



Study Guide to

The Mis-Education of the Negro

By Dr. Carter Godwin Woodson

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A Note from the Authors

Welcome to ASALH's official study guide to the *Mis-Education of the Negro*! This year, we celebrate the 75th anniversary of this seminal work by the father of Black History - Dr. Carter G. Woodson. Woodson was an extraordinary scholar, educator, historian and above all, servant of his people. He dedicated his life to correcting the historical recording regarding Blacks in the United States. Woodson's conviction was that this correction would change both how Whites saw and treated Blacks and how Blacks saw and treated themselves. His firm belief in the power of education to uplift our people rings through in every chapter of this book. "The mere imparting of information is not education," he wrote. "Above all things, the effort must result in making a man think and do for himself...(p. xii)."

This Study Guide was written and designed with the purpose of making Dr. Woodson's words accessible to 21st century readers. Prepared to help teachers, professors, counselors, mentors and tutors introduce Woodson's message to their middle, high school and college students, users will benefit from the guide's many features. The guide can also be used by individuals, book clubs, or historical branches interested in delving deeply into Woodson's book. In the **Literacy and Language Arts Connections**, students are guided through Woodson's dense vocabulary and asked to focus in on analyzing specific paragraphs in each chapter. The **Modern Day Connections** sections urge students to consider Woodson's words in the context of their own lives. The **Modern Day Mathematical Connections** sections of the Guide are designed to help readers analyze critical, social issues such as school equity, community wealth and poverty, unemployment, and under-employment through the tool of math. Finally, the **Historical References** present in each chapter of *The Mis-Education of the Negro* have been thoroughly researched and provided for users of the Study Guide.

As powerful as the day it was written, the purpose of Dr. Woodson's book is not only to argue, but to agitate; not only to inform but to transform; and not to complain, but to provide a thoughtful, thorough plan for the uplift of the African American community. In designing and writing this Guide, we worked to capitalize on this same spirit- providing fresh and new ways to consider *The Mis-Education* in the context of 2008 and the 21st century. More than any other time in our history, we need the messages that *The Mis-Education* delivers. As you read *The Mis-Education of the Negro* along with this study guide, our hope is that you, your communities, your students and your family are agitated to action, transformed in powerful ways, and charged with Woodson's plan for uplift.

Onward and Upward!

Joi A. Spencer
Clementine Carr
Carolyn Mattock and
Vivian Fairnot

About the Authors

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About the Reviewer

V.P. Franklin, Ph.D. is the editor of the Journal of African American History. Dr. Franklin is a distinguished professor of history and education at the University of California, Riverside, Graduate School of Education. He was an Eminent Scholar in History/English and Revius O. Ortique Chair at Dillard University. Franklin is the author of *Martin Luther King, Jr.: A Biography* (1998) and co-author of *My Soul Is a Witness: A Chronology of the Civil Rights Era, 1954-1965*.

About the Editors

Barbara Spencer Dunn is the visionary behind gathering scholars to develop this study guide in an effort to reach youth at an early age with Dr. Woodson's profound message. The Borger, Texas native attended public schools in Amarillo, Texas and is a graduate of Bowie State University in Bowie, Maryland. Mrs. Dunn has resided in Prince George's County, Maryland since 1974 and has served the community as a community activist. Serving as the first Director of Membership Services for the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) from 2004 – 2007, she is currently a consultant for ASALH continuing to promote the legacy of Dr. Woodson. She is also co-owner of Public Relations Outreach Incentives, Inc. and co-author of "*Training with a*

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Study Guide To: *The Mis-Education of the Negro* by Carter Godwin Woodson

Preface: An Introduction to the Mis-Education of the Negro

The mere imparting of information is not education. Above all things, the effort must result in making a man think and do for himself... (p. xii).

The problem of holding the Negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary (p. xiii).

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 (p. xiii).

What do you think about the three above statements? Whether you agree with them or not, these statements sum up the major arguments of Carter G. Woodson's seminal work, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. This father of Black History (formerly Negro History) did not begin life with privilege, wealth, or power. In fact, he was not able to attend school regularly until he was 19 years old! Yet, this man became one of the most influential thinkers of 20th century America. Unlike many others of his time, Woodson realized that slavery and the unjust system of racial apartheid not only injured Blacks' opportunities and infringed upon their civil rights, but it destroyed their sense of identity and self worth. One of the keys to lifting these people up was to educate them about their history and the great accomplishments of their forebearers, even in the face of great odds.

Woodson's book is relevant today. Seventy-five years since it was written, the United States is plagued by many of the things about which Woodson wrote, including impoverished Black communities, inadequate schools, and poor job opportunities. What has been the response of American society to these issues? What has been the response of middle-class Black Americans to these issues? What will be your response to these issues? As you explore this book, consider deeply your role in undoing the inequities that remain in our nation and your responsibility to bring about greater levels of justice, opportunity and mutual respect in your own community and in the world around you.

Language Arts & Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

Before distributing the book:

- Discuss the meaning of a prefix. Ask students to give examples/meanings of prefixes.
- Ask students to identify the prefix in the title.
- After distributing the book, ask students to observe and discuss Woodson's facial expression. (ask students not to read the back cover)
- Ask students how the facial expression may connect with the book's title.
- Have students make predictions about the book. Their statements can begin with the following phrases:
 - I predict ...
 - My prediction is ...
 - Based on the picture and class discussion, I predict...

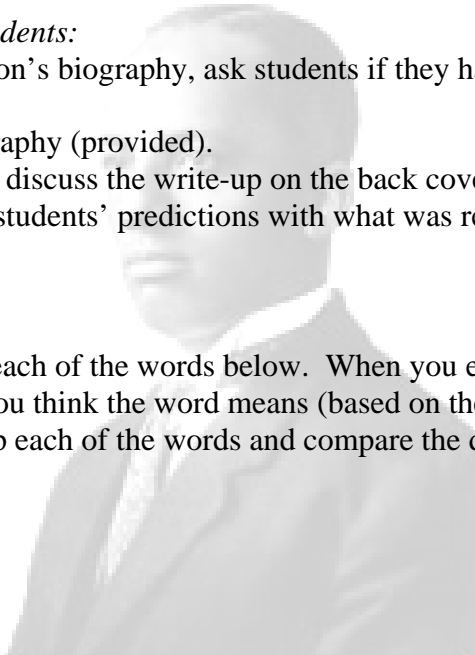
Introduce the author to students:

- Before reading Woodson's biography, ask students if they have ever heard of Black History Month?
- Read Woodson's biography (provided).
- Ask students to read & discuss the write-up on the back cover of the book.
- Compare and contrast students' predictions with what was read from the book's back cover.

B. Vocabulary

As you read the preface, find each of the words below. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means (based on the context.) After you have read the entire chapter, look up each of the words and compare the definitions to your own.

- persecution
- regime
- denounce
- peonage
- tenets
- disinclined
- decry



Chapter 1 - The Seat of the Trouble

Chapter summary: In this chapter Woodson makes a strong argument that Blacks must be educated about their culture and the significant accomplishments of people of African descent. At the time when Woodson was writing, most American schools taught only European American history. In addition, these schools taught that Africans and those of African heritage were intellectually inferior to other races of people. The deliberate and unjustified degradation of Blacks in this manner, Woodson argued, “was the worst sort of lynching.” Moreover, failing to acknowledge important contributions of African Americans, the White Americans could more easily justify the inequities that Black people suffered in American society.

Historical References

A. Doctor of Philosophy- Doctor of Philosophy, abbreviated Ph.D. or PhD for the Latin *Philosophiae Doctor*, meaning "teacher of philosophy," is an advanced academic degree. In the English-speaking world, it has become the most common degree for a research scholar and applies to graduates in a wide array of disciplines in the sciences and humanities.

Language Arts & Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

At one time, African Americans communities pulled together in an effort towards collective advancement and self-determination. There was a sense of togetherness. If one person acquired skills or knowledge, it was shared with others. There was a sense of commitment. However, we have gradually drifted away from this practice, and we are divided into “haves and the have-nots” in our communities. These are some of the thoughts and ideas expressed by Woodson in this chapter. Before you read the chapter, consider the statements below that are often heard today. Do you agree or disagree with them?

- The public education system can create disadvantages for Blacks and other minority groups.
- Blacks were not taught to be entrepreneurs.
- Educated Blacks do not give back to their community.
- Many history books don't tell the true story of Blacks. These books portray Blacks as less intelligent than Whites.

B. Vocabulary – (negative words)

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- nonentity
- inferiority

- bias
- traducers
- constructive
- aspiration
- vagabond, vagabondage
- propaganda
- debasement
- disillusionment
- arduous
- belittled
- pessimistic
- extricate
- segregated

C. What did he say, what did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

After reading the chapter, re-read the 2nd paragraph on page 6. Write a paraphrase of this paragraph. Discuss with your classmates what you think this paragraph means.

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

A. Think about it!

1. A Letter from Willie Lynch

Willie Lynch is said to have been a slave owner in the West Indies summoned to Virginia in 1712 due to several slave revolts. Lynch was summoned because of his purported success in “handling” slaves in the West Indies. There has been some controversy as to whether or not there was really a “Willie Lynch.” However, the speech is convincing in content. Read the letter and then answer the questions that follow it.

Gentlemen:

I greet you here on the bank of the James River in the year of our lord, one thousand seven hundred and twelve. First, I shall thank you, the gentlemen of the colony of Virginia, for bringing me here. I am here to help you solve some of your problems with slaves. Your invitation reached me in my modest plantation in the West Indies where I have experimented with some of the newest and still the oldest method for control of slaves. Ancient Rome would envy us if my program is implemented. As our boat sailed south on the James River, named for our illustrious King James, whose Bible we Cherish, I saw enough to know that our problem is not unique. While Rome used cords or wood as crosses for standing human bodies along the old highways in great numbers, you are here using the tree and the rope on occasion.

I caught the whiff of a dead slave hanging from a tree a couple of miles back. You are losing valuable stock by hangings, you are having uprisings, slaves are running away, your crops are sometimes left in the fields too long for maximum profit, you suffer occasional fires, your animals are killed, Gentleman,...You know what your problems are; I do not need to elaborate. I am not here to enumerate your problems; I am here to introduce you to a method of solving them.

In my bag, I have a fool proof method for controlling your slaves. I guarantee every one of you that if installed it will control the slaves for at least three hundred years. My method is simple, any member of your family or any OVERSEER can use it.

I have outlined a number of differences among the slaves, and I take these differences and make them bigger. I use **FEAR, DISTRUST, and ENVY** for control purposes. These methods have worked on my modest plantation in the West Indies, and it will work throughout the SOUTH. Take this simple little list of differences and think about them. On the top of my list is "**Age**" but it is only there because it starts with an "A"; The second is "**Color**" or shade; there is **Intelligence, Size, Sex, Size of Plantation, Attitude** of owner, whether the slaves live in the valley, on a hill, east or west, north, south, have fine or coarse hair, or is tall or short. Now that you have a list of differences, I shall give you an outline of action- but before that, I shall assure you that **DISTRUST IS STRONGER THAN TRUST, AND ENVY IS STRONGER THAN ADULATION, RESPECT OR ADMIRATION.**

The Black slave, after receiving this indoctrination, shall carry on and will become self-refueling and self-generating for hundreds of years, maybe thousands.

