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ABSTRACT
        Various issues involved in the redefinition of black
people, especially as it concerns their education, are addressed in
this paper. The cultural context is especially pertinent, as it
forces black educators to be explicit about the issue of a
distinctive black subculture. Other issues addressed include the
following: the society's and in particular, the public school's
failure to prepare the majority of black people for the complex,
technological society of the present or future, the concept of
culture and the problems involved in its definition, factors that set
blacks apart from other immigrants in America, slavery, black
self-concept, federal funding for the education of the disadvantaged,
the dual culturalization processes, language and communication
systems and the preservation of culture, the role of the church in
the development of the personality of black folks and the role of
music -- especially jazz and the blues. Various policy implications
derived from the discussion are suggested. Among these are that there
should be opposition to the philosophy and value system of this
county based on the definition of black people which proclaimed as
the supreme law of the land the status of black people as property.
The importance of research on the concept of dual, simultaneous
culturalization is also stressed. (Author/AM)

A RE-DEFINITION OF BLACK FOLK: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

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W.E.B. DUBOIS CONFERENCE
ON THE AMERICAN BLACK

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Introduction

It is a pleasure and an honor to be a part of this significant Conference honoring our most prolific and prophetic scholar-artist, W.E.B. DuBois.

Such a conference on the American Black offers us an excellent opportunity to re-examine and re-emphasize some of his ideas and strategies. As Joyce Ladner has stated so well,

> Blacks are at a juncture in history that
> has been unprecedented for its necessity
> to grope with and clarify and define the
> status of our existence in American society
> (Tomorrow's Tomorrow, p.4.)

We now have more black people in traditional positions of power than any time since the Reconstruction.— more elected officials at every level, especially in the South -- mayors, school superintendents, college presidents, deans, faculty at all sorts colleges and universities. As black scholars, we have an obligation to provide these people with new arguments, different rationales, more accurate data, better theories and hypotheses so that they will have a basis on which to develop new, and hopefully more effective, policies and programs.

I offer my remarks toward that end.

Let me begin with several quotations that I feel will provide the frame of reference and background for my remarks entitled: <u>A Re-Definition of Black Folk: Implications for Education</u>

First,   The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born
         with a veil, and gifted with second sight
         in this American world, -- a world which
         yields him no true self-consciousness, but
         only lets him see himself through the
         revelation of the other world. It is a
         peculiar sensation, this double-conscious-
         ness this sense of always looking at one's
         self through the eyes of others, of
         measuring one's soul by the tape of a
         world that looks on in amused contempt and
         pity. One ever feels his two-ness, -- an
         American, a Negro: Two souls, two thoughts,
         two unreconciled strivings; two warring
         ideals in one dark body, whose dogged
         strength alone keeps it from being torn
         asunder.

         The history of the American Negro is the
         history of this strife, this longing to
         attain self-conscious manhood, to merge
         his double self into a better and truer
         self. In this merging he wishes neither
         of the older selves to be lost. He would
         not Africani.. America, for America has too
         much to teach the world and Africa. He
         would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood
         of white Americanism, for he knows that
         Negro blood has a message for the world.
         He simply wishes to make it possible for a
         man to be both a Negro and an American,
         without being cursed and spit upon by his
         fellows, without having the doors of
         opportunity closed roughly in his face.
                     (DuBois, <u>Souls of Black Folk</u>,
                     pp. 16-17)

Second, They (that unfortunate race) had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations: and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it. This opinion was at that time (i.e. signing of the Constitution) fixed and universal in the civilized portion of the white race.

> (Dred Scott decision, quoted
> in Blaustein and Zangrando,
> p. 162).

Third, Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibility, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms...

We conclude that in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place: Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

> (Brown decision, quoted in
> Blaustein and Zangrando, p. 436)

Fourth; .... it behooves the educators to first recognize
that the purpose of any educational system
within a society is to be supportive of its
cultural philosophy.

The birth and development of this notion has
been the direct consequence of the Euro-American
culture, the vitality of its institutions and the
successful reciprocal relationship between
institutions and the dominant constituency. A
chief socializing agent for Euro-America has
been the public school system. The function
of the education system has been to imbue in
Euro-Americans the virtues of 'individualism,'
'democracy,' and a sense of 'self-determination.'
It is obvious that these values are and have
always been taught by the schools as a mandate
from the American economic system, which has
been the dominant force and thus most efficacious
entity within the culture.

(Gerald Thomas, in <u>Black Scholars</u>
<u>on Higher Education in the 70's</u>,
pp. 58-59.)

I am sure that most of you will recognize at least
one if not all of these quotations. The first and perhaps
most familiar is from the <u>Souls of Black Folk</u> written in
1903 by W.E.B. DuBois, the man we honor with this Conference.
For any of you, who have not read this book, or his other
works, I urge you to do so. He was that rare combination
of creative artist a a scholarly social scientist from
whom all of us can still learn so much.

The second selection also describes black folks. It
is the <u>obiter dictum</u> from Chief Justice Taney's decision
in the 1857 Dred Scott case, which proclaimed and confirmed
as the supreme law of the land the status of black people
as property. In this famous (or infamous) passage, Justice

Taney felt compelled to go beyond what was required to decide the issue of the case and express this opinion shared by many in American society -- then and now.

The other two quotes speak more directly to education. The first is from another famous Supreme Court decision -- Brown v. Topeka Board of Education in 1954. Chief Justice Warren, speaking for an unanimous Court, spoke unequivocally about the central position of education in today's society. At the same time, the court overturned the legally established segregation of public school facilities. Even though we may be disturbed at the pace and nature of the implementation of the decision, there can be no question that this was a significant milestone in the struggle of black people to achieve those rights we thought were guaranteed after the Civil War. It also underscores the dominant role the Supreme Court has had in that struggle.

The final quote places education in the perspective of the total society and its relation to culture. It is only within this larger context that I think we can talk about education and more specifically the role of public schools.

Since my primary interest, like DuBois, is the education of black people, the cultural context becomes especially pertinent. It forces us to be explicit about

the issue of a distinctive black subculture. Moreover, this approach means that we have to face the fundamental question, Education for What?

