1-1-1973

The re-education of black people: education for liberation.

Rochelle Tate Chandler

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/4218

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.
THE RE-EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE:
EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

A Dissertation Presented
By
Rochelle Tate Chandler

Submitted to the graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

December, 1973

Major Subject: Education
THE RE-EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE:
EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

A Dissertation
By
Rochelle T. Chandler

Approved as to style and content by:
Dr. F. Thomas Clark, Chairman of Committee
Dr. Gloria I. Joseph, Member
Dr. Frederick Preston, Member

Dwight Allen, Dean
School of Education

DECEMBER, 1973

(iii)
DEDICATION

Grandma, Mama and Papa love – representing all of my AFRICAN ancestors
Giving me the opportunity to know and share love with......
Paul, my comrade/husband
And John, Malik, Barry, Derrick
and Paulette, the FUTURE of AFRICA'S people
I dedicate this work to YOU

.......and ALL oppressed people of the world

.....with love and a lifelong commitment to serving people......
and struggling......
STRUGGLING for......
SOCIAL CHANGE
and
FREEDOM
This work would not be...........
Had it not been for the work, help and struggles of.......  

- the revolutionary scholars I have chosen to study
- the Oceanhill-Browsville community
- Paul Chandler, who "introduced me to W.E.B. DuBois, Carter Woodson, Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Mao Tse-Tung, Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Fidel Castro, Sekou Toure, Amilcar Cabral, Julius Nyerere, Che Guevara, George Jackson and countless other revolutionary figures/scholars
- Acklyn Lynch, my political educator and friend, whose guidance taught me the meaning of "serious work" and the importance of the revolution
- Gloria Joseph, my advisor and friend, whose own commitment as an academic activist showed me the utility of education in service of the revolution
- Andre McLaughlin, my sister/comrade, whose intellectual discussions/arguments helped to mold this work, and whose drive and motivation helped to get me started.......and finished
- Bill Hasson, who never failed to say "you got it" when asked a favor, and who continued to serve as a resource person during the writing of this dissertation
- Bob Marquez, who as a revolutionary figure/writer taught me the importance of having priorities in the struggle
- Maddie Marquez, who was always there when needed, and whose commitment to the development of "new" men and women helped to raise my political consciousness
- Dee Clark, who as the second mother to my family enabled me to see/experience the AFRICAN tradition, i.e. the extended family in total cooperation
- Simon Gouverneur, whose understanding of AFRICA's history and culture, and knowledge of the international socialist struggle showed me the importance of tireless research in my search for freedom
- Fred Braithwaite, whose intellectual arguments never failed to bring tears to my eyes as a result of my own political naivete, but whose increased understanding/knowledge of the objective conditions of the oppressed world, has given me undying faith in the ability of the oppressed to unite and, through revolutionary armed struggle, win everlasting peace and freedom
- Jack Highsmith Jr., whose shoulder held me up at my most tired moments, and whose continuous encouragement served as an inspiration.

- Sue Highsmith, the sister from "12th Street", who always had words of kindness, support, and continuous faith in my ability to see this work completed.

- Rachel Franklin, who took every opportunity to encourage me, and who was willing to sacrifice endless hours typing and revising so that this work could be finished.

- Rosa Blanco, who is truly a person who carries forth Mao's principles on "theory and practice". As a worker, she is not only an important arm of this community, but has also been a personal friend and inspiration in my life, has helped me tremendously through her willingness to read and criticize this work as it was being developed.

- Charles Mann, who helped me to realize that we're ALL in prison.

- Mfundi Vundla, who, through becoming a "member" of my family was able to provide me with limitless resources and concrete ideas.

- F. Tom Clark, who as a member of my committee, posed thought-provoking questions and suggestions for improvement.

- Fred Preston, who continued to have words of encouragement, and a willingness to help in any way possible. In addition, as a member of my committee, he continued to demand clarity and support for all controversial issues that I raise.

- Pat Gordon, who was willing to sacrifice time and pleasures in order to see that this dissertation would be typed......on time.

- Clara Levison, (affectionately known as "Boo") whose "for-realness" enabled me to return to my "roots" and get a deeper understanding of what the struggle is all about.

- Earl and Anabelle McKune, who always sent words of encouragement and faith in my abilities.

- Jack and Doris Highsmith, my parents, whose love-filled contribution can never be expressed in words.

- The children of Che-Lumumba School for Truth, who, as our FUTURE and our hope, tested my every ability to design a curriculum for revolutionary youth.

- People of Vietnam, Guinea Bisseau, Mozambique and Angola, who have given me courage and inspiration.
People of China, Cuba, and Tanzania, whose pains, sacrifices, and accomplishments provide me with encouragement and faith in the abilities of a determined people

All members of the oppressed world, and especially those who have begun to fight to remove their shackles of oppression, and have shown me that, indeed,:

"A' LUTA CONTINUA!"
An exploration of the limitations of traditional American education and the possibilities of alternative education for Black people in the United States, this study offers analyses in three realms. Firstly, it provides a critical examination of the objective realities of traditional American education as they apply to the treatment of Black people. Secondly, this study poses the potentiality of alternative education for Blacks, making reference to education in socialist societies as exemplary models. Finally, the dissertation presents a conceptual design for a revolutionary school based upon a philosophy of dialectical materialism.

It is the contention of the analysis that, historically, education in the United States has been a tool employed in the exploitation, oppression and colonization of African peoples. The failure of traditional education to respond to or implement the demands of Black people for educational change is viewed as a part of the overall inability of the American system to change the quality of life for Black people in
American society.

This study cites various attempts made to modify the administration and education within institutions in the United States' school systems, and gives reasons why they have not provided qualitative resolutions to the educational problems faced by Black people, and how in most instances attempts have been designed to pacify the country's Black population.

In the dissertation, alternative education, specifically, revolutionary education, is posed as not only the means to making the educational process serve and benefit the Black population, but as the very basis upon which Black survival depends. Accordingly, the educational systems of the Republic of Cuba, the United Republic of Tanzania, and the People's Republic of China are examined as revolutionary educational models that are relevant to the liberation of oppressed people, particularly Africans in the United States. The study specifies that the significance of the above models is due to their not using racism and capitalism as points of departure for education.

After a presentation of reasons for the need for Black people to develop a philosophy of education which serves their interest, the dissertation proposes the direction that alternative education for Black people must take if it is to serve as a tool to liberate Black people. Finally, the study lays out a theoretical design for an alternative school, which is intended to serve as a vehicle for the implementation of the philosophy and directions posed in the dissertation.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COPYRIGHT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROVAL PAGE</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOREWORD</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>xviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong> BLACK PEOPLE ... A COLONIZED PEOPLE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Africans - Not Americans: A Philosophical Debate</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Africans in America: A Colonized People</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Displaced Africans' Dilemma: Imposed Cultural Identity</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Absence of Historical Continuity and Sense of Powerlessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Economic and Social Genocide: A Forced Reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong> TRADITIONAL AMERICAN EDUCATION: MIS-EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III</strong> THREE GOES INTO ONE: INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PAVES THE WAY FOR WORLD LIBERATION (Some Educational Perspectives for Africans in America)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Republic of Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Republic of Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People's Republic of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All students of education must seek a scientific understanding of history, so that they may better realize the role that education has played in molding a people for their particular society. This is not enough, however. They must also have a concrete understanding of history such that they can begin to critically examine the objective realities of the present social, economic, and political conditions in order to build progressive models of education for the future. For any construction, philosophical or programmatic, to constitute a progressive model, history must comprise the foundation. The great leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tse Tung, has emphasized that the revolution must:

"Make the past serve the present. . . . Weed through the old to bring forth the new."

Within the confines of the United States, traditional education serves to guarantee the triumph of the existing superstructure. It is aimed at molding individuals who will be prepared to work within and be dedicated to a capitalist structure.

Traditional education, with all of its controls and influences, especially that of molding individuals who support and work within the capitalist framework, has as one of its greatest influences, the mechanisms and channels for supporting and developing definitions constructed by those in power. Education, as a tool of the power structure, has been used to define beauty standards, behavioral norms, intelligence, culture, success, etc. In this sense, education has been essential to the defining of Black people as ugly, pathological, inferior, culturally deprived, lazy, etc. Through education, the power structure has been able to
impose these definitions on the society until they become accepted "facts".

"The myth of the Negro past is one of the principal supports of race prejudice in this country. Unrecognized in its efficacy, it rationalizes discrimination in everyday contact between Negroes and Whites, influences the shaping of policy where Negroes are concerned, and affects the trends of research by scholars whose theoretical approach, methods, and systems of thought presented to students are in harmony with it."2

Naturally, in a case where there is political rule by a few, the use of education to spread dehumanizing definitions becomes a dangerous tool against the masses. It becomes even more dangerous when the majority of the people do not realize that they are being ruled and manipulated by a minority. This situation exists in the United States. The manipulation is dangerous because the majority easily grasp the views, values, and attitudes that serve the ruling class, and yet, they have been trained, through the educational process, to accept these views, values and attitudes as their own.

It is the responsibility of revolutionary education to expose, not only the mechanics of the brainwashing techniques of traditional education, but also to give new definitions, values, principles and modes of action which will oppose the dehumanizing and exploitative definitions, values, principles and modes of action of the past. This, necessarily, means that revolutionary education must mold individuals who will change the existing social order into a progressive, non-exploitative, socialist society ensuring that exploitative definitions, experiences and conditions remain a thing of the past.

Revolutionary education must not be indifferent to Western education because the "old" way must always be dealt with in order to have a
beneficial impact upon the "new" way. Though not indifferent, it must not buy into the old way, or attempt to work within the system. It is of the utmost importance for the Black educator to stop existing within the traditional framework, expose it, destroy it, and begin to work within a scientific socialist design.

"There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction..." "If these forms are to be used they must first be criticized; without being criticized they cannot serve us, to say nothing of weeding through the capitalist old to bring forth the socialist new."³

In order to accomplish the above, the Black educator must have knowledge of the weaknesses and strengths of the existing order, i.e., the structure which must be replaced, and also a clear understanding of those things in his/her own culture that are valid and applicable. If anything is to be borrowed for the new model of education, it must be acknowledged and defined in a positive way. Whatever is discarded must also be acknowledged and explanations given for its rejection.

Once the progressive educator has discerned what is strong, what is weak, what must be borrowed, what must be discarded, and finally, what must be created, the objective cultural and political mission of the new system must be established. This mission must be in keeping with a revolutionary philosophy and must, at all times, support a consistent progressive ideology.

It must be understood that the implementation of revolutionary thought and ideals may well necessitate armed and organized struggle, therefore the Black educator/student must begin preparing for that..."
possibility. This possibility must include education that not only deals with the physical necessities of armed struggle, but also includes a definition of armed struggle for social transformation such that it is viewed as an act of humanity, so that the psychological necessities of armed insurrection are also met. The Black educator/student must understand that, "It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained. Thus reality-in-itself for-itself can be achieved only through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies."\(^4\)

The advantages of armed struggle are many, i.e., it unifies and mobilizes the people, it brings about the defeat of the oppressor class, it serves as a cleansing force, etc., but one very important advantage, which must not be overlooked by the Black educator, is the fact that armed struggle CREATES new men and women capable of carrying out modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture. The revolution in Cuba, which lost many of its educated class when they fled that country, CREATED engineers, doctors, architects, etc. Likewise, the liberated zones of Africa have seen the CREATION, through revolution, of skilled people in areas where there were none under colonialization.

Lenin supports this in the following statement: "Revolution undoubtedly teaches with a rapidity and thoroughness which appear incredible in peaceful periods of political development."\(^5\) In complete agreement, Fanon carries it a step further by providing some empirical proof: "The people who take their destiny into their own hands assimilate the most modern forms of technology at an extraordinary rate."\(^6\)

"We do not have any technicians or planners coming from big Western Universities; but in these liberated regions the daily ration went up
to the hitherto unheard-of figure of 3,200 calories."\(^7\)

Due to the colonial situation in which most oppressed people exist, and as a result of the extensive and intensive brainwashing techniques, i.e., mass media, educational institutions, religious institutions, etc., employed by the oppressor in order to keep the masses of people in an oppressed condition, it is realistic to expect that revolutionary educational ideas may not be in tune with current thoughts and actions. It is still vital, however, that the promoters of progressive ideals, armed with truth, patience and the willingness to work, listen to, learn from and serve the masses, continue on the path of progressive development. The revolutionary must have confidence in the knowledge that the path he/she pursues is for the betterment of all peoples and their condition, and therefore, will eventually lead to the peoples' initiative to implement revolutionary thought.

"DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN!"\(^8\)


6. Franz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*


8. Mao Tse-Tung, *Quotations From Mao Tse-Tung*, p. 82
INTRODUCTION

It is my intention to examine some of the social, political, and economic effects that traditional education in the United States has had upon Black people, and to show the viability of revolutionary education as a solution to the problems confronting Black people today. In keeping with this objective, I am also presenting a working model for revolutionary education.

Not only is education in the United States related to the objective conditions of unemployment, poor housing, poverty, and other social ills, but traditional American education is directly related to the lack of understanding and appreciation of 'self', the sense of powerlessness and the lack of historical continuity which plague Black people today. It is then understandable why traditional American education becomes synonymous with mis-education in the Black community in the United States and must be changed.

Many progressive Black educators have begun to realize that education in its traditional sense, which in theory and basic American philosophy includes all of the "innovative", i.e., open classroom, flexible scheduling, open enrollment, learning styles and teaching methods, can never serve the objective needs of the Black community in this country. They have begun to understand that a totally new educational system, which is ideologically new as well as graphically innovative, must be developed and instituted as a means of changing the existing conditions of Black people. Having reached certain conclusions about traditional American education, the educational mission of the Black educator is to research and develop alternative educational systems
such that they provide a mechanism for the liberation of Black people.

In opposition to traditional American education, revolutionary education which is practiced in many of the progressive socialist nations throughout the world, specifically, Peoples Republic of China, Cuba, and Tanzania, aims towards the transformation of an exploitative society, which existed under capitalism or feudalism, into a non-exploitative society. Each of these nations has aimed at eliminating oppression and exploitation through: 1) the understanding of social truth, i.e. knowledgeable consciousness and understanding of the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed through understanding all of the political, cultural, and social conditions of oppressed people; 2) obtaining a scientific knowledge of historical processes; 3) combining theory and practice at all levels of education, i.e., knowing and doing, combining education with productive labor, carrying out the new definitions and cultural missions of the revolution, etc.; 4) the acquisition of basic knowledge, i.e., reading, math, writing, etc., and technological and scientific skills; and 5) readiness for the constant possibility of armed struggle in defence of the humanitarian ideals of socialism. Because revolutionary education, as is practiced in these nations, prepares individuals and groups for a productive, non-exploitative role in society, Black people in this country must become inspired by the principles of revolutionary education.

While it is true, at this time, that a great many Black people continue to have faith in the existing educational system in the United States, and view equal opportunity as the solution to poverty, exploitation, and racism, it is my purpose to depict revolutionary education as
a necessary process for serving the educational and ultimately the complete
social and economic needs of Black people. This is done, in part, by showing
that most efforts and programs aimed at total equal opportunity have been
fruitless, because inequality in opportunity is an essential aspect of the
character of the United States' social structure. The validity of this be-
comes more apparent when one begins to understand capitalism, which is a
monetary system based upon the inequalities of man. That is to say, the accu-
mulated wealth of capitalism is based upon the surplus value of commodities —
a value which presents itself only after the laborer has been exploited.

"The existence of an economic surplus makes possible an
unequal distribution of income and wealth among people
in a society. Great economic inequalities have characterized
most societies that have generated a surplus . . . . . A
small but dominant class appropriated most of the economic
surplus, thereby creating for itself the privileges of unequal
status . . . The distribution of capital ownership in a
capitalist society is necessarily unequal, for if every
individual shared equally in the ownership of capital, the
fundamental distinction between capitalist and worker would
vanish." ¹

The growth and development of the United States as a major industrial
power in the world can be attributed to the country's forceful exploitation
of slaves, the urban working class, the peasant farmers, the migrant workers,
the agricultural share-croppers, and the lumpen proletariat, and the
educational system can be considered a main facilitator of the extent of
this exploitation. The educational system prepared/prepares the masses of
people in this society for the exploitation of man by man, while at the
same time maintaining the myth of upward mobility, equal opportunity, etc.

"In any society economic activity established the parameters
for the major non-economic institutions - the workers' basic
consumption unit ..., the residential community, the work
environment, education, the cultural system, and the formation

(xx)
of individual personalities as well. These institutions are intertwined with the economic system, and mold the psychological make-up of individuals in such a manner as to facilitate its operation.... The functions of this system (U.S. system) include: a) the preservation of social status along class lines; b) the transmission and preservation of cultural norms, attitudes and values to the degree that they remain compatible with an increasingly materially-oriented economy; c) the training of a stratum capable of developing new technologies favorable to capitalist development; and d) the generation of an educated work-force, with competence to perform in complex, alienated work environments.\(^2\)

The maintenance of the United States as a world power is, of course, also dependent upon the exploitation of the middle and lower classes of this society, together with the exploitation of the natural resources and people throughout the World, and, again, the principle of inequality in education is vital and must be held in effect - no matter what the cost. The cycle is vicious, and unless the oppressed people of the world begin to change it, it will continue. Simply speaking, the United States as a dominant world political power depends upon exploitation; exploitation depends upon the inequality of individuals in a society; inequality of individuals is maintained, in part, through mis-education; mis-education leads to continued exploitation; continued exploitation makes the United States powerful, which makes inequality a necessity, etc., etc. To the extent that Black people and other oppressed groups continue to believe and practice in exploitative education (dressed up as equality education), they are/will be participating in their own demise while at the same time applauding the international and domestic practices of the United States.

Given the objective conditions of Black people in the United States and the concrete way in which Black people have been mis-educated, it
becomes my responsibility to design educational alternatives for Black people based on the revolutionary principles mentioned earlier. The revolutionary educational alternative must be able to unleash: 1) the objective historical reality of oppressed people; 2) philosophical principles which are designed for Black people; 3) a capacity of revolutionary education to transform the Black community, the nation, and ultimately the world; and 4) a capacity to release the creative potential of the individuals that participate in education such that a "new" man/woman is developed.

The construction of such a program is dependent upon my selecting important facts from a maze of information concerning American education, and, specifically, the education of Black people and examining the works of revolutionary scholars that have dealt with revolutionary education. Necessarily, I have chosen to keep my eye constantly and cautiously on my goal, i.e., to research and design a model of revolutionary education, with the realization that as a product of the Western educational system, I must make every attempt not to reflect Western perceptions and attitudes. I shall avoid becoming a traditional intellectual conformist which would lock me into my Western moorings.

In this work, I have chosen to use materials, i.e., books, magazines, journals and newspapers which expand my central thesis; therefore, the works of such people as James Boggs, Fidel Castro, Frantz Fanon, Paulo Friere, Che Guevera, George Jackson, Albert Memmi and Mao Tse Tung become of undisputed worth.

It must be understood that a work of this nature must be logically conclusive, which makes it imperative that I gather facts and assemble
evidence in support of my alternative design. At the same time, this thesis must never be considered final or absolute because it is subject to the dialectical process, i.e., changing realities, contradictions, and the movements of dialectics. However, it does provide a consistent basis of thought that is based on facts and is vital to the transformation process.

Naturally, when dealing with the mis-education of Black people and the need to posit alternative values, techniques, skills, and principles, the Black researcher should optimize his/her communications at the gut level with his/her constituency. It is of utmost importance, however, that a scientific approach be the most significant influence upon the conclusions to be drawn, for it is the ultimate responsibility of the Black educator to avoid sentimentality and insist on the concentration of scientific facts. This, I intend to do. The constituency advantage is certainly useful, but one must not overindulge in it simply because there are larger global and scientific responsibilities of sound scholarship. Thus, in an analysis of the history of Black education, I have gathered material on the condition of Black people in the United States, and in my attempt to design a viable model for the education of Black people, I have carefully examined the path of educational development of three progressive Third World countries. The materials gathered have been invaluable to my central thesis, but more important, they have expanded my intellectual universe and they have provided the necessary basis for vital discussions with members of my thesis committee.

As a result of reading this document, it is hoped that the reader will be able to reach the following conclusions:
1) that traditional education in the United States has mis-educated Black people, and has been used as a vehicle for their continued oppression and exploitation;

2) that the education of Black people must be based upon revolutionary principles in order that they can develop and promote a non-exploitative society;

3) that education must prepare them for a productive life in the future society;

4) that education must prepare its constituency technically and intellectually for the destruction of the existing exploitative social order and the building of a new non-exploitative order; and

5) that Black education must give its participants a thorough and accurate understanding of history.

In order to arrive at the above conclusions and to develop a program of revolutionary education, my analysis will take the following direction: in Chapter I, I will attempt to place the Black man/woman in America in an objective social, political, and economic perspective, and to show that Black people are products of slavery, racism, capitalism, mis-education and colonization; and it was/is only through his/her strength, determination, and will to survive that Black people have been able to withstand the systematic oppression, exploitation and genocide that he/she has suffered in the country; in Chapter II, I will present a historical sketch of the education of Black people in this country in order to examine traditional educational policies and practices which have served as vehicles to control Black people, and to argue for the necessity of a Black philosophy of education which I develop in Chapter IV.

In addition to establishing a definitive and historical frame of reference for the development of this work, I offer, in Chapter III,
Some vital points about education in the societies of the Peoples Republic of China, Tanzania and Cuba. I have chosen to study these societies, because they have made tremendous strides in the field of education, and their progress provides invaluable lessons for us since these societies transformed from a capitalist and feudalist social order to a progressive social matrix at different levels of social and economic development.

All of the data gathered and analyzed in my first four chapters are necessary steps toward my final chapter, which presents the reader with a conceptual alternative educational design for the re-education of Black people.
FOOTNOTES

2. Ibid., p. 124.
CHAPTER I
BLACK PEOPLE - A COLONIZED PEOPLE

To assume that a definition of any national group, inclusive of the group's historical and cultural heritage, can be presented in one chapter of a book is, with the best of intentions, a presumptuous task. In the past, the undertaking of such a task on the part of the vast majority of white social scientists and historians has required ulterior motives, especially as this is applicable to Black people in the United States. Exploitation and oppression of Black people has generally been the motives of efforts relegating the Black experience to a page in a book or a chapter in history. Furthermore, the attempts to define the Black person or Black people in the social sciences have projected Blacks as anomalies of the human race. "For the oppressors, 'human beings' refers only to themselves; other people are 'things'."

More specifically, the general intent of most definitive studies on "Black Americans" has been to deliberately create a chasm between Blacks in the United States and Blacks on the African continent. "The Negro is thus a man without a past' . . . The implications of this final culminating belief concerning the Negro have been seen to be of the greatest importance in shaping attitudes toward Negroes on the part of whites and attitudes of Negroes toward themselves." Basic to this intent is an effort to separate Blacks in the United States from their roots of cultural antiquity, in order that the ignorance or rejection of such roots will aid and abet the economic exploitation and dehumanization of Black people in the United States.
Though it is almost impossible to contain an accurate history of Black people in a chapter of a book, the general tone of Black existence could be more easily presented in one chapter if in fact the intent becomes to describe the existence of Black people in the United States as a colonized existence.

"...the worst of all the crimes of expanded capitalism in this country has been the centuries-long outrage it has perpetrated, and continues to perpetrate against Negro people. To satisfy the greed of an arrogant landed aristocracy, the Negroes were stolen from their African homeland and compelled to submit, generation and generation, to a chattel of slavery which was a measureless tragedy to them and to our nation. And after the Negroes were emancipated, in the course of the great revolution of 1861-65, they were forced into a semi-slavery which still persists. During three generations of "freedom", the Negroes have been lynched, pillaged, Jim Crowed, and generally mis-treated as being less than human, in order to fatten the profits of insatiable capitalist exploiters. The most shameful pages of American history are those dealing with the exploitation and oppression of the Negro masses."³

Yet, even to define accurately the general tone of Black existence in the United States, it is necessary to define more explicitly who Black people are, for unless there is a clear understanding of "Who" Black people are, there can only be limited appreciation of even the profundity of the exploitation, dehumanization and persecution of Black people in the United States.