Don't forget you must pit the old Black vs. the young Black males, and the young Black male against the old Black male. You must use the dark skinned slaves vs. the light skin slaves. You must use the female vs. the male, and the male vs. the female. You must always have your servants and OVERSEERS distrust all Blacks, but it is necessary that your slaves trust and depend on us.

Gentlemen, these kits are your keys to control, use them. Never miss an opportunity. My plan is guaranteed, and the good thing about this plan is that if used intensely for one year the slave will remain perpetually distrustful.

Questions to Consider

- What is the message that Willie Lynch is trying to convey?
- Why was it necessary to “control” the slaves?
- Do you think that Willie Lynchs’ tactics were “foolproof?”
- How would the slaves have gotten around these tactics?
- Do you think that Willie Lynchs’ tactics affect the lives of African Americans today?
(Facilitators: Add more questions specific to Willie Lynchs’ letter)

2. **PROUD** – This exercise uses African American history to inform you about a missing piece of the American story. View the movie **PROUD** with an intergenerational audience (a school, church, or community could use this as a grandparents day activity). **PROUD** is the true story of a World War II event. The all African American crew of 160 sailors aboard the *USS Mason* overcame the harsh realities of war abroad and segregation at home and were finally honored for their heroism in 1994. This single act was instrumental in integrating the Navy.

Next, prepare a chart to document responses separating age groups according to the following birth years: 1900 – 1924; 1925 – 1945; 1946 – 1964; 1965 – 1984; 1985 – 2001); 2002 – present.

- Discuss broadly what stood out most about the movie just released in 2005.
- What could you glean from the account about African American and Irish relationships?
- Was the lack of violence, sex, or foul language a welcome relief?
- How does this movie compare with most popular movies of the early 21st century and how have we possibly been affected by them?
- Use the internet to research the day **PROUD** was released and prepare a chart of other movies released on the same day to see how it fared among the movie audiences.
- Discuss how many in your group had already seen or heard of the movie before this exercise, and what they liked about the film.
- Visit the website at <http://www.proudtthemovie.com> and explore how the story finally came to be told.

3. **Educational Equity** – Read the following selection from Chapter 1. Write a response for each of the questions that follow. Share your response with a classmate with whom you do not normally work.

“The children from the homes of White planters and merchants live permanently in the midst of calculations, family budgets and the like, which enables them sometimes to learn more by contact than the Negro can acquire in school. Instead of teaching such Negro children less arithmetic, they should be taught much more of it than the White children. For the latter attend a graded school consolidated by free transportation, when the Negroes go to one-room rented hovels to be taught without equipment and by incompetent teachers educated scarcely beyond the eighth grade.” (p. 4-5)

Like Woodson, many people today believe that all American children do not have *equal educational opportunities*. What do you think? Discuss the following questions with your classmates:

- Is the public education system in America fair and equal for all students?
- Have you noticed inequities in the school facilities in your neighborhood? What type?
- Where are the best schools in your state? Why?
- Where are the worst schools in your state? Why?

B. Making Math Meaningful – Ratio

A ratio is a multiplicative comparison of two quantities. For example, if the ratio of cows to chickens on a farm is 1 to 6 then for every 1 cow, you can expect to find 6 chickens on that farm. We can also say that there are 6 times as many chickens on this farm than there are cows, or $1/6^{\text{th}}$ as many cows as chickens. Ratios are unique because they can be used to compare two or more different quantities. For example, we can compare the ratio of boys to girls in a classroom or the ratio of teachers to students.

Ratios are used widely in educational reports. In the following activities, you will explore a number of educational issues in California. Later, you will create ratios to understand better your school's resources.

Still Separate, Still Unequal? (Handout 1)

First: Read pages 6-11 of the article- *Separate and Unequal 50 Years after Brown: California's Racial "Opportunity Gap"* (Oakes, 2004). The document is located at: <http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/idea/images/brownsu2.pdf>

Second:

- Write a statement explaining what the first graph on page 11 tells us.
- Write a statement explaining what the second graph on page 11 tells.

Third: Conduct a brief survey of your school's resources:

- Find your school's total enrollment.
- Find out how many teachers there are at your school.
- Calculate the student to teacher ratio for your school.
- Count the number of working computers available in your school.
- Calculate the student to computer ratio for your school.
- Find the total number of Advanced Placement courses available in your school.
- Calculate the ratio of advanced placement courses to students at your school.
- Display your findings in a table. Describe your findings in 3-5 sentences. What do your findings suggest?

Challenge: There are other aspects of your school's resources that you may survey. This can include the cleanliness and availability of restrooms, the availability of textbooks, athletic equipment, school counselors, school nurses, and school space (square feet per student). Can you think of others?

Chapter 2 – How We Missed the Mark

Chapter Summary: After slavery ended, the U.S. government established the Freedmen’s Bureau. One of its goals was to provide schooling for the former slaves. But, just what kind of schooling should these newly free people receive? Many argued that they needed what was considered a classical or liberal education, one that included philosophy, religion, science, and history. Others argued that an industrial education, one that focused on practical skills such as carpentry, sewing, and scientific farming, would be best for the freedpeople. The well-known debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois dealt with these two perspectives. Woodson’s position was somewhere between these two arguments. Woodson proposed that, above all, African Americans should be educated in a manner that would best develop their talents and build up their communities. As you explore this chapter, reflect on Woodson’s plan for the advancement of African Americans in the United States and how Black communities would be different today if his plan had been followed.

Historical References

- A. Emancipation Proclamation** – On January 3, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The executive order “frees slaves in states now in rebellion against the United States.” It was issued, not so much as a reflection of Lincoln’s beliefs about slavery, but to influence the British and other Europeans to give its support to the Union rather than to the Confederacy in the Civil War. “True” emancipation came with the ratification of the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865.
- B. Freedmen’s Bureau** – An agency of the federal government created in March 1865 by Congress to provide emergency aid to the freedpeople during the transition from slavery to freedom.
- C. Black Migration** – The labor demands of World War I triggered a massive migration of Black southerners to northern cities in the Great Migration. The lure of decent jobs attracted Blacks to such industrial cities as Chicago, Detroit, and New York between 1910 and 1930.
- D. Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)** – As a leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), he organized a program with an emphasis on Black economic self reliance, African peoples’ right to political self-determination, and the founding of independent Black nations on the continent of Africa. He urged Blacks to return to Africa because, he reasoned, they would never be treated justly in countries dominated by Whites.
- E. Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) and Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870).** These are the names of notable African scholars throughout the diaspora. The reference to these names is used to reveal the lack of comparable literary contributions by African American Negroes to those of Blacks who lived in other countries.
- F. Henry O. Tanner (1859-1937)** - An African American painter whose best known work is “The Banjo Lesson” which is displayed at Hampton University.

Language Arts and Literacy Connection

A. Building Background Knowledge

Woodson is frustrated with the education provided for Black children and adults in the early 20th century. Before you read this chapter, consider the following questions:

- Do you think you have received a good education? Why or Why not? Give examples to explain your response.
- If you could improve your education, what aspects of it would you change? Why would you make these changes?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words and/or prefixes listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own. Before looking up the starred words, place them in present tense.

- philo-
- philosophy
- philosopher
- emigration
- makeshift
- dearth
- malcontent
- vitiated*

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

After reading the chapter, re-read paragraph 4 on pages 9-10. Write a paraphrase of this very important paragraph. Be prepared to discuss your opinions and thoughts of this paragraph with your classmates.

D. Pausing for Poetry

The debate between W.E.B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington was often quite public. Their views on the most appropriate program for Black advancement are expressed in Dudley Randall's poem, "Booker T. and W.E.B." With whom do you agree—Booker T. or W.E.B.?

DUDLEY RANDALL (1914-2000)

Dudley Randall (1914-2000) published his first poem in the *Detroit Free Press* when he was only 13 years old. After earning degrees in English and library science, Randall worked as a librarian until his 1974 retirement. In 1965, he established Broadside Press, which became an important publisher of African-American poets and political writers. Randall translated the works of Russian authors and poets and experimented with a variety of styles in his own poetry.

“Booker T. and W.E.B.”

By Dudley Randall

“It seems to me,” said Booker T.,
“It shows a mighty lot of cheek
To study chemistry and Greek
When Mister Charlie needs a hand
To hoe the cotton on his land,
And when Miss Ann looks for a cook,
Why stick your nose inside a book?”

“I don’t agree,” said W.E.B.,
“If I should have the drive to seek
Knowledge of chemistry or Greek,
I’ll do it. Charles and Miss can look
Another place for hand or cook.
Some men rejoice in skill of hand,
And some in cultivating land,
But there are others who maintain
The right to cultivate the brain.”

“It seems to me,” said Booker T.,
“That all you folks have missed the boat
Who shout about the right to vote,

And spend vain days and sleepless nights
In uproar over civil rights.
Just keep your mouths shut, do not
grouse,
But work, and save, and buy a house.”

“I don’t agree,” said W.E.B.,
“For what can property avail
If dignity and justice fail.
Unless you help to make the laws,
They’ll steal your house with trumped-up
clause.
A rope’s as tight, a fire as hot,
No matter how much cash you’ve got.
Speak soft, and try your little plan,
But as for me, I’ll be a man.”

“It seems to me,” said Booker T.—
“I don’t agree,”
Said W.E.B.

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

A. Think about it!

Woodson argues that whether classical or industrial, the education that African Americans received in his day was inadequate for individual or collective advancement. The classical curriculum emphasized literature and philosophy, but did not prepare people to create businesses in their communities. The industrial schools provided training on out-dated machinery for industries that were increasingly mechanized. Is the situation the same today? In the following activities, you will explore African Americans in the labor force and in colleges and universities.

B. Making Math Meaningful

Low-wage work (Handout 2)

How much money does a person need to earn in order to support a family? To live comfortably? To just get by? In this activity, you will explore the crisis of unemployment and low-wage employment among African Americans in the Bay Area of Northern California.

First – Read pages 1-6 of the article: “Black Workers in the Bay Area, 1970-2000” by Stephen C. Pitts. The document is located at:

http://laborcenter.berkeley.edu/blackworkers/blackworkers_bayarea05.pdf

After you have read the document, answer the following questions:

- What is a low-wage job?
- What is the working age population?
- Who are defined as “young workers”?
- What is the difference between irregular work and part time work?
- Do you know anyone who does irregular work? What do they do?

Second – Study the charts and graphs on pages 23-27 and complete the following exercises:

- What percentage of the Bay Area Young Black Working Age Population was not in the labor force in 1970? What percentage was not in the labor force in 2000? What has been the percentage increase in this group between the years 1970 and 2000?
- Look at Chart 17. What percentage of the low-wage, young workers were employed part time in 1970? In the year 2000? How many times greater was the percentage of part-time, low-wage workers in 2000 than in 1970?
- How many times greater was the percentage of full-time, low-wage workers in 2000 as compared to 1970?
- Summarize the findings of Charts 18 and 19 in 2-4 sentences.
- Prepare 2-4 sentences explaining the meaning and significance of these findings.