It would probably have been easier to begin with yet another litany of the failures of this society, and the public schools in particular, to prepare the majority of black people for the complex, technological society of the present or future. On almost any goal from the broad ones such as preparation for life or participation as a citizen in a democratic government to the more specific ones of reading, writing, and arithmetic, there is substantial evidence of failure. A recent report provides more evidence -- as though we really needed it -- of what has been consistently reported over the years: young people, seventeen years of age in rural areas or who are poor or black lag behind the national levels in the seven subjects traditionally taught in schools: science, writing, citizenship, reading, literature, music, and social studies. This data is from the summary report of the first five years of the National Assessment of Educational Progress, a longitudinal study to measure achievement levels in the United States at four different age levels (eight, thirteen, seventeen, and young adult) and in different parts of the country..

The unemployment rates of young black people, even many

who may have graduated from high school, demonstrate yet
again that the schools have not prepared people for the
world of work. When the enrollment of black and poor
students in colleges was greatly increased in the 60's
and 70's, it soon became clear that too many of them had
not been prepared for college either. Remedial programs
seem to be needed at every level -- even second grade in
some schools!

The argument that public schools have not been
successful with other 'immigrant' groups should not give
us much comfort. I have been persuaded by the evidence
compiled by critics such as Colin Greer and Michael Katz,
that schools have failed to provide access to opportunity
for most poor children. If, however, we accept the fact
that schools are an instrument of the economic and
political institutions of the society and reflect the
values of that system, I am not sure that we should be
surprised at the perpetuation of the Great School Legend.
We should expect that those who control what is taught,
how it is taught, who will be the winners and who will be
the losers would work hard to maintain the status quo and
the system in which they are successful.

The only advantage this argument might have for black
people is to combat yet another insidious argument offered
by Banfield among others. It states that black people are,

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merely the last of the immigrant groups to move to the city. It is just too bad that we got there when all the unskilled job had disappeared. But, if we will only follow the lead of the earlier immigrants, have faith in the public schools, we will eventually make it into the mainstream too. Since I do not believe that we are "just another immigrant" group, I cannot find any salience in this argument whatsoever.

While additional review of this type of data plus some critique of the many conflicting and often inadequate evaluations of the various projects and programs might be interesting, though depressing, I cannot be a part of this pioneering effort sponsored by Atlanta University called in the name of DuBois without at least attempting to restate the issues and suggest a different approach on which policy could be based. So let me now turn to a brief description of the cultural context for education.

Culture is a concept we educators have borrowed from the anthropologists. They, like us, seem to have diffi-culty agreeing on a definition of this concept which will mean the same thing to everyone. For my purposes, these two definitions seem to be clear and complimentary:

> Culture, in other words, is the way of life of a society, and if analyzed further is seen to consist of prescribed ways of behaving or norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills, along with the behavioral patterns

and un formities based on these categories --
all this we call 'non-material culture' --
plus, in an extension of the term, the
artifacts created by these skills and values,
which we call 'material culture'
                    (Gordan, pp. 32-33.)

...essentially a culture is a way of life.
In this sense, every individual is a cultured
individual. Every child rapidly acquires the
language, the eating habits, the religious
beliefs, the gestures, the technology, the
notions of common sense, the attitudes toward
sex, the concepts of beauty and justice, the
responses to pleasure and pain, of the people
who raise him. These general guidelines for
living vary remarkably from culture to culture.
What seems pleasurable or just to an Eskimo
may seem painful or criminal to me; but once
a person has acquired a particular framework
of values, beliefs, and attitudes, it is
devilishly difficult to modify and impossible
to erase entirely. Individuals come and go;
cultures remain. To be sure, cultures
change -- sometimes rapidly -- but the process
is usually measured, if at all, in generations
and centuries. A basic axiom that underlies
anthropological thought is that culture is
always learned and never inherited.
                    (Keil, p. 2.)

Both of these anthropologists elaborate on their basic

definitions in different ways. The further analysis of

social structure and subcultures by Milton Gordan is

especially related to my ideas. He describes four

factors or social categories which influence the formation

and continuation of subcultures in this society: ethnic

group; social class, rural or urban residence, and region

of country. (p. 47) The ethnic group, according to Gordan,

is the primary group through which individuals gain their

own identity. This is where a pattern of networks of

groups and institutions is established. The national

culture is refracte. through each group's own peculiar

cultural heritage. Most individuals are also members of

a variety of secondary groups usually in the areas of

economic life or occupations, civic and political

activity, public schools and mass entertainment. He makes

an excellent argument for the continued existence of

ethnic groups in America further negating the myth of the

melting pot and lending some support for cultural

pluralism as a more accurate description of America.

If we accept Gordan's analysis of the social structure

of this society with sub-societies based primarily on

ethnicity, we can then ask the question about a distinctive

black subculture. For me, there is no confusion or question.

Yes, there is a black culture. In fact, I would like to

argue that our unique experience in this country produced

a singularl' different kind of ethnic group and a unique

kind of culture. Let me list some of these differences --

- we did not come to this country by choice

- we were not helped to become Americanized or
  naturalized like the other immigrants; in
  fact, everything was done to prevent our
  ancestors from learning and assuming the
  role of citizen

- we were prevented from bringing any of the
  tangible artifacts of our country with us (the
  'material culture' described by Gordan) - for
  the most part, our ancestors cam- naked which
  says something about Christian morality

- we did not come from one country but from many with different customs, beliefs, and languages.

- we were forcibly prevented from publicly celebrating our ancestral customs (no St. Patrick's Day for us)

- we were blessed or cursed with a dark skin so that we were easy to identify and for a few years at least, impossible to blend into the white society

- we were defined as property not human beings

- we were given a name and an ethnic identity which had no rational basis except the economic need to justify slavery

One somewhat amusing way to demonstrate conclusively how different we were from the other immigrants is to look at the difficulty the society had in deciding what to call us. With every other immigrant group, a hyphenated label was soon attached, i.e. Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans and such. Even the Indians, who may have suffered more than us, had one label or could use their Tribal name. The problem for us was difficult enough during slavery, but once there were "freed" slaves many of whom lost their easily identifiable black skin or kinky hair, the search for appropriate labels soon bordered on the absurd. We have been called blacks, Africans, black folks, negroes (with a small 'n') and Negroes (with a capital N), freedman, coloreds, colored people, Colored Americans, mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons, people of color, creoles, Ethiopians, Racemen, Negro-Saxons, African

Americans, Africo-Americans, Afro-Americans, Afra-.
Americans, American Negroes, Negro Americans. These are
just the acceptable names -- the list of pejorative labels
is much longer, i.e. coons, bucks, boots, toms, niggers,
nigras, darkies, boy -- the lists seem endless..