The Black people in the United States are an African people! Though the colonial experience has, necessarily, distorted Africa and Africa's history so thoroughly and completely that many Black people feel hesitancy and shame in making identification with Africa, the fact remains that Africa is the original home of the Black race—its native land.
"America is made up of many people from many lands....
...One of these many groups came from the continent of Africa, a group that was numbered among the very first to arrive in the New World... Of the varied Old World stocks that entered America, none came from as wide a geographic area as the blacks.... from Senegal ... from Angola ... from Mozambique ... Madagascar ... and the Sudanese grasslands that bordered the Sahara."4

As early as 1526, "Negro" slaves were brought to the territory now called the United States by Lucas Vasques de Allon.5 Since that date, millions of Africans were forcibly taken from their native land to work, presumably forever, like animals in the Americas for the profit of European merchants and enslavers. This is how the vast majority of African peoples came to be inhabitants of the Western hemisphere, their descendants being, indirectly, the victims of the same legacy.

Yet, there is some documentation that African people had found their way to the shores of the Americas prior to Christopher Columbus, European traders, and the slave trade. In the introduction to J.A. Roger's World's Great Men of Color, John Henrik Clarke asserts:

"New scholars, black and white, have emerged with a broader view of the interplay of peoples and cultures in the making of the so-called New World before and after the appearance of the Europeans. This new scholarship has found recurring evidence of a fact that Western academies have been ignoring, or denying, for years - the presence of African people in pre-Columbian South and Central America, and in the United States."6

This is why it is essential to note it was the introduction of the Europeans in the Americas as the factor that sizably altered the quality of life and the general tone of Black existence for Black people on this continent.

The African in America is a unique group of people. This uniqueness rests not only in the fact that their ancestors were forcibly removed from
their homeland and transported to a foreign territory, but in the fact that their position of colonization has found them enslaved by the products of their own genius and debased by a still young civilization, which has yet to achieve what African civilizations accomplished, and whose very foundations of achievements comprises theft of the highest form.

African social development had reached a peak, which, in many of its aspects, has yet to be achieved by Western Civilization. Walter Rodney describes some of this in the following passage, which seeks to synthesize aspects of African civilization:

"Numerous reports attest to the hospitality of African communities. Within any village or chiefdom, the codes of hospitality and a spirit of charity prevented the extremes of poverty and abandonment which one finds in richer and supposedly more mature societies.... Because of the extended-family system and the universal hospitality, the aged were fortunately free of the problems of sustenance. They played self-fulfilling and socially satisfying roles within their communities. While old age was a liability in a New World plantation and throughout the capitalist world, in Africa advanced age brought honour, increased respect and authority... The basic principle of justice was restitution - the object of the legal judgement be it to help the wronged party rather than inflict punishment on the offender.... African traditional religions are by nature non-imperialistic..."7

African architecture still remains one of the greatest indications of the sophistication of African civilization. The finely carved stone pillars and churches carved out of solid rock were peculiar to Ethiopia in their origin8, and the construction of Egyptian pyramids are still one of the eight mysteries of the world. Further, the position and markings of the pyramids exhibit a knowledge of astronomy which Europeans have only become aware of in the last hundred years of their civilization.
The mining of metals was at an advanced level and much of African art is indicative of the African progress in metallurgy. "African sculpture in wood, copper, bronze and iron is recognized by the whole world both for the remarkable skill with which the sculptured objects are produced and for their expression of beauty, dignity and other human spiritual qualities." The discovery of iron occurred in Africa. Bennett has stated:

"It seems not unlikely that the people who made the marvelous discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting were the African Negroes. Neither ancient Europe, nor ancient western Asia, nor ancient China knew iron, and everything points to its introduction from Africa."

Eugene Genovese discusses the development of mining in Western Africa:

"The peoples of Ghana and Nigeria used iron hoes and other agricultural implements, and the Yoruba of southern Nigeria enjoyed a reputation for fine work in copper and tin."

The advanced knowledge of chemistry is also seen by the mummification of the dead in Egyptian society which is another mystery undiscovered by Western civilization. The field of para-psychology which defies many current laws of physics quite possibly had its origin in Africa where the concept of "life forces" was fundamental to the society. It was believed that the forces had influence after the death of an individual and could influence the lives of living things. Appreciation of para-psychology requires knowledge of physics and one "Bernard Fagg has found some parallels between African philosophy and modern subatomic physics."

Complex socio-economic institutions were also a part of African society. The agricultural labor systems showed divisions of labor, and crop rotation, irrigation and agricultural diversification were accomplished aspects of African society. The societies of pre-colonial Africa also
had elaborate military structures, legal arrangements and commercial relations.\textsuperscript{13}

In the \textit{Cultural Unity of Negro Africa}, Cheikh Anta Diop makes mention of a type of canoe adopted by the native peoples of the Americas which was peculiar to Africa indicating that navigational efforts by Africans had taken them as far as to the Western Hemisphere, probably for purposes of trade before the European presence in the Americas.\textsuperscript{14} Great universities and learning centers, the most outstanding of which was Timbuctu, flourished in Africa at a time when Europe was still in its own Dark Ages during the 14th century.\textsuperscript{15}

The humanitarian quality of life which existed in Africa has surpassed any that European societies have developed. The societies in Africa were constructed in a manner that prevented accumulation of private property. "The system of land tenure placed a brake on individual accumulation of land, and status therefore, rested primarily on political and social rather than economic criteria.\textsuperscript{16} In addition, the society was organized to stress non-exploitative social relations."

"...codes of hospitality, processes of the law, public order and social and religious tolerance. In each of those areas of human social activity, African norms and practices were given a high value by the Europeans themselves.\textsuperscript{17}

The position of Africans in the United States can only be appreciated in its totality by a thorough knowledge of world history, and African history in particular. Black people in the United States are the victims of an infant civilization which has effectively destroyed the more advanced civilizations of Africa, in particular, as well as those of Asia and the Americas, and put the whole of mankind back by centuries of time. The
historical rape of Africa has, in fact, been the cause of the under-
development that exists on that continent today. In Walter Rodney's
How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Sekou Toure states:

"The relation between the degree of destitution
of peoples of Africa and the length and nature of the
exploitation they had to endure is evident. Africa
remains marked by the crimes of the slave-traders:
up to now, her potentialities are restricted by under-
population."^{18}

The crime, however, does not stop here. It was through this enslave-
ment of Africa's people that the wealth and power of the western world
was developed, which, in turn, was used to maintain exploitative, op-
pressive controls over Africa and her people.

Much of the uniqueness of the African's position in the United
States rests in the pathetic irony of their being descendants of a
civilization which parented European civilization and at the same time
represent the oppressed victims of the child-civilization.

Africans - Not Americans: A Philosophical Debate

Due to the nature of the oppression of Black people in the United
States up until the present time, many Black people have been very de-
fensive about their right to be referred to as "Americans".* Having
nothing to do with notions of second class citizenry, a philosophical
discourse could be presented that supports the notion that Black people,
as descendants of African people, are, categorically, not American.
They are Africans displaced in America.

*The terms "America" and "American" are used under protest for lack of
a more appropriate term to call the land-mass and the natives of
that land in the Western hemisphere. Though this author could have
created new terms for the two, it was felt that the more popular terms
could serve best in this argument.
Just as the misnaming of the native Americans as "Indians", of the indigenous people of the Caribbean as "West Indians", of the Africans in the diaspora as "Negroes", and of themselves, the Europeans as "Americans" has served the European in the distortion of history, which aids in enabling him to make the world a playground for exploitative purposes, the redefining of the Native American as the authentic/original/sovereign American and all other groups as displaced persons from other geographic regions helps us to understand our historical role in the liberation of the entire world from the disease of imperialism.

The natives of a land mass, i.e., the indigenous people, are a people with a historical experience and a cultural personality that characterizes them as a result of that historical experience, and an invader does not become a member of that group or native of a particular land mass merely through proclamation. Through proclaiming themselves "American", the European invaders ignored the historical experience of the natives of this land, and proceeded to make history as if they were the indigenous people of the land. "After the Americans came to Santa Fe and called the country New Mexico, they protected the Mexicans because they had become American citizens. The Navahos were not citizens because they were Indians . . . ."19

When the Europeans landed on the shores of the Americas, they were, for the most part, welcomed. Documents have shown that, as with most African societies, the Native American claimed no ownership of land, sea, or water, and because they felt that there was ample land for everyone, they allowed the European to stay, and in many instances helped him to survive in the new land. "Samoset knew that the land came from the Great
Spirit, was as endless as the sky, and belonged to no man."^20

It was soon to be learned that the European's intentions were not as generous as the native American groups, and consequently land was destroyed and people murdered. "When Columbus first saw the island he described it as 'very big and very level and the trees very green.... the whole of it so green that it is a pleasure to gaze upon'": The Europeans who followed him there destroyed its vegetation and its inhabitants - human, animal, bird and fish - and after turning it into a wasteland, they abandoned it."^21

If in fact, Black people wish to assume the definition of "American" then they are either asking to receive credit for the complete annihilation of nations of Native American people or they are claiming their heritage as being native to this land. Because neither of these conditions apply to the Black masses or their forefathers in this country, Black people must then re-define themselves as Black people displaced in America.

"White folks realize that they can concede Blackness and still exercise control. This country says, 'Yes, you may be Black; but, you must be American,' which means we are as responsible for oppression as whites."^22

In addition, it must be noted that a definition of a group of people in accordance to their historical/ancestral existence on a land mass is not the only characteristic disqualifying Black people from the right to refer to themselves as "Americans". Even if the displaced European population could be historically defined as "Americans", Black people would still disqualify. Though their birth certificates, passports, employment papers, and other "legal" documents may read "citizen",
Black people have, indeed, remained, by their economic, political, and social position, a marginal, exploited group in this society. Both Malcolm X and H. Rap Brown attacked the so-called second class citizenry that Black people are supposed to enjoy in this society.

In a moving letter to Black people H. Rap Brown asserts:

"You see, freedom is absolute. You're either free or you are a slave. There is nothing in between freedom and slavery. There is no such thing as a second class citizen. That's like telling me you can be a little bit pregnant."^3

Malcolm X's speeches add to this:

"America is a colonial power. She has colonized 22,000,000 Afro-Americans by depriving us of first class citizenship, by depriving us of civil rights, actually by depriving us of human rights."^24

If Black people choose to accept being "American", then they must not only accept the economic and military power of the United States and this country's capacity to produce consumer items, but they must also accept the pains of Vietnam, the contradictions of Watergate, and they must accept racism and the violence of this country.

The dilemma, which the African's forced removal from Africa has placed him/her in, in the United States, makes it imperative that a concrete understanding be developed of the objective position of Africans in this society. Through this understanding, it may be easier to comprehend why, in their desire to be "Americans", the developed psyche of Black people displaced in this country mandates that Black people accept all of the violence and decadence of the United States, and reject their native home, Africa. This understanding may eventually lead to the re-definition of Black people, which is called for in this chapter, and
the struggle for liberation, which is demanded in a later chapter.

Africans in America: A Colonized People

The type of colonization which characterizes the African condition in the United States gives further testimony to the unique position of these people.

Traditionally, colonization suggests that a nation or territory is taken over, i.e., colonized, by another nation.

Generally speaking, the popular notion about colonialism is one of an overseas army and an overseas establishment set up by the colonial power thousands of miles from its home base. Thus, the idea of colonialism becomes identical with an overseas territory and strange, unfamiliar people being on that territory.25

Variations in the nature of colonialism do exist, however. A people can be colonized on the land that they have occupied or they can be forcibly removed from that land and colonized in a new territory that is foreign to them. Thus, colonization is no less than the systematic economic, political and social exploitation of a group of people by another group of people wherever they might be. The territory, whether that of the colonizer or of the colonized, is merely the stage upon which the mechanism of exploitation is developed into a system of oppression. The United States offers several examples of "domestic" colonialism. The African, Native-American, and the Mexican in the United States are all representatives of peoples colonized within the land boundaries of the colonial power.26

A fundamental aspect of colonization, domestic or classical, is the dehumanization of the colonized so that the latter's oppression is made possible and/or easier. Certain phenomena accrue as a result of
this, further distinguishing the colonized. These phenomena, which will be discussed in detail in this chapter, further define the African in the United States. It is necessary to note, therefore, that never is the character of Africans in the United States separate from their experience of colonization.

"The true portrait of the colonized is a function of this relationship...it can be stated that colonization creates the colonized just as...it created the colonizer."27

Displaced African's Dilemma: Imposed Cultural Identity

An absence of identity or the knowledge of who and what he/she is, is more than often, one of the effects of colonization which plague a colonized people, and this phenomenon does not escape the Black man or woman in the United States. The debasement, limitations, restrictions and persecution that they suffer due to the color of their skin, creates in the Black man or woman a desire to become white. It is thought that "whiteness" will bring them the economic power and social and political freedom that they desire. Because of the conscious design and overt efforts on the part of the colonizer to debase "blackness", many Black people have accepted this debasement, and seek total identification with white people. This quest for "whiteness" has its degrees of concentration, and therefore, Black people may strive for this physically, culturally or both. Whatever the means used to accomplish this impossible task, its purpose is singularly to "elevate" oneself from the depths of "blackness", thereby becoming more acceptable in the broader society.28 Undoubtedly, a group of people that seek assimilation into a certain society cannot at
the same time seek liberation from that society.

"The first attempt of the colonized is to change his condition by changing his skin. There is a tempting model very close at hand - the colonizer. The latter suffers from none of his deficiencies, has all rights, enjoys every possession and benefits from every prestige. He is, moreover, the other part of the comparison, the one that crushes the colonized and keeps him in servitude. The first ambition of the colonized is to become equal to that splendid model and to resemble him to the point of disappearing in him."

The Black man or woman's rejection of their physical selves is revealed in a number of ways. Dyeing and straightening their hair, facial changes, skin bleaching, etc., are some of the many means that Black people use in order to come closer to the physical appearance of their colonizer, the European. Since the 1960's when it was no longer fashionable to do this, Black people rationalized the afore-mentioned alterations of their appearances by stating that these alterations were for the purposes of "helping my hair to grow" or "making me more attractive" and "clearing up my skin" instead of attempts to become white. Due to the fact that the definitions of beauty are controlled by the colonizer and not by the colonized, the colonized, specifically, Black people in the United States, make every effort to find room for themselves inside these definitions.

Art

Furthermore, Black people strive to achieve knowledge and appreciation of the European culture. Those with the economic capability attempt to appreciate the popular music, the popular art and the popular literature of the European in the United States at the exclusion of his own culture. Even those less well-off among the Black population seek to imitate the European in his attire, material possessions, etc. By assuming the culture
of the colonizer, the colonized loses touch with his own culture. This is an integral and significant part of the agenda of the colonizer. It was therefore, through no mistake on the part of the colonizer that when Africans were gathered on the shores of Africa, they were separated and mixed with no reference to tribal associations so that they were barely able to communicate with each other. It is in this instance that one can appreciate the importance of the role of language in the deculturization process.

Language

Denied their African language, African slaves were forced to learn an alien language. Through this process, more than any other, the African was forced to accept the culture of the colonizer. The more the African came to speak in the tongue of the colonizer, the more he/she came to embrace the colonizer's ideas, and therefore, the more complete was the adoption of the oppressor's culture. Fanon implies that this process is conclusive: "To speak a language means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization." The imposition of language was for the primary purpose of severing the colonized's identification with his own culture. Yet, the colonized's mastery of the alien language may bring forth varying degrees of fear on the part of the colonizer who recognizes the potential weaponry of this mastery. Knowledge of or proficiency in the colonizer's language is a potential tool for eloquently exposing the existing contradictions of the colonizer's system, for persuasively mobilizing the oppressed masses and/or for gaining sympathizers to the
plight of the oppressed. Fanon expresses this in the following way:
"...the one who expresses himself well, who has mastered the language,
is inordinately feared; keep an eye on that one, he is almost white."31
On the other hand, if the potential danger of this mastery is by all
appearances dormant, then it is welcomed with the confidence that the
colonized thus educated is striving to be a part of the system of the
colonizer.

Religion

Other avenues of cultural imposition prove to be equally effective
in their assistance to maintaining colonization. Another very vital
aspect of a people's culture is their religion. Through forced cir-
cumstances, the Africans in America have abandoned the religions pe-
culiar to pre-colonial Africa. More importantly, they have been
forced to accept the religious doctrines of the colonizer, that of
Christianity.

It is crucial to comprehend the theories of materialism and idealism
as they pertain to religious thought in order to have a clear under-
standing of the value of this avenue, specifically, teachings in
Christianity to the colonized, and the necessity to have the colonized
indulge in these religious practices.

According to the system of materialist thought, man represents the
manifestation of evolutions whereby the simple and lower orders develop
to the complex and higher orders. The state of the Universe and all its
living forms can be explained logically by this kind of thought.
"Materialism....does not claim any special insight. On the contrary,
to be a materialist is to insist that whatever we can know must be
learned the hard way - by practical experience, by scientific
Diametrically opposed to materialism, the system of idealist thought maintains that the existence of the Universe is due to a God who is either presented as a person or as a divine being and recognized as the creator of everything. Within idealism, the existence of matter cannot be logically explained since idealists are opposed to logic. Cornforth describes the system of idealism in the following way.

"For idealism, ideas are not to be explained as arising from and reflecting material circumstances; on the contrary, ideas enjoy an immaterial existence on their own... Thus it (idealism) holds that nature, or the material world, is the creation of God, or spirit; that material things are what they are because they were created by God in accordance with his eternal ideas."\(^{33}\)

Part of the idealist propaganda is the belief in such slogans as: "God and the liberty of man" and "God and the dignity, justice, equality, fraternity and welfare of man."\(^{34}\) Bakunin, however, clearly points out that the justice and liberty of man are in clear contradiction to the existence of God.

"...if God exists, all these things are condemned to non-existence. For if God is, he is necessarily the eternal, supreme, and absolute MASTER, and if such a MASTER exists, man is a slave. Now if man is a slave, neither justice, nor equality, nor fraternity, nor property is possible for him."\(^{35}\)

Bakunin believes that everywhere that religious idealism exists as the religion of the dominant culture in a society, so does exploitation and oppression. On the other hand, a non-exploitative society necessarily supports materialism as a way of explaining man's existence. The Dictionary of Philosophy, edited by Rosenthal and Yudin, gives a definition of idealism which supports Bakunin's thoughts:
"In contrast to materialism, idealism is usually rooted socially in the world outlook of conservative and reactionary sections and classes interested neither in the correct reflection of being, nor in the development of the productive forces, nor in radical reconstruction of social relations." 

It is not difficult to understand why it was mandatory for the colonizer to force their religious thought upon colonized people. By forcing acceptance of this religion, they forced acceptance of certain ideas, of certain symbols, of a certain logic, and of a certain way of looking at the Universe.

Many Africans in the United States who accepted Christianity were convinced that it was through "Divine Will" that they were enslaved, and that they would be rewarded in heaven. The idea of a "pie in the sky" typifies the religious thoughts of a majority of Black people in the United States. While singing songs of praise to the Lord, Black people have not realized the profound contradiction in their religious actions. They continue to pray to a white God for their freedom from oppression by white people.

Though it may be argued that God has not been assigned any form or color by the Christian leaders, one needs only to walk into a Christian church in order to see that both God's son and the madonna are portrayed as white persons. It is known that Black people pray to these figures for salvation and often interpret them as representatives of God, if not God himself. The mystery surrounding God and his power has served to make Black people reluctant to act in their own behalf and against oppression for fear of reprisals from God. Even in cases where believers of Christianity have been able to act and did so, they have first justi-
fied their actions through God or divine will.

Religion has also been used as a tool to divide Black people in this country and to minimize the possibility of identification with Africa. Just when the momentum against repression is at a peak, religious sects find themselves theologically and sometimes, physically pitted against one another, causing great hostility and confusion in the Black community.

"Colonialism...shaken to its very foundation by the birth of African unity, recovers its balance and tries now to break that will to unity by using all the movement's weaknesses. Colonialism will set the African peoples moving by revealing to them the existence of "spiritual" rivalries." 

This leads to the necessity of analyzing the political ideologies that arise out of the different religious sectors in the United States. While some sectors speak of and practice integration and non-violence as expressions of resistance, others view separation and violence as a means of expressing resistance. Both views, naturally, cannot be separated from the colonial experience, and because both views are creations of the colonial experience, they are subject to the manipulation of the colonizer. In times when the interests of the colonizer are being violated, this manipulation takes the form of pitting the religious sectors against each other so that they cannot collectively deal with the objective condition of Black people in the United States.

Imposing Western thought and ideas on the colonized is part of the colonizer's endeavors aimed at keeping Black people in an oppressed condition. The colonizer attempts to shape all cultural definitions in order to maintain his position of economic, political and social superiority.
Absence of Historical Continuity and Sense of Powerlessness

The absence of cultural identity as a phenomenon accruing from colonization is compounded by other phenomena distinguishing the oppressed group of Africans in the United States. African people in this country are further defined by an absence of historical continuity. The existence of Black people, as explained by the educational apparatus of the United States, began with the coming of the colonizer. The history of Africans in the United States is selectively limited to explanation at the point and time Europeans found their way into Africa for purposes of colonialism. The pre-colonial history of Black people is projected as an age of savagery that awaited European intervention. According to the texts of the educational institutions in the United States and in Europe, it was the destiny of the "civilized" Europeans to "save" Africa from the continuance of this condition of savagery. The Black people in the United States, for the most part, see their past and present existence as inseparable from European contact. Since most Black people in the United States cannot trace their ancestry beyond the shores of America, many have accepted the projections of their history that have been popularized in the available texts. The media further assists this effort by popularizing notions of Africa as the "backward, Dark Continent."

Denied any cultural identity and a history of work, Black people face more dehumanization in scientific speculations about their biological capabilities. A dependency complex is another phenomenon which develops from the colonial experience. Denied by the society as incapable, stupid
and ignorant, the colonized group becomes dependent upon the colonizer for every aspect of his social existence. He sees himself as unable to fend for himself on even the meagerest of levels, and even feels that his quest for freedom cannot be accomplished without assistance from members among the colonizer's group.

As a result of the dehumanization levied against the colonized group on a psychological level, the colonized group begins to accept their debasement. This act is tantamount to seeing themselves through the eyes of the colonizer. In the *Souls of Black Folks*, W.E.B. DuBois describes this as the "double-consciousness". Being that it is almost impossible for any group of people to exist unaffected by the constant bombardment of defaming definitions levied at them over which they have no control, the colonized react to this portrait of themselves by acceptance of it. Africans in the United States have internalized European definitions of themselves which denounce his (the African's) humanity, intelligence and worth.

"Madness for destroying the colonized having originated with the needs of the colonizer, it is not surprising that it conforms so well to them... More harmful perhaps, is the echo that it excited in the colonized himself. Constantly confronted with this image of himself, set forth and imposed on all institutions and in every human contact, how could the colonized help reacting to his portrait." 

The colonized person who accepts his/her inferiority inevitably believes that he/she does not have the capability to change this situation of oppression. Educated to fear the nuclear power of the United States, Africans in the States are reluctant to initiate or participate in any military efforts designed to alter the situation of power. Having been bombarded with the propaganda that "the United States has never lost
a war", having knowledge of the United States' modern technological equipment, and having been educated to believe that the only military geniuses are European including Alexander the Great, Napoleon, McArthur, Eisenhower, etc.—all serve as impediments to confrontation with the racist and capitalist regime of the United States. History and the streets are full of examples of how "... Word plus the Gun forced each non-white group to examine its collective sense of self-preservation and explore all the options open to it."40 Simply interpreted, the colonized people have wanted to try every possible option open to it, save violence, to change their objective condition.

The phenomena resulting from colonization and characterizing the oppressed group of Africans in the United States is inclusive of an absence of cultural identity and historical continuity, and a dependency complex and a sense of powerlessness. Acceptance of the dehumanizing portrait constructed by the colonizer is much easier than its rejection when the ideological aggression of the colonizer is supported by the organization and operation of his institutions. The economic, social and political structures are impossible to dismiss when they affect the concrete existence of the colonized.