Third – Prepare a financial plan.

The cost of living in many U.S. cities is increasing. In this activity, you will create a personal financial plan. How much money do you need to make in order to own a home, rent an apartment, and pay for transportation?

1. Create a list of the monthly expenses of a single adult. (Some expenses that you should include are food, transportation, rent/mortgage, and utilities.)
2. Estimate the monthly cost for each of these expenses. Base your estimates on average costs of these expenses in your city/community.
3. Calculate your total monthly expenses.

4. Based on your total monthly expenses, how much money will you need to make per hour to break even if you work 20 hours per week? If you work 30 hours per week? If you work 40 hours per week? (To break even means to make enough money to cover your expenses with nothing left over for a saving's account.)
5. If 28 percent of your income goes towards taxes, how much money will you need to make per month in order to break even?

Challenge: Conduct a survey of the businesses in your community. Ask the owners of these businesses what their average wage is for employees with a high school diploma, and what it is for those with a college degree. Compare these hourly wages to the figures you computed in numbers 4 and 5 above.

Going to College (Handout 3)

The purpose of these activities is to familiarize you with college attendance rates of different racial and ethnic groups in the United States.

First - Read pages 2-3 of the report, "Minorities in Higher Education." Write a 1-paragraph summary of this report.

Second – Study Table 3: "Educational Attainment Rates for 25- to 29-Year-Olds and Persons 25 Years Old and Over, by Race/Ethnicity and Gender, 1985 to 2005"

Third – Prepare seven graphs that summarize the information in this table. Choose a format for your graphs that is appropriate for the information that you are displaying. Here is a list of graphs that you should include:

- A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for Whites between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for African Americans between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for Hispanics between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for Whites between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for African Americans between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for Hispanics between 1985 and 2005.
- A graph that compares high school completion rates across race.
- A graph that compares college completion rates across race.

Prepare a written summary of your graphs. Make sure to tell what you think the most important findings from these graphs are.

Challenge: Graphs can tell important stories based on how they are organized and displayed. Working with a partner, come up with other ways to display the data in the various tables in this report. What stories do your graphs tell?



Chapter 3 – How We Drifted Away from the Truth

Chapter Summary: In chapter 3, Woodson argues that whether in science, history, or literature, Whites have been taught that their cultural contributions to American society were superior to those of Blacks. This type of teaching, he believes, has built “in Whites a race hate of the Negro, and in the Negroes contempt for themselves.” This is one of the main themes of Woodson’s book: If you distort a people’s history, you will eventually distort a people’s future. The perpetuation of inaccuracies in the historical record, which elevated European culture and denigrated that of Africans, was a grave injustice in Woodson’s view.

Historical References

A. The Civil War Amendments- In the years immediately following the Civil War, three Amendments affecting the status of Black Americans were added to the Constitution. The 13th Amendment abolished the practice slavery. The 14th Amendment defines a citizen as anyone born in the United States or any place under its jurisdiction; and grants every citizen “equal protection under the law.” The 15th Amendment prohibits the denial of the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. NB* Neither the word “Negro” nor “Black” is used in any of these amendments. (* NB is an abbreviation for the Latin nota bene or “note well.”)

Suggested Activity - The Civil War Amendments. Students may be interested in investigating the attempts by southern state officials to circumvent the rights protected by these amendments. The passage of “Black codes” and “Jim Crow,” or segregation laws, were clever attempts to violate the provisions of the 13th and 14th amendments. The literacy test, the property qualifications, and the poll tax were used to prevent Black citizens from voting. Students should explore the history of poll taxes and literacy tests. They might also be encouraged to investigate how the Voting Rights Act of 1965 dealt with these practices.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Section

Based on the title - What do you think this chapter will be about?
What word(s) in the title support your answer?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- missionary
- curricular
- conformity

- engender
- scoff
- despise
- exploit
- wares
- embalming
- endeavor
- dialect
- nullification
- prevalence
- maladies
- immunity
- drudgery
- menial

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Very few African Americans received formal schooling before the Civil War. After the war, many White northerners as well as Blacks who had been fortunate enough to be educated before the war set out to open schools for the freedpeople. These teachers, Woodson argued, were often unaware of the needs of the freedpeople and opened secondary schools that only trained teachers and individuals who wished to become ministers.

“Reduced, then, to teaching and preaching, the Negroes will have no outlet but to go down a blind alley, if the sort of education which they are now receiving is to enable them to find the way out of their present difficulties (p. 15).”

- Paraphrase the quote (write its meaning in your own words)
- Write 2-3 sentences explaining what other professions should have been open to the freedpeople, and why.
- From Woodson’s view, how did Black Americans, “Drift away from the truth?”

D. Pausing for Poetry

For Woodson, the arts, especially poetry, were an important part of the movement for Black advancement. Woodson was particularly supportive of the work of the poet Langston Hughes. One of the most prolific artists during the Harlem Renaissance, much of Hughes’ writings celebrated the everyday lives of ordinary African Americans. His poems shed light on their struggles, yet celebrated the richness of their history. Below are two of his most famous poems.

I, Too, Sing America
By Langston Hughes

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,

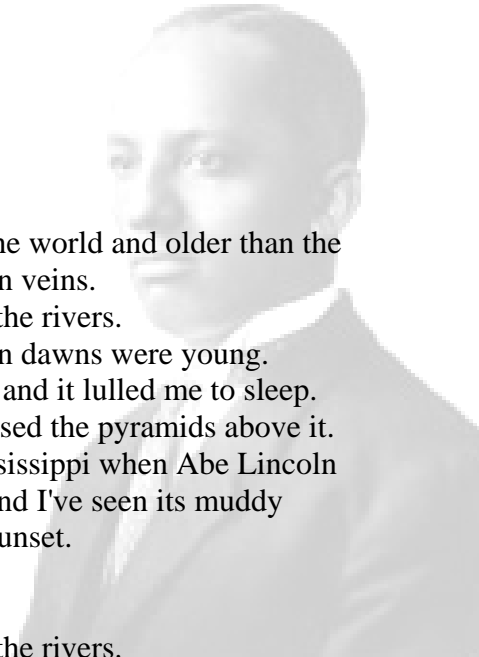
I'll be at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how beautiful I am
And be ashamed--
I, too, am America.

The Negro Speaks of Rivers
By Langston Hughes

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the
flow of human blood in human veins.
My soul has grown deep like the rivers.
I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.
I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln
went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy
bosom turn all golden in the sunset.
I've known rivers:
Ancient, dusky rivers.
My soul has grown deep like the rivers.



Discuss with your classmates the possible reasons why Dr. Woodson liked these poems so much.

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

A. Think about It!

How does discussion of African culture compare to discussions of other cultures in media such as newspapers, magazines, and television? You will explore this in the following activities:

Textbook trivia (Handout 4)

- Acquire a high school U.S. and World history textbook.
- Go to the table of contents for each chapter.
- How many of the chapters focus on African culture?
- How many chapters are devoted to these cultures? Which other cultures are addressed?
- Prepare a graph displaying your findings.

B. Making Math Meaningful

It's Jeopardy! (Handout 5)

- Tonight for homework, watch an episode of the popular game show, "Jeopardy."
- As you watch, keep a tally of the clues and which cultures they refer to. These clues have cultural referents. Your table may look something like this:

Cultural Referent	Frequency	Percentage
African		
Asian		
European		
Latino		
Pacific Islander		
Native/indigenous culture		
Other		
none		

- Prepare a graph displaying the frequency of the cultural referents.
- Prepare another graph displaying the percentages of cultural referents. (Which types of graphs would be best for the 2 different displays?)
- Write 3-5 sentences discussing the patterns that you found in this data. Be prepared to discuss these patterns with your classmates.

Chapter 4 - Education under Outside Control

Chapter Summary: There is a direct link between the type of education and training you receive and your future work or career. Your ability to make a living, care for a family, and contribute to your community are all heavily determined by the educational opportunities made available to you, and how well you make use of these opportunities. In this chapter, Woodson considers deeply the plight of Black America in the early 20th century. Some 50 to 75 years out from slavery, Woodson was frustrated by the lack of progress of most African Americans. A major factor causing the stagnation, he argues, was that most African Americans were being educated by Whites, who did not truly understand African Americans' best interests. The Negro, "Woodson writes, "will never be able to show off his originality as long as his efforts are directed from without by those who socially proscribe him. Such 'friends' will unconsciously keep him in the ghetto." As you explore this chapter, consider the connections of Woodson's argument to the state of public education today and the effect that Woodson's prescription might have on this.

Historical References

A. Howard University – Established in 1866 as the Howard Normal and Theological Institute for Education of Teachers and Preachers by a group of Whites. General O.O. Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, received the charter from President Andrew Johnson and shortened the name to Howard University in 1867. Located in Washington D.C., it is one of 117 Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States. Mordecai Johnson was the school's first Black president. He was appointed in 1926.

B. John Jasper (1812-1901) – A popular Baptist preacher of Richmond, Virginia, Jasper was enslaved for fifty years before slavery ended. At the age of 25, Jasper was working in a tobacco factory when he was converted to Christianity. He preached for twenty-five years as a slave, and continued preaching as a free man until his death at age 89. While still a slave, Jasper's funeral sermons brought him renown among Blacks and Whites in Virginia. After freedom, Jasper was pastor of a congregation that reached several thousand people, and he built the Sixth Mount Zion Baptist Church to house them.

C. Henry VIII (1491-1547) – Henry VIII was king of England from 1509 until his death in 1547. As king, he became the only lay leader of the Protestant Reformation. He changed the Roman Catholic Church in England into the Anglican Church or the "Church of England" after a dispute with the Pope over an annulment of Henry's marriage. Altogether he had six wives. The reference is to the first two wives of Henry VIII, and to Henry's Protestant daughter Elizabeth I, Queen of England, and her conflict with King Phillip II of Spain during her 40-year reign.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Section

- What do you think of when you hear the word education?
- Should education serve to inspire you to do good and important things?
- Write 3 synonyms (words with similar meaning) for the word "control."
- Is the word "outside" in the title a negative or a positive thing? Explain.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own. Before looking up the starred[*] words, place them in present tense. Place the words with a diamond ♦ next to them in their singular form before looking them up in the dictionary.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Divide class into 3 groups. Give each group words to locate and define using context clues as they read through the chapter.

- martyred*
- derogatory
- successors♦
- predecessors♦
- patronizing
- functionary
- proscribe
- malcontents ♦
- amuck
- philanthropists ♦
- replica
- adept
- degradation
- oars
- inertia
- statutory
- panorama

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding

Read the following selection, which comes from p. 17. Paraphrase Woodson's words. What is the main idea of this passage?

“Herein, however, the emphasis is not upon the necessity for separate systems, but upon the need for common sense schools and teachers who understand and continue in sympathy with those whom they instruct. Those who take the position to the contrary have the idea that education is merely a process of imparting information. One who can give out these things or devise an easy plan for so doing, then, is an educator. In a sense this is true, but it accounts for most of the troubles of the Negro. Real education means to inspire people to live more abundantly, to learn to begin with life as they find it and make it better, but the instruction so far given Negroes in colleges and universities has worked to the contrary.”