The group label is important to the group in seeking
its identification, to the individuals who are a part of
that group, and to others for what it implies about the
status of both individual and the group. Grace Sims Holt,
a linguist who has given much of her time and thought to
the significant role of language in the history of black
folks, comments on the use of "Blacks," our most recent
label:

> Blacks" adoption of the noun "black"
> represents a determination to call them-
> selves by any name other than that used
> by whites. Whites, by virtue of their
> power, define black as representing all
> that's bad. Blacks wrest from whites
> the power to define; ergo, the term
> 'black' is made respectable and good...
> forcing the 'mainstream man' to use the
> term 'black' (noun) in its more potent
> form, you create in him uneasiness,
> discomfort, and embarrassment, and
> hopefully, as a result of that, a
> realization of the full derogatory/dis-
> criminatory effect of the term as he
> uses it and a realization of changes in
> the value, force, authority, and honor
> of the terms, the derogatory connotation
> of 'black' (adjective) within the semantic
> system becomes equatable and comparable
> to the despised and powerless situation
> of blacks within the social system... In
> taking The Man's strongest weapon and
> using it to your advantage, you have

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> denuded him of verbal power, and by impli-
> cation freed yourself from the psychological
> bondage that 'hate' labels impose.   Freedom
> from psychological bondage forces a change
> in power relations which presages a drive
> for self-determination and status.   Liberation
> begins with language.
> (Holt in <u>Rappin' and Stylin'</u>
> <u>Out</u>, pp. 155-156.)

I will have more to say about language and communication

for I agree with Grace Holt when she says, "power is the

ability to redefine."

But let me return to those factors which set us apart

from the others who came to America, the land of the free

and the home of the braves.   What made slavery in this

country different from the many forms of slavery which

existed in other societies over the centuries was the

caste system that developed -- there was no way to work

oneself out of the enslavement.   There was no period of

indenture which could be complet : and then earn freedom.

Once a slave, always a slave.   Freedom came from running

away or from the master who had the power to free the slave.

A second significant difference in slavery in the

United States was the classification of slaves as property.

Since America was a democratic and Christian country, the

power holders felt compelled to find a rationale to justify

the perpetuation of slavery.   The government was founded on,

the legal and moral doctrines of the equality of man, the

uniqueness of the individual, faith in the rational faculties

of all citizens to make decisions on their own behalf.
These doctrines were strengthened by the Christian
message which spoke of the brotherhood of man, of love
for one's neighbor, of all men created in the image of
God. How could these Christian, democratic men justify
the enslavement of other human beings? We must never
underestimate our adversaries for they were able to
devise some very clever and persuasive arguments to
support their position.

The first reason was religious in nature: "that
the Negro was a heathen and a barbarian, an outcast among
the peoples of the earth, a descendant of Noah's son Ham,
cursed by God himself and doomed to be a servant forever
on account of an ancient sin." (Myrdal, p. 85) As time
went on, this argument did not seem sufficient so the
definition of the slave as property was invented. The
syllogism went something like this: if the slave is
property like a dog or ass, he cannot be a human being;
only human beings can be citizens; therefore, he cannot
be a citizen; if he is not a citizen, he has no rights
or priviliges for they are clearly, according to the
Constitution, only for citizens. This was the reasoning
used in the Dred Scott decision with the added message
from Taney that under these circumstances not even respect
was necessary or deserved.

After the Civil War and the adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, the property argument could no longer be used with impunity. Fortunately for the apologists, a shift away from the rationale rooted in theology and history to biology and ethnology had begun prior to the Civil War. This argument seemed to be even more plausible and rational. Anyone could see that those with the dark skins could not read, could not speak "proper" English, could not conduct themselves according to the mores of the majority culture. It was very easy to make a connection between the dark skin which was a physical difference to a difference in biological and genetic makeup which had to be inferior based on the available evidence.

Despite more and more evidence and exceptions to this theoretical position, the belief in biological inferiority continued. In fact, it was given a new lease on life just a few years ago by that illustrious university up north when the Harvard Educational Review published Arthur Jensen's article, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" In some ways it is too bad that we cannot approach this question in a more rational, scholarly fashion for there are real issues related to genetics which should be investigated. At the present time, however, I see many more fruitful lines of inquiry

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for black scholars. I am not even sure that we should
continue to spend our limited resources and energies on
trying to refute the Jensens of the world. Once we
accept their premises, which I feel are still rooted in the
property conception, we can never prove that we are truly
human.

The other side of the nature-heredity rationale has
also received attention over the years -- i.e. nurture
or environment as responsible for shaping individuals,
groups, and society. This side of the argument had a
re-birth in the 1960's when America re-discovered the poor.
Michael Harrington is generally given credit for arousing
the conscience of American with his book, The Other America,
published in 1962 along with James Conant's, Slums and
Suburbs, and his alarm of "social dynamite."

One only had to look at the conditions in the inner
cities (the new euphemism for the slums) to assume that
living in such surroundings had to have some detrimental
effect on learning: overcrowded apartments, dilapidated
housing, high unemployment, female-headed household, one
parent families, welfare recipients, no fathers in the
house, no books, too much noise and distraction, loud
music, dirty streets, poor health, high infant morality,
all sorts of diseases, disorganized families, inadequate
mothers, men on the streetcorner, unstable and weak black

famili.., dependency, illegitimacy, no sense of time;
garbage uncollected, poor lighting in the streets --
there was no end to the list of "bad" conditions.

All of these seemed to be the opposite of the
conditions under which the middle class white child --
the norm by which others would be judged -- grew up. A
new set of labels entered our v. abulary based on that
norm: the Culturally Deprived Child of Reissman, the
Disadvantaged Child of Deutsch, the Deficit Child, the
Deviant Child, the Non-reader. In Dark Ghetto by Kenneth
Clark, all the social and pathological arguments were
defined in clear and precise terms by a black scholar.
Blaming the Victim became the name of the game.

Out of this emphasis on the deviant and deficit child
grew a new justification for self hatred and the negative
self concept. Soon all black children were seen to possess
a negative view of themselves with no power to control
their own lives or destiny. At the time we did not raise
our voices loudly to question what might be the reason for
the social scientists to continue this approach.

> The 'Self-hatred' thesis can be categorized
> with the many other myths that are propagated
> about Black people. It falls within the
> realm of institutional subjugation that is
> designed to perpetuate an oppressive class.
> For, so long as the Black community is
> perceived as being composed of 'matriarchates,'
> 'self-haters,' 'criminals,' 'deserters,'
> 'oversexed individuals' and the like, then the

> perceived 'institutionalized' pathological
> character is more than adequate justification
> for its subordination.
>
>   (Ladner, pp. 107-108.)