"Even if he were insensitive to calumny and scorn, even if he shrugged his shoulders at insults and jostling, how could the colonized escape the low wages, the agony of his culture, the law which rules him from birth until death."41

Economic and Social Genocide: A Forced Reality

The Black people in the United States are the undergirding force of capitalist development, and at the same time are the most violated element
of capitalist production. Hence, Black people have become an expression of one of the principle contradictions within the capitalist system, i.e. they have been the main producers in the society who have benefitted least from their production, and they have been refused citizens' rights while having citizens' duties exacted from them. Boggs does not separate the condition of Black people from the development of capitalism. "Black underdevelopment is a product of capitalist development."42

The African slave trade was the foundation for the "triangular trade", which was responsible for the development of shipping, insurance, banking, and manufacturing that developed in the United States and in Europe. Africans in the Americas during slavery were locked into the agricultural sectors of the society, i.e., cotton, tobacco, sugar, and later, bananas and rice, and as the Industrial Revolution advanced in Europe and the United States in the latter part of the 19th Century, Africans were still not allowed to enter the lead sectors of the economy. This, of course, lead to making work opportunities available to migrating Europeans, and the continued assignment of Africans in the United States to the menial, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs for the next one hundred years. In Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880, DuBois showed why there were large numbers of European immigrants during this period. "The (white) worker in America saw a chance to increase his wage and regulate his conditions of employment much greater than in Europe."43

The contradictions of capitalism set the white worker, who held the existence of the unpaid and later the underpaid Black worker responsible for his wretched condition, against the Black worker. The outcome was, of course, race wars and the migration of Blacks en mass from the rural
south to northern urban communities. DuBois states:

"...For immediate available jobs, the Irish particularly competed and the employers because of race antipathy and sympathy with the south did not wish to increase the number of Negro workers, so long as the foreigners worked just as cheaply. The foreigners in turn blamed blacks for the cheap price of labor. The result was race war."44

Between 1915 and 1920, one half million Black people migrated to the North, where they attempted to find gainful employment in World War I and later in World War II as the war industries expanded.45 As could be predicted, the racism and inequality in work opportunities did not cease just because of the presence of the two wars. On the contrary, Black people continued to face discrimination in housing, employment, and education. Richard M. Dalfiume in a chapter in The Negro in Depression and War gives the following interpretation of problems facing Black people before and during the two wars:

"To understand how the American Negro reacted to World War II, it is necessary to have some ideas of the discrimination he faced. The defence build-up begun by the United States in 1940 was welcomed by Negroes who were disproportionately represented among the unemployed. Employment discrimination in the revived industries....was rampant. When Negroes sought jobs at aircraft factories where employers begged for workers, they were informed that "the Negro will be considered only as janitors and in other small capacities"....Government financed training programs to overcome the shortages of skilled workers discriminated against Negro trainees." 46

The author further adds:

"The Negro's morale at the beginning of World War II is partly explained by his experience in World War I. Black people went into that war with high morale, generated by the belief that the democratic slogans literally meant what they said.....But the images of the new democratic order was smashed by the race riots, lynchings, and continued rigid discrimination."47

Currently, Blacks are still one of the most economically disenfranchised
national group in the United States with the exception of the Native Americans. Owning no measurable capital or means of production, Black people, for the most part, have remained an easily distinguishable labor market for cheap labor and for economic discrimination and consumer consumption. "Thirty percent of all industrial workers are black. Close to forty percent of all industrial support roles are filled by blacks."^8

The social myth concerning economic mobility has only been realized by other European national groups that have found their way into the middle class by means of selective discrimination which maintains African people at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. In support of this, James Boggs states that, "At the bottom of every ladder in American society is a Black man. His place there is a direct result of capitalism supporting racism and racism supporting capitalism."^49

Class and race discrimination has left an imprint on almost every aspect of Black existence in the United States. "Benign neglect" would be the most accurate phrase describing the Black existence in the United States. Very much in keeping with a government decision "to let the Negroes die off" following the Emancipation Proclamation, Black people are the victims of most of the abhorrent conditions which afflict the United States' society. Faced with delapidated housing; insect-infested and over-priced food, little or no medical services for sickness, overcrowded schools, etc., and promised a bettering of these conditions by politicians, Black people stay victims to unchanging conditions and indifferent people in the positions of power.

Black people are the most repressed population in the United States. The military arm of the United States--its policemen, state troopers, army,
etc.--is trained to "uphold the law" and repress Black men, women and children. The law generally broken by Black people is that of fighting against or reacting to the oppressive condition in which they live. The taking of Black lives is so much a part of the social fabric of the United States, it often does require that lawful considerations be made. The indiscriminate killing of Black people when they resist oppression has been witnessed by the events surrounding the Orangeburg Massacre at South Carolina State College, the Black Panther Party, Southern University, the Tombs and Attica. The Black forty-eight percent of the prison populations, political prisoners, exposes the magnitude of repression in the United States.

The feelings of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as related to the anti-Black practices in the United States, are expressed in a statement by Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood:

"Even as lynching was the Roman holiday sport of the 19th century America, killing black Americans promiscuously has been the 20th century pasttime of our police, whose primary duty is law enforcement and keeping the peace. I'm thinking of the six Negroes killed in Augusta, Ga., all shot in the back; of the Panthers slain in their beds in Chicago; of the students slain at Jackson State College; of the almost daily news stories of the indiscriminate, ruthless slaying of black Americans by police and civilians, under the guise of "law and order", but actually fulfilling the guidelines of a bitter, white majority, whose vain effort to keep us "in our place" leads them to resort to the policeman's pistol and kangaroo court trials..." 

But it is not the conditions resulting from colonization alone that necessitates complete change. It is these conditions along with the fact that technology is rendering Black people obsolete in the United States, and that governmental actions reflect genocidal means for dealing with
its "Black problem."

"Thanks to old Black backs and newfangled machines, the sweat chores of the nation are done. Now the some 25 million Blacks face a society that is brutally pragmatic, technologically accomplished, deeply racist, increasingly overcrowded and surly. In such a society, the absence of social and economic value is a crucial factor in anyone's fight for a future."52

Historically, Black people have been the manual laborers of this nation. From the cotton fields to the factories to the offices, Black peoples' jobs have been those jobs that white people could not and would not do. Now, in many areas, machines have replaced the need for Black people to tend to those tasks, so the unemployment rates of Black people soar.

Coupled with the fact that advanced U.S. technology has had a devastating impact on the employment of the Black community is the fact that capitalism, whether advanced in technological fields or not, must have an unemployment reserve. This needed reserve, of course, falls on the shoulders of Black people, and the end result is the fact that unemployment of Black workers usually runs about twice the rate of white workers, and unemployment of Black teenagers in urban centers is 44.9% compared with 18.1% for whites.53

The unemployment situation becomes even more drastic, when one realizes that while non-white adults are out of jobs, child labor is booming in the U.S. The Wall Street Journal wrote on March 30, 1972: These are hard times so that employers resort to an effective means of slashing costs: child labor."54 This, of course, violates the laws which outlawed child labour over thirty years ago in this country. "Children supply 25 percent...of the agricultural workers on large farms."55 The Times in its edition on March 23, 1971 stated: "Children, some only six years old,
were found bending and crawling at temperatures of 36% centrigrade doing harvest work for ten hours each day."56

But, as is characteristic in a system of colonization, Black people are blamed for the high unemployment in the Black community, and are now viewed as "scrap heaps" by the government authorities. Ex-labor Secretary W. Williard Wirtz was quoted as saying the following:

"We are piling up a human scrap heap of between 250,000 and 500,000 people a year, many of whom appear in the unemployment statistics. They are often not counted among the unemployed because they have given up looking for work and thus count themselves out of the labor market.... The human scrap heap is composed of persons, who, as a consequence of technological development, of their own educational failures, of environments of poverty and other causes that disqualify them for employment in a killed economy, cannot and will not find work...."57

If governmental attitudes concerning the Black masses is in any way reflected in Mr. Wirtz's statement, then Black people should expect little more in terms of governmental actions. On the contrary, because "scraps" and "scrap heaps" are usually items for discard, the prospect of genocide does not appear unrealistic.

Many of the Black people in the United States have foreseen and reported on this nation's plan for overt genocide, but most of the Black masses have not taken heed to their warnings. This is critical because more facts support and confirm the government's genocidal plans than rebuke them. In response to the question, "Is Genocide Possible in America?", Charles Hamilton wrote:

"The clear answer to this question must be "yes". Then one must proceed to explain why and under what conditions the answer is "yes".

I deal with the question in terms of black Americans and their relationship to a dominant white society. That relationship has been one of subordinance and deliberate deprivation. The statistics show this! The "official reports" show this - but above all, the everyday lives
of masses of Black people clearly show this. This condition has been deliberately imposed; it has not been one unconsciously achieved or one that accidentally happened.

Therefore, calmly and quietly and unemotionally, we must conclude that the oppression of blacks is not a result of unintended consequences or a result of some prevalent defect in the character of black people.

The fact that this is the case is frequently confused by rhetoric pointing to "progress" in race relations, and by rhetoric of trusting people that "it couldn't happen here", it is confused by the clear fact that some black people have attained "high" positions of visibility in the public and private sectors...... Many people will point to these things as evidence that blacks are "making progress". And yet, all these things confuse what is deliberately happening to masses - millions of black people.

When the masses, in increasing numbers, begin to object to their depressed status, and when they begin to protest and make demands which challenge their condition, the various decision-making centers are required to respond.

More likely than not, and inevitably, those demands will exceed the ability of "the system" to respond positively. These demands and the unwillingness and inability of the dominant society to meet these demands will create stress and strain and tension. Notwithstanding the fact that the demands are legitimate, we can no longer assume the rationality of white America.

We simply must remember that the oppression is not accidental. It is deliberate."

The prospect of genocide is not limited to the conclusions of logical deduction. In an interview with the United Press International, a prominent sociologist in the United States, one Dr. Philip M. Hauser narrowed the nation's choices to two regarding the fate of Black people. The reportage read as follows:

"It is easy to understand the "why" of the colored rebellion in America.

It is even easy to suggest what ought to be done about it.
What is not easy, according to Dr. Philip M. Hauser, is how to make the break with our past which must be made before the obvious solutions can be undertaken.

Hauser is director of the Population Reference Bureau. What he says makes grim reading. As he sees it America has two choices.

"...It can make the heavy "investment in people" which will have to be made to transform the under-privileged into responsible citizens; or it can suppress its rebellious minorities.

If we are not prepared to make the investment in human resources that is required," according to Hauser, "We will be forced to increase our investment in the Police, National Guard and the Army.

And possibly - it can happen here - we may be forced to resort to concentration camps and even genocide." 59

President Nixon's two terms in office, besides being plagued by the Watergate scandal and the deliberate murder of thousands of Vietnamese and Cambodian people (to say nothing of the American soldiers who have died in those countries), have been also described as terms consisting of an anti-Black movement. Many of the administrative actions associated with him have been/are being directly related to mental and physical genocide against Black people in this country. The government cannot be divorced from the disproportionate number of Black soldiers on front lines in Vietnam; the massive influx of dope in the Black community; the federally supported planned parenthood activities that give incentives for sterilization to the poor; "law and order" tendencies which have resulted in police brutality and murder of Black people; economic cuts for support (including such things as breakfast and lunch programs, housing, and better education opportunities) for Black families; lobotomy operations on Black prisoners; and flourishing reports that Black people are genetically inferior
to white people. This course of action, initiated by the government, can be paralleled in several instances to the Jewish predicament in Hitler's Germany, where thoughts of a "Master Race" dominated the scene. Though the ruling class of this nation has not, as yet, publically proclaimed itself the "Master Race", its superiority views are outlined by a statement of Floyd B. McKissick entitled "Genocide U.S.A.: A Blueprint for Black Survival":

"The first pre-requisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated theses, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously the Black people.....

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion.....

This is not a problem of Civil Rights--it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake."

The prospect of genocide is a reality, however, which can be effectively countered if the strategic position Africans in the United States occupy is used to its optimum. The United States--supplier of military machinery to Portugal for intervention in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, supplier of military arms to Israel for military aggression in the Middle East; conspirators of coup d'etats in Chara, Congo-Brazzaville, Ghana, etc., instigators of wars in Nigeria, etc.; perpetrators of the economic exploitation of Blacks in Zimbabwe and South Africa--is the central agent of
world imperialism. Being "in the belly of the monster", international attention is directed at Black people for resistance efforts that will effectively counter and destroy the structure that determines the wretched condition of the Third World and other oppressed groups. Although liberation efforts in the United States on the part of Black people will inevitably be met with massive repression and an acceleration of the genocidal agenda of the government, current efforts of repression and genocide on the part of the oppressor are destroying the lives of Black people in the United States at a rate that makes Black survival dependent on liberation efforts.

The automatic question of Black survival without a liberation struggle can be seriously questioned if one takes into account the following facts: According to the Public Affairs Commission, a Black baby born in 1969 had a life expectancy of 63 years as compared to a life expectancy of 70 years for whites. Infant mortality for Blacks is twice that of whites, and "There are some northern urban ghettos where one out of ten newborn babies dies." In addition, 80-85% of lead poisoning victims in the U.S. are non-whites, and 200 children die of lead poisoning every year, while 4,000 suffer brain damage. Of the 400,000 children who get lead poisoning, only 16,000 receive treatment. Black women are four times as likely to die in child-birth as are white women, and Blacks die twice as frequently as do whites from tuberculosis, influenza and pneumonia. Sickle Cell Anemia, which is basically a Black disease, occurs in approximately 1 out of 400 Black births, and until very recently, victims did not live beyond 40 and many died in their 20's. Drugs are flowing into the Black community at a highly disproportionate rate, where in New York City alone, three-fourths
of the 1970 drug-related deaths were Black and Puerto Rican, half of the victims were less than 23 years old and five were only 14 years old.\(^{66}\)

There is an excess of 13,000 deaths annually among low-income populations, which makes poverty the third major medical killer in the United States.\(^{67}\)

In rural areas about 50% of Black occupied housing is substandard, compared to 8% of white occupied housing.\(^{68}\) Black people are arrested three to four times more often than whites. 70 to 80% of prisoners in big city jails are Black, and of these, more than half are awaiting trial, some for over a year. From 1930 to 1967 Blacks were 53% of prisoners executed, and over half of all the convicted rapists were white; but of the 455 men executed for rape, only 48 were white, 405 were Black and 2 were other races. In addition, Black people comprise a majority of the 669 condemned men and women on Death row.\(^{69}\) Finally, one must take into consideration that none of the above statistics include the percentages of accidental deaths incurred by Black people, they do not include the number of deaths incurred because of the colonial experience which encourages Black people to kill other Black people, they do not include the numbers of aborted Black babies, and they do not include the numbers of Black people killed as a result of police brutality.

The more statistical data one researches, the more overwhelming it becomes. When added to a report by ex-Senator Joseph S. Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania) which showed that 13 million children in the United States are under-nourished, and that, he "...met families in which children under eight months were fed on nothing but green kale and mashed beans," one can only come up with physical and mental genocide.\(^{69}\)
Conclusion

There is no such thing as a 'melting pot' American society. When it refers specifically to Black people, racism and capitalism will never allow Black people to occupy any position other than the "bottom of the ladder" position that they have occupied since their arrival on the American continent. And this "bottom" position has, of course, mandated that the masses of Black people constantly face death and destruction throughout life as a colonized people.

The Black man/woman in the United States is the pillow and foundation of the economics of this system. "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes..." The enslavement of Black people has made the Africans in America the victims of cultural suppression and political repression, and this experience, has resulted not only in the Black man/woman in America suffering from loss of identity and cultural heritage, and physical and mental destruction, but has also resulted in the pillage and underdevelopment of a total continent, Africa.

The underdevelopment of Africa was made possible because of the loss of millions of the continent's population, and the accumulated wealth of this country as a result of slavery. Walter Rodney, in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, states and proves that "...the international capitalist system.... has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the past five centuries." The capital accumulated by this country from the enslavement of African people was, in turn, a major factor in the growth of this nation to a world power, which was/is able to contribute to/
be responsible for the continued exploitation and oppression of Africans on the African continent and throughout the world.

This, of course, becomes ironical when one reviews history and discovers that the African position of colonialization has found them enslaved by products of their own genius, and debased by a still young cultivation which has yet to achieve what African civilizations accomplished and whose foundation of achievements comprise theft of the highest form. In addition, the masses of the Africans in America have not only been unable to benefit from the riches incurred from his/her own enslavement in this country, but as current history provides proof, he/she, having completed the 'dirt' jobs of society, faces the possibility of total genocide. Understandably, the current economic scene makes it ill-advisable for this nation to totally extinguish the Black population, as Mike Hamlin, an urban community organizer, points out in an article written by Earl Ofari in "Black World" that: "...it is far more profitable to use cheap Black labor than to automate... at this point;" however, it is hard to believe that the already existent methods of eliminating numbers of Black people would not be increased if Black people, indeed, become a more pointed thorn in this nation's side.

"If we must die, let it not be like hogs -
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs
Making their mock at our accursed lot
If we must die, Oh let us nobly die
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy,
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
Oh kinsmen! We must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave
And for their thousand blows deal one death blow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men, we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!
If we must die.....

Claude McKay
FOOTNOTES

8. Ibid, p. 36.
20. Ibid, p. 3.
26. Ibid.
27. Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, p. 91.
32. Maurice Cornforth, Philosophy for Socialists, p. 55.
33. Ibid., p. 52.
35. Ibid., p. 62.
37. Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, p. 160.
42. James Boggs, Racism and Capitalism in America, p. 134.
44. Ibid., p.18.
45. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto, p. 216.
47. Ibid., p. 300-301.
52. Ibid., p.18.
56. Ibid.
58. Ibid., pp. 165-166.
59. Ibid., pp. 166-167.
60. Ibid., pp. 298-299.
64. Ibid.
70. Mao Tse Tung, "Statement by Comrade Mao Tse Tung, in Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression", 4/16/68.
CHAPTER II

TRADITIONAL AMERICAN EDUCATION: MIS-EDUCATION
OF BLACK PEOPLE

Every society has some form of educational system, though these systems differ in terms of their organization and content. Each educational system will reflect the political viewpoint and the system of production of the given society. In this sense, educational systems will differ from society to society, because the politics of each society is different; however, they will have a basic similarity in that education, whether it is formal or informal, simple or complex, has a purpose.

The purpose of education is to transmit the accumulated knowledge of one generation to the next, to encourage the development of new ideas and skills that will benefit the society, and to prepare individuals or groups for a productive role in the society, i.e. to educate its people in accordance to its political line and world outlook so that they will perform tasks which will aid in the overall preservation and development of the society.

To this extent, traditional American education, though failing to serve the needs of the Black community, has succeeded in developing groups of Black people who play "productive" roles in this society. It has helped to mould a group of people that grasp capitalistic values and contribute to the capitalistic system, i.e. as exploited workers and consumers, while not being allowed to reap any of the benefits of capitalism; it has systematically been used to educate its constituents, both Black and white, to regard themselves as "inferior" and "superior", respectively, to other races; it has produced a people that are ill-equipped for meeting the present
and future needs of the Black community; it has produced a group of people that will swell the unemployment roles as more and more jobs demand technical skills; it has ensured that the country will always have a "reserve labor army" amongst the unemployed Black workers; and it has systematically thwarted efforts of Black people toward gaining a true sense of identity.

American education is employed to teach people, through content and process, the values needed to maintain a capitalistic, exploitative society, i.e. individualism, competition, ethnocentrism, white supremacy, and the value of property over people. And this type of education has served the country well. It has facilitated the methods whereby the correct numbers become intellectuals, workers, prisoners, and slaves; all balanced so that the standard capitalistic system can continue to function.

Traditional educational philosophies cannot be separated from European values, attitudes, tradition, and practices. This is not to say, however, that many aspects of education in this country are not strictly "American", since education, as a rule, develops its purpose, form and content from the particular social-political environment in which it develops. For this reason, fundamental differences could be discerned in the political and educational practices not only in Europe and America, but also in the Northern and Southern States of America.

Newton Edwards and Herman Richey, authors of The School in the American Social Order show that the beginnings of American education in the colonies were inseparable from Europe. These two men state that, "They (the colonies) were, in fact, Europe's western frontier, and they were bound in a thousand ways by the traditions and customs of the Old World, by its ideology and its religious, social, economic and political institutions. The history
of colonial life, therefore, is ... the history of the transplanting of European culture to American soil."¹

The philosophy of that time reflected, to a large degree, the religious philosophies of the settlers, since religion played an enormous role in colonial education/life, and the major concern of education was the passing of the cultural heritage of the colonies.

"Religion was a powerful instrument of social control and direction, an instrument scarcely less important than the state itself. It was a means of controlling thought, attitudes, and loyalties, of getting and keeping political power, of fixing or breaking up the schemes of economic arrangements, and of defining the relation of social classes."²

Another important European influence, aided by the power of religion, was the two-class educational system which reflected the prevailing systems of social classes in seventeenth century Europe. This influence continues to this date, though various attempts are made to disguise it.

Capitalism, as the guiding force in the social structure, had an undeniable affect upon education. Before educational institutions became the big business enterprises that they are today, economics was a strong motivating factor in laws that made education mandatory. The need for the development of skilled laborers, along with the desire of the colonist to prevent the growth of a large pauper class as existed in Europe, caused great concern for the colonial leaders, therefore making it necessary for them to turn to compulsory education in order to head off the possibilities of these problems.

The zeal for compulsory education dwindled during the seventeenth century, and was completely abandoned during the eighteenth century, however, education was still able to develop as a major force in the growing power
and influence of this nation. The social and technological changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries caused fundamental changes in the economic life of the nation, and these changes were especially important to education and its institutions.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the entire education enterprise was expanded so that it extended from nursery schools through the universities. In addition, a shift was made from the placement of a major emphasis on cultural education to preparing the educational participants for a role in vocational life. This, however, was not the only new demand that society was making upon education. Education was expected to prepare individuals for an active and intelligent participation in the society, which included the development of a wholesome use of leisure as well as occupation time.

The change from a laissez faire society to a corporate structured society in the United States in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, necessarily, caused further changes in the American educational institutions. These institutions took the challenge of developing individualist and potential "leaders" that would fit into the corporate mould of society. (All of these intentions, naturally, were aimed at the white citizens of the country, since racism and capitalism made it necessary to systematically exclude Black people).

American education, like its political, economic, and social counterparts, is based on the success of the individual. Thus individualism has become a functioning part of the educational process, and a value, i.e. individual worth, which is incorporated into each person's life style via the educational structures.

Each person is 'successful' in terms of the next person's educational
and social position. The measurement for success becomes the degree
to which the individual can climb up the so called 'social ladder',
and in terms of Black people it not only means trying to change their
social position, but compromising their 'souls'.

"According to this philosophy, the ambitious individual
of average or above-average ability from the lower and
middle classes is constantly encouraged to climb up the
social ladder out of his social class and community.
To achieve this goal, like the Englishman in colonial
Africa, he must conduct himself in ways to meet the
approval and social standards of those in power, that
is to say, as much unlike those in his community, and
as much like those in the Establishment as possible.
If he does this consistently to the satisfaction of
those in power, who are always observing and grading his
behavior, he is rewarded by promotion and advancement
into the higher echelons of the system. This is known
as 'making it on your own'. The more opportunistic
you are, the better your chances of 'making it'."^3

The sense of peoplehood and cooperative efforts are second to the
sense of "me", "myself", and "I" must do it. Ironically, the colonized
"me", "myself" and "I" can never throw off the yoke of oppression while
functioning within this framework, i.e. the capitalist system. It is
apparent that the values transmitted by the American educational system
are oppressive; that the educational system is oppressive; and its
present nature is fundamental to the continuation of the oppression of
Black people.

The educational system produces people, Black and white, that strive
to get ahead in the capitalist sense, and at the same time it manages to
keep them aware of the place Black people occupy in the American society,
i.e. the bottom of the social and economic ladder.

"In reality, black capitalism is a dream and a
delusion. Blacks have no one underneath them to exploit. So black capitalism would have to exploit a
black labor force which is already at the bottom of
the ladder and is in no mood to change from one exploiter to another just because he is of the same color."  

Along with the process of producing a people that want to "get ahead", education has virtually wiped out the Black man's identity. In addition to imposing a middle-class, Western culture on its Black population, America, through its educational system, has created an extreme sense of racial inferiority on the part of Black people and racial superiority on the part of whites. Within this operation, the Black man/woman not only loses a sense of who he/she is, but it is carried further, and he/she strives to be as much like white people as is possible. In this sense, the Black man/woman engages in a process of attempted assimilation. Naturally, this type of education and orientation leads to self-denial, i.e. a denial of who and what he/she is, a denial of his/her cultural heritage, and an absence of self-pride; and it encourages and reinforces the development of a "colonial mentality", i.e. the development of a psyche whereby he/she (the colonized) praises/incorporates/adopts the popular culture of the colonizer.

Thus educated, the Black man/woman becomes a means of perpetuating an oppressive society, thereby an asset to the ruling American class.

"The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race."  

Finally, traditional American education has produced a group of Black laborers in America that are semi-skilled and unskilled; thus denying
them their right and ability to take a productive place in the society. This was, and is, no accident. Black youth have systematically been encouraged to seek a "general", non-preparatory education; they have systematically and continuously received the "scraps" of American education, i.e. they have received the worst facilities, least financial support, and the "worst" teachers.