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

High School Havoc (Handout 6)

In this activity, you will compare three high schools in the Los Angeles area: Crenshaw High, Fremont High, and El Camino High.

First- Read pages 2-4 of the report- *Separate and Unequal 50 Years after Brown: California's Racial "Opportunity Gap"* (Oakes, 2004).

<http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/idea/images/brownsu2.pdf>

Second- Study the Educational opportunity charts for each of the 3 high schools.

Crenshaw Senior High

Crenshaw Senior High enrolls 2,501 students.			
White 0%	African-American: 66%	Hispanic: 33%	Asian: 0%
Filipino: 0%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 14%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 82%		

Crenshaw Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	78%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	72%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	49%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	50%	82%

El Camino Real Senior High

El Camino Real Senior High enrolls 4,017 students.			
White 51%	African-American: 8%	Hispanic: 26%	Asian: 11%
Filipino: 4%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 8%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 26%		

El Camino Real Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	94%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	92%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	86%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	89%	82%

Fremont Senior High School

Fremont Senior High enrolls 4,615 students.			
White 0%	African-American: 11%	Hispanic: 89%	Asian: 0%
Filipino: 0%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 45%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 86%		

Fremont Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	80%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	73%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	45%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	51%	82%

Third: complete the following exercises

- Find the ratio of passing on the math section of the Exit Exam to passing on the English section of the Exam for each school. Is the relationship between the passing rates weak or strong? Explain.
- Find the ratio of passing rates on the Exit exam (both math and English) to the passing rates in the state of California for each of the three schools. Is this relationship weak or strong? Explain.
- Find the ratio of passing rates on the math section of the Exam to the percentage of teachers credentialed to teach College Prep Math for each of the three schools.
- Students at Crenshaw, El Camino, and Fremont pass the math Exit Exam at what percentage of the state passing rate?
- Teachers at Crenshaw, El Camino, and Fremont are credentialed at what percentage of the state credentialing rate? Which of the three schools has the highest rate of credentialing in relation to the state?
- Write five to seven sentences summarizing the information in these charts. What message do you think these charts tell?

Challenge: Reports of “educational opportunity” can be found for each high school in California at the website: <http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/index.html>
 Visit the site and conduct comparisons between other schools. Try to identify any patterns that emerge. Try to locate similar data for your state or county.

Chapter 5 - The Failure to Learn to Make a Living

Chapter summary: In the early 20th century, Black children and adults were educated to be consumers not producers or owners of business enterprises, especially those related to laundry or manual labor. Most Black workers were employed in the service industry. In chapter 5 of *The Mis-Education*, Woodson's concern was that Blacks' failure to create small, useful businesses in their own communities was harmful. Without these businesses, and being denied job opportunities in the larger White society, Blacks would no longer have the means to make a living.

Historical References

A. Aristotle (384 BC-322 BC), Plato (424/423 BC-348/347 BC), Marsigli of Padua (c.1275-c.1342) and Pascasius Rathbertus. Aristotle and Plato were ancient Greek philosophers. Plato was a student of Socrates and the teacher of Aristotle. Marsigli of Padua was an Italian political philosopher.

B. Pullman Company. A railroad company developed by the American inventor of the sleeping car on the train. This company controlled a town in Illinois that became the site of a deadly strike by the workers in 1894.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

Prepare a journal response/free-write to the following prompt:

Have you ever dreamed of having your own business or being your own boss?

If you could open your own business, what would it be? What service or products would you provide? Who would be your customers or clientele?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity:

1. Project the sentences that the individual vocabulary words are found in onto your whiteboard.
2. Read the sentences aloud with your students.
3. In groups of two, have your students discuss the words' meanings, given the clues surrounding the words.
4. Ask student groups to volunteer what they think to be the correct definitions.
5. Compare the students' definitions with the dictionary definitions.

- entrepreneur
- indictment
- inclined
- toiled

- despondent
- grapple
- reprimanded
- seize
- proletarian
- dictatorship
- impede
- pittance
- apprenticeship
- commission
- purloin
- extravagance

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding

First, read and paraphrase paragraph 2 on page 23?

Next, paraphrase paragraph 4 on page 25, beginning with the words, “Yet, investigation shows...”

Finally, paraphrase paragraphs 3 & 4 on page 26, beginning with the words, “If the highly educated Negro...”

What is Woodson’s major argument in these passages? What is the important criticism he levels at educated African Americans? What does he think is the solution?

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

A. Think about it!

Wealth is based on the things you own: your mp3 player, your clothes, your games, the part of your car and home that is paid off, businesses, vacation property, stocks and bonds. If what you owe is equal to what you own, then you have no assets. If what you owe is more than what you own, then you have negative net worth. What is your wealth? What is your family’s wealth? In the following activity, you will explore the wealth of Black, Hispanic, and White Americans.

The Wealth Gap (Handout 7)

First- Read the introduction to the report, “The Wealth of Hispanic Households, 1996 - 2002,” located on pages 3 and 4. The document is located at:

www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/34.pdf

Second- Study Tables 1, 5, and 7 and Chart 1.

Finally- Write a 2-3 paragraph summary which presents the study’s findings and its implications.

Challenge: Compile a survey of your family’s wealth. Use Table 6 in the PEW report as a guide. Ask adult family members for help with filling in the information you do not know. What is your family’s wealth?

B. Making Math Meaningful!

Community Status Survey (Handout 8)

The financial health of a community is often determined by the value and number of its business enterprises. In the following activities, you will examine the financial health of your community.

First- Survey the businesses in the three-square blocks surrounding your school and/or home. If there are no businesses near your school or home, locate the closest businesses and conduct the survey there. In your survey include:

- The number and types of businesses (retail store, medical office, insurance company, etc.)
- The clientele of the businesses (who are the people who use these businesses?)
- The number of employees in each business
- The number of years that the businesses have been in operation.
- The average hourly wages paid to employees.

Summarize your findings both visually (in graphs and charts) and in writing.

Second- Survey the social and medical resources near your school and/or home including such things as parks, recreation centers, libraries, hospitals, schools, museums, etc. In your survey include:

- The number and types of organizations (retail store, medical office, insurance company, etc.)
- The clientele of the organization (who are the people that use these resources?)
- An estimate of the number of people that make use of the organization on a daily basis.
- The number of years that the organization has been in operation.

Summarize your findings both visually (through graphs and charts) and in words.

Third- Prepare a report that describes the financial health of your community and your school's community based on your findings. In your report include recommendations of businesses and various services that you think will improve the financial health of the communities that you researched.

Chapter 6 –The Educated Negro Leaves the Masses

Chapter Summary: At one time the Black church was thought of as the “Pillar of the Community.” This institution became the platform for improving education, welcoming people into the community, encouraging support of Black businesses, and distributing health, political, and financial information. Over the years Woodson believed that this type of commitment among the educated African Americans had dwindled. Higher levels of education, he argued, compelled the highly educated to get rid of, or forget about, what he had in the Black church. In Chapter 6, Dr. Woodson also mentions that these “highly educated” Blacks could be very useful to the development of the church. He explains how the church has played a role in education and served as a forum for the highly educated. The most significant point that Dr. Woodson mentions is that the gap between the “talented tenth” and the masses is widening. Dr. Woodson also makes some other points of importance:

- One of the most striking evidences of the failure of higher education among African Americans is their estrangement from the masses, the very people upon whom they must eventually count on for carrying out a program of progress.
- The “unchurched” of this class do not become members of religious congregations, and those who have thus connected themselves remain chiefly for political or individualistic reasons.
- The Black church, although not a shadow of what it ought to be, is the greatest asset of the race. It represents important capital that African Americans must invest to prepare for the future.

Historical References

A. Negro Church – Described by an early 20th century scholar as the institution more than any other... “which the Negro may call his own ... A new church may be built ... and all the machinery set in motion without ever consulting any White person...” (Quoted in *America: A Concise History* by Henretta, Brody & Dumenil)

B. Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) – An American educator, author, and leader of the African American community. Booker T. Washington was the founder of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama. An HBCU, it was originally founded to emphasize industrial education and the training of teachers.

C. Jim Crow – The system of laws and customs that enforced racial segregation and discrimination throughout the United States from the late 19th century through the 1960s. (Jim Crow was the name of a character in “Minstrelsy,” a style of theatre where White performers would paint their faces black and use African American stereotypes in their songs and dances.)

D. Albert Magnus (1193/1206-1280) – Considered the greatest German philosopher of his time, he is known for his advocacy of the peaceful cooperation between science and religion.

E. Saint Thomas Aquinas (c.1225-1274) – An Italian Catholic priest who was a theologian in the scientific tradition. He wrote the **Summa Theologica**, which summarizes the reasoning for Roman Catholic theology. The Summa is famous for its five arguments for the existence of God.

F. Inquisition - A former Roman Catholic tribunal formed during the late Middle Ages for the discovery and punishment of heresy. Heresy is a challenge to a prescribed system of belief, especially a religious belief. There have been four different manifestations of the Inquisition, the Medieval, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Roman. Woodson’s reference is most likely to the Spanish Inquisition.

G. Serfdom – An economic system where landless peasants were attached to large estates and received protection from the lord in return for their labor on the land. In the case of American slavery, enslaved workers were owned by individuals, as opposed to a serf who was attached to the land. If the land changed hands, the serf’s obligation was to the new owner of the land.

H. Talented Tenth – W.E.B. Du Bois coined the term “talented tenth” to refer to the top ten percent of highly educated African Americans who should serve as leaders and role models for the Black masses, and often are involved in movements for social change.

I. Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879-1961) – Burroughs was an African American educator who founded the National Training School for Colored Girls in Washington D.C. She was also an orator and businesswoman who helped found the National Association of Colored Women. See Fall (2003) *Journal of AA History* for more information on Nannie Helen Burroughs.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

Have you ever experienced feelings of discomfort or separation from people who are highly educated?

Do religious beliefs impact your thinking and the decisions you make in your daily life?

Do you prefer to attend religious services where the congregation is racially homogeneous or racially and ethnically diverse?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own. Before looking up the starred words, place them in present tense. Place the words with a diamond ♦ next to them in their singular form before looking them up in the dictionary.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Discuss how words can take various forms. Discuss word roots and their meaning. Graphic Organizer-Vocabulary Web Mode

- estrangement
- communicants ♦
- grafters ♦
- libertines
- exploiters ♦
- ritualistic
- downtrodden
- idolatrous
- degenerate
- annihilation

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Read and then paraphrase:

Final paragraph pp. 34-35 beginning with the sentence, “While serving as the avenue of the oppressor’s propaganda, the Negro church, although doing some good, has prevented the union of diverse elements and has kept the race too weak to overcome foes who have purposely taught Negroes how to quarrel and fight about trifles until their enemies can overcome them.”



Chapter 7 – Dissension and Weakness

Chapter Summary: In chapter 7, Dr. Woodson continues his discussion of the church. He mentions how in the past African Americans have been mis-educated based on training. Dr. Woodson references how the “highly educated” Negro has become so “intellectual” in his understanding of religion. He discusses the concept of rituals and how this does not help in racial development.