Again, may I remind you that we should not under-

estimate the power of our advers ies. The invention

and perpetuation of this myth of self-hatred reminds me

of the myth of the slave, Sambo -- the docile, happy,

accommodating slave who did what his master wanted. Why,

if this was in fact an accurate picture of the slaves,

did the master feel the need to have overseers with guns

and constantly guard those docile beings? Maybe he did

not believe that myth anymore than the self-hatred one

but he did know that some of the victims would believe

the stereotypes and his control would be just a little

bit easier. Maybe some of his fears about blacks were

justified -- i.e., that if opportunities were in fact

given in equal measure, the blacks would "takeover."

Look around at what has happened to those professional

sports where blacks have been allowed in -- baseball,

football, basketball are now dominated by black players.

Given just a little more time and opportunity we may see

the same phenomena in tennis, hockey, and golf.

But back in the 60's the diagnosis of the problem

seemed clear to those who determined policy and programs.

The following quote is typical of the approach used,

> Before we can expect any permanent improvement
> in the educational performance of Negro

children, we must strengthen Negro family
life, combat the cultural impoverishment
of the Negro home, and enlist the support
and cooperation of Negro parents in
accomplishing this objective. More
intensive guidance services, utilizing
Negro personnel are required to provide
the socializing and supportive functions
that are currently lacking in many Negro
homes.

> (Ausubel and Ausubel, in
> Education in Depressed
> Areas, pp. 135-136.)

Many of us truly believed that this was an adequate
definition of the problem. If only the conditions of
the ghetto were changed, equality of opportunity would
indeed be assured. Many of us worked hard to persuade
the power brokers that we could overcome such conditions
and succeed just like the white folks. Maybe our vision
was a little clouded to permit us to still put so much
faith in education to change the world. Part of our
cultural heritage was showing. We still shared that deep
faith in education that our slave ancestors had. Because
the slave was denied access to any kind of learning for
so long, he tended to invest almost magical qualities in
the power which could come from education. Grier and
Cobbs in Black Rage express the same thought,

> To have maintained a fervent interest in
> education and a belief in the rewards of
> learning required a major act of faith.
> Black people in America have been nothing
> if not idealists and devotees of the
> American dreams. It is a source of wonder
> where such unending faith had its origins.
>   (Cobbs and Grier, p. 141.)

Even though we may have been naive, there were
significant changes which gave us reason for hope. There
had been a series of Supreme Court decisions, especially
in education, which forced the nation to live according
to its own Constitution.culminating in 1954 with what
appeared to be the final word on legally imposed school
segregation.

There was also a complete turnabout on the part of
the Federal government in regard to funds for local
communities, especially school systems, earmarked for the
"disadvantaged" and the "poor." First there was the
Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1960 which made funds available
for projects like Mobilization for Youth and Haryou-Act --
entirely new and different approaches to the problems
associated with young people. Then in 1964 we had the
Economic Opportunity Act with its many programs which
have now become household words: Headstart, Jobs Corps,
Neighborhood Youth Corps, Peace Corps, Vista Volunteers,
Community Action, and CAP agencies with that glorious
phrase -- "maximum feasible participation." A new
Vocational Education Act was followed by one for Higher
Education creating another set of programs -- Talent
Search, Upward Bound, Special Services for the Disad-
vantaged. And for a while, increased scholarships and
grants for poor students to go to college were available
from the Federal government.

The climax came with the monumental education bill, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, with a billion dollars just Title I. Just for Poor Kids. It, appeared, that for the first time, schools and communities would have enough money to make a difference for those children who had not succeeded in the past.

The federal educational legislation was buttressed by a new Civil Rights Act and a wide-reaching Voting Rights Act. It appeared that both the Congress and Executive branches were finally joining the Supreme Court in creating a new climate and laws to assure the exercise of those rights guaranteed in the Constitution for all citizens.

At the same time there was a shift in the strategies within the black community. The 1960's were a time of ferment, of boycotts, of riots, the March on Washington, Black Power, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers. There was extensive desegregation of public schools in the South despite massive resistance; continued court action increased enrollment of black students in colleges especially in white institutions in the North. A new sense of identity emerged symbolized by natural hairdo's and a search to discover the past -- the roots of our African heritage.

There were many similarities among the young college students who were in the forefront of this search for a

new identity and the third generation phenomena seen in
other immigrant groups.. Consider the possibility, still
to be substantiated with scholarly research, that a
good many of the college age and young adults of the 60's
were third generation middle class, defined this time by
the larger society standards not just those of the black
subculture.

.Their grandparents achieved middle class status (the
first generation after slavery) through professions
serving primarily segregated communities with relatively
few gaining admittance, to predominantl white colleges.

.Their parents had greater opportunities to participate
with whites in colleges and to a limited degree in employ-
ment and even some social situations. For the most part
this was the generation of World War II when there was a
breakthrough in the legal barriers to participation in
society. While socially this generation remained
protected from some of the grosser discriminations during
their growing up years, they were exposed to some contact
with the white world. At the same time, being unsure of
the Americanism of their heritage, there was a denial of
their roots while still being imbued with the American
tradition of hard work and individual worth. This was the
group that attempted to prove their acceptance by the
standards of the white society -- many succeeded in moving

into the middle class, the Black Bourgeoisie. Many came
from behind the veil but not without a price.

This second generation also internalized the middle
class values and used Dr. Spock along with their white
contemporaries to raise their children. Independence of
thought was encouraged. For some, sufficient economic
security permitted involvement in a variety of organizations
both within the black community and larger white culture
and a relatively more comfortable life for their children.

For the third generation the situation was different.
Secure in their Americanism, there was a tendency to re-
evaluate the heritage of their grandparents and slave
ancestors. They were willing to embrace what their
parents may have rejected or tried to avoid. Thus we find
an acceptance of their African heritage, the adoption of
natural hair styles, a bold insistent push for recognition
as legitimate leaders of their own destiny. Their presence
in white colleges created a new and different experience
for all.

With all this activity on so many fronts, why do we
still have reports like the one from the National Assessment?
Why after ten years of more money for education than ever
before, do we still feel that public school systems are
not doing an adequate job, that newly appointed black
administrators are inheriting bankrupt systems?