In total, the present education system serves as a vehicle for the continued oppression, exploitation, colonialization, and dehumanization of Black people; and attempts to change this condition have failed.

Where did it all begin? During the developmental process of American education, the educational system operated under the guise of "democracy", while at the same time, Third World peoples, i.e. African, Mexican, Asian, and Indian Americans, in this country were being pillaged and exploited.

Prior to the Civil War, the education of Black people was extremely limited, and often prohibited in most states. "...Of the 488,070 free Negroes in 1860, 32,629 were attending school."^6

The little education that did take place during this period was usually in the hands of philanthropic groups, or self-help programs initiated by some educated Blacks. It is unquestionable that the educational programs set up by the philanthropic groups for the education of Africans in America were paternalistic and motivated by a strong desire to initiate the African people into the Christian faith. "During the eighteenth century, religious organizations such as the Episcopal Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which worked in both North and South, and the Society of Friends undertook rudimentary education of slaves and free Negroes to enable them to read the Bible."^7
Thus, we can see that the education of Black people was based primarily on the Bible, and the effects of religion in the acculturation process were/are outstanding. "Negroes daily educated in the tenets of such a religion of the strong have accepted the status of the weak as divinely ordained, and during the last three generations of their nominal freedom they have done practically nothing to change it."³

The patterns of educating Black people so that the interests of a paternal group, i.e. philanthropic group, city, state, or federal government, etc., would be satisfied not only began at that time, but were so strong that they continue today. These interests may be any one or all of a set of goals as it relates to the education of Africans in this country. The intent is to either acculturate, to pacify, or to profit by the education of Black people, and all of these interests stand as the protectors of racism and capitalism.

This is not to say, however, that the missionaries and philanthropists that undertook the task of educating Black people were not, by their own definition, well intentioned. On the contrary, "the people who maintained schools for the education of certain Negroes...were certainly sincere. These earnest workers, however, had more enthusiasm than knowledge. They did not understand the task before them. This undertaking, too, was more of an effort toward social uplift than actual education. Their aim was to transform the Negroes, not develop."

The transformation process was, necessarily, an effort to make the Black man/woman more like the master, and more unlike him/her natural self. At the same time, Black people were viewed as inherently inferior, therefore it was never believed that Black people could become just like
white people, i.e. self-sufficient, intelligent beings capable of running
government and determining policy. The educational process was, therefore,
an attempt to provide an avenue for removal of the guilt felt by certain
whites over the inhumane, barbaric treatment of Black people, while at the
same time introducing total Western culture to Black people.

In the period after the Civil War, the idea of educating the freed
Black people was made a reality by philanthropy. Naturally, the circum¬
stances surrounding a beaten South could not allow the white people in
this area to completely reverse their racist practices in regards to the
education of Black people, so "In the nineteenth century Negroes in the
Southern states had to content themselves, for the most part, with
clandestine schools and private teachers."⁹

Complete expansion of educational programs for Blacks was discouraged,
"because they were likely to imbibe seditious and incendiary doctrines
through their reading."¹⁰ And despite the efforts of the Conference for
Education in the South, an educational organization during the close of
the nineteenth century, no plans to educate Black people on a large scale
basis were carried through.

Several southern states passed laws which made it illegal to educate
the freed Black people, but these were not the sole efforts to limit the
education of the Black masses. Violence was seen as a not so infrequent
deterrent of Black education. "Teachers were proscribed and ill-treated;
schoolhouses burned, and threats so strong that many schools could not be
opened. And others, after a brief struggle, had to be closed."¹¹

Despite all of these efforts, however, a surprisingly large number
of Black people were able to learn the educational basics.

Because of continued and deeply embedded racism in the South, the
limited number of education institutions which were set up were segregated. "...the South would not accept any other kind of Negro education, especially in education aimed at developing the race for general participation in Southern society." Understandably, this type of education was instrumental in the preparation of Black people for playing a continued oppressed role in society. "...Leaders....struck in a compromise with the South and settled for a special kind of education that would prepare Negroes for the caste position prescribed for them by white Southerners."

The educational scene in the North, though different in respects to the numbers of Black people receiving an education, was quite similar to that in the South in terms of form and content. At the same time that the nineteenth century witnessed a widening growth of educational programs for Black people, in most places the programs were segregated and unequal.

"Even where schooling was provided, it was separate and unequal. Segregation was simply the custom in most places, but in some states it was legislated." The doctrine of "separate but equal" was not only part of education in America, but was also a way of life. The Supreme Court decision of 1896, Pleasy vs. Ferguson, which set down the principle of 'separate but equal' public facilities for white and Black people, sanctioned the already existing segregated schools. Since Black facilities were in no way "equal" to those of whites, the effect of this doctrine was most salutary for the cause of White Supremacy. The ruling represented a legal avenue for keeping Blacks in their "places", and justified keeping them in inferior stations in American life.

Since the separate and unequal way of life was not only a part of
the social pattern concerning Black and white people, but also an ingrained part of the economic life of these groups, it is therefore understandable why rich philanthropists rose to the occasion and contributed to the education of Black people. Their position as part of the lower class provided an unquestionable resource for finance. "The classless society of which Americans are so proud is the society in which white workers have been able to climb on the backs of others out of the working class into the middle class. This back-climbing has only been possible because there has always been a Negro under-class at the bottom of society."15

Besides the growth of philanthropy movements to educate the freed Black people, the establishment of large educational foundations stimulated a broadening of the concept of education for Black people in the North and South. At the wake of these developments, however, it is inconceivable to think of the monetary aid given for building educational institutions as not being for capitalistic benefit. On the contrary, when philanthropic organizations including Rosenwald, Peabody, Stokes, Slater, and Rockerfeller lent their financial support to educational institutions for Black people, it was done because they felt that Black people's "continued industry and contentment."16 depended, to a large extent, on their receiving an education.

Because philanthropists and large foundations did little to encourage the equitable distribution of public funds for the education of all children, and since the majority of educational institutions were segregated, many Black institutions had to develop self-help programs in order to sustain themselves. An example of some of these efforts was The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University, who travelled the nation singing work songs and spirituals of their people. "Student quartets, speakers, and other groups went out
from other schools. In some communities money was raised at fairs and demonstrations. In many ways, the schools were learning that they could contribute to their own continuation and growth through the resources of their educated students.17

The problems of educating Black people did not simply revolve around finance. Differing philosophies and programs for Black education became very visible since education was viewed as one of main avenues for the development, growth and success of Black people. In some instances individuals or groups felt that the amount of education that Black people could receive was limited to the rudiments; in others, it was contended that the growth of the nation depended, to a large extent, upon the educational growth of the Black race.

Booker T. Washington, an ex-slave and founder of Tuskegee Institute, rose to the forefront in the controversy of the times, and remained in national prominence for more than thirty years. Washington became a national spokesman for Black education, and had a tremendous impact on the country. "The ascendancy of this man is one of the most dramatic and significant episodes in the history of American education and race relations."18

Booker T. Washington's program of industrial education was articulated at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in 1895, when he advised the Black race to "depend upon industrial education and work rather than politics."19

Called the "Atlanta Compromise" by W.E.B. DuBois, the speech given by Booker T. Washington at the Exposition showed his opposition to revolutionary action and socialism. He preferred to strike up a compromise between the white and Black populations in the United States, which would encourage Black people to be "faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful."
In order to guarantee this reaction from the Black population, Washington encouraged white people to "cast down their buckets' into the rich labor source offered by the Negro people, instead of wasting their efforts to attract white immigrants from Europe."\(^{20}\)

Ironically, during the same year of Washington's speech, over 113 Black people had been lynched in the South; and the original home of Black people, Africa, was being divided up at the Berlin Conference by the major Western European powers, i.e. Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, and Italy. And through it all, Washington encouraged Black people to remain politically ignorant and silent!

Between the Plessey vs. Ferguson case and Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Exposition, the die was cast for Black people. Black people were to remain segregated, unequal, and out of politics.

Naturally, Northern industrialists seized upon Mr. Washington's proposals, since his "solution" to the Black economic problems directly served the interests of white people. "It startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a programme after many decades of bitter complaint: it startled and won the applause of the South; it interested and won the admiration of the North, and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves."\(^{21}\)

The Washington doctrine of industrial education was viewed by many Northern whites as an opportunity to ease tensions between the North and South, since it provided a way for the establishment of satisfactory economic and social harmony between the races. (This of course was to be achieved by Black people keeping their "proper place" in society, i.e. on the bottom of the socio-economic ladder). It also represented an
opportunity for Northern capitalists, through their financial support of industrial educational institutions, to get a stronger foothold in the rapidly industrializing South.

To the South, the Washington program represented an acquiescence of the Black social and political condition to Southern whites. "Southerners... liked Washington's relative disinterest in political and civil rights for Negroes. They liked the way in which he placed confidence in the Southern whites regarding their good treatment of Negroes who proved themselves to be useful, law abiding citizens." In addition, "they agreed with his advocacy of a type of education that they believed would consign Negroes to an inferior economic and social status in Southern life."23

It is no wonder, therefore, why Black leaders as W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey became highly critical of Booker T. Washington, and questioned why the man was allowed the degree of prominence that he received. "The Age of Booker T. Washington was one that witnessed only a slight decrease of lynchings of Black people, the effective disenfranchisement of Black people, and the systematic exclusion of Black people from labor organizations."24

Though the nineteenth century was considered the age of the industrial boom for the rest of the nation, Black people, in keeping with the trends of mis-education, i.e. inferior, inadequate, antiquated, etc., education, did not receive an education which encompassed the great shifts that the Industrial Revolution pushed forth in this country. "The county training schools, Hampton, Tuskegee, and the land-grant colleges emphasized training for an agricultural economy in which employment had begun to shrink."25 Though these institutions were established as a result of the federal government promoting the industrial education program through an act of
Congress that provided for the maintenance of industrial colleges in every state via land-grant colleges, the Black man and woman found themselves unprepared to participate in and benefit from the industrial boom. "When the Negro found himself deprived of influence in politics.... and at the same time unprepared to participate in the higher functions in the industrial development which this country began to undergo, it soon became evident to him that he was losing ground in the basic things of life. He was spending his time studying about the things which had been or might be, but he was learning little to help him to do better the tasks at hand."26

For the most part, the opposition of white workers, through strong labor unions, prevented the teaching of mechanical and industrial skills to Blacks, therefore, Black people received education predominantly in those areas that were in the dying sectors of the economy. Unfortunately, however, even if Black people were to receive an "adequate" education, and were prepared for skilled labor, racists policies kept him/her out of the available positions. "Prejudice against the Negro worker and the refusal of numbers of whites to work with Negroes served to exclude many..."27

While Northern philanthropists made increasing amounts of contributions to the education of Black people, the vast majority of Black people were faced with the difficult task of providing a living for their families, and were becoming further convinced that they would have to "work out their own salvation in terms of the means at their immediate disposal."28 Racism and capitalism, again, showed that in the long-run, Black people had to carry the burden of responsibility for improving the conditions of their lot.
The beginning of the twentieth century saw few changes in the education of Black people. The African-American continued to receive an education that aided in his/her dehumanization and exploitation. White people still remained in control of Black educational institutions, though Black faces now replaced many white ones in the forefront of these institutions. E. Franklin Frazier discussed their respective parts in the educational process in *Black Bourgeoisie*:

"The segregated schools in which Negro teachers had to find employment were generally under the autocratic control of Negroes chosen by the whites who gave financial support to the schools, or the white educational authorities in charge of the schools.... Often when Negro teachers became resistive under this system of control, they were warned that they could not find some employment outside of Negro schools. In fact, some teachers were placed on a "black list", indicating that they were not fit to teach in Negro schools because they did not have the "right" philosophy of racial adjustment. Under such a system of tutelage the Negro teacher has been able to teach students only an opportunistic philosophy with reference to race problem or the economic problem facing the country."\(^{29}\)

It became very obvious that the United States government was willing to give Black people certain positions of power – as long as they (white people) had the final say in any policy-making decisions and/or held the right to determine the direction of the Black race. This is important to understand, not only in terms of comprehending race relations, but in realizing the extent that education, during the twentieth century, continued to serve as a vehicle of control of Black people.

Continuous Black protests coupled with the realization that the separate and unequal educational institutions provided a potential powder keg issue in Black communities, caused the Supreme Court to make several important decisions in regards to education. In 1936 in the Gaines vs. Canada,
Registrar of the University, case the Supreme Court decided that the state must provide graduate and professional training for Black people if the same was being provided for whites; on June 5, 1950, the Supreme Court ordered an end to certain segregation practices following a suit brought by a Black student, G.W. McLaurin, against the University of Oklahoma; finally, on May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court outlawed segregated public schools.30

The immediate reaction to the Supreme Court's decision was, as expected, mixed:

"There was the....defiance in such states as South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, whose governors had threatened to abolish public schools rather than permit white and Negro children to attend the same schools. Fiery crosses were burned in some Texas and Florida towns, and....groups of whites organized to resist the decision. But the Knoxville Journal spoke for many Southerners when it said, "No citizen, fitted by character and intelligence to sit as a justice of the Supreme Court, and sworn to uphold the Constitution of United States, could have decided this question other than the way it was decided. A group of leading Negro educators praised the decision in a statement entitled, "It Was the Right and moral Thing to Do", and several groups of white church women in the South declared that they accepted the decision 'with humility'." 31

Though the reactions to the Court's decisions were varied, there was no doubt about two things. One, the Supreme Court had cleared the legal way for an end to racial discrimination and exploitation in the public schools, and two, members of the Black race became determined not to be "turned around" in their quest for equal education. The handwriting was on the wall, and the following two decades would witness countless attempts and outstanding courage in Black people's determination to turn the handwriting into a reality.

The Supreme Court had made the ruling, but it was left up to individual
states and governmental agencies to incorporate the ruling as a living reality in the various school systems across the country.

Racism and capitalism, two basic tenets of the existing society in the United States, were responsible for education taking every path but the one that Black people wanted, i.e. equal education opportunities for their children. Racism and capitalism placed George Wallace, then governor of Alabama, on the steps of an Alabama school vowing to close the school down before allowing "niggers" to enter, and racism and capitalism were instrumental in the development of the poverty programs in the sixties, which were aimed at pacifying the Black population and keeping them from expecting an over-night change in the public schools.

Every conceivable trick was played by white America in order to keep the established order, i.e. segregated and unequal, of the public schools in tact. The white population had "bought" the capitalists' definition of Black people, i.e. lazy, dirty, ignorant, aimless, rapists, etc., etc., and did not want their white children marred by the presence of "colored" children in their schools. So, legal discriminatory mechanisms were established, i.e. voluntary transfers, tracking systems, placement tests, standardized tests, defacto segregation, etc., which would keep them (white people) content.

But the thin veil of both the legal and illegal attempts to keep Blacks "in their place" was not effective, and widespread demonstrations became the order of the day during the late fifties and early sixties. Peaceful marches and sit-ins gave way to violent rebellions that shook most urban centers throughout the country. The desire for quality education and the systematic denial of it was one of the main grievances that made this struggle
so very intense. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X ascended as national Black leaders throughout this period.

The harsh treatment of Black children and parents as a result of their efforts to integrate the public schools and other facilities brought angered responses from Black people and caused grave arguments in the Black community. Martin Luther King represented those Black people desiring integration of the public schools, and peaceful means of achieving this. Malcolm X, on the other hand, represented those Black people that were against integration, and against the principle of non-violence when being exercised against the violence of white people. While Martin Luther King advocated patience and non-violence in the wake of Klu-Klux-Klan type actions, i.e. burning, bombing, whipping, and murdering Black people, Malcolm X asked Black people to organize, fight fire with fire, and stop allowing Black children to risk their lives in order to integrate the schools. Martin Luther King's plans included white people; Malcolm X's did not.

Since Martin Luther King invariably called for integration and non-violence at all ends, his methods were more acceptable to the power structure, and therefore, he was pushed through the country's educational apparatus as THE leader of Black people. In keeping with this, Black people, who for the most part were locked into Christianity and the need/desire for a spiritual leader, accepted Martin Luther King as their leader.

Still having the belief that integration was the solution to the educational problems of their children, many Black people were impressed with Reverend King's apparent negotiating power, and the so called "progress" that was being made in the field of education. However, much of this "progress" turned out to be minor benefits for the masses of Black people, and major benefits for the power structure.
In response to the rebellions in the Black community, the 1964 Civil Rights Law, which had a provision for public school desegregation, was passed. To disguise the lack of effective enforcement of this law, President Johnson developed widespread poverty programs, which were claimed to be there to "aid" Black people. And in addition to declaring "war on poverty", President Johnson promised a "Great Society" for the entire population, which Black people took to include them.

On the contrary, the only persons that benefitted from the programs of the "Great Society" were the colonists, i.e. the power structure. Just as the Northern industrialist gained from industrial education, the Johnson programs "left ultimate control and financial benefit with the colonists - not the colonized." Johnson's "unconditional war on poverty" was only a rhetorical war, which Black people would eventually see through and begin to view as overt attempts to pacify the Black community.

It must be understood that these programs did not fail to help Black people because of unavoidable circumstances. But, instead, were, by design and intent, expected to increase the wealth of the wealthy and keep Black conditions at their established level.

"The Great Society pacification programs....must be judged as failures, both in the honesty of their designs and in their truer aims of placating people justly aroused. In view of their maximum goals, the funds and personnel provided, and authority to do the job, the OEO and civil rights program did not relinquish the original aims of white establishment exploitation..... Like pacifications elsewhere, pacifications in the black U.S. colonies tended, in reality, to strengthen the options of the colonizer, tighten control, and earn him profits."33

It is not enough to just pacify the Black masses. Profits were expected to increase, and once again, Black people's backs became the climbing boards for wealth in this nation. The area of Black education was no
exception.

"Few motives are more enduring than the profit motive in pacification...financial interests also dominated the major titles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title IV offers federal money for local (white) school districts to learn how to desegregate; Title VI cut off funds to schools which did not desegregate, that is to say, they would receive federal money if they obeyed the law." 34

Not only did states and local white communities profit from the establishment of the Civil Rights Act, but the interests, i.e. the profits, of the big industrialists were also served in the establishment of the poverty programs. "Indeed, OEO would not 'take cash from the rich to give to the poor'. The opposite would more likely be true." 35

The introduction of educational gadgets into poor Black schools was directly responsible for millions of dollars being passed into the hands of the industrialists. Moreover, "The funding was a hand-in-glove situation.....in fiscal '67, Health, Education, and Welfare's (HEW) Office of Education spent $442 million (of its total budget of $3,852 billion) for such education ventures as private industry was able to sell to state and local school boards." 36

In addition, the predicted end of the Vietnamese war, forced military industrialists to seek new ends for establishing profits. So, through the diversification of their economic programs, they included schemes for securing monies floating in the area of education as a means of eliminating possible financial setbacks. Xerox, I.B.M., I.T.T., and Litton were a few of the contractors that visualized great profits in helping the "culturally deprived" and "disadvantaged" Blacks. 37 "There is a bonanza for the producers of both the hardware and software being introduced into these.... schools....where grandiose claims were made on behalf of newfangled hardware to teach the 'unteachable'.... On July 1, 1966 OEO announced a $1.17 million
contract for an array of computerized gadgetry. About 44 percent of the money - $44,750 - went to the Board of Education of the City of New York, with the remainder - $666,000 - used to purchase 20 'talking typewriters'..."38

Despite the pacification efforts, Black protests continued. And the militant cries for "Black Power" brought fear, horror, and violent reactions from white America, which felt that "Black" and "Power" coupled together would surely bring about their destruction. However, white fear and 'backlash' were not sufficient to deter Black people from their decision to change the objective reality of their conditions.

In the area of education, community control became a method which Black people felt would give them "power" in regards to the education of Black children. And contradictory to the possible achievement of "power" and "liberation", the large corporate structures, having decided to "help in the task of achieving full domestic equality for all American Negroes", became the 'friend' and 'Big Brother' of the militant reformers of education. Ford Foundation was one of the first to "lend a helping hand", and with the appointment of McGeorge Bundy, President of Ford Foundation, as the chairman of a committee on decentralization during the school crisis in New York City, it was clear that community control of the public schools had lost as an avenue for changing Black schools so that they could serve the interests of Black people.

"Bundy was well aware of this escalating tension......he also knew that the teachers had in their union an established mechanism for channeling their discontent. The parents had no such channel, and there was always the danger that their anger, having no institutional outlet, might escalate into violence. Hence, it was an urgent necessity for the parents in some way to be "reconnected"
to the schools if disruptive conflicts were to be avoided. The mechanism for accomplishing this end appeared to be limited school decentralization, which would allow some parent participation - thereby mitigating dangerous clashes - while at the same time precluding genuine community control of the schools by masking central control under a new facade.  

At the same time that Black parents and educators were fighting for community control, Black high school and college students were emerging as fighters for social change. Through SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), students became involved in both international and national struggles, and had a considerable impact upon Black education. They, too, began to make demands upon education. Clearly, they wanted an education that would be more relevant to the Black community.

The Black student movement, like the overall struggle of Black people, changed from a non-Violent, integrationist movement to a nationalist movement aimed at achieving liberation and self-determination - no matter what the cost. Robert Johnson, a head of a Black student group at the University of Indiana during this period, is quoted by Robert Allen as stating: "Urban rebellion, the dismal failure of integration as a social, political and economic process, and the inability of the government at all levels to reconcile its rhetoric with its actions have all served to intensify the spirit of self-determination that pervades the entire Black community, of which black students are a part."  

Along with a change in their ideology and method, Black students began to demand certain changes in campus curriculums, so that they might be prepared to make relevant impacts upon the Black communities. With this, the traditional role of the Black graduate, i.e. to escape out of the Black community and adopt a petty bourgeois existence, was greatly
challenged, and many Black students began preparing themselves to return to their respective communities and give their services to the people in these communities.

The demand for curriculum changes and the restructuring and re-orientation of higher education was initially fought for on Black campuses, and subsequently spread to white campuses. The reaction of the authority figures to these new demands were, as could be expected in a racist and exploitative society, violent.

"The Orangeburg Massacre, in which three students were killed by police, represents the most violent and bloody attempt to date of local and state authorities to curb student militancy. But severe repressive measures, including the alleged framing of militant student leaders on murder and rioting charges and police and National Guard invasions of black campuses, were reportedly employed at a host of schools, including Texas Southern University, Fisk, Tennessee State University, Central State College, Miles College, Grambling College, and Howard University, to name just a few."

The situation became so intense that several Black presidents of Black colleges felt it necessary to urge the United States President to stop the invasions. However, this request did not stop the actions of the oppressor. The superstructure depended on the "traditional" Black student to provide an important stranglehold on the Black community.

"The black student is crucial to corporate America's neo-colonial plans. It is the educated and trained blacks who are slated to become the new managers of the ghetto, the administrators of the black colony. Like the educated, Westernized elites of Africa and Asia, it is assumed that these educated blacks will identify with the values and aspirations of white society, and therefore, will become the will (and well-regarded) agents of the corporate power structure."

Therefore, the superstructure, having been irritated by the student movement, decided to crush the rise of the new Black identity and student commitment to serve the Black masses. The methods of achieving this goal
did not stop at systematic destruction of militant Black leaders, but went as far as to begin eliminating both the number of black students on white campuses and the Black college. "The rationale is simple: Black colleges and black students on white campuses have become an effective instrument for the development of liberation personnel and strategies. The black campuses, in particular, have become 'sanctuaries' of black liberation. Thus, they had to be invaded just as the 'sanctuaries' in Cambodia required what President Nixon termed 'a cleaning out.'"^3

It is not hard to visualize how the higher education of Black people, like Black life itself, is subject to the desires and decisions of the oppressor, since it is largely through federal support that Black colleges and Black students on white college campuses are economically existing. Because of this economic control, Black students and Black colleges are made to conform or risk losing all economic support. The plan is clear - the superstructure will either control or extinguish Black institutions that have become vehicles for black liberation. The plot, according to Sam Yette, includes:

" - Wiping out of funds for compensatory education which have been helpful in establishing the Upward Bound programs under OEO and similar incentives for black students. This was largely achieved in President Nixon's veto of the fiscal 1971 HEW appropriation knocking out funds formerly used to bring black students to the universities.... The propaganda.... was Vice President Agnew's attacks during 1970 on the evils of open enrollments and his extolling some rights to education which he said belonged to the "natural aristocracy".......

- Stringent new admissions requirements.......

- Requirements secretly set in 1969-70 by HEW that would force black schools, even those maintained until recent years entirely without public support, to enroll white students up to 50 percent in order
- to get badly needed federal aid.

