Presenter, "Conference on Slavery, Reparations and Slavery Disclosure Ordinances", University of San Francisco, April 20, 2006.

### **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY/SERVICE**

Project Associate, "The Howard University Black Delegate Surveys, 1980, 1984 and 1988.

Member, Executive Council, National conference of Black Political Scientists (1986-88, 1989-92).

Member, National Advisory Council on the Role of the Faculty in the Making of Minority Scholars (1986-89).

Co-convener, Founding Meeting, National Congress of Black Faculty, Howard University, October 24-26, 1987.

Co-chair, Bay Area Malcolm X 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Commemoration Project, 1990.

Founding Fellow, OPEN MIND: The Association for Achievement of Cultural Diversity in Higher Education.

Member, Committee on the Status of Blacks, Western Political Science Association, 1993-94.

Member, Review Panel National Science Foundation, Graduate Fellowship Program, 1993, 1995.

Member, College Board Committee, Subject Examination in American Government, 1995-96.

Member, Advisory Committee, African American Leadership Project, The Academy of Leadership, University of Maryland, College Park, 1997-.

Coordinator, NAACP Local Chapter Studies, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, 1996-2002.

Member, Advisory Board, Bay Area Ethnic Media Research Project, Public Research Institute, San Francisco State University, 2001-02.

Member, Committee for a San Francisco County Slavery Disclosure Ordinance, 2006.

### **HONORS/AWARDS**

Sigma Tau Sigma - National Social Science Honor Society, 1967.

Who's Who Among Black Americans.

Who's Who In The West.

Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award, Howard University 1998.

Who's Who in America, Millenium Edition, 2000.

Professor of the Year 2002, 2004 San Francisco State University Political Science Graduating Class.

### **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

Member - National Conference of Black Political Scientists

Member - Center for the Study of the Presidency

Member - California Black Faculty and Staff Association