I am sure there are many reasons. I will only cite
two. One, for which there seems to be much evidence, is
that most, if not all, the money went to the same
institutions and people who had, in effect, failed the
poor for generations. There was very little attempt at
basic or fundamental reform of school systems. Re-
examination of goals or creation of new delivery systems
was not given serious consideration. The requirement
that poor parents be included may have come too late for
real impact. The whole idea of "allowing" poor parents
to do what rich parents had always had the right to do
seems to me just more evidence that we had still not
earned the right of respect talked about a century ago
by Taney.

Gordon and Wilkerson in their now classic review and
critique of the compensatory programs in operation in the
60's cite another reason:

> They (i.e. compensatory programs) are attempts
> to compensate for, or to overcome, the effects
> of hostile, different, or indifferent back-
> grounds. Their aim is to bring children from
> these backgrounds up to a level where they can
> be reached by existing educational practices...
> In other words, the unexpressed purpose of
> most compensatory programs is to make dis-
> advantaged children as much like the kinds of
> children with whom the school has been successful,
> and our standard of educational success is how
> well they approximate middle class children in
> school performance. It is not at all clear that
> the concept of compensatory education is the one
> which will most appropriately meet the problems
> of the disadvantaged... What is needed is not

> so much an attempt to fill in the gaps as
> an approach which asks the question: what
> kind of educational experience is most
> appropriate to what these children are and
> to what our society is becoming?
> (pp. 58-59.)

The key phrase in their quote is, "what these children are and to what our society is becoming?" It seems to me that the framework for all of these programs for the black poor reflect the value orientation of a society which is still rooted in the property definition of black people. The labels changed but not the fundamental belief that there was something wrong with them -- the children and their people -- not the basic institutions of the society and the cultural value system on which it is based. We were not in a position to object to the earlier definition for we did not yet have the kind of power which "could have only come from the ability to provide the definitions of one's past, present and future" (Ladner, p. 2.) I propose that we take another look at DuBois' double-consciousness and see if there may be new ways to start our own re-definition.

It was two white scholars studying language of black children who first suggested another theory about culture which would differ from either the biological inferiority or social-pathological approaches. Stephen and Joan Baratz in an article in the Harvard Educational Review, suggested a "culturally different" model which they defined as a

"coherent, structured distinct American Negro culture which represents a synthesis of African culture in contrast with American European culture from the time of slavery to the present day." (p. 127.)

While this theory seemed to offer some hope of getting away from the property definition, it was Charles Valentine, an anthropologist who suggested another model which he calls the bicultural or dual culture approach -- a process through which members of a subcultural group are simultaneously enculturated and socialized in two different ways of life.

> biculturation strongly appeals to us as a key concept for making sense out of ethnicity and related matters: the collective behavior and social life of the Black community is bicultural in the sense that each Afro-American ethnic segment draws upon both a distinctive repertoire of standardized Afro-American group behavior and, simultaneously, patterns derived from the mainstream cultural system of Euro-American derivation. Socialization into both systems begins at an early age, continues throughout life, and is generally of equal importance in most individual lives. The obvious ambiguities and ambivalences of all this are dramatized and sharpened by the fact that mainstream Euro-American culture includes concepts, values, and judgements which categorize Blacks as worthy only of fear, hatred, or contempt because of their supposedly innate characteristics.
> (Valentine, p. 7.)

I would like to elaborate on this bicultural theory suggested by Valentine by describing some of the conditions, first of slavery and then of the deliberate

discriminatory system following Reconstruction, which
produced a distinctive culture and repertoire of
responses by which black people were able to survive
and to thrive in two worlds. For me, there is
persuasive evidence that we had no choice but to create
our own black culture in order to survive physically and
psychologically, to give meaning to life. At the same
time, we had to devise ways to live and to communicate
in the majority culture under a set of circumstances
different from any other group in America. What has
emerged is a synthesis of our African heritage and
American society -- an unique dual enculturation process.
For a few -- probably more than we realize -- have by
conscious effort achieved a merging of their double
selves into a better and truer self, comfortable in both
worlds, able to live on both sides of the vail. For
some the struggle to master both cultures semms possible
but question whether the battle is worth the prize. For
most, the warring ideals, unreconciled striving continues
with only dogged strength sustaining body and soul.

Over the years, there has been disagreement among
white and black scholars about the preservation of our
African heritage in passage and in slavery. It is true
that certain elements of the African culture were destroyed.

There was no way to maintain the political and economic
institutions or marriage and family life as developed
in Africa under slavery. But to equate these institutional
facets of culture or even the tangible artifacts which
were left in Africa with the whole concept is to misin-
terpret the meaning of culture. Here, as with many of the
myths and stereotypes invented by our adversaries, there
was a reason. Herksovits in the opening statement of his
book, The Myth of Negro Past, states,

> The myth of the Negro past is one of the
> principal supports of race prejudice in
> this country. Unrecognized in its
> efficacy, it rationalized discrimination
> in every day 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.
>   (p. 1.)

His voice was not the one heard by the policy makers,
however. Instead, it was a statement like the following
from Glazer and Moynihan in Beyond the Melting Pot which
became popular and accepted as truth,

> But more important, it is not possible for
> Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic
> groups viewed themselves because -- and
> this is the key to much of the Negro world --
> the Negro is only an American and nothing else.
> He has no values and culture to guard and
> protect.
>   (p. 50.)

But times are changing. We now have books like The
Slave Community by John Blassingame which talk about the

life of the slaves from inside the slave quarters; Joyce

Ladner's insightful study of black girls showing up in

a housing project in St. Louis; linguists like Grace Holt

and Claudia Kernan documenting the verbal skills evident

in black communities -- all are calling attention to our

dogged strength rather than our deficiencies as measured

by the tape of another. Let me now suggest some dimensions

of the dual culturalization process which have developed

over the years and have implications for policy directions

in education and other fields.

For me the best example is in the area of language

and communication. In many ways, the essence of the

African culture which was preserved is also evident

through our language. As most of you know, the African

countries from which most of our ancestors came were not

literate societies. Unlike the Jews who carried the

printed Torah and Bible with them wherever they went,

our ancestors came from a different tradition. As slaves

they were prohibited from learning to read which tended

to enhance the already existing oral tradition. Charles

Keil describes how we as a group differ in this respect

from whites,

> ... the shared sensibilities and common
> understandings of the Negro ghetto, its
> modes of perception and expression, its
> channels of communication, are predominantly
> auditory and tactile rather than visual and
> literate. Sensibilities are of course

matters of degree, and the sense-ration
or 'rationality' of a particular culture
can't be measured precisely. Nevertheless,
the promin.:ce of aural perception, oral
expression, and kinesic codes or body
movement in Negro life -- its sound and
feel -- sharply demarcate the culture from
the irrational white world outside the
ghetto.