- The drastic raising of fees, such as was done at Indiana University in 1969.

- HEW's...requirement that black colleges hire white administrators to aid in the recruitment of white students. As one of the black presidents at the Atlanta seminar stated, "The white administrator would have to be of a caliber to replace the black president when the time comes.

- Grand merging schemes which place black schools under the domination of so-called "university systems".

- The move, in 1970, by the Nixon administration to clear the way in court for the federal government to give tax exemptions to white private and parochial schools. These hastily drawn private schools came to be known in the South as "segregated academies".

- .......plans revealed in President Nixon's 1970 Higher Education Message to Congress which would begin to reduce black aspirations to the junior college or vocation school level.\(^4\)

America has gone to various lengths to dehumanize and exploit its Black colony. Racism became/is the mechanism for enabling the growth and expansion of capitalism, and mis-education became the route for ensuring both. This oppressive reality gives way to the recognition that traditional American education is synonymous with the continued control, dehumanization, and exploitation of Black people.

Through the understanding that "there is no such thing as a 'neutral' educational process", one must logically conclude that this includes traditional American education, which functions as an "instrument...to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it."\(^5\)

All attempts of the Black masses to qualitatively change the objective realities of their oppressed conditions through the traditional American
educational institutions have failed. Traditional education, or mis-
education, serves, without end, the interests of the colonizer, and Black
peoples' desire for education that gives them not only a sense of identity,
but also, the necessary tools for liberation and self-determination cannot
be fulfilled through the traditional educational scheme.
1. Newton Edwards and Herman Richey, *The Schools in the American Social Order*, p. 3.


CHAPTER III
THREE GOES INTO ONE: INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PAVES THE WAY FOR WORLD LIBERATION
(Some Educational Perspectives for Africans in America)

"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place, and will inevitably triumph."

The twentieth century has witnessed the end of colonial and neo-colonial rule in many countries all over the globe, and many of these independent countries are involved in the concrete task of nation-building and setting up socialist economies. This, of course, has been no easy task, but the pains and sacrifices have been well worth it to the broad masses of people, whose interests were largely denied during the pre-independent period.

Education has played a major role in the development of socialist systems throughout the world, and, in particular, it has been one of the main focus areas of the governments of The People's Republic of China, Cuba, and Tanzania. These countries have seen the undisputed worth of education in the areas of building socialist values, and developing behavior patterns that compliment the revolutionary ideology which exists in the interests of the total population. The qualitative and quantitative successes in these areas leave no question as to their value in the field of education.

The value of these successes to the rest of the Third World, and in particular Africans displaced in America, is outstanding. These three
countries offer concrete examples of how an oppressive, exploitative, elitist educational system can be changed into a socialist, humane, equalitarian system within the framework of total dedication and superior organization.

Clearly, each of the countries cited above has had certain problems while trying to build socialist systems of education. They have had to constantly struggle against reactionary points of view while at the same time strive to keep a revolutionary educational system that changes and grows as their society changes and grows.

In an interview in the October 1973 issue of "Black World", Julius Nyerere gives some indication of the fact that his country, Tanzania, is still struggling for socialist change. He states, "Our achievement is less than our reputation... We are saying we have got to develop..... and development means liberation." China and Cuba, likewise, are still developing, as revolution and liberation demands, in the field of education; however, all three, in several aspects, have reached heights heretofore unthought of by many societies.

Each country has realized that the development of the country is dependent upon constant struggle, and a major part of each struggle has been to combat the old, oppressive way of society and bring forth a new, non-exploitative society. They are each aware of the possibilities of setbacks and restorations, i.e. reverting back to the old, and though this type of existence makes each social situation more intense, it serves as a living lesson that revolutionary change does not come about by the wave of a hand, the signing of an amendment, or the voting in of a socialist politician. Change in these countries has only come about as a result of a long drawn
out struggle, which has at different stages been both antagonistic and non-antagonistic.

It is understood that no revolutionary educational system, can be transplanted to the soils of another country, so it must be recognized from the start that this author in no way proposes the adoption of the complete educational systems of any of the aforementioned countries. However, each system individually, and all of them collectively, as they seek to attain scientific socialism, are excellent sources for study, and offer limitless possibilities for African-Americans. An objective look at each of these systems should reveal some of these possibilities.

United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania, a country in Eastern Africa, has, with the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, committed itself to Uhuru Na Ujamaa - freedom and socialism (See Appendix I). The socialist society which the people of Tanzania are hoping to build will, necessarily, be laid on the foundations of their past and designed for Tanzanian uniqueness. The process is a slow one, and though Tanzania cannot, as yet, be called a socialist country, they are well on their way.

Education, which receives twenty percent of government funds in Tanzania, is viewed as a very important instrument for building a socialist society. In this sense, instead of education being thought of as a means to gain individual fame and fortune, it must, necessarily, be viewed as a means for transforming the total society through educating people with socialist commitments and dedication as well as advanced skills.

In order to comprehend the thrust and achievements of the Tanzanian
educational system, one must first understand some of the dynamics of colonial education, since formal education was one of the methods employed by the colonial powers to keep the African population as a whole in a state of ignorance/colonialization.

"Tanganika offered a clear-cut example of the deliberate manipulation of educational opportunities by the metropolitan power to maintain the equilibrium of a colonial society. Education was generously given to the children of European settlers, more carefully dispensed among Asian children, and very parsimoniously rationed among the children of African soil."^4

The education provided by the Colonial British power was clearly motivated by a strong economical desire to have the best interests of Britain served. Its purpose was to "inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state."^5

This, necessarily, meant that the small number of African people that were educated received training for subservient roles with capitalist, anti-African thoughts and values. It encouraged elitist attitudes among those that were 'fortunate' enough to receive an education, and it provided the colonialist powers with a petty-bourgeois class, which it could readily depend upon for support. This 'support' meant that the colonial status quo would be maintained, and this, of course, meant that the large African population would continue to be exploited, socially inferior and politically dependent.^6

When Tanzania received independence in 1961, the British government was quite confident that they would still be able to maintain a powerful relationship with the country, because the newly formed government was felt to be "trustworthy products of their schools."^7 And to a large extent, this proved to be true.
"Instead of being challenged, the capitalist mode of production seemed to be strengthened by the end of colonialism. The independent African states solemnly promised to be better capitalist than their former masters, not just in the superficial sense that many political figures and government officials wanted to accumulate property, but because there was a demand everywhere on the continent to expand the modern sector of the economy, to increase productivity and to import more consumer goods, more capital equipment and more foreign skills (including teachers who would peddle the bourgeois ideology).\(^8\)

The Arusha Declaration, however, changed much of this. It became Tanzania's declaration of complete independence, i.e. independence from imperialism and neo-colonialism, and through advocating a return to African socialism, it became a declaration against capitalism.

The most pressing task of the educational system was to participate in the struggle to implement the principles of the Declaration. This meant the immediate removal of racial distinctions within the educational system, the expansion of all educational facilities, and the implementation of Tanzanian culture and socialist ideology in all of the educational institutions.

"The quantitative aspect of Tanzanian education has been relatively well looked after since independence. Virtually 20 percent of the recurrent budget is spent on education, facilities have increased at all levels. The impact has been particularly great in the post-primary sectors.... a university has been established, while the numbers of secondary schools has been increased. In addition, racial biases have been swept away, many anomalies in the teaching profession have been removed and a degree of decolonization of the content of the syllabuses has been effected."\(^9\)

Because it has been made clear that Tanzania is committed to building a socialist society, the government must make certain that the educational system, in addition to making quantitative achievements, strives to meet the four principles of socialism as outlined by the Declaration, i.e.
equality and respect for human dignity, social control and ownership in production, broad participation in the life of the nation, and solidarity and social welfare.\textsuperscript{10}

In order to achieve this, a large scale teacher training program had to be implemented and revisions of the syllabus had to be made so that they would meet the needs of the country. This was done so that those persons responsible for educating the youth would actively combat bourgeois attitudes produced by colonial and neo-colonial schooling. "The object must be to challenge the minds of the students to recognize the superiority of the socialist world view as it is applied to their particular fields of academic study."\textsuperscript{11}

In addition, education must take on the concrete task of developing leadership that is able to promote and live in accordance with the basic principles of socialism. "This leadership must stretch down from the top to the grass-roots level for it is crucial in a country like Tanzania, with its extremely scattered population and limited mass-media communication network, to have those in the villages who will teach the basic tenets, not by means of formal lessons, but by example."\textsuperscript{12} This can be achieved when the students of the society accept the values that are congruent with a socialist future, and actively fight those that were a part of the colonial past.

"This means that the educational system of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities
are non-academic or who have no special abilities but are just human beings.”

Though one of the primary tasks of the educational system in Tanzania is designed to inculcate socialist values, it must also prepare young people for the different jobs that they will have to perform in the Tanzanian society. This preparation, which must develop critically thinking students who are able to implement collective decisions, must be aimed at improving the rural, agrarian society that exists in Tanzania. Therefore, the students, who under colonial rule were taught to despise and look down upon manual, agrarian labor, must now appreciate the value of the land and develop a scientific approach to agriculture.

The scientific approach to agriculture does not stop at this area. Because Tanzania is a developing nation, which needs the support and understanding of all of her people, the scientific approach to learning is employed at all levels and in all areas of the education, both formal and informal. Through the development of people that are able to think for themselves, and critically analyze different situations, the country is able to depend on its people as supporters of the country's political direction, because they understand the worth of and the necessity for a free, socialist society.

This, of course, comes about as the result of intense political education, which is characterized in two main areas: 1) the political aspect, which concentrates on enlightening the citizens on the politics, ideals and principles of the nation; that is, on democracy, socialism and self-reliance; 2) the economic aspect, which is instruction in the economic realities of the country, because socialism and self-reliance are not simply political ideologies, they are, in addition, economic philosophies.
Political education must be directed at two groups of people - the general public and the students receiving formal education. Understandably, the need is to raise the political consciousness of both groups; however, the objective realities of the country make it most difficult to politically educate the broad masses.

Since there are few radios, and a majority of the people are still unable to read (as a result of the colonial experience), the use of audio and literary means of political education become very limited. Instead, a heavy emphasis is placed on having classes, meetings, and small group discussions - sitting "under the big tree" and talking. This, naturally, demands not only a willingness on the part of the population to participate in such discussions, but also a high level of dedication and political training of the leadership that must see that this program is implemented.15

Students, on the other hand, receive political education in all of their classes. The approach is, necessarily, practical, based on President Nyerere's proclamation that "Socialism cannot be imposed upon people; they can be guided; they can be led. But ultimately they must be involved."16

The scientific approach to education, therefore, encourages the development in each citizen of; "an inquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adopt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains."17

The importance of training a skilled population cannot be overemphasized. The problems created by a colonial existence, i.e. insufficient people in the medical, engineering, mechanical, advanced agriculture, etc.,
fields, places a large responsibility on the government for training people in these areas. This problem is being attacked at every level of education.

Because the nation is still young, it is impossible to give an accurate picture of the successes in these areas; however, the fact that the acquisition of skills in education has become one of the practical priorities gives a basis for drawing logical conclusions concerning the future of the country in these areas.

Because of the economic problems, which make it impossible to provide universal primary and secondary education at this time, one of the practical methods employed to ensure that the maximum population would be educated for service to the nation was to increase the age for attending school, so that those students graduating from primary school and unable to attend secondary school could be of productive value to the community. In addition, according to the Tanzanian government, these students, because they are older when they enter school, are able to learn more quickly while at school.

"The implication of this is that education given in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself. It must not continue to be simply preparation for secondary school. Instead of the primary school activities being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead."^18

The same applies to the secondary schools, which must prepare people for life in the rural areas and villages of the country. This, necessarily, opposes the view that secondary education should be a preparation for the colleges and universities.

The secondary schools, in an effort to implement the doctrines of self-reliance, thus meeting the needs of the nation, are located in communes,
and the student/workers in these communes are responsible for some form of production. This assures that students do not become divorced from the daily activities of community life, and that they do not develop elitist attitudes towards the masses of people in the country.

"It must be clear that we are not trying to introduce a new subject called 'self-reliance', or 'socialism' into the school curriculum, nor just add periods of physical labour for the pupils and staff. What we are aiming at is converting our schools into economic communities - which are to a considerable extent self-reliant. We want each school - taking pupils and staff together - to be eventually responsible for doing - or meeting the cost of - its own maintenance, apart from the strictly academic expenses. And we want this new responsibility to be accepted as a conscious and proud contribution to our nation's development and our national self-reliance."^19

The success of the secondary school programs has resulted in the young peoples of Tanzania receiving new skills and values that are important to their future, which, of course, is the future of the nation.

Those persons that are fortunate enough to attend the university, like those that attend the primary and secondary schools, receive an education that will prepare them to be of service to the masses of people. The curriculum is geared toward the immediate and future needs of the society, and the institutions closely co-operate with the government and the people.

Because the students that attend the institutions of higher learning are chosen, in part, as a result of their social commitments, those institutions have developed experiences which facilitate continued commitment and dedication. For example, students have made the following suggestions for improving the university, i.e. making the university more complimentary with socialist thinking and action: 1) that the university and college
have regular contact and communications with TANU (Tanzania African National Union); and 2) that all students in the university participate in some activity for nation-building and community development. In addition, all of the university students are required to spend time in the National Service, and it is expected that this service will further facilitate in the development of socialist men and women who are committed to the national cause of Tanzania.\textsuperscript{20}

In order to facilitate these aspects of socialist education in Tanzania, selective mechanisms such as exams have been played down by the government, because examinations, though they have some positive qualities, have no way of assessing a person's willingness to serve. Therefore, a more practical means has been developed for selecting the people that will receive the opportunity to further their education. Each person is judged primarily on their ability to show, not only an ability to perform academically, but also a willingness to use their education in service for the people of Tanzania. (This has meant a necessary changing of the curriculum and syllabus, which were primarily based on preparing students for the examinations.)\textsuperscript{21}

The location of schools, as has been indicated, is an important part of education in Tanzania. Because colonial education, which separated the schools from the families and communities, served bourgeois, elitist attitudes, the government of Tanzania has realized that the school must be a community and the community a school. This realization has resulted in many practical changes in the Tanzanian educational system.

Each school, through practically applying their theoretical learning, must contribute to their own upkeep by becoming economic communities in
addition to being places of learning. This allows all of the pupils the chance to: 1) learn through practical application; 2) learn that all knowledge acquired is not as a result of having contacts with books and 'educated' people; 3) learn the importance of agriculture to the Tanzanian nation; 4) receive the opportunity, through understanding that their living standard depends upon the amount of work they are willing to do, to participate in the governmental aspects of the community; and 5) understand the relationship between hard, co-operative work and comfort. 22

All of this is done deliberately, and with a conscious effort to ensure that all students realize that they are being educated by the community in order that they can become intelligent and active members of the community.

In the final analysis, education in Tanzania, like education in most societies, must serve the needs of that society. Education for self-reliance must become synonymous with education for freedom and socialism.

"It must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon the problems of cooperation. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service the greater opportunities they have had.... Let our students be educated to be members and servants of the kind of just and equalitarian future to which this country aspires." 23

Republic of Cuba

The educational system in Cuba is aimed at building a socialist society through inculcating revolutionary socialist ideology. The Cuban revolution and education are viewed by the Cuban leadership and people as being the same thing - both are aimed at developing a "new man".
"To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base.... Society as a whole must become a huge school."

Because of Cuba's immediate needs to develop political and economic independence and growth, an equalitarian society, and the transformation of daily work into a creative activity for a new socialist man, education is viewed as an expedient tool for reaching these objectives. Education is the means for teaching Cubans entirely new political practices and values.

The objective conditions of Cuba following the overthrow of Batista in 1959 posed immediate concerns for the new government led by Fidel Castro. Besides giving new political direction, the government had to reconstruct formal education so that the broad masses of the people could benefit from its existence, and so that a highly skilled group of people could be trained to replace those skilled Cubans that fled the country.

This has meant that Cuban education had to undergo many changes in order to facilitate the objectives set forth by the Cuban revolution and government. First, it had to be rapidly expanded so that it would reach all areas and sectors of the country. (This was seen as an immediate concern, because Cuba wanted to completely end its former dependency on the United States for technical skills, research facilities, management and other professional services). Second, it had to play a major role in destroying the social inequalities created by the class structures in the old society. Third, it was given major responsibility for developing 'new' men and women in the society, through its scientific revolutionary content and special requirements that all students apply their theoretical knowledge in life situations. And fourth, the schools were to participate
in the rapid expansion of production, so that the Cuban economy could improve.  

Few nations have made the educational transformations that Cuba has made in so short a time, and for these reasons the Cuban model is invaluable to the political struggle of African-Americans, who, understandably, must utilize education as an expedient vehicle for their liberation.

In an attempt to build a society consisting of new men/women, the Cuban government had to make clear its objectives and definitions of the revolution, politics, economic relations, and culture. Because the Cuban society differed so greatly from the peasant societies of The People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, the Cuban leadership had to set goals that were uniquely Cuban, and not based on the successes of other revolutions.

"...Cuba was a capitalist country with a largely proletarian labor force and relatively few independent producers. This fact is central to an explanation of both the opportunities and the objectives of the revolution. Cuba did not face the problem encountered in the Soviet Union during the early part of this century, namely the transformation of an independent peasantry into an industrial labor force. Although the Cuba economy was still primarily agricultural, the social relations of production were typical of capitalist production. Men and women worked for wages with no other source of income and with little or no control over their hours or conditions of work." 

This has, necessarily, meant that the Cuban revolution has aimed "the ultimate and most important revolutionary aspiration: to see man liberated from alienation." That is, Cuba has had to 1) remove the conditions of coerced labor, through changing attitudes towards work as well as nationalizing the labor force; and 2) remove the distinctions between manual and non-manual work as set forth by the capitalist powers.
The fact that education is able to influence both the material forces of production and the social relations of production places education in an important position for transforming the Cuban political and economic society.

The Cuban government, having recognized the full dangers of ignorance/mis-education and the undetermined value of liberating education, established the Literacy Commission in 1961, whose primary task was to expedite social development through wiping out illiteracy. It was understood that once this campaign was successful, then the government could proceed with the more difficult tasks of politically educating each member of the society. (This is not to say that the massive literacy campaign was not a political education in itself, because it is undeniable that the methods employed and the end results, both of which will be discussed here, were in every way practical, political education for the Cuban people).  

The mobilization of the entire population in a campaign to eradicate illiteracy facilitated the development of the new man/woman through the practical application of a socialist philosophy. The campaign was announced by Fidel Castro in 1960 when he decided that the following year would witness education as a government priority. In a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Castro announced: "Next year our people propose to launch an all-out offensive against illiteracy, with the ambitious goal of teaching every illiterate person to read and write. Organizations of teachers, students, and workers - the entire population - are preparing themselves for an intensive campaign; and within a few months Cuba will be the first country in the Americas to be able to claim that it has not a single illiterate inhabitant."
Illiteracy was viewed as one of the legacies of the pre-revolutionary society, and the complete eradication of it became viewed as a major step in wiping out all of the vestiges of the "old" system. Understanding this, it becomes very easy to see why the Cuban community widely accepted this challenge and was able to mobilize the necessary energy for winning this "war" against educational backwardness.

In order to appreciate the educational accomplishments of Cuba, one must have a clear picture of the educational scene in Cuba prior to Castro's revolutionary rise to power.

"The statistics of the 1950's testified that Cuban society was in fact in dire need of educational reform. The 1953 census indicated that of all citizens ten years or older, approximately 25 percent had dropped out of school before finishing the sixth grade. Thus three out of four Cubans who had "completed" their schooling were either illiterate or at best semi-educated.... Despite an average population growth of over two percent a year between 1950 and 1958, total enrollment in the public primary schools in the same period had increased on the average by only one percent a year. In 1958, perhaps no more than half of all Cuban children between five and fifteen years of age were in school, despite a long series of legal enactments establishing free and compulsory education for this age group. Adult education was all but non-existent, and no new generation of educated young people was being trained to replace the ignorant or semi-educated older generations. If one adds to this picture the graft and corruption in Batista's Ministry of Education, and the irrelevance and insufficiency of much of the curriculum, it is easy to understand why the Castro Government's emphasis on educational reform and development was widely heralded in Cuba as both necessary and just."

Faced with these objective conditions, the First Congress of the Municipal Council of Education under the government of Fidel Castro declared that, "Death to illiteracy will be the number one goal of 1961." This declaration prompted the immediate action of the "Commission National de Alfabetización", which immediately began to prepare new, inexpensive
teaching materials that would be used in the literacy campaign.  

The newly developed instructors manual, *Alfabetícemos* (Let’s Alphabetize), and the new primer, "*Venceremos*" (We Shall Triumph) were mass produced and distributed throughout the island for use in the campaign.  

Almost needless to say, these materials were also political in content, so they were used as part of the political education which was to occur simultaneously with the literacy training.

The organizational plans for implementing the literacy campaign began with the difficult task of locating and projecting the numbers of illiterate persons in the entire Cuban community. This was achieved through the mobilization and dedication of most of the literate persons in the society, who were responsible for taking a literacy census throughout the country.

With the completion of the census came the national educational goal set for the coming year: to make 985,000 persons literate. This, of course, required wide scale planning, commitment, and the belief that the goal was a sensible one.

All of these requirements were met. So, the "alfabetizadores populares" (literate adults who would teach in their spare time); the "Comrade Benitez brigadistas" (brigades of young workers who instructed in their communities); "Brigadistas obreros" (brigades of young workers that went off to the countryside); and school teacher "brigadistas" (regular full-time teachers that launched the campaign in 1961) were organized to perform the task of educating Cuban people. This 'army' of literacy workers, which was available because Fidel Castro closed the secondary and pre-university schools, was trained in the use of *Venceremos* and *Alfabetícemos*, and were heralded by
the Cuban leadership for their dedication upon the successful completion of the campaign.\textsuperscript{34}

The success of the entire campaign was not only seen in quantitative figures, but was also seen in terms of the political spirit and education that transpired throughout the course of the campaign. No obstacle was too great, and no problem so important that the campaign would not receive top priority in the government.

An example of the government's and people's willingness to make every possible provision for assuring that the original goal was met could be seen in the programs that were developed so as to facilitate the delay in the opening of the regular schools. Since all of the Cuban school teachers were required to participate in the literacy campaign, which meant that some provisions had to be made for the hundreds of thousands of Cuban children who would be out of school during this period, a special "plan of assistance" ("plan asistencial") was implemented, which received the help of parents, members of the Association of Young Rebels, and other volunteers. These groups of people assisted in formulating substitute activities for the youngsters.\textsuperscript{35}

One of the most important aspects of the campaign, other than its actual goal, was the way that it unified the different progressive sectors of the society. The participation and enthusiasm of such groups as the Confederation of Cuban Workers; the Young Rebels, the Committees for Defense of the Revolution; the Federation of Cuban Women; and the Association of Small Farmers served the general cause of socialism, and had great impact upon the campaign.

In addition, those students who went into the fields to work were
united with the Cuban farmer, and together they 'grew' i.e. they learned more about Cuba — the objective realities of the society, the history of the Cuban nation, and the plans and goals for a socialist future. The following poem, written by a peasant father to a brigadista, explains this 'growth':

"Here you will have a mother, 
Noble brothers and a father....
You will follow me and I will follow you, 
And in this brotherhood that enfolds
The offspring of my Island, 
I will learn from your primer
And you will learn from the land."36

The quantitative achievements of the Cuban literacy campaign can be seen in the following chart:37

**Progress of the Literacy Campaign, June—December, 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>End of June</th>
<th>End of July</th>
<th>End of August</th>
<th>End of October</th>
<th>End of December</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates located</td>
<td>684,000</td>
<td>822,000</td>
<td>985,000</td>
<td>988,000</td>
<td>979,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons studying</td>
<td>465,000</td>
<td>594,000</td>
<td>776,000</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New literates (cumulative total)</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>119,000</td>
<td>354,000</td>
<td>707,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the success and importance, as indicated previously, cannot stop here. There were other successes as a result of this campaign. One, the campaign was able in one way or the other to mobilize the entire Cuban population around the illiteracy issue. This, as stated earlier, had great national implications, since those persons that were either receiving or
giving literacy training were inculcated with a sense of national commitment and "national fusion". Two, the thrust of the campaign demanded the implementation of socialist interests, values, and behavior, i.e. cooperation to the fullest possible extent and work for everyone, revolutionary commitments, etc. Three, the campaign had international political implications - as can be seen in the following description of a speech by Fidel Castro on the day of the Victory Celebration. 