Dr. Woodson also cautions African Americans that they must always remember that the African Americans learned their religion from the early White Methodist and Baptist who evangelized the slaves and the poor Whites. So the questions become, is the Black Church a pattern of the White man’s church? Have Black churches become the dumping ground for uneducated people carrying the Bible?

Historical References

A. John Knox (c.1510-1572) – Scottish leader of the Black Protestant Reformation. He is considered to be the founder of the Presbyterian denomination.

B. Lynching – The word lynch comes from the name of a man, Charles Lynch who lived in Bedford County, Virginia. In 1780 he got together with his neighbors to form a “vigilance committee” to protect and stabilize the town. The vigilance committee used brutal tactics to uphold law and order, but did not necessarily put to death. By late 19th century lynch came to mean to “inflict a sentence of death without a lawful trial.” According to figures collected by Tuskegee Institute, between the years 1882 and 1951, 4,730 people were lynched by mobs of “vigilantes” who took the law into their own hands in the United States: 3,437 Negro and 1,293 White. The largest number of lynchings occurred in 1892. Of the 230 persons lynched that year, 161 were Negroes and sixty-nine were White. The crimes of these victims included: a lack of respect, attempts to vote, and other real and imagined crimes.

C. Clifton Forge, VA – Hundreds of lynchings took place in southern states in the 19th century. Woodson refers to one in Clifton Forge, VA in 1892. Records indicate that there were no lynchings in 1892 in Clifton Forge, but one James Scott was lynched on October 17, 1891. No reason was given for the lynching.

D. Monotheism and Polytheism - Monotheism is the belief in the existence of one God. The three recognized monotheistic faiths are Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Polytheism is the belief in more than one god. These gods can be animals or representatives of other elements in nature.

E. Cicero (106 BCE¹-43 BCE) – He was a Roman statesman, lawyer, political theorist, and philosopher. He was considered one of Rome’s greatest orators and prose stylists.

F. Demosthenes (384 BCE -322 BCE) – He was a Greek statesman and orator of ancient Athens.

¹ BCE refers to Before the Common Era. This is interchangeable with BC meaning Before Christ.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Section

What do you think this chapter will be about? Give reason.

Is it important to be a good listener if you want to become a productive, positive leader?

B. Vocabulary

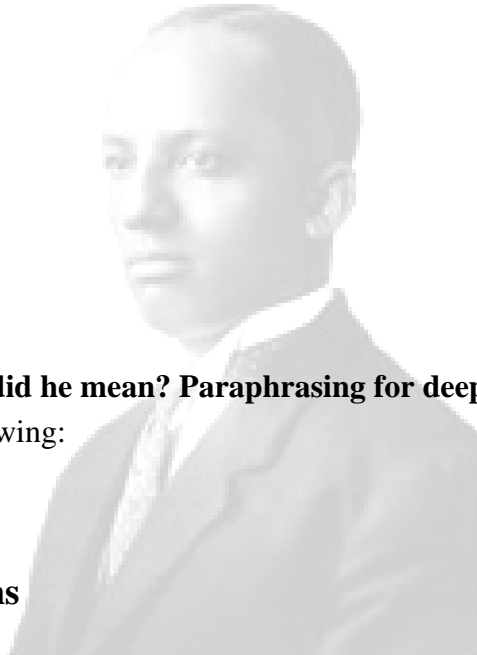
Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- dissension
- sectarian
- meager
- dogma
- schism
- fanatic
- truncated
- exploitation
- proselyte
- aristocracy
- progenitor
- polygamy
- quarry
- paramour

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Read and paraphrase the following:

Page 39 paragraphs 2-4



Modern Day Connections

1. Explore the churches, synagogues, mosques or other religious institutions in your neighborhood.
2. What types of educational, business, social welfare, or political activities do these various religious institutions engage in?

Chapter 8 – Professional Education Discouraged

Chapter Summary:

According to Dr. Woodson’s findings, African Americans had been discouraged in the pursuit of the professions other than the ministry and teaching. Dr. Woodson noted several reasons why African Americans lacked degrees in fields such as medicine, law, architecture, etc. These are listed below:

- Some Black parents had failed to encourage their children to pursue professional degrees.
- Some Black professional schools had closed because of the small number of students enrolled. Woodson further asserted that these closings came at a very difficult time. Under the “separate but equal” doctrine established by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), law schools were desperately needed to train lawyers to protect African Americans’ civil and political rights.
- Woodson also suggested that too many “highly educated” individuals had perpetuated the belief that Black professionals were not capable of meeting the demands of their professions. This belief among some “highly educated” Blacks and Whites often discouraged Black students from pursuing professional degrees.

Historical References

A. Ira Aldridge (1866-1956) – First African American to achieve stardom in the theater. He gained fame in Europe after a commanding performance as Othello in the play by William Shakespeare.

B. Paul Robeson (1898-1976) – A famous African American athlete, singer, actor and advocate for the human rights for oppressed people around the world.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

With what do you associate the word “discouraged”?

Write down words that you associate with the word “discourage.”

Have you ever had a strong drive to do something and allowed someone to discourage you or talk you out of it?

What are some of the best ways to overcome discouragement?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- solidarity
- influential
- aspire
- oppression

- legislation
- malevolence
- entrusted
- induce
- contrary
- dissuaded
- aptitude
- cabaret
- ineptitude

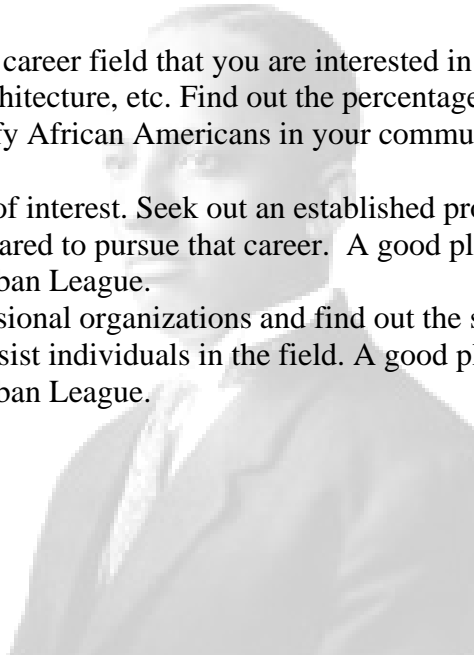
C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Read and paraphrase the following paragraphs:

Paragraph 4 page 43

Modern Day Connections

1. Explore a professional career field that you are interested in such as law, medicine, nursing, education, architecture, etc. Find out the percentage of African Americans who are in that field. Identify African Americans in your community who are in this field or other professions.
2. Explore a career field of interest. Seek out an established professional in that field and find out how they prepared to pursue that career. A good place to begin might be your local chapter of the Urban League.
3. Identify several professional organizations and find out the strategies that these organizations use to assist individuals in the field. A good place to begin might be your local chapter of the Urban League.



Chapter 9 – Political Education Neglected

Chapter Summary: Woodson asserts the lack of political education among African Americans in the 1930s. This was due to actions taken by Whites. For years, textbooks produced specifically for Black students did not include the U.S. Constitution. One state legislature prohibited the inclusion of the Constitution in history textbooks citing the fear that Black students would read it and attempt to demand or even assert their rights. Black education had to have as its foundation, the assurance that Blacks would not compete with Whites. “It was well understood that if by the teaching of history the White man could be further assured of his superiority and the Negro could be made to feel that he had always been a failure, and that the subjugation of his will to some other race is necessary the freedman, then, would still be a slave.”

As long as Southern apologists controlled what was in history textbooks, they could teach that slavery was a benevolent institution and that radical abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown caused the “unnecessary” Civil War. Without knowledge of the changes in the U.S. Constitution, the civil rights established by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments could be ignored and denied to Black citizens.

Woodson’s overall message in this chapter is captured in the quote:

“If you can control a man’s thinking you do not have to worry about his action. When you determine what a man shall think you do not have to concern yourself about what he will do. If you make a man feel that he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status, for he will seek it himself. If you make a man think that he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door. He will go without being told and if there is no back door, his very nature will demand one.”

Historical References

- A. Declaration of Independence (1776)** - A written statement declaring the independence of the thirteen American colonies from Great Britain. It was written primarily by Thomas Jefferson.
- B. U.S. Constitution** - The written plan of government for the United States of America. It was adopted by the Constitutional Convention in 1787 and ratified in 1788.
- C. Consent of the Governed** - Originally found in the Declaration of Independence, it describes a government that gets its power from the people it governs. Jefferson borrowed many of the ideals for the Declaration from John Locke’s Two Treatises on Government (1690).
- D. James Madison (1751-1836)** - He was the fourth President of the U.S. Because of the insightful and copious notes taken by Madison at the Convention, he was known as the “Father of the Constitution.” A firm believer in fundamental personal rights, he is the author of the ten amendments that became the “Bill of Rights.”
- E. Historiography** – Historiography is the study of the writing of history. It examines the way history is and has been written. It includes the changing interpretation of events in the works of historians from one period to another.
- G. Revisionists** – Revisionists are “historians” who revise an earlier interpretation of historical events usually based on new evidence.

H. William Lloyd Garrison (1838-1909) - An abolitionist leader who organized the New England Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slave Society and edited a newspaper called the *Liberator* in which he advocated the immediate and uncompensated emancipation of slaves.

I. John Brown (1800-1859) - John Brown was an abolitionist who advocated and practiced armed insurrection as a means to abolish slavery. He was considered a “religious fanatic” by White Southerners. Brown believed God instructed him to steal weapons from the federal arsenal at Harper’s Ferry and launch a rebellion to free the slaves in the South in 1859.

J. Oscar DePriest (1871-1951) - He was a legislator and civil rights advocate who served as a U.S. Representative from Illinois from 1929 to 1935. He was the first African American to serve in Congress in the 20th century.

K. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) - He was the third President of the United States and the author of the Declaration of Independence. Major events during his presidency include the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expeditions. The Louisiana Purchase was the acquisition by the United States of 828,000 square miles of French territory in 1803. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, headed by Merriwether Lewis and William Clark, was the first American overland expedition to the Pacific coast and back.

Suggested Activities:

1. Guide your students through a reading of the Declaration of Independence with these guide questions:

- What is the purpose of the preamble?
- What are the unalienable rights?
- Where do governments get their power?
- Who is omitted in the statement “... all men are created equal”?
- What crime is being committed by the writers of the Declaration?

2. At the 1848 Seneca Falls Women’s Rights Convention, a Declaration of Independence for Women was written. The convention and the Declaration inspired Sojourner Truth to give many speeches about women’s rights. Ask students to read the speech, preferably in Truth’s vernacular, and answer the questions that follow the speech.

Sojourner Truth on Women’s Rights

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the White men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about?

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?

Then they talk about this thing in the head; what's this they call it? [member of audience whispers, "intellect"] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or Negroes' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Questions to Consider:

- On what basis were women denied civil rights in the first place—the right to vote, the right to hold political office, etc.?
- Do you think that this was fair?
- How and when did women in the U.S. obtain these civil rights? Identify 3 other countries and identify when women there obtained these civil rights.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Set

Respond to the following questions.