In white America, the printed word -- the
literary tradition -- and its attendant
values, are revered. In the Negro community,
more power resides in the spoken word and
oral tradition -- good talkers abound and
the best gain power and prestige, but good
writers are scarce. It is no accident that
much of American's slang is provided by Negro
culture. Nor is it strange that Negro music
and dance have become American's music and
dance.
(pp. 16-17.)

During slavery, there was a need for the master and
the slave to develop some kind of communication in order
to get the job done for the master and for the slave to
survive. Here was perhaps the first evidence of our
creative and adaptive skills. Some English, the language
of the master, had to be taught and learned by all the
slaves no matter what their native tongue. Just enough
had to be learned to understand the orders given. It
seems plausible to me that this might explain why colored
folks use what modern day linguists call a "restricted
code" i.e. short curt sentences rather than elaborated
talk when confronted with whites or people in authority.
For hundreds of years "yessir" was sufficient talk for
the slaves; and the master didn't hardly engage in long

philosophical conversations with his slaves. Thus, one

form of communication and language developed for this

sphere of the slave's life. Evidence of this type of

communication is still prevalent when some Blacks are

confronted with the institutions of the white majority

culture. Could this be a partial explanation for some

of the difficulties experienced by black children in

school?

At the same time, the slave had to develop some

protection against the physical threat of extinction and

the psychological damage of the enslavement. What better

way than to use the white man's language as protection

against this kind of potential destruction. Let me quote

Grace Holt again, ·

> The Negro had to find a different type of
> resistance in order to continue to multiply
> and grow in spite of every sadistic effort
> to destroy him in some areas... Adapting
> to an unbearable and unbeatable system
> therefore necessitated the production of
> a special form of communication interaction
> between master and slave. Blacks were
> clearly limited to two responses: submission
> and subversion, since overt aggression was
> punishable by death. There was no process
> by which grievances could be redressed. White
> verbalizations defined blacks as inferior;
> whites rewarded only black responses acceptable
> to them.
>
> Blacks gradually developed their own ways of
> conveying resistance using The Man's language
> against him as a defense against sub-human
> categorization. The sociocultural context
> formed the basis for the development of in-
> version as a positive and valuable adaptive
> response pat rn.

> Blacks clearly recognized that to master
> the language of whites was in effect to
> consent to be mastered by it through the
> white definitions of caste built into
> the semantic/social system.   Inversion
> therefore becomes the defensive mechanism
> which enables blacks to fight linguistic,
> and thereby psychological, entrapment.
>   (<u>Rappin' and Stylin' Out</u>,
>   p. 153.)

Grace Holt goes into some detail about "inversion" which
became for the slave (and continues for many Blacks
today) one of the most creative and adaptive mechanisms
for dealing with discriminatory situations.   The heart of
the process, familiar to every black person no matter
where he is in relation to mainstream culture is "the
contrast in referential and contextual functions.   In
essence, the idea is to make any word of denigration
used by the power group take on shades of meaning known
only to the inverter.   As a consequence, the most 'soulful'
terms of referents in black usage today are those which
traditionally have been the symbols of oppression."
(Holt, p. 154.)   The use of the word, "nigger," is no
doubt the best example.   We use it as a term of endearment
as well as derision.   The listener must, however, be in
tune with the tone of voice, the context and situation in
which it is used to understand the meaning intended.   The
illustration of the use of "Blacks" cited earlier is
another example of this process.   One now in current vogue
among young people is "bad." Could this use of inversion,

so well developed in most black children, be yet another
reason for difficulties in school with teachers unfamiliar
with the rules of the game or unwilling, if they are
black, to recognize this remnant of our culture in their
understandable eagerness to help children adapt to the
majority culture?

Another dimension of the communication system first
developed by the slaves and continued by the freedmen was
the use of nonverbal communication. There had to be
many times when it was not safe to speak at all, yet a
signal had to be given in the presence of the white
masters. Thus, there developed a more extensive repertoire
of facial expressions, eye contact, body movements as ways
of communicating among each other than white people ever
had to develop. The meaning of this behavior was
deliberately hidden from whites. The fact that body
expression was highly valued by the countries of our
ancestors made it easier to build on such skills. We
are all famili. with the way a black mother can communicate
with her children with a cut of the eyes, the meaning of
standing akimbo, the way young men can walk to convey
different mean .gs and intentions, the look across the
room between blacks which makes a comment about a speaker
without a word being spoken. Could this highly developed
nonverbal behavior be misunderstood by some teachers not
familiar with the culture out of which it has developed?

Could conclusions be too easily reached based on faulty
assumptions? Have we as black scholars explored the
meaning and value of the nonverbal behavior of black
folk so that it could be used more effectively in the
teaching-learning process?

But our ancestors did not live in just the one world
of the master and the slave. He had another life in the
slave quarters which allowed for and encouraged the
development of another communication system. For too long
we have accepted the judgement of outsiders as to what
life was like in the slave quarters. We were taught to be
ashamed of whatever went on without realizing that this
was yet another clever way for our adversaries to maintain
the status quo. If we could be made to believe -- as most
of us were -- that we had no past, no culture, no life
that we controlled, no family in the slave quarters, no
sense of who we were except as defined by the outside
world, then control would be so much easier.

We are only now willing to look inside the slave
quarters and the present day black communities to see and
make legitimate that part of our cultural heritage and
development. It was in the slave quarters that a sense
of identity developed to provide some basis for the slaves
to view themselves as worthy human beings. Here, through a
positive group identification, the slave could find some

source of personal esteem without which one cannot live.

The black community of today -- not just the "ghetto or

low income community" but the total black community

irregardless of class or geography -- continues to play

the role described by Blassingame in The Slave Community.

> The most important aspect of this group
> identification was that slaves were not
> solely dependent on the white man's
> cultural frames of reference for their
> ideals and values. As long as the
> plantation black had cultural norms and
> ideals, ways of verbalizing agression and
> roles in his life largely free from his
> master's control, he could preserve some
> personal autonomy, and resist infantili-
> zation, total identification with planters,
> and internalization of unflattering stereo-
> types calling for abject servility. The
> slave's culture bolstered his self-esteem,
> courage, and confidence, and served as his
> defense against personal degradation.
>   (p. 76.)