"With pride and a great deal of scorn he repeated again and again that this mighty campaign against illiteracy had been waged under the very nose of imperialism, that while the mercenary army had been drawing up battle plans to attack Cuba, the Cubans had been drawing up battle plans to eradicate illiteracy. What, asked Castro, would Senor Kennedy say now about his vaunted Alliance for Progress, a scheme designed to prevent other revolutions, like Cuba's? What so-called representative democracy in Latin America could fill a plaza with tens of thousands of cheering young people freshly returned from months of literacy work? None, he answered; only socialism could do it, and only socialism had done it."

The Cuban interest and enthusiasm for education did not stop with the end of their struggle against illiteracy. Instead, this interest and enthusiasm was carried to other educational programs, i.e. "Escuela Al Campo" ("the school goes to the country"), "circulos de interes", university "escuelas de Instruccion Revolucionaria", etc., which put forth the revolutionary ideology of the Cuban government.

As witnessed by the methods employed during the literacy campaign, i.e. literacy training in home, factories, fields, etc., the content of revolutionary education in Cuba can best be seen outside of the classroom, i.e. the fields and factories of Cuba. For example, the "Escuela Al Campo" program emphasizes the importance of labor producing education by having entire schools move to the countryside so that students could participate
in harvesting crops and other agricultural work. Often, this has meant that students might spend as many as three or more months living with and doing hard agriculture work with the campesinos.40

The actualities of these programs involve much more than physical transference. Indeed, "the productive life of the nation has been integrated into the curriculum". This has meant that the educational experiences, which, understandably, has been integrated with the socialist politics and economy of the Cuban country, serves as a vehicle to encourage students to enter those fields that are most needed by the country. In addition, through creating learning situations that foster co-operative study efforts, which ensure that knowledge and competence is seen as a group effort, the collective spirit of the nation is maintained.41

Clearly, the Cuban educational experience upholds the revolutionary dictates that all students must be workers and all workers must be students. And by carrying forth this dictate, the educational experience has ensured the development of "new" men/women who are willing to work, sacrifice, and struggle for the continued freedom of their country.

People's Republic of China

The People's Republic of China, through arduous and protracted struggle has transformed its entire country and people from a society that was languished and ravished under domestic mis-rule, imperialism, and colonialism to a free and liberated nation. China is no longer looked at as a "backward" country, and instead, is being referred to in international circles as the "Chinese model". This model is reflected in China's progress in many areas, i.e. technological development, scientific and medical dis-
coveries, as well as cultural and educational advancements.

Like all other spheres of development in New China, The People's Republic has transformed and developed its educational system to one of the highest forms of mass education. The 800 million people of China are being educated in accordance to the country's socialist world outlook of "serving the people". Its philosophical foundation is the thought of Mao Tse Tung, who is the leader of China today and the social architect of its democratic, socialist and cultural revolution.

China's new model educational system is no longer a base for elitism and favoritism, nor is it a bureaucratic control center for a privileged and exploiting minority. Opposed to the view of being a "factory" for producing inferior slaves and/or superior rulers, New China uses education as a tool for liberating all of the people. "It is a genuine education - not education for just a section of the people."42

To appreciate New China's educational system, it is necessary to have a knowledge and understanding of the educational system prior to the revolution, i.e. before the Chinese Revolution of 1949. As in most oppressive societies, pre-revolution China was a society that found it necessary to infuse the people (masses) with doctrines which physically and mentally enslaved them.

To get a clearer understanding of this historical process, one must, necessarily, have some comprehension of the Confucian influences as well as the advent of "Western" learning in China. Since the more than two thousand years of feudal rule and one hundred years of imperialist enslavement caused the masses of Chinese people to suffer greatly.

To say the least, the Confucian learning period can be described as
dialectically opposed to the scientific socialist system that China is in
the process of building today. This period marked a stage where the in-
terest of the ancient aristocracy and slave owners was clearly above those
of the masses of China, since Confucius advocated keeping the masses
ignorant.43

All of the followers of Confucious stuck hard and fast to the
Confucian doctrines of class superiority, which was part of the reason
why they were able to remain in power for so long. By maintaining an
educational system that upheld the class structures and values of the
times, the mandarins (those persons that helped the emperors to govern
China from the seventh to the beginning of the twentieth century) saw to
it that only a "talented" few could enter the arenas of the elite.44

"As highly literate exemplars of Confucian virtue, the
mandarins paid obeisance to the.... hard rules of "yi"
(justice), whose core concept was the rationality of
unequal human relationships, requiring the strict
subservience of the socially inferior. In practice, the
mandarins in the imperial hierarchy were linked by common
interest with the landed gentry of the local level,
mutually enforcing their power and perquisites, while the
great mass of China's peasantry groaned under their com-
bined exactions of tax, rent, usury and corvee. The
legitimacy of this scholar-officialdom was enshrined
in the Mencian precept that "he who works by brain rules;
he who works by brawn is ruled!"45

The "Western" philosophy and practices that became a part of China
during the early twentieth century brought little change to this grim
picture. Education, for the most part, was confined to the elite, and
illiteracy was a common reality for the majority of people.

The educational experience became a tool of the western invaders to
be used to maintain the oppressive, exploitative conditions in China.
Those people that were "fortunate" enough to receive an education were
alienated from the people, and those that were not totally blinded by the educational process were unable to improve any of the objective conditions of the Chinese masses.

"...education was a process of alienation. Infected by individualist, careerist values and unschooled in the practice of mass struggle, unequipped to analyze and solve the real problems of a semi-colonialized China, and to Westernize and "over-educate", to trust or to work side by side with the 95 percent of the Chinese people who labour by the sweat of their brow, the new academic elite could not come to grips with the colossal task of emancipating their own people."46

Educated to believe in the possibility of change "within the system", the Chinese elite was unable to see that change would only come as a result of the complete overhauling of the superstructure. It took the masses — the illiterate workers and peasants of China, led by Mao Tse Tung, to make the necessary changes in the superstructure which would in turn, allow education to become a tool of the working people.

The victory of the Chinese Revolution marked the beginning of a brilliant cultural tradition in China. The "character" of this tradition is democratic, and its existence is based entirely upon proletarian, anti-imperialist ideals. Mao Tse Tung laid down the guiding principles for the new Chinese culture as the following:

"...opposed to the oppression of the imperialists; it maintains the dignity and independence of the Chinese nation; it is linked with the socialist and new Democratic culture of other nations, establishing with them such relations as mutual absorption and mutual development so that each and all may become part of the culture of the new world... It is opposed to all feudalist thoughts and superstitions; it seeks after nothing but the objective truth; and it stands for uniformity in theory and practice--it should serve the interests of the toiling workers and peasants, who constitute over 90 percent of the country's population, so that in time it will become their culture....."47
The objectives set by the government were great, and to say the least, not easy to achieve. However, in the wake of the revolutionary victory, the people and government were quite confident of complete victory, i.e. a free and educated people in China.

Faced with the objective realities of the society, i.e. widespread illiteracy, insufficient scientists and technicians, obsolete equipment, and widespread hunger and disease, the Chinese government had to develop educational programs that were both expedient and political. The objectives of such programs were clear - "first, to shift the cultural and educational work hitherto in the hands of a small number of people onto the basis of the laboring masses; secondly, to make culture and education effectively serve the restoration and development of the production of the country."48

These objectives could only become a reality through the successful linking of all strata of people in China, i.e. soldiers, workers, peasants, and students, with their material world. In this sense the populace of China, necessarily, became one - worker/student/peasant/soldier, all opposed to feudalist thinking, and all understanding that there can be no such thing as workshops to deal with society. Instead, society, itself, must be the new school in China.

In a paper on Chinese education by Stewart Fraser and John Hawkins, Mao Tse Tung is quoted as saying, "The students of law cannot study law successfully if they do not go to society to study criminology." In his quotations, Mao Tse Tung further clarifies this position by stating that:

"Whoever wants to know a thing has no way of doing so except by coming into contact with it, that is by living (practicing) in its environment. ...If
you want knowledge, you must take part in the practicing of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.\textsuperscript{49}

Through combining theory with practice, which is a major philosophy of Chinese education, the Chinese people have been able to develop their political consciousness and make progressive changes in society. A major result of the reforms in education has been the fact that the people, through carrying forth the philosophy of education, have been convinced that they are all taking part in creating the future of China and the world.

This "future" can be seen in the bumper crops; the elimination of several diseases (specifically, syphilis, gonorrhea, drugs, and schistosomiasis); nuclear development (specifically, communication missiles, which were developed in less than twenty years after the revolution); revitalization of the use of traditional Chinese medicine (specifically, acupuncture anesthesia and earicularpuncture); developments in heavy and light industry; and discoveries and experimentations in oceanography.

Out of several examples which cite China's progress in education, two are outstanding. They are Kung Ta (abbreviated name for the University of Community Labour) and the "barefoot" doctors.

Kung Ta is literally a university in service of working people. First, the Kung Ta abolished traditional admission policies, and made the criteria for admission "social commitment and working experience". This meant that the children of the "old" elite had no better chance of admission than the children of the "old" working class. Second, it implemented
the governmental mandate of combining theory with practice by establishing local branches that extended to many remote areas of the country; and each branch was grammatically designed to adapt to the needs and resources of the area it is located in. Third, the faculty and students were encouraged to employ the doctrine of "self-reliance", so they all participated in building their living quarters, furniture and equipment, and they raised and cultivated crops in order to meet their needs. Fourth, when faced with a teacher shortage, the students began to teach each other, thereby embracing the challenge to become students/teachers/workers. Finally, as a result of this entire experience most of the students, upon completion of their studies, returned to their respective communities and applied their new "problem-solving knowledge" in the best interests of the community people.50

The "barefoot" doctors, as stated earlier, is another outstanding example of the practical value of the new educational system of China. These doctors, who have received training to be "general" practitioners, are responsible for caring for the people throughout the Chinese countryside who have often never seen a doctor prior to China's revolution. "The practical benefits of such a program are clear when one considers the vast needs of the Chinese countryside and the increase in medical and paramedical personnel such a program could create."51

Selected for training on the basis of their class background, ideological soundness, and academic ability, the "barefoot" doctors participate in a relatively short though thorough training period, which places heavy emphasis on practical experience. They are trained by doctors who have graduated from the universities, and who have travelled to the countryside
with the express purposes of treating people and training paramedics.

Dr. J.S. Horn presents a sound indication of the philosophy that rests behind the development of the paramedic program. In his book, *Away With All Pests*, he states:

"The training of peasant doctors makes it possible not only to increase rapidly the available medical personnel in China's countryside, but also, in the long-term, to produce a better type of doctor than orthodox methods of training can do. It is much more than a temporary expedient. Whatever gaps a peasant doctor may have in his medical knowledge can be made good as he gains experience or by joining refresher courses in city hospitals. His uniquely valuable characteristic is his closeness to his patients. They are his own folk and there is mutual trust and confidence between them. The results of his work are constantly tested in practice in such a way that he can learn immediately both from success and failure. He is both a peasant and a doctor and cannot sink into narrow professionalism or become mentally divorced from the people he serves."

The Cultural Revolution, which made further progressive changes in the Chinese educational system, spurred the country to yet another stage of educational development. Though China was viewed by many international social scientists to be the country least in need of a revolution in education (China had already reached great heights in this area. It had put a whole generation into primary schools, expanded and improved Universities and technical institutions, provided literacy and adult education for millions of middle-aged and old people, expanded education to the countryside and begun experimenting with ideas like "part-work part-study" schools), China, itself, felt that the country was still lacking in completely carrying out its socialist mission. Mao Tse Tung's instruction on "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" facilitated his visions of an all inclusive educational experience, which became a reality with the actions of the people following his May 7, 1966 directive. Paul K. Lin states:
"Mao called upon the army to transform itself into a vast school for learning not only military, but also political and cultural affairs. It should be capable of engaging in agricultural and industrial production, in mass work, and in the constant criticism of exploitative classes and ideas. Workers, farmers, students, and government and administrative personnel should all be encouraged to engage in one or two fields of endeavor other than their principle specialization. Education should be revolutionized and the length of school shortened."

This directive, as with all of the other objectives, was not easily carried out. However, again, the determination of the people called forth great actions which resulted in many accomplishments. Educational transformations could be seen in all of the schools, and the society, as a whole, became one large educational institution.

Teachers left school buildings in order to become better teachers, that is, they joined with the worker and peasant masses in their daily activities in order to learn the realities of worker-peasant life; new administrative boards were created which called for more direct public participation in the planning for the development of colleges; extraneous materials were eliminated from the curriculum, thereby shortening the number of primary school years from six to five and the number of middle school years from six to four (this meant that the curriculum was concentrated on the acquisition of learning tools); all universities, like the Kung Ta University, were coupled with a factory or commune, which "provides a framework for the infusion of working peoples values, for faculty-students stints at productive labour, as well as for worker-intellectual exchanges of empirical and theoretical knowledge, with the total effect of spurring both learning and production;" and finally, admissions to the universities are no longer based solely on the academic achievement of students coming
straight from the middle schools, but, instead, social commitment as indicated by several years of working experience is the basis for admitting young people into the universities and colleges.\textsuperscript{55}

Clearly, education in China is education for the masses of Chinese people. As the society identifies with one of Mao's first principles on educational policy, i.e. education "must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and to become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture", the educational system becomes the vehicle for the development of the socialist and communist society for which China is striving.\textsuperscript{56}

Conclusion

As stated in the beginning of this chapter, none of the educational programs discussed can be implemented in total by Africans in America, since no entire program, educational or otherwise, can be transplanted from one country to the next and be successful in terms of serving the needs of the masses. It is possible, however, to develop succesful/progressive programs which are created after an objective analysis of educational systems in revolutionary societies has taken place. The synthesis of these findings can lead to the creation of a serviceable program if, in fact, the creator, in addition to his/her knowledge of the foreign societies, has an understanding of the objective realities of the society that he/she is trying to transform.

Although the three countries observed for this chapter have at one time or another looked to the West, i.e. Western Europe and North America, as models for culture and education, they have all recognized the
deficiencies, i.e. bankruptcy as well as trappings, of such an outlook.

In his *Selected Works*, Mao Tse Tung states:

"Chinese progressives went through untold hardships in their quest for truth from Western countries......
In my youth, I too engaged in such studies. They represented the culture of Western bourgeois democracy including the social theories and natural sciences of that period, and they were called "the new learning" in contrast to Chinese feudal culture, which was called "the old learning." 57

Nyerere adds to this, and gives a clear indication of the purpose of colonial education:

"Colonial education.... was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state.....
Inevitably,...it was based on the assumptions of a colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his cooperative instincts. It led to the possession of individual material wealth being the major criterion of social merit and worth.58

Mao shows how the thoughts and attitudes of the Chinese people were changed after the revolution. He states that, "Thus Western bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and the plan for a bourgeois republic have all gone bankrupt in the eyes of the Chinese people." 59 This attitude is also reflected in the thoughts of Cuba and Tanzania.

Having reversed the dependency outlook, and developed programs aimed at self-reliance and making new cultural definitions, Cuba, Tanzania, and China serve as outstanding examples for Africans in America, since Western culture serves as a means of controlling Black people just as it served as a means of oppressing and controlling the peoples in those countries prior to revolutionary developments.

The programs that are developed by Africans in America will, necessarily, come after the understanding of the social particulars that exist here as
well as an increased awareness of international struggles. Having accomplished this much he/she can then borrow positive tools from the progressive countries that have been able to cut loose the shackles of mental and physical oppression.

This may unfold in several ways. For example, the Black educator might thoroughly study the revolutionary movements of one particular country, and then create programs of action based upon the achievements of that country or he/she might study revolutionary movements in several countries, and then borrow something from each one in order to create progressive programs to be used in this country. Both methods are equally valuable.

Regardless of the format of study used, the intent must remain the same - to use the pains, sacrifices, and accomplishments of the world's progressive countries in order to develop practical educational programs that will serve the best interests of the masses of Black people in this country.

"Arise ye prisoners of starvation
Arise ye wretched of the earth.
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind
us, arise ye slaves no more in thrall.
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been nought we shall be all. 'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale shall be the human race.
'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place! The Internationale shall be the human race."

E. Pottier
FOOTNOTES

1. Mao Tse Tung, Quotations from Mao Tse Tung, p. 24.
4. Ibid., p. 71.
7. Ibid., p. 73.
8. Ibid., p. 73.
9. Ibid., p. 79.
15. Ibid., p. 222.
18. Ibid., pp. 280-281.
19. Ibid., p. 411.
26. Ibid.,
29. Ibid., p. 34.
30. Ibid., p. 36.
31. Ibid., p. 38.
32. Ibid., p. 39.
33. Ibid., p. 41.
34. Ibid., pp. 46-47.
35. Ibid., p. 51.
36. Ibid., p. 62.
37. Ibid., p. 50.
38. Ibid., p. 54.
40. Ibid., p. 488.
41. Ibid., p. 489.
42. "Who Transforms Whom?", *Far East Reporter*.
44. Ibid., p.66
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., p. 68.
47. Mao Tse Tung, *Education and Culture in China*, p. 87.
49. Mao Tse Tung, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse Tung*, p. 209.


53. Mao Tse Tung, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse Tung*, p. 191.


57. Mao Tse Tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", *Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Tse Tung*, p. 303.


CHAPTER IV

THE RE-EDUCATION OF BLACK PEOPLE: A PHILOSOPHY

"To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves.

In order to achieve real action, you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress, and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fights for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity."

The re-education of Black people must be an educational process that unifies Black people and produces new forces and new images for them such that they gain a sense of cultural identity, of historical continuity, of independence and of power. The education of Black people must begin and end with Black people, and the educator as well has to be a part of the people. In the words of Sekou Toure, the revolutionary "must be an element of that popular energy". Appropriately, the education which seeks to fashion the revolution must find a base among the people in order to be viable.

The conscious, deliberate mis-education of oppressed people throughout the world has been detrimental to them, and any oppressed group seeking liberation must change the present oppressive educational format so that it becomes a vehicle for their liberation. This new vehicle, i.e. revolutionary education, must have as its ultimate objective, the creation of "new" men and women who will struggle to create a progressive society.

In this sense, the educational process must become synonymous with
revolutionary change, and it must be the vanguard of the struggle for total transformation through its efforts to develop revolutionary consciousness within each man/woman.

Because of the dialectics of the oppressor/oppressed relationship, the oppressed are the only ones responsible for and totally capable of developing, and implementing a pedagogy for liberation. It would contradict the historical laws of oppression for the opposite to take place, since the existence of the oppressor depends upon the existence of the oppressed, and since they both exist, in part, as a result of the mis-education of oppressed people.

The oppressed must develop a "new" consciousness, which will present a "new" people interested in achieving all of the benefits of a free, humane society. This new consciousness, understandably, erases the cloud of the preconscious period, and the educational process must become the highest conscious function of a mass revolutionary movement which sees in education every man/woman's mastery and appropriation of the means of knowledge and production for the solution of the human task as a whole in terms of the productive forces as a whole.

How do we get to this point? The emergence of the new man/woman is not a process that takes place without a great amount of struggle and sacrifice, and for this reason, the solution to the current problems of the oppressed, thus the development of revolutionary programs, cannot be viewed in an idealistic or romantic manner. On the contrary, the principles of dialectical materialism must be applied, and each aspect of oppression and subsequent transformation must be studied and re-studied—internally, externally and in relationship with other things. Lenin has emphasized:
"...in order to know an object we must embrace, study all its sides, all connections and "mediations". We shall never achieve this completely, but the demand for all-sideness is safeguard against mistakes and rigidity."2

The philosophy for the education of Black people must be a philosophy of dialectical materialism. By 'the dialectical method' is meant the method of inquiry which seeks to investigate things in their movements and changes, and in their inter-relations and interactions.....

materialism seeks to explain everything within the material world, including all the phenomena of human life, from the material world itself... materialism regards everything mental or spiritual as the product of the movement of matter, as dependent on material conditions and incapable of existence independent of matter.5 Through grasping this philosophy, Black people will be able to understand the essentials of class and race struggle, and the necessity of combining theory and practice so that they can engage in the much needed struggle for liberation and production. Socialist politics must be the center of this philosophy of education, and the educational participants must understand the importance of ideology and politics.

"It is a general principle of Marxism-Lenism to have politics command everything and to regard political work as the heart of every kind of work."3

In keeping with this, Lenin has stated:

"...the only way the matter stands.... is that without a proper political approach to the subject the given class cannot maintain its rule, and consequently cannot solve its own production problems."4

Political education will enable the oppressed to develop his/her consciousness. This consciousness comes through an educational process, i.e.
political education, which seeks to awaken the awareness of the oppressed toward the direction of the oppressor and the oppressor/oppressed relationship, and to channel the energy and quelled potential of the oppressed to a position of advantage.

Within the frameworks of these efforts, the educational process must reveal possibilities for changing the existing social economic, and political order, and must disavow all of the "manifest destiny" myths that have become such an integral part of the traditional educational platform. The program under a Black philosophy of education must render the enemy vulnerable, and the possibility of change feasible.

Black people must witness examples, both historically and at present, of the vulnerability of the oppressor, so that they can begin to believe that it is possible for them to transform society. Since traditional education has supported the notion that the oppressor is superior to the Black race, many Black people have been hesitant to participate in any practices aimed at destroying the oppressor's class. Liberating education must expose the fallacies of this line of thinking, and must serve as a motivating vehicle for changing the oppressor/oppressed relationship which results in this type of belief.

Black people must understand that people and not arms determine the course of a struggle to transform society. Mao Tse Tung has stated that, "the people, and the people alone, are the motive force of world history."6 The victories of the Africans in Guinea Bisseau, Mozambique, Angola, Algeria, etc., the victory of the Chinese people in China, the victory of the Cuban people in Cuba, the victory of the people in the Soviet Union, and the victories of the Vietnamese people, i.e. the Democratic Republic of
Vietnam and the National Liberation Front, against governments that own superior weapons, have proven the validity of Lenin's statement that:

"In any war, victory in the end is determined by the morale of those masses who shed their blood on the field of battle. . . . This realization of the aims and causes of the war by the masses is of enormous significance and assures victory." \(^7\)

In keeping with this, the Black philosophy of education must concern itself with the above research in order to begin preparing its educational constituents both psychologically and physically for the necessity of armed struggle. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Friere quotes Hegel as stating:

"It is solely by risking life that freedom is obtained, . . . the individual who has not staked his life may, no doubt, be recognized as a person; but he has not attained the truth of this recognition as an independent self-consciousness." \(^8\)

George Jackson states:

"Revolution builds in stages; it isn't cool or romantic; it's bold and vicious; it's stalking and being stalked - the opposition rising above our level of violence to repress us, and our forces learning how to counter this repression and again pulling ourselves above their level of violence." \(^9\)

Revolutionary armed struggle for social change must be defined as an act of humanity, so that the oppressed can begin to realize its necessity. The oppressor must be viewed as the "violent" agent in the oppressor/oppressed relationship, and the oppressed must be able to draw the conclusion that it is only through the destruction of this agent, through armed insurrection, that the oppressed can gain his/her freedom, and return humanity to the society.

The Black educator/student in this country must learn well the lessons taught by successful revolutions, and must optimize his/her position of strength, i.e. he/she must take full advantage of the fact that he/she lives
"inside the belly of the monster." Though preparation for an armed struggle has its many problems, the Black educator/student has the responsibility for carrying forth a thorough investigation of the many avenues open for launching a successful insurrection. George Jackson spells out our position completely. He states:

"The principal reservoir of revolutionary potential in America lies in wait inside the Black Colony. Its sheer numerical strength, its desperate historical relation to the violence of the productive system, and the fact of its present status in the creation of wealth force the black stratum at the base of the whole class structure into the forefront of any revolutionary scheme." 10

The goal of the armed struggle must be constantly emphasized. Clearly, it is not aimed at replacing the current oppressor class with a new oppressor class. Instead, it is aimed at developing a classless society, i.e. a socialist society, through the liberation of man and the productive forces of mankind.

An objective knowledge, gained through a revolutionary educational experience, i.e. an experience based on the science of dialectical materialism, which aims at making the oppressed understand the oppressor/oppressed relationship, and the realization that this relationship is not, necessarily, inevitable, is, as stated earlier, of paramount importance; however, the philosophy of Black education cannot stop here. This is solely the foundation that must be laid for change. The process for gaining complete liberation must be built upon this foundation.

The revolutionary educational process must be based upon an exchange of knowledge between one person and another through a dialogical process. Throughout this, one person cannot pose all of the problems and present all of the solutions. There must be an even exchange of ideas, and an
emphasis must be placed on critically analyzing each experience through open discussion.