What does it mean to be a citizen?

Do you enjoy reading? Why or why not?

What are some of the duties and obligations of citizens? What are some of the privileges?

Is it your right to speak up against something you know is not fair?

What does the right to vote mean to you?

Why is the right to vote important?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Give students groups of words to act out. Have the rest of the class guess the words.

- expounder
- superiority
- compel
- justify
- outcast
- upheavals
- stimulus

- recrudescence
- propagandist
- polemics
- benevolent
- humanely
- abolitionist
- unanimously
- proposition
- suffrage
- subterfuge
- jocosely

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Read and paraphrase the following paragraphs:

Paragraph 3 pages 47-48 beginning with the words, “In like manner...”

Modern Day Connections

Running for President (Handout 9)

Senator Barack Obama is making a bid for the presidency. If elected, he will be the first African American president in United States of America’s history. However, Senator Obama is not the first African American to run for this office. Can you name the other African Americans who have run for president? What do you think would be the significance of having an African American as President of this country? You will explore these questions and other issues in this activity.

Name at least two other African Americans who have run for U.S. presidency. Provide a description of each of these candidates. In your description include information about their background, their party, the year they ran, and the issues they were addressing.

What do you think are the most important issues facing the U.S. today? What do you think are the most important issues facing African Americans today?

Imagine you are running for president. Prepare your speech for the upcoming primary. In your speech, discuss what you believe to be the most important problems facing your nation and how you plan to address these issues.

Chapter 10 – The Loss of Vision

Chapter Summary: In chapter ten, Dr. Woodson emphasizes that there was a loss of vision. This loss of vision was due to African Americans not thinking for themselves. Dr. Woodson provides an example of this when he discusses some highly educated individuals. “Denied participation in the higher things of life, the ‘educated’ Negro himself joins, too, with ill-designing persons to handicap his people by systematized exploitation.” Dr. Woodson also discusses this loss of vision in terms of the lack of confidence. Dr. Woodson declared that “the lack of confidence of the Negro in himself and in his possibilities is what has kept him down.” Dr. Woodson emphasizes that until the Negro employs new ways of “thinking,” there will be no change in his condition, and he will always remain oppressed.

Historical References

A. Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) - Washington was born a slave in Franklin County, Virginia in 1856. He and his family moved to West Virginia after being emancipated by Union troops just prior to the end of the Civil War. His love of reading and learning encouraged him to seek further education at Hampton Institute. After earning his degree, he founded Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama and encouraged young people to seek economic advancement. In his 1895, Atlanta Cotton Exposition speech, Washington suggested that the Negro seek economic equality first, that in all things political and social, the races should be as separate as the fingers on the hand. He was immediately recognized as the spokesman for the Negro race by the dominant majority. This declaration may have influenced the Supreme Court in the decision reached in the *Plessy v Ferguson Case* of 1896.

B. Richard Allen (1760-1831) - A formerly enslaved Black man who became a minister, and founded the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, the first Black controlled religious denomination in the United States.

C. James Forten (1766-1842) - A Black inventor of a ship’s sail who amassed a sizeable fortune for his invention and his work building ships. He worked for the abolition of slavery and opened a school for Black children in Philadelphia.

D. Robert Purvis (1810-1898) - He was an African American abolitionist who helped establish the Library Company of Colored People and the Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia. Born to a wealthy White cotton broker and a Black woman, he devoted his life to the abolition of slavery.

E. Claude Bowers (1878-1958) - Spanish Ambassador under Franklin D. Roosevelt who in 1929 wrote *The Tragic Era* in which he argued that Reconstruction after the Civil War failed because Black males were allowed to vote and hold elective office.

F. Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) - Douglass was one of the foremost leaders of the abolitionist movement in the United States in the decades prior to the Civil War. A brilliant speaker, Douglass was invited to be a spokesperson for the American Anti-Slavery Society and became recognized as one of America's first great Black public speakers. In 1847 he began publishing an antislavery paper called the *North Star*. Douglass provided a powerful voice for human rights during this period of American history and is still revered today for his contributions against racial injustice.

G. Charles Sumner (1811-1874) - He was an American politician and U.S. Senator from Massachusetts who led the campaigns to gain full citizenship rights for former slaves after the Civil War.

Suggested Activity: Students should be directed to obtain and read a copy of Washington’s 1895 Cotton Exposition Speech. Point out the “Cast down your buckets” story and the “as separate as the fingers on the hand” analogy. Students should then read the *Plessy v Ferguson* decision in 1896 and discuss the similarities in arguments being made in the speech and the court’s decision. To extend this activity, examine the reactions of Washington’s opponents. (Trotter and Du Bois, for example.)

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

What aspirations do you have for yourself? For your community? For your family?

What steps have you taken to realize your aspirations?

What things keep you from reaching your aspirations?

What do you think Woodson means by, “loss of vision?”

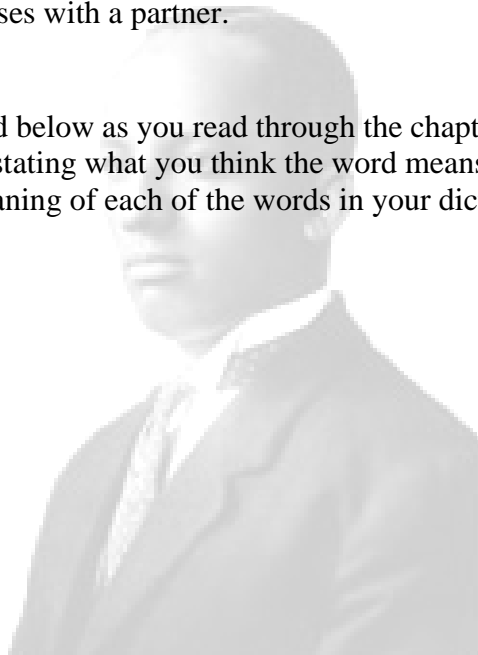
Have you ever lost your vision?

Share and discuss your responses with a partner.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- foresight
- exultingly
- inconsequential
- menial
- epoch
- consanguinity
- emigrate
- disavow
- inconsistent



C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper Understanding

Read and paraphrase the following paragraph:

Final paragraph pages 56-57

Modern Day Mathematical Connections

Black Elected Officials (Handout 10)

“No taxation without representation” was a powerful slogan used to rally American colonists against the British. At the culmination of the Revolutionary war, the Founding Fathers created a system of government based on their beliefs in the idea of political representation. All tax paying, male citizens had the right to elect officials who represented their interests, needs, and social views. While African Americans have been a significant element in the population of this nation (since at least 150 years before the Revolutionary War), they have not always been represented in elected/public office. In this activity, you will explore the topic of Black Elected Officials (BEOs) and consider their roles as representatives for our nation.

First: Read pages 5-13 of the report entitled, “Black Elected Officials: A Statistical Summary 2000.” The document can be found by following the link: [Black Elected Officials](#). Write a 2-3 paragraph summary of the information that you have read.

Second: Study Table 3 on page 20 of the report. Write a brief summary explaining what this table is displaying.

Third: Analyze the table and answer the following questions:

Which state* has the largest percentage of Black residents of voting age?

Which state has the smallest percentage of Black residents of voting age?

Examine the row of numbers preceding the state of Illinois. Write a sentence telling what each of these numbers means. Are Blacks represented well in the state of Illinois compared to other states?

In which states do Blacks have the largest number of BEOs? In which states do they have the lowest numbers of BEOs?

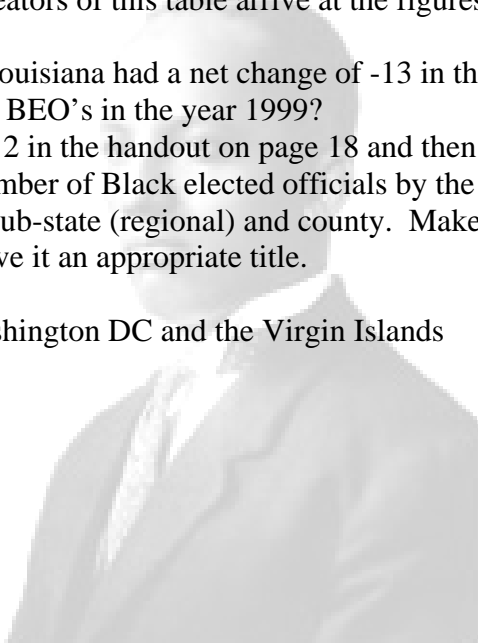
How did the creators of this table arrive at the figures found in the “Percent of Total” column?

If the state of Louisiana had a net change of -13 in the year 2000, what was the total number of BEO’s in the year 1999?

Examine Table 2 in the handout on page 18 and then prepare a histogram that displays the number of Black elected officials by the following categories:

Federal, state, sub-state (regional) and county. Make sure to accurately label your graph and to give it an appropriate title.

*including Washington DC and the Virgin Islands



Chapter 11 – The Need for Service Rather than Leadership

Chapter Summary: In this chapter, Dr. Carter G. Woodson discusses why there is a greater need for service rather than leadership in Black Communities. He mentions how the African American community has had problems with its leadership in the past.

Negroes often find themselves giving money and moral support to various persons and institutions that influence the race in the wrong way...

The race needs workers not leaders—workers will solve the problems which race leaders talk about and raise money to enable them to talk more and more about...

In chapter 11, you will compare and contrast the concepts of leadership and service.

Historical References

A. Ovid (43 BCE-17 AD) - Roman poet who wrote on many topics, including love, abandoned women, and mythological figures. His works give us a look at the social and private lives of ancient Romans in the time of Emperor Augustine.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

- What does it mean to lead?
- What does it mean to serve?
- How are serving and leading the same? How are they different?
- Create a Venn diagram of the words “service” and “leadership.” Let the left circle be “service” and right circle be “leadership.” Where do the circles overlap? Where don’t they overlap?
- Name some famous leaders.
- Name some famous people who were known for service to humanity.
- Can one be a leader without also being a servant?
- Share your responses with your classmates.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- untoward
- embitter
- puerile
- antagonism
- aggrandizement
- vitiate
- stipulate

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Read and paraphrase the following paragraphs:

Paragraph 3 on page

Paragraph 3 on page 64

Final paragraph on page 65

Modern Day Connections

1. Compare and contrast the leadership styles of Al Sharpton, Jesse Jackson, Marian Wright Edelman, and Minister Louis Farrakhan. Which of these figures would Woodson call a true leader?
2. The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was called a “servant-leader.” Read his speech entitled, “The Drum Major Instinct,” located at: http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/sermons/680204.000_Drum_Major_Instinct.html (and in Appendix C). After you have read this speech, prepare a short speech (about 5 minutes long) of your own where you discuss what you would like to be a “drum major” for. Present this speech to your class.



Chapter 12 – Hirelings in the Places of Public Servants

Chapter Summary: In this chapter, Dr. Woodson discusses the concept of “hirelings” as opposed to “public servants.” A hireling is a person who is paid to serve. Dr. Woodson defines the real servant of the people as one who lives among them, thinks with them, feels for them, and perhaps dies for them.