A part of that life in the slave quarters was the

development of verbal skills. There were few if any

artifacts, objects, or even instruments until the

slaves found ways to improvise drums and other musical

instruments. Consequently, they had to depend on them-

selves for entertainment and release from the oppressive

conditions which they faced daily. The folk tales were

repeated time and time again. New ones invented and

improvised. Songs were written and sung without accom-

paniment -- work songs, joyful songs, spirituals, the

blues. Double meanings were incorporated into the words

of the spirituals to fool the white man. In addition,

verbal games were invented to psss the long evenings.
Today we see evidence of these same verbal skills --
playing the dozens, signifying, inversion, rapping are
some of the labels present day linguists have given to
these verbal arts. <u>Rappin' and Stylin' Out</u> is an
excellent collection of language studies outside the
majority culture's institutions. We need to support more
studies like these based on the assumption that our
language is not deficient or 'bad' English or any of the
other negative labels imposed by others. We need to
recognize the richness of the language used in the black
community as descendant from our creative slave ancestors.
We need to examine the verbal arts, highly developed in
most black communities especially by young black males,
to see how those skills can be used as a basis for
learning to cope with the majority culture and its
emphasis on the printed word.

Knowing what we do about the verbal skills of black
children, how could any of us have allowed the label of
"nonverbal" to be applied to black children?

A second facet of our past and present that deserves
our attention in exploring the validity of the dual
culture thesis is the role of the black church. Here in
the South, more so than in the North, the continued
dominant role of the church in the life of black folks is
obvious. The Southern preacher continues to play a major

leadership role in both worlds. It is no accident, it
seems to me, that our most effective black leaders have
come out of the tradition of the Southern black preacher.
The church, then and now, played a significant role in the
development of the personality of black folks:

> A primary function of the church was to
> nourish and maintain the souls of black
> folk by equating them with the essence of
> humanness. Religion was molded into an
> adaptive mode of resistance to the
> dehumanizing oppression, degradation, and
> suffering of slavery. The black church
> developed as the institution which
> counteracted such forces by promoting
> self-worth and dignity, a viable identity,
> and by providing help in overcoming fear...
>
> Its ancillary functions were aimed at making
> survival endurable, it was through these
> secondary functions that the church became
> the matrix out of which black society was
> to be cohesive -- by developing the social
> contacts necessary to provide intercourses
> between isolated plantations, by providing
> an outlet for musical and linguistic
> expression, and above all by concealing
> from the dominating eye of the master the
> activities of his slaves, regardless of their
> form or content. It was in this latter cast
> that a language code emerged to facilitate
> in-group communication and conceal black
> aspirations from the dominant white society.
> The black church thus also served the need
> to be devious in a white world.
> (Holt pp. 189-190.)

After slavery and the end of Reconstruction, the church
continued to play this role. Under the oppressive
conditions of jim crow and discrimination in all phases
of life, black folks still needed to be devious, still
needed to use inversion, still needed the protection of

their black community to develop new strategies and plans

for freedom was still to be achieved.

We as educators need to look at the various forms of

language that were highly developed in the black church

such as the call and response of the preacher and congre-

gation. Why not use this form of communication in teaching

black children how to decode the printed words of standard

English? Have our teachers listened to black children and

teenagers in their own milieu to find out how they do

communicate with each other?

Let me mention another facet of our culture which

illustrates the synthesis of African heritage with the.

American society as a result of the dual enculturation

process -- music, and more particularly, the blues and

jazz. As Leroi Jones (Amamu Baraka) stated,

> It was, and is, inconceivable in the African
> culture to make a separation between music,
> dancing, song, the artifact, and a man's
> life or his worship of his gods. Expression
> issued from life, and was beauty. But in
> the west, the 'triumph of the economic mind
> over the imaginative, as Brooks Adams said,
> made possible this dreadful split between
> life and rt.' Hence, a music that is an
> 'art' music as distinguished from something
> someone would whistle while tilling a field.
> (Jones, p. 29.)

There are at least two books which should become

required reading for anyone attempting to find new ways to

educate black children -- they differ in emphasis, appear

contradictory, provoke differing opinions but are important

to our understanding of our own past. Amamu Baraka's
(Leroi Jones) <u>Blues People</u> and Charles Keil's <u>Urban Blues</u>.
They demonstrate the connection of black culture with the
African past and elaborate on the contribution of music
to mainstream culture. These books are important for
their content as well as suggesting a process or method
of teaching-learning to which I do not feel schools have
given near enough attention. The improvisation, riff style
of the blues singer and jazz musician parallel a style of
communication and mode of thinking which does not depend
on some prescribed set but instead calls for creativity
and flexibility to respond to what one feels in a given
situation.

I see another advantage in the recognition and use
of our heritage of music as we attempt to evolve new
strategies for self definition and action. Our third
generation middle class kids, the products of the Black
Bourgeoise, enjoy the same music as their black brothers
in the "ghetto." We need this bridge as we search for
ways to help all blacks to adapt to the dual enculturation
process. I see a re-affirmation of what Baraka said about
the role of Negro music and the middle class:

> Only Negro music, because, perhaps, it drew
> its strength and beauty out of the depths
> of the black man's soul, and because to a
> large extent its traditions could be carried
> on by the 'lowest classes' of Negroes, has
> been able to survive the constant and willful
> dilutions of the black middle class and the

> persistent calls to oblivion made by the
> mainstream of the society. Of course,
> that mainstream wrought very definite and
> very constant changes upon the form of the
> American Negro's music, but the emotional
> significance and vitality at its core
> remain, to this day, unaltered. It was the
> one vector out of African culture impossible
> to eradicate. It signified the existence of
> an Afro-American, and the existence of an
> Afro-American culture. And in the evolution
> of form i Negro music it is possible to
> see not only the evolution of the Negro as
> a cultural and social element of American
> culture but also the evolution of that
> culture itself.
>
> <div align="center">(p. 131.)</div>

A serious study of the evolution of music through the
eyes of black people, extending the work started by
Baraka and Keil could provide new insights into the ways
we have adapted to our two cultures.