The oppressed becomes "aware" i.e. politically conscious, only after he/she begins to question the different aspects of his/her social experiences. This must be done in classes which revolve around problem posing situations that relate to the students and the society. And different programs for transformation can be developed out of the oppressed tackling with reality based problems.

One of the greatest fears of the oppressor is the development of a critically conscious oppressed group. The fear of this development is a natural response, since history proves that once people begin to question/criticize their objective conditions, they begin to follow the path toward transformation. Friere presents the feelings of the oppressor when he states: "It is better for the victims of injustice not to recognize themselves as such...The awakening of critical consciousness leads the way to expressions of social discontent precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation."11

Once the educational experience has provided a thorough scientific knowledge of the objective relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, the oppressed must then witness an experience which allows him/her the chance to understand who he/she is through understanding the complete historical existence of his/her people. This must occur, not for romantic reasons, but, instead, for providing the important link between interpreting the present and controlling the future, which, necessarily, is understanding the past.

Part of the reasons why the oppressor has been able to continue his position of power for so very long has been his ability to virtually wipe
out, through the educational process, the historical existence, thus the historical contributions, of the oppressed group of people. Educated within this framework, i.e. educated to believe that he/she has made no significant additions to society, the oppressed becomes a pawn for continued oppression, because he/she believes that the position of the oppressed is a historically deserved position.

The Black educational process must be an educational process which not only stresses the importance of researching and understanding world history, but which also illuminates the different periods in history when groups of people were filled with self-determination and the desire to transform society into a humane structure. In most areas of revolution, regardless of whether it was bourgeois revolution or socialist revolution, the people armed with self-determination and nationalist spirit were able to win over the people armed with superior weapons and armies. And once the right to self-determination was fulfilled, the areas of cultural and technical achievement skyrocketed. This total picture must be drawn and presented in its historical context to the oppressed, so that they can see the possibilities of their lot.

History must never be presented for history's sake. A revolutionary philosophy mandates that history be presented as a means of serving the present and foundation for organizing and struggling for a socialist future. It must also serve as a means for projecting an international struggle of oppressed people against capitalism and imperialism, and allow the oppressed Black persons in the United States to understand that their struggle is not and should not be isolated.

It is clear that the oppressor government, through all of its educational,
i.e. media and educational institutions, deliberately set out to isolate the problems of the different oppressed groups, and cannot accurately report the progress of the various liberation struggles because the economical and political interests of the oppressor government cannot be served through one oppressed group critically understanding the existence, liberation activities, and progress of another oppressed group, since this understanding might give encouragement and ideas to those oppressed people interested in organizing a mass movement for social change.

In keeping with this, the reactionary governments in power often develop strategies that will pit one oppressed group against the other, which makes it more difficult for the oppressed to establish who the real enemy is. A clear example of this is the Black and Puerto Rican communities in the United States, which have historically been encouraged to battle with each other instead of joining forces to defeat the common enemy, i.e. United States imperialism, capitalism, and racism. For this reason, it becomes the responsibility of the revolutionary educator/student/worker to seek, first hand, objective knowledge about different oppressed groups and their fights for freedom. This, understandably, is an arduous task, but it must be done!

Because the struggle for liberation and self-determination is not an isolated case confined to the United States, a philosophy for the education of Black people must make it mandatory that a thorough knowledge of international struggles be a part of the educational program. In addition, it is important that this knowledge advances to a much needed level of actively supporting, through various forms, i.e. physically, morally and economically these struggles.
Black people in the United States must begin to view themselves as extensions of the liberation efforts throughout the world, and when studying the tactics and finance of other liberation fronts, they must understand the major differences and similarities between themselves and other liberation groups. Since no two revolutions are exactly the same, it is understandable why the conditions of Black people in the United States is of great importance in the educational process. Though the objectives might be the same, i.e. to destroy the oppressor/oppressed relationship and the creation of a humane society, the tactics employed to attain these objectives may, necessarily, be different. Throughout it all, however, it is vital that each liberation group not only be aware of the existence of another group, but also must understand the nature and goals of other liberating struggles. It is the responsibility of the revolutionary educational process to do this.

Understandably, the crisis of the objective conditions may render it impossible for the oppressed group/groups to take progressive steps one at a time, i.e. understanding the realities of his/her conditions, understanding history, having a knowledge and understanding of different liberation struggles, and participation in armed struggle, since social conditions may make it necessary to participate in several stages at the same time. However, regardless of the stage of the struggle, the philosophy must nevertheless remain the same. The philosophy must be the philosophy of dialectical materialism, and the struggle must be for total liberation and the development of a socialist society.

In understanding the truth of the conditions of the present, through continuous and arduous study of the past, the "new" person has a better
chance of emerging. Undoubtedly, this process will unveil an emerging
sense of pride and self-identity, which will enable the oppressed to enter
the next arena of struggle, i.e. studying in the skills areas necessary
for survival, change and development.

Keeping this in mind, it becomes the revolutionary responsibility
of a Black philosophy of education to provide not only the idea that society
needs complete restructuring, but it must also provide a means for achieving
this necessary goal. In this sense, theory must be turned into practice,
and theoretical practice must become part of the ingrained consciousness
of the new man/woman. This is of undetermined value since theoretical
knowledge has no utility except in terms of practice, because it is only
through practice that there can be any type of transformation. Mao Tse
Tung has stated:

"The dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge
places practice in the primary position, holding that
human knowledge can in no way be separated from
practice and repudiating all the erroneous theories
which deny the importance of practice or separate know-
ledge from practice."

Students of the Black philosophy of education must be taught the areas
necessary for both Black survival and transforming the society, i.e. they
must learn aspects of self and group discipline, the theories of socialist
production, use of defensive and offensive weaponry, theories of urban
warfare, international politics and economics, scientific skills, etc.
Each area mastered must be accompanied by some type of practical experience
which must be in the service of humanity.

The present realities of oppressed people throughout the world reveal
the fact that Black people are most deficient in the technical and scientific
fields of study. The immediate need for more Black people in the scientific
and technological areas coupled with the fact that the world in the twenty-first century will mandate new and more advanced areas of technological and scientific expertise, make it of utmost importance that Black people enter these fields.

Freedom to learn must not be interpreted as freedom to remain ignorant, i.e. mis-educated. All Black people must be educated within the confines of a Black philosophy of education, and most must be guided/pushed into scientific areas. There can be no individual choice in this selection process, but instead, field assignments must be a result of group decisions based on a scientific, dialogical process.

The awe and mystification surrounding the sciences must be removed. All of the scientific areas must be discussed in problem-solving situations, which should remove much of the doubt that Black people have about their ability to master these areas. And Black youth must start at an early age to be encouraged to take an interest in the sciences, and to gain confidence in themselves, specifically with regards to the sciences.

Since progress must be judged in terms of technological improvement of the conditions of the masses of people instead of the concentrated improvement of the small ruling class, education in the sciences must be established in the Black community as a means of improving the Black community through developing, within each student of the sciences, a sense of dedication and commitment to the liberation of Black people.

Within each stage of the educational process, the overall purpose of the Black philosophy of education can never be overemphasized. The educator/student must be reminded over and over again that Black education must be concerned with returning humanity to the society - the world. As stated
earlier, the oppressed emerge as the only ones capable of achieving this.

The oppressor has had to do so very many degrading things in order to remain in this position of benefit that he has long lost his humanity, and must never be expected to regain it on his own. His 'humanity' is explained in his terms, so that it supports his current political and economical position, and in this process the oppressed becomes defined as inhumane, barbaric, savage creatures worthy of his/her low position in the political and economic arena.

The oppressed must recognize that the oppressor's 'humanity' is in fact inhumane, savage and barbaric, and that it is the duty of all oppressed people to remove the oppressor class of people and their mentality from the world, and return ancient humanity to it. This is by no means a simple process, but it must be done!

In an inhumane society every individual's success is judged in accordance to his/her ability to step on another person and achieve those things that serve the interest of the ruling class. In keeping with this philosophy, students in the inhumane educational institutions receive grades, i.e. A, B, C, F or Pass/Fail, in accordance with his/her mastery of subject matter and not in accordance with how this subject matter is applied in the service of the masses of people.

This must, necessarily, change in the revolutionary educational process. Each person's success in the educational process must be judged twofold: One, he/she must be judged in accordance with the material mastered, but more important, two, he/she must be evaluated in accordance with his/her willingness to engage in complete service for the Black community.

In keeping with this philosophy, there should be no grade and degree
system, which only becomes justifiable in a capitalist society, where
the grade and the degree, with their subsequent monetary benefits, become
the stimulus for seeking an education. Each student's stimulus should be
the objective needs of the Black community, and how each student can serve
these needs.

Because each stage of the educational process is entrenched with
practical application, there must be no graduation from learning and
subsequent commencement into the living experience. Learning is an on¬
going process, and 'life' and the living experience is a necessary part
of learning.

Black education must be practical education, therefore, it is impor¬
tant to understand that the re-education of Black people, i.e. education
for liberation, must be viewed in two phases. One phase deals with making
the Black man/woman critically conscious of the objective realities of
their condition, and striving for the transformation of these conditions.
The second phase, which occurs after the transformation has taken place,
will witness a liberated people that are constantly struggling against
the restoration of the reactionary bourgeois point of view and life-style
in their society. In both cases, the people are clear about what they
are fighting against, and must constantly show determination not to be
turned away from the correct, socialist road.

The educational philosophy of the first stage is, necessarily, a
philosophy which has developed out of the need for a struggle to end the
oppressor/oppressed relationship. The outlook of this educational phase
must be based on revolutionary thought, and must be used as a vehicle for
demolishing bourgeois rule and for eliminating the bourgeois as well as
all other forms of exploitative classes. People must be trained to have
a socialist consciousness and culture, and it must equip people mentally and physically for armed struggle and continuous political work.

Within this operation the educational philosophy and action must deal with both the consciousness of the oppressed and the consciousness of the oppressor. We must, "familiarize ourselves with all aspects of the enemy situation and our own, to discover the laws governing the actions of both sides and make use of the laws in our own operation."\(^{13}\)

Understandably, the consciousness of the oppressed must be examined and changed, so that he/she can begin to visualize him/herself as worthy of social transformation as well as capable of achieving it. In trying to achieve this, the educational process must provide an opportunity for Black people to regain their sense of identity, historical continuity, cultural heritage, objective power, and self-pride and confidence.

On the other hand, the consciousness of the oppressor must also be seriously considered, because it is only through "knowing" the oppressor that the oppressed can begin to predict the modes of counter-revolution. Because the oppressor's history is filled with counter-revolutionary tactics which provide proof of their capacity to use any and all forms of action for suppressing the movement directed at their annihilation, it is of utmost importance that a scientific approach be taken when studying this "monster". In this sense, all illusions concerning the oppressor must be cast aside. Mao Tse Tung says,"

"Some people are good at knowing themselves and poor at knowing their enemy, and some are the other way around; neither can solve the problem of learning and applying the laws of war. There is a saying in the book of Sun Wu Tzu, the great military scientist of ancient Ching, 'Know the enemy and know yourself, and you can fight a hundred battles with no danger of defeat', which refers both to the stage of learning and to the stage of
application, both to knowing the laws of development of objective reality and to deciding on our own action in accordance with these laws in order to overcome the enemy facing us.\textsuperscript{14}

During the second phase, which in all probability will witness a cultural revolution similar to the one that took place in the People's Republic of China, the educational philosophy and program will, again, need to deal with the consciousness of the people. Though there will no longer be an oppressor, the dispossessed exploitative culture of the oppressor will have to constantly be held in check, so that it does not in any way begin to creep into minds of the liberated people. In this continuous phase of struggle/criticism/transformation, the educational system must serve the interests of the Black community and must be developed in the interest of socialist politics.

Trying to develop a completely new non-exploitative culture is a difficult task, but it is a necessary part of returning the oppressor and the oppressed to humanity, so it must be done! The 'new' culture will, necessarily, contain a new set of values, ideas, and practices which are in complete harmony with socialism, and all of the people that participate in the educational process must develop a sense of total commitment to liberation and participate in cultural activities which support this notion.

Culture must be redefined to include the sciences as well as the arts, and cultural imperatives make it necessary that the Black man/woman become involved in the process of redeveloping and awakening his/her cultural heritage. Understanding that much of the African culture was ripped off from the African people dispersed on the American continent, it is important that those persons engaged in the liberation struggle, thus engaged
in an effort to re-capture, re-define, and understand their African heritage, become aware of the cultural impacts of the past on his/her objective existence.

Starting with the language and values of the oppressor, since in most cases this is the only language and value system known by Black people in this country, Black educators/students/workers must begin to give new definitions and develop new values that will support his/her liberation struggles. This is done only after a complete understanding of the oppressive and exploitative nature of the existing language and value system is realized.

Out of the 'new culture' must arise new images which become models of scientific socialism, and the 'leaders' in this process must create situations that allow the leadership and the masses to become 'one'! This, of course, includes the leadership in the educational process, and they must allow ample opportunity for the exchange of roles which allows for the continued growth of all of the participants, and helps to keep the reactionary, elitist point of view out of the 'new' system.

The role of the liberation forces, i.e. educators, community organizers, students, workers, etc. must be to carry out the philosophy and images of education for liberation. Obstacles will be many, but the people's determination for freedom and humanity will not be turned around if it is accompanied by a correct ideology. There is no task that a determined people cannot accomplish, and the end result will, necessarily, be the rising of freedom's flag by one Black man/woman or the other.
"So many deeds cry out to be done,
And always urgently;
The world rolls on,
Time presses.
Ten thousand years are too long,
Seize the day, seize the hour!

The Four Seas are rising
Clouds and waters raging,
The Five Continents are rocking,
Wind and thunder roaring.
Away with all pests!
Our force is irresistible."

Mao Tse Tung
FOOTNOTES

1. Frantz, Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 206.


CHAPTER V
EDUCATIONAL MISSION FOR THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

"The experiences of black people, conditioned through oppression require an entirely different design for information and knowledge input. We must develop our own learning systems as there are no educational learning systems applicable to large numbers of the mis-educated population living under conditions of economic deprivation for over thirty decades, that will motivate you intensely."^1

As we advance toward the twenty-first century, Black people must begin thinking in terms of alternative education through the development of alternative institutions. The alternative school is a community institution, which is not reflected solely in terms of changing the structural apparatus, i.e. open classroom, circular seating arrangements, etc., but rather provides an emphasis on content, which supports revolutionary ideology. This ideology gives political focus and direction to those participants in the transformation process, which will eliminate the conditions of oppression.

The challenge of developing a progressive system of education is to confront the existing educational system, expose it, change it, and simultaneously build an organization that abolishes political illiteracy and motivates forces for concrete social change. The purpose is clear:

"The main purpose of the organization is to bring about the final death of colonialism and the discontinuance of.....imperialist domination."^2

Though the immediate desire is to develop a timetable and a tangible schedule for the new educational organization, it is difficult to satisfy this desire in a written public document. Education for liberation cannot be accomplished
within existing educational systems of the colonial power. Existing educational systems can only seek to destroy the progressive alternative institution; therefore, a timetable for liberating education cannot be presented before a large audience, which is certain to contain both friends and enemies.

It must be understood that an alternative educational concept does not necessarily have to be a manual for the Black educator/student/worker/organizer. Certainly, the dialectics of both the Black community and the oppressors of that community mandate that instead, a progressive framework be offered, which calls for broad experimentation in accordance with the concept and philosophy of education for liberation. In this case, the framework, i.e. a Black philosophy of education and a conceptual design for the education of Black people, becomes the tool which the community organizer can use to implement his/her timetable for action. Accordingly, the following excerpt from the preface of *Black Power*, by Stokley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, can be fully appreciated:

"We present no pat formulas in this book for ending racism. We do not offer a blueprint; we cannot set any timetables for freedom. This is not a handbook for the working organizer; it will not tell him exactly how to proceed in day-to-day decision-making. If we tried to do any of those things our book would be useless and literally dead within a year or two."3

The alternative institution does not seek to be legitimized by the existing social order, for its aim is to educate and raise the consciousness of its members so that they will strive to destroy the existing social order. This is done by using 'life' and life's experiences as a nucleus of the curriculum, and the contradictions that exist in the society as the point of departure for change.
It is important to recognize that life's contradictions should not be the sole concerns of oppressed people. It is equally important to define/discuss/develop those things in colonial life that are non-existent, i.e. accurate Black history, socialist values, and new images, which will aid in the liberation process. In this sense, people are given positive goals instead of completely focusing upon the things in life that are incorrect/unjust/contradictory.

"We are faced with the task of raising a positive mobilization of revolutionary consciousness in a mass that has 'gone through' a contra-positive, authoritarian process."4

Within the process of establishing certain goals and objectives for a new school/society, oppressed people, Black people, must begin to re-establish their identity. This procedure begins with a complete rejection of the colonizer as a model for existence at any level.

"Assimilation, being abandoned, the colonized's liberation must be carried out through a recovery of self and of autonomous dignity. Attempts at imitating the colonizer required self-denial; the colonizer's rejection is the indispensable prelude to self-discovery. That accusing and annihilating image must be shaken off; oppression must be attacked boldly since it is impossible to go around it. After having been rejected for so long by the colonizer, the day has come when it is the colonized who must refuse the colonizer."5

The alternative educational format must include accumulating and teaching African values, traditions, history and knowledge, as well as developing new values and traditions such that the 'whole' man/woman is created. The 'whole' Black man/woman must have a positive self-consciousness, and the ability to look at himself through his own eyes; therefore, destroying the "...double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the type of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity."6
A sense of self and group worth must be established in the alternative institution so that Black people can begin to believe that they are capable of making significant changes; and a sense of peoplehood and cooperative spirit must be developed so that significant change will be made.

The reality of our present condition as related by Friere:

"As the oppressor minority subordinates and dominates the majority, it must divide it and keep it divided in order to remain in power. The minority cannot permit itself the luxury of tolerating the unification of the people, which would undoubtedly signify a serious threat to their own hemegomy."\(^7\)

warrants an educational process that stresses the strength of a unified people, and begins to disintegrate the myth that modern arms render the people helpless and impotent.

"....no weapon, no violence can vanquish the people once they have decided to win back their rights. Both past and present are full of examples."\(^8\)

In addition, the alternative Black institution must provide experiences which allow its constituents the opportunity to recognize themselves as a part of a new force - a Third World force. Besides understanding the fact that no liberation struggle should be isolated, Black people in the United States must become aware of international politics, and must be able to relate each step of their struggle to those struggles that have preceded them and those that are concurrent with them.

Franz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth* provides Black people with a concrete reason for considering itself part of a Third World umbrella:

"Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us try to create the whole man, whom Europe has been incapable of bringing to triumphant birth.

Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the
United States of America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions.....

The Third World today faces Europe like a colossal mass whose aim should be to try to resolve the problems to which Europe has not been able to find the answers....

It is a question of the Third World starting a new history of Man, a history which will have regard to the sometimes prodigious theses which Europe has put forward, but which will also not forget Europe's crimes, of which the most horrible was committed in the heart of man, and consisted of the pathological tearing apart of his functions and the crumbling away of his unity.

No, there is no question of a return to nature. It is simply a very concrete question of not dragging men towards mutilation, of not imposing upon the brain rhythms which very quickly obliterate it and wreck it. The pretext of catching up must not be used to push man around, to tear him away from himself or from his privacy, to break and kill him.

No, we do not want to catch up with anyone. What we want to do is go forward all the time, night and day, in the company of Man, in the company of all men....

In this instance, it is important to study developments in revolutionary countries, i.e. Tanzania, People's Republic of China, and Cuba so that we might be able to recognize the importance and understand the significance of unification of colonized people in their desire and efforts to destroy colonialization. Tanzania, Cuba, and China, which have been presented in the third chapter, are cited because they are outstanding models, which oppressed people should examine in an effort to develop strategies conducive to their own liberation struggles.

In addition to providing models of progressive society for oppressed people, one of the most important pre-revolutionary and revolutionary concepts that these countries furnishes us with is that many struggles to combat oppression often start with small groups of active forces which grow
into large numbers of supporters. Therefore, it is important that the
cadres of students/teachers/workers adopt a policy of focusing on the
needs of the oppressed community, so that while integrating with the
group in their struggle to meet these needs, political education trans-
pires, and the levels of consciousness of the participants is raised.
This should result in the development of a larger base of active community
people who are now engaged in the greater struggle for liberation.

This makes it imperative that the alternative school never be separated
from the community which it is serving, either in definition or in physical
appearance. They, i.e. the community and the school, are to operate as
one - each educating the other. With this in mind, we can incorporate
Friere's concept of teacher/student and student/teacher, and think in terms
of them being workers for the new social order. In this sense, they are
revolutionary comrades and their relationship is no longer that of the
rulers and the ruled.

As was discussed in chapter four, the alternative educational system
must inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and the pupils/
workers must be given values appropriate for liberating a colonized people,
and significant to future goals. This means that the educational institu-
tions/system must stress/foster a sense of co-operative endeavor, and not
individual advancement; it must stress the importance of humankind; and it
must emphasize the need for responsibility that gives service to the people
by putting all theory into practice.

Keeping in harmony with the Black philosophy of education, which sees
the grading system that exists in capitalist societies as a farce, there
will be no such thing as a grading system in the school as it exists in
the traditional, capitalist sense, which is based on chronological age and ability grouping, stemming from a battery of tests given to the pupil for the purpose of determining content retained and mastered through application to unreal situations. In addition, there will be no graduation ceremonies, because there will be no such thing as graduation or completed education. As each person that participates in the formal educational process finds that he/she spends added time working in the community, he/she will make smooth shifts from one tier of the learning process to the other, and these shifts will not require halting for graduation ceremonies or formal A, B, C, or pass/fail grading systems.

The alternative educational institution/community will base its system of learning on political mentality and application to authentic reality, rather than chronological age or content consumption. The criteria for judging the political mentality and action, thus the class that a person should be placed in, must be based upon the willingness of the individual to immerse him/herself in service for the people, and his/her act of doing so. Each person involved becomes a revolutionary in the sense that he strives to make social change through a liberating process, and he attempts to get a clear understanding of politics.

"A revolutionary is a person who, at all age levels, is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of the oppressed in an effort to change the objective realities of the oppressed and his practice of action to facilitate such change."10

The school will no longer be interested in the theory that education is only for the young, and that it must be completed before one can start to live and work. Education must be a life-long process for the young and old; and a rational society combines work and study for all ages, and for
people in every type of activity, from manual laborer to intellectual. This way children and adults do not continue to train in schools for skills that become obsolete by the time that they have finished a planned course of study.

At the same time, years of schooling must be shortened. (This should not be mis-interpreted as stating that education should be shortened). This necessary step, which is most easily seen as a result of the Black community's immediate need for doctors, engineers, chemists, etc., will enable educator/student/worker to sift out all of the unnecessary areas of the curriculum that are found in the traditional, capitalist institution, and which have no specific meaning to chosen professions.

All of the learning situations and tasks performed in the school will be such that cooperative effort is employed. This will continue to reinforce our theory concerning the worth of mankind, and oppose the idea of one man's worth being superior to the worth of the group. Thus, the needs of the group, and not just the needs of the individual will be met. Within this framework, both the young and the old will be participants in all learning spheres, and hopefully, each will learn from the other.

The curriculum will operate on three clearly defined levels. On level one, it will deal with the class/race struggle: study of revolutionary and reactionary philosophies and methods of operation, (as it relates to capitalism and racism), and practical participation in revolutionary action as defined by the objective realities. On the second level, it will deal with production, i.e. the Black man's struggle to produce those things that will free him: production of ideas, images, values, food, clothing, shelter, etc., that are pertinent to a people's culture, mental,
physical, etc, survival, self-reliance, ability to determine their own destiny. Finally, the curriculum, will deal with scientific experiments and the acquisition of basic skills: study and practice of those things i.e. language, reading, science, mathematics, etc., that are basic to and facilitative of struggle. (See the diagram on page 130).

In an effort to change an oppressive system, it is important that the members of the alternative school understand the operation of a capitalistic economy and the dynamics of racism so that complete comprehension leading to correct analysis is initial to destruction and building.

In keeping with the first phase of the curriculum, class participants must understand exactly what is meant by the term revolution in order to comprehend revolutionary ideology and revolutionary action.

"Revolution within a modern industrial capitalist society can only mean the overthrow of all existing property relations and the destruction of all institutions that directly or indirectly support existing property relations. It must include the total suppression of all classes and individuals who endorse the present state of property relations or who stand to gain from it. Anything less than this is reform."