Historical Reference

A. Mahatma (Mohandas) Gandhi (1869-1948) - A member of the Hindu middle class, he was trained as an attorney in England. By 1915 he advocated a policy of civil disobedience as a means of protest to the widespread discrimination against Indians by English colonial officials. Gandhi led the successful nonviolent campaign for India’s independence, which came about in 1947.

Modern Day Connections

1. Read the following article, “The Gift of Giving Back,” located at the link: [Giving Back](#). The article highlights Cory Booker- the mayor of Newark, New Jersey. After reading the article answer the following questions:

- i. What is Booker’s educational background?
- ii. What have been Booker’s major accomplishments?
- iii. Based on Woodson’s definitions, is Booker a hireling or a public servant? Give several examples to support your answer.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Set

- Create a venn diagram of the terms hireling and public servant.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: have students illustrate the words

- efficient
- manifest
- slaveholder
- bondmen
- subordinate
- trifles
- attrition

- embitter
- slavish
- constituency
- exploit
- enfranchisement
- exploitation

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Paraphrase the following:

Final paragraph pages 69-70



Chapter 13 – Understand the Negro

Chapter Summary: Dr. Woodson emphasizes the value of learning about Black history. He discusses how this history has not been taught, but European history has been promoted. When Woodson asked Black college administrators, they responded, ““We do not offer here any course in Negro history, Negro literature, or race relations,” recently said a professor of a Negro college. ‘We study the Negro along with other people.’” However, Woodson believed, “No one can be thoroughly educated until he learns as much about the Negro as he knows about other people.” Unfortunately, Woodson reported that, “Upon examining the recent catalogues of the leading Negro colleges, one finds that invariably they give courses in ancient, medieval, and modern Europe, but they do not give such courses in ancient, medieval, and modern Africa.”

As you explore this chapter, reflect on the impact that having an accurate understanding of African American history will have on current and future generations of all Americans.

Historical References

- A. Socrates (470 BCE-399 BCE)** – Classical Greek Philosopher. He believed that people could gain knowledge by continually questioning their own beliefs. He was the teacher of Philosopher Plato.
- B. Homer (800 BCE-750 BCE)** - Greek author of two epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, legendary tales about ancient heroes and heroines.
- C. Virgil (70 BCE-19 BCE)** - Roman epic poet who wrote the *Aeneid*, which described the legendary past of Rome.
- D. Youth and heroes** - According to Woodson, “The world does not want and will never have the heroes and heroines of the past. What this age needs is an enlightened youth not to undertake the tasks like theirs, but to imbibe the spirit of the great men and answer the present call to duty with equal nobleness of soul.” **Are there any people who you feel exemplify Woodson’s ideas and values?**

Historical Note

Frederika Bremer (1801-1865) was an author and feminist who was born in Finland and grew up in Sweden. She toured the United States for two years studying the influence of democracy on domestic life, women’s status, and individual self-fulfillment. She visited U.S. prisons, schools, and factories, witnessed slave auctions, attended sessions of Congress, and met with women’s rights activists. In 1853, she published her letters to her sister as “The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America.”

Africans in Mexico?

There is growing archeological and linguistic evidence that Africans explored and lived in the Americas as early as 1000 B.C. Some evidence suggests that the Ancient Olmecs of Mexico originated in West Africa. Explore the website, “Race and History” at: www.raceandhistory.com/historicalviews/ancientamerica.htm for more information.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

Read the poem, “Lift Every Voice and Sing,” written by James Weldon Johnson. After you have read the poem, answer the questions below.

Lift Every Voice and Sing

By James Weldon Johnson

Lift every voice and sing, till earth and Heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise, high as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet,
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come, treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered;
Out from the gloomy past, till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou Who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou Who hast by Thy might, led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee.
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee.
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, may we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our native land.

Questions to Consider

- Why did the musical version of this poem come to be considered the Negro National Anthem?
- What message is the author hoping to convey in his poem?
- To what is the author referring in following phrases?
 - “Stony the road we trod”
 - “Bitter the chastening rod”
 - “The place for which our fathers sighed”
 - “Our weary years”
 - “Our silent tears”
 - “Our native land”

Challenge: The story behind the poem and the first performance of “Lift Every Voice and Sing” is quite fascinating. Go to the library and have the librarian track down the history of the writing and the first performance of “Lift Every Voice and Sing.”

At the turn of the 21st century, a group of youth produced a stellar rendition of this anthem in celebration of its 100th Anniversary. Request that your school, church, or community choir perform this rendition of the song with full choreography. Encourage multicultural choirs to participate, using the lyrics of the anthem as a tool to promote racial harmony. You can view this performance online at www.kiamshayouth.org.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Write a synonym and antonym for each word (do all words have synonyms and antonyms? Explain.)

- connote
- alienate
- toil
- drudgery
- premature
- falsehood
- folly
- warped
- curricula
- feats
- monotonous
- vision
- imbibe
- redound
- immortalize
- stagnation
- esthetic



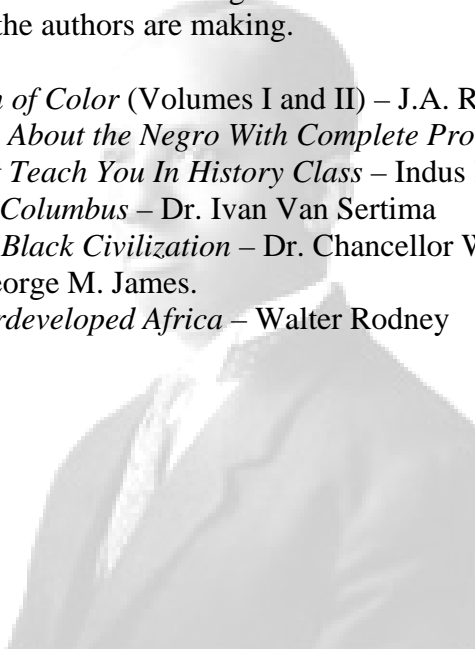
C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding

Read and then paraphrase the following quote from the chapter:

“They have been taught facts of history, but have never learned to think. Their conception is that you go to school to find out what other people have done, and then you go out in life and imitate them.”

Modern Day Connections

1. Reflect on your current education to date. How much did you learn about African American History?
2. List some activities within your community that take place during Black History Month.
3. Why is Black History celebrated in the month of February?
4. List things that you might do to become more knowledgeable about Black History.
5. Watch the documentary, "Meeting David Wilson," which chronicles a young man's journey to find his African roots. Information about the film can be found at: www.meetingdavidwilson.com
6. Prepare a family tree.
7. Read at least one or more of the following books and write a brief review discussing the most important points the authors are making.
 - *World's Great Men of Color* (Volumes I and II) – J.A. Rogers
 - *100 Amazing Facts About the Negro With Complete Proof* – J.A. Rogers
 - *What They Did Not Teach You In History Class* – Indus Kamit Kush
 - *They Came Before Columbus* – Dr. Ivan Van Sertima
 - *The Destruction of Black Civilization* – Dr. Chancellor Williams
 - *Stolen Legacy* – George M. James.
 - *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* – Walter Rodney



Chapter 14 - The New Program

Chapter Summary: In chapter 14, Dr. Woodson describes a new program for the education of the Black American. The substance of Woodson's New Program centers around the study of Black life during the antebellum period. Ignorance of the antebellum era and the valuable cultural practices Africans brought with them from Africa must be addressed. These assumptions prevent current Black students from being equipped to handle the social problems of today.

Woodson compares the aims of the New Program with the successful education of the Filipinos. The first "highly educated" Americans into the conquered Philippine Islands after the Spanish American War in 1898 tried to teach the Filipinos the same way and with the same material used to teach American children. This strategy met with failure. An insurance man, who had never been an educator, came up with a plan that worked. He realized that to teach the Filipinos, it was necessary to make the learning relevant to their daily lives. These children needed to be taught through the use of objects from their own culture. Using this strategy, Woodson suggests that the education of the Black American would emphasize Black American culture. The accomplishments of "American" heroes should not be ignored; but the accomplishments of Black Americans have to be given equal time, honor and respect.

Historical References

- A. Antebellum period** – The term Antebellum means "before the war." In United States history, the antebellum period refers to the era leading up to the Civil War, 1830-1861. During those years, abolitionists fought for the immediate end of slavery in the United States.
- B. Richard Allen (1760-1831)** - Founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.
- C. Radical Reconstruction (1866-1873)** - Republicans in Congress took control of Reconstruction policies after the election of 1866. They passed legislation over President Johnson's vetoes. They passed constitutional amendments against his wishes. Thaddeus Andrew Stevens and Charles Sumner, and the Republican politicians who called themselves "radicals," led efforts to extend suffrage to freedmen. They were generally in control, although they had to compromise with the moderate Republicans. Three new constitutional amendments were adopted: 13th Amendment – abolished slavery and was ratified in 1865; 14th Amendment – guaranteed citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the U.S. and granted them federal and civil rights (except Native Americans) and was ratified in 1868; the 15th Amendment – decreed that the right to vote could not be denied because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude and was ratified in 1870.
- D. Alexander The Great (356 BCE-323 BCE)** - Ancient Macedonian King. He was one of the most successful military commanders in history and was undefeated in battle.
- E. Julius Caesar (100BC-44BC)** - A Roman military and political leader and one of the most influential men in World History. He played a critical role in the transformation of the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire.
- F. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)** - A French military and political leader who had significant impact on modern European history. He was a general following the French Revolution between 1789 and 1795, the ruler of France as First Consul of the French Republic, and King of Italy.

- G. Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784)** - The first published African American poet whose writings were widely distributed during the colonial period. She was born in Gambia, West Africa and enslaved at age seven. She was purchased by the Boston Wheatley family, who taught her to read and write, and encouraged her to write poetry. She lived during the era of the American Revolution.
- H. Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806)** - African American mathematician, astronomer, clockmaker, and publisher. He was also the architect of Washington, D.C.
- I. Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations** - Woodrow Wilson was the 28th president of the United States. The League of Nations was the last of Wilson's Fourteen Points for Peace. It became part of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I. Although the United States was one of the Allied Powers in World War I and one of the Big Four at the Paris Peace Conference, the U.S. Congress did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and the U.S. did not join the League of Nations. The League of Nations was an international organization founded as a result of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919-20. The League's goals included disarmament, preventing war through collective security, settling disputes between countries through negotiations, diplomacy, and improving global warfare.
- J. Peter Salem (1750-1816)** - A free Black Revolutionary War soldier who played a decisive role in the Battle of Bunker (Breed's) Hill. He killed British Military leader John Pitcarin.
- K. African Kingdoms** - Between 300 A.D. and 1600 A.D., several empires existed in West Africa. Because of their locations, they were primarily long distance trade kingdoms. Among the more notable were:
- **Ghana** – The first of the major empires in West Africa. After flourishing for hundreds of years, the empire was weakened by the invasion of the Berbers and collapsed in 1230.
 - **Mali** – The Empire of Mali succeeded Ghana and lasted for more than one hundred years. Its greatest ruler, Mansa Musa ruled from 1312 to 1332. The city of Timbuktu was a famous educational center. It was the home of a celebrated university.
 - **Songhai** – It became the largest of all of the great West African empires. During the reigns of Sunni Ali and Askia Mohammed, Islam was embraced.
 - **Kanem Bornu and the Forest Kingdoms** were also West African empires.
 - **In East Africa**, the Cush and Aksum empires flourished. The Monomotapa, the Luba, the Lunda, and the Kongo empires appeared in central and southern Africa. These empires were also trade empires.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Set

- Everyone is required to go to school, but why is school valuable?
- What things should students be learning in school? Why?
- Are you happy with the education you are receiving? Why or why not?
- What are the most important skills you can acquire by attending school?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Write a two or three person dialogue using as many of the vocabulary words as possible.