Since others in this Conference will be speaking
more directly about black families, let me only underscore
how important this area of study is to the development of
any new approaches to education. Robert Staples and
Robert B. Hill have followed the tradition of Andrew
Billingsley and others in focusing on the strengths rather
than weakenesses of black families. Joyce Ladner's study
provides a new frame of reference for discussing the issues
of illegitimacy, childbirth, children and marriage within
the black culture. I hope that the sociologists will join
us educators as we can continue the process of re-definition
together. Here, too, the concept of dual culturalization

<div align="center">42</div>

might be a helpful tool in understanding certain behaviors and values where the black culture and mainstream dominant culture coincide and overlap.

What then does all this mean for the education of black children; for those public school systems that are becoming predominantly black; for the new breed of black administrators who are being given those positions which have traditionally signified authority, power, status? Let me try to summarize some of the policy implications from what I have said. I will not, however, offer the kind of specific recommendations that too often appear as a panacea or a quick solution to deep seated, complex issues. If we have learned anything over the centuries it is that change is constant. It is also slow, painful and always resisted.

First and foremost we must recognize and continue to oppose the philosophy and value system of this country which is based on that definition of black people pronounced by Chief Justice Taney more than 100 years ago. Or , the labels and stereotypes have changed. Euphemisms continue to be invented to perpetuate the myth. As long as we are convinced that we are inferior, are without a past or culture to preserve, are defined as property, we will not become powerful. Much has been done over the years, and especially since the 60's, to shift our strategies to

define ourselves. We must not only continue this tradition but become even more outspoken and positive about who we are, who we were, and who we will become -- by our own tape.

Second, we need, in rejecting these past negative labels, to seriously investigate the concept of dual, simultaneous culturalization. For some, there should be continued research into our African cultural background. However, trying to find out how much of what we have became represents continuities of the past and how much are newly invented adaptations to America is a little like trying to decide what percentage of our present identity came from genes and what percentage from the environment. In both cases it seems so obvious that it is an interactional process, a both/and not an either/or process. I would like us to spend more energy examining the interaction as evidenced by the behavior of people in their informal and formal relationships and settings so we can plan more rationally for the future.

Within the dual culture thesis, there could be fruitful and interesting research on the role of the black church in the development of personalities; the black preacher; the language codes and skills he had to develop to live in the two worlds: keeping "up a good front" with the white man and at the same time developing strategies

so that the slave and then the freedman could indeed
become free. I would guess that the black principal
under legal segregation had to develop some of the same
skills and strategies.

The distrust or healthy paranoia that Grier and
Cobbs speak of has been a necessary and successful defensive
mechanism when all power was controlled by the "enemy."
But what happens to this distrust when the person in that
power position becomes a black person, a fraternity
brother? Are the same strategies appropriate? Because
we have not had the luxury within the black society of real
differentiation by class, our social relationships are
different. Our expectations about roles have been con-
ditioned by our dual culture. The acknowledged leader in
the black church might have a very low status position in
the majority culture. What does this mean when we talk
about leadership? I feel that this framework opens a new
approach to the examination of roles and can lead to new
insights in how to prepare black people for these new roles.

Certainly there must be more study of language and
the communication patterns that our children bring to
school. We have an obligation to enter into the debate
about Black Dialect or English. From this perspective,
it seems we can draft a series of new questions about
language and its relationship to reading and the other
skills that we must develop in young people if they are to

cope with the complex, technological society of which they are very much a part. It just seems inconceivable to me that we do not have enough imagination, knowing how skilled in verbal language our young people are, to find some way to use that skill in teaching them how to decode the printed word. We also need to look into the role of music body movement and non-verbal behavior in the teaching-learning process.

Finally, we must face realistically the racial composition of the school populations of the large cities. Atlanta is 82% black, Washington, D.C. at least 90% and Detroit is close to 80% to cite only three well known cities. What are we to do? Can we continue to promote only one approach to the problem of segregation-integration? That one approach, the physical mixing of black and white children in schools throughout a city, certainly seemed the best and most feasible approach 20 years ago. There appeared to be sufficient evidence that legally enforced separation of children based on race was detrimental to their development. I do not question that conclusion.

But we again may have been clouded in our visions, a little like our slave ancestors when granted "freedom." We underestimated our adversaries then and we may have done it again in 1954. Let us learn from the past and not lose the Second Reconstruction.

We cannot afford to let another generation of
children go through our schools unprepared for a pro-
ductive future or even prepared for effective undermining
of the present system. Let us try to capitalize on the
little political power we seem to have. Let us try to
help black people in positions of power, like school
superintendents, recognizing at the same time how limited
their power may be. We can provide new data which should
begin to shake the theories and ideas on which public
policy was determined in the past. This Conference is
evidence that we can re-capture the initiative of the
black scholars of the past. We no longer need to
apologize for ourselves or our background. We know that
we have influenced the development of this country even
while being rejected. Ours was a special gift which we
must never lose as we try to become a part of this society
and be recognized as citizens. In our zeal to become
enculturated in the values, and beliefs of the majority
culture and to gain access to the material comforts which
bombard us every day on television, let us not lose that
gift our ancestors brought with them and continues to
give some reason for education other than to be prepared
to enter the economic competitive system.

Let me close with two more quotes from DuBois' Soul
of Black Folk which describe first that gift and secondly
helps answer the question, education for what?

> Above and beyond all that we have mentioned,
> perhaps least tangible but just as true, is
> the peculiar spiritual quality which the
> Negro has injected into American life and
> civilization. It is hard to define or
> characterize it -- a certain spiritual
> joyousness; a sensuous, tropical love of
> life, in vivid contrast to the cool and
> cautious New England reason; a slow and
> dreamful conception of the universe, a
> drawling and slurring of speech, an intense
> sensitiveness to them, tell of the imprint
> of Africa on Europe in America. There is
> no gainsaying or explaining away this --
> tremendous influence of the contact of the
> north and south, of black and white, of
> Anglo Saxon and Negro.
>   (p. 178.)

Today, we call this soul. Finally,

> We are training not isolated men but a living
> group of men, -- nay, a group within a group.
> And the final product of our training must be
> neither a psychologist nor a brickmason, but
> a man. And to make men, we must have ideals,
> broad, pure, and inspiring ends of living, --
> not sordid-money-getting, not apples of gold.
> The worker must work for the glory of his
> handwork, not simply for pay; the thinker
> must think for truth, not for fame. And all
> this gained only by human strife and longing;
> by ceaseless training and education; by
> founding Right on righteousness and Truth
> on the unhampered search for Truth; by
> founding the common school on the university
> and the industrial school on the common school;
> and weaving thus a system, not a distortion,
> and bringing a birth, not an abortion.
>   (DuBois, p. 72.)

Thank you.

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