In addition, Boggs deals with the issue of racism in revolution:

"The real fact is that in the U.S. the poorest white worker has always had an advantage over the richest black man - his color. The poorer the white worker, the more advantage he has taken of this to keep the black man in his place, so that among the growing number of white workers who fear for their jobs, and in the pockets of poverty that exist all over the U.S., there is more racism than ever. In fact, even though black Americans are a minority in the U.S., they represent as great a threat to the American system as the African majority represents to the system in South Africa. Because once, the bottom of the system seems to explode, then the whole system is threatened with overthrow. Once those at the bottom of the ladder refuse to stay there, then all those who have been climbing on their backs up the ladder are in danger of losing their place on the ladder."
SPHERES OF SOCIAL EDUCATION:

A. LIFE: All ages in the community

B. 1. Dialectical materialism; study of all aspects of the community/nation/world
   2. Study of revolutionary and reactionary philosophies and methods of operation
   3. Practical preparation in revolutionary action, i.e. armed struggle

C. SOCIALIST PRODUCTION: 1. Ideas
   2. Images
   3. Values
   4. Food, Clothing, Shelter
   5. Technological and Scientific Invention

D. SCIENTIFIC EXPERIMENTS AND THE ACQUISITION OF BASIC SKILLS
   WITH POLITICAL IMPLEMENTATION: 1. Language, mastery of and re-defining
   2. Science
   3. Mathematics
   4. Physical education
   5. Art and music

Note: Each sphere must be a part of the next sphere. They must be totally integrated, though each sphere has a clear set of goals and activities. In addition, each sphere must proceed from the general to the particular and the simple to the concrete.
The curriculum must constitute, for students/teachers, learning experiences about the true nature of revolution, and it must set goals and provide direction and models (that are flexible to objective conditions) for the society that will exist when oppression has been eliminated. Within this effort, heightening the consciousness of the people through struggle, i.e. learning experiences and practical preparation for the new society, are imperative elements of education for revolution. This allows no room for forces that wish to maintain the decadent American model and merely exchange the hands of power.

"Revolutionary change means the seizure of all that is in the hands of the one percent, and the transference of these holdings into the hands of the remaining 99 percent. If the 1 percent, are simply displaced by another 1 percent, revolutionary change has not taken place. A social revolution after the fact of the modern corporate capitalistic state can only mean the break-up of that state and a completely new form of economics and culture."¹³

Included in this area of the curriculum will be a full effort to educate people to the incumbent necessity for revolution, and in the course of this education, diminish all fears that result in the lack of productivity. Since it may be necessary to engage in armed struggle in order to secure change, we must educate the people so that they realize that revolution is about "life" and "living". They must come to realize that for Black people death is synonymous with capitalism and racism, and only the destruction of these two oppressive elements can promise us real "life" and not just the procuring of necessities for physical existence.

"...........We always have done most of the dying and still do! Dying at the stake, through social neglect or in U.S. foreign wars. The point is now to construct a situation where someone else will join in the dying. If it fails and we have to do most of the dying anyway, we're certainly no worse off than before."¹⁴
The second phase of the curriculum is active in assessing the tangible and intangible needs of the community, so that methods can be mastered and employed to meet these needs. For example, if the people in the community are suffering from a lack of adequate clothing, then a division of the school can set up a small clothing factory, and learning situations will be centered around the production of clothing. After all of the immediate, basic needs of the people have been met, then the curriculum can begin to consider secondary production needs and the needs of the future. This entire level of the curriculum must be based on the pulling together of skills and manpower through scientific resource availability and creativity. In this effort the education system will encourage:

"....the development of a proud, independent and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and the problems of co-operation."\(^{15}\)

All levels of the curriculum blend and overlap every other level, and each level is interested in expanding the cognitive domain of Black people by thoroughly utilizing Black people's affective domain. The third level deals with the acquisition of basic skills in a framework of socialist purpose and direction.

Knowledge and skills are acquired in two manners - by way of direct contact, and through indirect contact. Both approaches will be utilized in the school - with neither talking precedence over the other. Direct knowledge will be obtained by the students' participating in activities outside of a 4-walled classroom, which become a means of practical struggle with the objective realities of the Black man/woman's condition. For example, as stated before, the production arm of the curriculum will set
up small sewing factories that will serve the clothing needs of the community as one of its services and learning experiences. Indirect knowledge will come through study of written, or audio, ideological and scientific material which is mandatory in preparing people to better comprehend the nature of the struggle.

Through critical analysis of the reactionary and revolutionary positions, the students/teachers begin to increase their levels of consciousness and begins to seek out that which is truth and reality. The exploiting classes have distorted history and continue to distort the objective realities of the present day. Unless critical analysis of political postures of the past and present take place, it is impossible to assess, correctly, the nature of one's condition and position in relation to world dynamics. Clearly, it is necessary that a people's knowledge and understanding have historical continuity that is truthful.

In addition to having the student/workers struggle for a correct analysis of objective reality, it is necessary that all participants receive training in basic skills to facilitate the struggle and put it at a higher, more significant level. Things, like health, science, geography and the beginnings of English, are important, especially so that people can make informed judgements as to what course of action must be taken. In addition to a framework for analysis, people must have functional information that aides in their decisions during and after struggle. This must all be done in the wake of an advanced technological society, which makes it mandatory that the educational process concern itself with the providing of opportunities for Black people to increase their knowledge in the technological areas.

"The technological input of the last century coupled with our need for rapid industrialization for increased produc-
tivity and improved living conditions demands that our educational planning focus on technological institutes. Technology brings about a systematically applied approach to how we organize knowledge about physical relationships for useful purposes. There can be no economic growth without the application of technology to land, labor, capital, and education, now or in the twenty-first century. Today, major large scale U.S. private companies are planning ways of exploiting our Black Continent, further through the use of what they call "peaceful" technology. It behooves us to train our people to systematically reproduce through established and creative logical processes, manmade hardware."

The technological areas must concentrate on biological sciences, physical sciences, and combinations of these two. The physical science must deal with such areas as aeronautical and aerospace, architectural and building construction, chemical, electrical, instrumentation, nucleus, printing, publications, etc., and the biological sciences must be concerned with health, agricultural, etc. Combined physical and biological science will necessarily include data processing, mechanization systems, dairy and food processing.

Because of the production and class/race levels of operation of the school/community, each member understands the exploitative nature of securing skills so that one can seek fame and fortune as in the materialistic American economy; and instead, they are interested in the acquisition of skills to the extent that these skills serve the people and aid in the efforts for liberation and ultimately, self-determination.

"Education consists not only in the sum of what a man knows, or the skill with which he can put this to his own advantage. In my view, a man's education must also be measured in terms of the soundness of his judgement of people and things, and in his power to understand and appreciate the needs of his fellow-man, and to be of service to them. The educated man should be so sensitive to the conditions around him that he makes it his chief endeavor to improve those conditions for the good of all."
Almost needless to say, the leaders/community has to be concerned with financing the liberation school. Because of the philosophy and proposed activities of the school, it cannot seek funding from government agencies, corporations or large foundations, but instead must concentrate on existing at minimum financing which come from community support activities and tuition whenever it can be paid.

The decision not to accept governmental or foundation funding is very political! First, history has shown that the financial support of government and foundation agencies always includes dictation of policy by these agencies - something that the liberation school cannot afford! Second, it is clear that governmental and foundation funds have come from illegal and immoral activities, i.e. exploitation of oppressed peoples throughout the world, so by accepting these funds the school would, in fact, become supporters of these activities. Third, in a capitalistic society, the saying that "money is the root of all evil" can be supported on all levels. If people do not become dependent on large sums of it, i.e. money, they will not have to fear losing it, and they will not reduce themselves to fighting over it.

Total commitment to the school becomes even more important when considering finances, because many of the root problems of existing liberation schools can be directly traced to lack of money. The participants in the school, which by previous definition includes all students/teachers/workers, must acquire a standard of living which will allow for minimum wages and must develop a cooperative spirit which will ensure that no one person is hungry while another one eats. The same spirit ensures that the school will never cease as a result of financial reasons. Money must be obtained -
by any politically revolutionary means necessary!

Within this new overall purpose and framework, a new system of education will definitely pave the way for the liberation and self-determination of Black people. Because America and America's education has failed us, it is our right and our duty to future generations to engage in an effort to make these changes.

Understandably, it will not come overnight; however, the clear path that America is taking in regards to Black people, whereby the chances for Black survival are becoming more narrow, makes it imperative that we dedicate and commit our energies toward building a new and free social order!

"Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the marshal songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control."

Margaret Walker
4. George Jackson, Blood in My Eye, p. 103.
5. Albert Memmi, The Colonizer and the Colonized, p. 128.
9. Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, pp. 253-255.


DuBois, W.E.B.  

DuBois, W.E.B.  

DuBois, W.E.B.  

DuBois, W.E.B.  

DuBois, W.E.B.  

Eaton, John.  

Edwards, Newton, and Richey, Herman G.  

Edwards, Richard C., Reich, Michael, Weisskopf, Thomas E.  

Fagen, Richard R.  

Fagen, Richard R.  

Far East Reporter,  

Fall, Bernard B.  

Fanon, Frantz.  

Fanon, Frantz.  

Fanon, Frantz.  

Forman, James.  

Foster, William Z.  

Franklin, John Hope.  


Karenga, Maulana. The Quotable Karenga.


APPENDIX

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION:

SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

Part One: The TANU Creed

The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution and they are as follows:

WHEREAS TANU believes:

(a) That all human beings are equal;
(b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
(c) That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
(d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
(e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
(f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
(g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
(h) That in order to ensure economic justice the state must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
(i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

NOW, THEREFORE, the principal aims and objects of TANU shall be as follows:

(a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;
(b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
(c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;
(d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;
(e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;
(f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;

(g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

(h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;

(i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;

(j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;

(k) To see that the Government co-operates with other states in Africa in bringing about African unity;

(l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

Part Two: The Policy of Socialism

(a) Absence of Exploitation.

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent.

In a socialist country, the only people who live on the work of others, and who have the right to be dependent upon their fellows, are small children, people who are too old to support themselves, the crippled, and those whom the state at any one time cannot provide with an opportunity to work for their living.

Tanzania is a nation of peasants and workers, but it is not yet a socialist society. It still contains elements of feudalism and capitalism—with their temptations. These feudalistic and capitalistic features of our society could spread and entrench themselves.

(b) The major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers

To build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers.
The major means of production and exchange are such things as: land; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks, insurance, import and export trade; wholesale trade; iron and steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, fertilizer, and textile industries; and any big factory on which a large section of the people depend for their living, or which provides essential components of other industries; large plantations, and especially those which provide raw materials essential to important industries.

Some of the instruments of production and exchange which have been listed here are already owned or controlled by the people's Government of Tanzania.

(c) The Existence of Democracy

A state is not socialist simply because its means of production and exchange are controlled or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part. For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. If the minority governments of Rhodesia or South Africa controlled or owned the entire economies of these respective countries, the result would be a strengthening of oppression, not the building of socialism. True socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.

(d) Socialism is a Belief

Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practise, the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialists—that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system—are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions.

The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it.

Part Three: The Policy of Self-Reliance

We are at War

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity.
We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a
great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our
weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disre¬
garded. Now we want a revolution—a revolution which brings to an
end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed,
or humiliated.

A Poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon

But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapon
for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying
to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically
strong—weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts, words
and actions it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without
money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming. It is as if
we have said, 'Money is the basis of development. Without money there
can be no development.'

That is what we believe at present. TANU leaders, and Government
leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money.
The people's leaders and the people themselves, in TANU, NUTA, Parliament,
UWT, the co-operatives, TAPA, and in other national institutions think,
hope and pray for MONEY. It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one
voice, saying, "If we get money we shall develop, without money we cannot
develop'.

In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more
education, and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon
is money. It is as if we said, "In the next five years we want to have
more food, more education, and better health, and in order to achieve
these things we shall spend £250,000,000'. We think and speak as if the
most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and anything else we intend
to use in our struggle is of minor importance.

When a Member of Parliament says that there is a shortage of water
in his constituency and he asks the Government how it intends to deal
with the problem, the expects the Government to reply that it is planning
to remove the shortage of water in his constituency — WITH MONEY.

When another Member of Parliament asks what the Government is doing
about the shortage of roads, schools or hospitals in his constituency,
he also expects the Government to tell him that it has specific plans to
build roads, schools and hospitals in his constituency — WITH MONEY.

When a NUTA official asks the Government about its plans to deal
with the low wages and poor housing of the workers, he expects the
Government to inform him that the minimum wage will be increased and
that better houses will be provided for the workers — WITH MONEY.

When a TAPA official asks the Government what plans it has to give
assistance to the many TAPA schools which do not get Government aid, he
expects the Government to state that it is ready the following morning
to give the required assistance - WITH MONEY.

When an official of the co-operative movement mentions any problem facing the farmer, he expects to hear that the Government will solve the farmer's problems - WITH MONEY. In short, for every problem facing our nation, the solution that is in everybody's mind is MONEY.

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e. the amount of money it will require in the coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry make estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance. Every Minister puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister of Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministries complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such belief on the part of Ministries, Members of Parliament and other leaders does not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has no money.

When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes. We realize that the cow has no more milk—that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that she would like more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for herself or her calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

What of External Aid?

One method we use to try and avoid a recognition of the need to increase
taxes if we want to have more money for development, is to think in terms of getting the extra money from outside Tanzania. Such external finance falls into three main categories.

(a) **Gifts:** This means that another government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a particular development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an institution in another country gives our Government, or an institution in our country, financial help for development programmes.

(b) **Loans:** The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of gifts or charity, but in the form of loans. A foreign government or a foreign institution, such as a bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period for which it is available and the rate of interest.

(c) **Private Investment:** The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests.

These three are the main categories of external finance. And there is in Tanzania a fantastic amount of talk about getting money from outside. Our Government and different groups of our leaders never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. And if we get some money, or even if we just get a promise of it, our newspapers, our radio, and our leaders, all advertise the fact in order that every person shall know that salvation is coming, or is on the way. If we receive a gift we announce it, if we receive a loan we announce it, if we get a new factory we announce it—and always loudly. In the same way, when we get a promise of a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement of the promise. Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign government or institution for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement—even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity.

**DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT**

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. It is stupid for two reasons.

First, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries
which can, and which would like, to help us. But there is no country in
the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish indus-
tries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development
targets. There are many needy countries in the world. And even if all
the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assis-
tance would still not suffice. But in any case the prosperous nations
have not accepted a responsibility to fight world poverty. Even within
their own borders poverty still exists, and the rich individuals do not
willingly give money to the government to help their poor fellow citizens.

It is only through taxation, which people have to pay whether they
want to or not, that money can be extracted from the rich in order to
help the masses. Even then there would not be enough money. However
heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and the aliens living here,
the resulting revenue would not be enough to meet the costs of the
development we want. And there is no World Government which can tax
the prosperous nations in order to help the poor nations; nor if one did
exist could it raise enough revenue to do all that is needed in the world.
But in fact, such a World Government does not exist. Such money as the
rich nations offer to the poor nations is given voluntarily, either through
their own goodness, or for their own benefit. All this means that it is
possible for Tanzania to obtain from overseas enough money to develop
our economy.

GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our
needs from external sources, is this what we really want? Independence
means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends
upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there
was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for
our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance
without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our
very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase, or act as a catalyst,
to our own efforts are valuable. But gifts which could have the effect
of weakening or distorting our own efforts should not be accepted until
we have asked ourselves a number of questions.

The same applies to loans. It is true that loans are better than
'free' gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts to make those
efforts more fruitful. One condition of a loan is that you show how you
are going to repay it. This means you have to show that you intend to
use the loan profitably and will therefore be able to repay it.

But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration
to the ability to repay. When we borrow money from other countries it
is the Tanzanian who pays it back. And as we have already stated, Tan-
zanians are poor people. To burden the people with big loans, the repay-
ment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but to make
them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have
not benefitted the majority of the people but have only benefitted a small
minority.
How about the enterprises of foreign investors? It is true we need these enterprises. We have even passed an Act of Parliament protecting foreign investments in this country. Our aim is to make foreign investors feel that Tanzania is a good place in which to invest because investments would be safe and profitable, and the profits can be taken out of the country without difficulty. We expect to get money through this method. But we cannot get enough. And to even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

Had we been able to attract investors from America and Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we do so without questioning ourselves? Could we agree to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Or supposing they did not insist upon taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania; could we really accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages our nation would suffer? Would this allow the socialism we have said it is our objective to build?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have a proverb which says: 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Let us repeat. We made a mistake in choosing money--something we do not have--to be the big instrument of our development. We are making a mistake to think that we shall get the money from other countries; first, because in fact we shall not be able to get sufficient money for our economic development; and secondly, because even if we could get all that we need, such dependence upon others would endanger our independence and our ability to choose our own political policies.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis on industries. Just as we have said, 'Without money there can be no development', we also seem to say, 'Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development'. This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say, "When we began our Development Plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted. Today we are developed and we have enough money". That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialized, we shall be able to say we are developed. Development would have enabled us to have industries. The mistake we are making
is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need. And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might succeed in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism.

LET US PAY HEED TO THE PEASANT

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognize that we do not have enough money to bring the kind of development to each village which would benefit everybody. We also know that we cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real incomes of the people. For these reasons we spend most of our money in the urban areas and our industries are established in the town.

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just our of money obtained from urban and industrial development. To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. But we do not now sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. The main aim of our new industries is 'import substitution'—that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries.

It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans used in the development of the urban areas will not come from the town or the industries. Where, then, shall we get it from? We shall get it from the villages and from agriculture. What does this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans. The largest proportion of the loans will be spent in, or for, the urban areas, but the largest proportion of the repayment will be made through the efforts of the farmers.

This fact should always be borne in mind, for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas. All our big hospitals are in towns and they benefit only a small section of the people of Tanzania. Yet if we have built them with loans from
outside Tanzania, it is the overseas sale of the peasants’ produce which provides the foreign exchange for repayment. Those who do not get the benefit of the hospitals thus carry the major responsibility for paying for them. Tarmac roads, too, are mostly found in towns and are of especial value to the motor-car owners. Yet if we have built those roads with loans, it is again the farmer who produces the goods which will pay for them. What is more, the foreign exchange with which the car was bought also came from the sale of the farmers’ produce. Again, electric lights, water pipes, hotels and other aspects of modern development are mostly found in towns. Most of them have been built with loans and most of them do not benefit the farmer directly, although they will be paid for by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of his produce. We should always bear this in mind.

Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and the small ones eat those who are even smaller. There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.

THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people* and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania’s land is fertile and gets sufficient rain. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc. And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea, etc. Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes, and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above, and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through

*1967 census showed 12.3 million people.
which we can develop our country—in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) Hard Work

Everybody wants development; but not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for development. The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder.

In towns, for example, wage-earners normally work for seven and a half or eight hours a day, and for six or six and a half days a week. This is about 45 hours a week for the whole year, except for two or three weeks' leave. In other words, a wage-earner works for 45 hours a week for 48 or 50 weeks of the year.

For a country like ours these are really quite short working hours. In other countries, even those which are more developed than we are, people work for more than 45 hours a week. It is not normal for a young country to start with such a short working week. The normal thing is to begin with long working hours and decrease them as the country becomes more and more prosperous. By starting with such short working hours and asking for even shorter hours, we are in fact imitating the more developed countries. And we shall regret this imitation. Nevertheless, wage-earners do work for 45 hours per week and their annual vacation does not exceed four weeks.

It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage-earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men in the villages and thousands of women in the towns which are at present wasted in gossip, dancing and drinking, are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.

We would be doing something very beneficial to our country if we went to the villages and told our people that they hold this treasure and that it is up to them to use it for their own benefit and the benefit of our whole nation.

(b) Intelligence

The second condition of development is the use of intelligence. Unintelligent hard work would not bring the same good results as the two combined. Using a big hoe instead of a small one; using a plough pulled
by oxen instead of an ordinary hoe; the use of fertilizers; the use of
insecticides; knowing the right crop for a particular season or soil;
choosing good seeds for planting; knowing the right time for planting,
weeding, etc.; all these things show the use of knowledge and intelligence.
And all of them combine with hard work to produce more and better results.

The money and time we spend on passing on this knowledge to the
peasants are better spent and bring more benefits to our country than the
money and great amount of time we spend on other things which we call
development.

These facts are well known to all of us. The parts of our Five-Year
Development Plan which are on target, or where the target has been ex¬
ceeded, are those parts which depend solely upon the people's own hard
work. The production of cotton, coffee, cashew nuts, tobacco and pyre¬
thrum has increased enormously for the past three years. But these are
things which are produced by hard work and the good leadership of the
people, not by the use of great amounts of money.

Furthermore the people, through their own hard work and with a little
help and leadership, have finished many development projects in the
villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres,
and roads; they have dug wells, water-channels, animal dips, small dams,
and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for
money, they would not now have the use of these things.

HARD WORK IS THE ROOT OF DEVELOPMENT

Some Plan projects which depend on money are going on well, but there
are many which have stopped and others which might never be fulfilled
because of lack of money. Yet still we talk about money and our search
for money increases and takes nearly all our energies. We should not
lessen our efforts to get the money we really need, but it would be more
appropriate for us to spend time in the villages showing the people how
to bring about development through their own efforts rather than going
on so many long and expensive journeys abroad in search of development
money. This is the real way to bring development to everybody in the
country.

None of this means that from now on we will not need money or that
we will not start industries or embark upon development projects which
require money. Furthermore, we are not saying that we will not accept,
or even that we shall not look for, money from other countries for our
development. This is NOT what we are saying. We will continue to use
money; and each year we will use more money for the various development
projects than we used the previous year because this will be one of the
signs of our development.

What we are saying, however, is that from now on we shall know what
is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between MONEY
and PEOPLE it is obvious that the people and their HARD WORK are the
foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard
work.
From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is THE PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance. Our emphasis should therefore be on:

(a) The Land and Agriculture
(b) The People
(c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and
(d) Good Leadership

(a) The Land

Because the economy of Tanzania depends and will continue to depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, Tanzanians can live well without depending on help from outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because the land belongs to the nation, the Government has to see to it that it is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people.

It is the responsibility of TANU to see that the country produces enough food and enough cash crops for export. It is the responsibility of the Government and the co-operative societies to see to it that our people get the necessary tools, training and leadership in modern methods of agriculture.

(b) The People

In order properly to implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. They must become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing.

In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. And for the defence of our nation, it is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us. The people should always be ready to defend their nation when they are called upon to do so.

(c) Good Policies

The principles of our policy of self-reliance go hand in hand with our policy on socialism. In order to prevent exploitation it is necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability. Nobody should go and stay for a long time with his relative, doing no work, because in doing so he will be exploiting his relative. Likewise, nobody should be allowed to loiter in towns or villages without doing work which would enable him to be self-reliant without exploiting his relatives.
TANU believes that everybody who loves his nation has a duty to serve it by co-operating with his fellows in building the country for the benefit of all the people of Tanzania. In order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance. If every individual is self-reliant the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant the District will be self-reliant. If the Districts are self-reliant, then the whole nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.

(d) Good Leadership

TANU recognizes the urgency and importance of good leadership. But we have not yet produced systematic training for our leaders; it is necessary that TANU Headquarters should now prepare a programme of training for all leaders—from the national level to the ten-house cell level—so that every one of them understands our political and economic policies. Leaders must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities.

Part Four: TANU Membership

Since the Party was founded we have put great emphasis on getting as many members as possible. This was the right policy during the independence struggle. But now the National Executive feels that the time has come when we should put more emphasis on the beliefs of our Party and its policies of socialism.

That part of the TANU Constitution which relates to the admission of a member should be adhered to, and if it is discovered that a man does not appear to accept the faith, the objects, and the rules and regulations of the Party, then he should not be accepted as a member. In particular, it should not be forgotten that TANU is a Party of peasants and workers.

Part Five: The Arusha Resolution

Therefore, the National Executive Committee, meeting in the Community Centre at Arusha from 26/1/67 to 29/1/67 resolves:

(a) The Leadership

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practice of capitalism or feudalism.

2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.

3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.

4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.

6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following:

Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of para-statal organizations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).

(b) The Government and Other Institutions

1. Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of socialism.

2. Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.

3. Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its Development Plans, on the ability of this country to implement the Plans rather than depending on foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.

4. Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.

5. Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural community.

6. Calls upon NUTA, the co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of socialism and self-reliance.

(c) Membership

Members should get thorough teaching on Party ideology so that they may understand it, and they should always be reminded of the importance of living up to its principles.