- obscurity
- oppressor
- dethroned
- exile
- ignoramus
- unification
- aristocrat
- rapine
- plunder
- anthropology
- repudiated
- detract
- gallant

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

Dr. Woodson discusses the “new program” for African Americans in the quotes below. Read each of them and then complete the given exercises.

“The program for the uplift of the Negro in this country must be based upon a scientific study of the Negro from within to develop in him the power to do for himself what his oppressors will never do to elevate him to the level of others.”

“Negroes have never been educated. He has merely been informed about other things, which he has not been permitted to do.

“We should not spend less money for the higher education of the Negro, but should redefine higher education as preparation to think and work out a program to serve the lowly, rather than to live as an aristocrat.”

- Locate each of these quotes in the chapter.
- Paraphrase each of these quotes.
- What is Dr. Woodson’s “new program?”
- Do you agree with his plan?
- Prepare a letter in which you respond to Dr. Woodson’s “new program.” In your letter address the following:
 - What important issues did Dr. Woodson address in his plan?
 - What do you feel are the strengths of Dr. Woodson’s plan?
 - Are there any weaknesses in his plan?
 - How do you think this “plan” could advance African Americans and others in the United States today?

Modern Day Connections

A. Think About it!

Getting with Woodson's Program (Handout 11)

There are many things that you can do now to improve your chances for success in life. Here are some suggestions that will help you "Get with the Program" that Woodson wrote about:

- Research organizations within your community that provide social, economic, and political advancement. Volunteer at one of these organizations.
- Commit to learning more about the history of African Americans as well as people of other cultures.
- Recognize the sacrifice that formerly enslaved Blacks made for the freedoms that we experience today.
- Become aware of the traps that get youth into trouble such as teenage pregnancy, drug use, violence, low grades and truancy. Create a plan to avoid such traps such as joining an after school youth group, tutoring and mentoring youngsters in your community, staying active in sports, and getting an internship with a local business.
- Make a commitment to complete high school and attend and graduate from college.

In this following activity, you will examine the high school graduation and college preparation rates of 3 schools in Los Angeles.

Graduation Rates in the Red (Handout 12)

One of the strongest indicators of future success in this country is whether or not one graduates from high school and college. Workers 18 years of age and over with bachelors degrees earn an average of \$51,206 a year, while those with only a high school diploma earn \$27,915 (U.S. Census Bureau). What do you think the average salary is for those without a high school diploma?

Graduation rates are reported in many different ways. The College Opportunity Ratio (COR) is a 3-number figure that tells how many students graduate and how many pass the courses required for admission to California universities compared to each 100 students enrolled as 9th graders. For example, a COR of 100:90:50 means that for 100 9th graders, 4 years later 90 graduated, and 50 passed courses required for admission to California universities. The COR is reported here for all students, and for African American, Latino, and American Indian students who are underrepresented in California's colleges. For the class of 2006:

Crenshaw Senior High School

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for Crenshaw Senior High	100:32:14
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for Crenshaw Senior High underrepresented students	100:32:14

Fremont Senior High

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for Fremont (John C.) Senior High	100:13:6
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for Fremont (John C.) Senior High underrepresented students	100:13:6

El Camino Real Senior High

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for El Camino Real Senior High	100:68:40
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for El Camino Real Senior High underrepresented students	100:49:19

- What was the COR for California's class of 2006?
- What was the COR for underrepresented students in the state of California during this year?
- Using your own words, explain what a COR of 100:80:35 would mean.
- Why do you think the number 100 was chosen as the quantity from which to calculate the COR?
- Compare the class of 2006 COR for the 3 high schools. Write a statement that explains what the 3 ratios mean.
- Which school has the best COR? Which has the worst? How did you determine your answer?
- What percentage of underrepresented students in California's class of 2006 graduated 4 years after they began 9th grade?
- What factors contribute to a school having a good COR? What factors might contribute to a school having a bad COR.
- Determine your school's class of 2006 COR.

Chapter 15 - Vocational Guidance

Chapter Summary: According to Dr. Woodson, schools were not preparing Black students to make a living. He argued that the schools that African American students attended had outmoded equipment that needed to be replaced by more advanced technology. He believed there should be a shift in the type of instruction that African Americans were given, and also in the educational approaches of those providing the instruction.

Dr. Woodson further asserted that Black Americans needed to change the way they thought about and spent their money. He was particularly concerned with those African Americans who practiced “conspicuous consumption,” excessive and unnecessary purchases that give the impression that one has more money than one actually does. Woodson wrote, “conspicuous consumption is a result of successful enterprise, not the road to enterprise. They [Blacks] should concentrate on the wise use of their money, and the evil that results from the misuse of it.” What would be examples of conspicuous consumption in the present-day Black community?

Above all, Woodson uses this chapter to argue that African Americans should adopt wise, informed, and astute business practices. These practices, he offers, will help African Americans achieve a strong and healthy economic future.

Historical References

A. Jan Matzeliger (1852-1889) - Born in Dutch Guiana (Surinam), Matzeliger settled in the United States after two years of travel. In Massachusetts, he invented a shoe lasting machine that made it possible to produce shoes more efficiently.

B. John Dewey (1859-1952) - John Dewey was a writer, educator, and philosopher whose theories had a profound influence on public education in the first half of the 20th century, especially in the United States. Dewey was a strong promoter of what was called instrumentalism and the radical reform of the public educational system. His view held no room for eternal truth outside human experience, and he advocated an educational system with continued experimentation and vocational training to equip students to solve practical problems.

C. Freedmens Hospital – The hospital was established by the federal government during the Civil War to offer health services to former slaves, free Blacks, soldiers, and the indigent in Washington, D.C. It provided services to African Americans for many generations. The original building is a part of the Howard University campus.

D. Henry Boyd (1802-1866) – Henry Boyd was born into slavery in Kentucky in 1802. After purchasing his freedom, he started his own furniture company and earned success for his invention of a more practical and comfortable bed.

E. Thomas Day (1801-1861) – Born a free Black in 1801 in Virginia, Day moved to North Carolina and established himself as a preeminent furniture craftsman and entrepreneur. He provided the furniture for one of the original buildings on the campus of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

Suggested Activity: North Carolina is one of the leading centers for furniture production in the United States. Students may be interested in investigating the history of the furniture industry in North Carolina and its impact on the economic progress of Black Americans.

Visit the website for the National Alliance of Faith and Justice (<http://www.nafj.org>) and contact the group of students in High Point, NC who on October 24, 2007, began a nation-wide youth-led movement, called “Pen or Pencil,” that promotes putting an end to youth violence; decreasing the dropout rate among youth; and decreasing the high numbers of suspensions and expulsions from school. Students who engage in these behaviors often end up in the prison system.

Activity: Contact the High Point, NC students through the above website and ask their opinion about the impact of the furniture industry on the economic progress of African American youth in High Point, NC. These youth completed a 40-day commitment to not participate in any form of violence or behavior that would cause them to give up their seat in a classroom or to board a bus to prison. They motivated several groups of 40 youth around the country to join them in the Pen or Pencil movement in honor of the 40th Anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The modern-day movement is coined a “B.U.S. Boycott,” B-building, U-Unbalanced, S-Systems, symbolic of the 1955 Bus Boycott in Montgomery, AL.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

Read the statement made by Dr. Woodson in this chapter on page 89, last paragraph, and share your thoughts as to what it means to you.

A survey of employment of the Negroes in this country shows a most undesirable situation. The education of the masses has not enabled them to advance very far in making a living and has not developed in the Negro the power to change this condition. It is revealed that in many establishments the Negro when a young man starts as a janitor or porter and dies in old age in the same position. Tradition fixes his status as such, and both races feel satisfied.

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Write a poem using the vocabulary words expressing your personal feelings about this chapter.

- gewgaw
- unanimous
- congenial
- bedecked
- lucrative
- shortsightedness
- surfeit

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

3rd paragraph page 91

4th paragraph page 91

Modern Day Connections

A. Think about it!

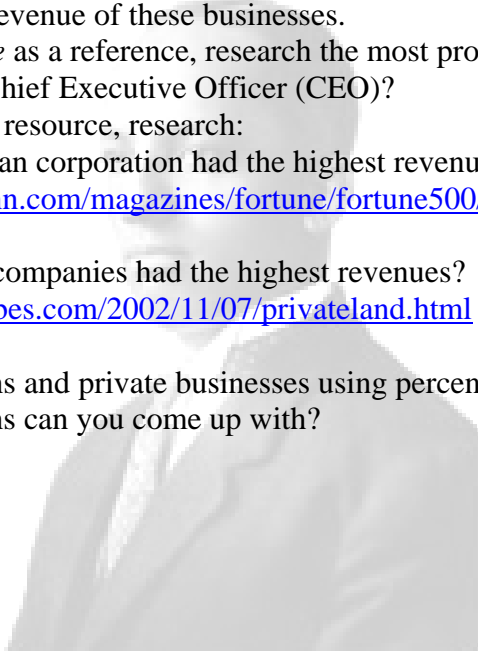
Carter G. Woodson states that the Black American must be taught to think and develop something for him or herself. Woodson does not appear to be a big proponent of vocational guidance. He provides early examples of entrepreneurs such as Thomas Day and Henry Boyd. Dr. Woodson also provides examples of how Henry Ford, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller explored different industries of entrepreneurship and did not try to imitate the other. Name 3 companies that you think are innovative. Why do you think these are innovative businesses?

B. Making Math Meaningful

Businesses at the Top

1. Examine the latest edition of *Black Enterprise*'s listings of the top 100 African American privately owned businesses.
2. Compute the average revenue of these businesses.
3. Using *Black Enterprise* as a reference, research the most profitable corporation with an African American as Chief Executive Officer (CEO)?
4. Using Forbes.com as a resource, research:
 - a. Which American corporation had the highest revenues for the year 2007? 2008?
<http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/>
 - b. Which private companies had the highest revenues?
<http://www.forbes.com/2002/11/07/privateland.html>

Compare these corporations and private businesses using percents, ratios and fractions. How many different comparisons can you come up with?



Chapter 16 - New Type of Professional Man

Chapter Summary: Dr. Woodson believed that Black students need to go into professional arenas to serve members of the race. Black lawyers are needed to address certain aspects of law, which affect African Americans more than others. Black lawyers need to know more about the people that they serve to meet the special needs of these people. According to Woodson, in the past too many cases before the Supreme Court had been lost because the lawyers lacked the knowledge to present their cases properly to the court. Woodson suggested that law schools needed to expand course work in Constitutional law to prepare lawyers to protect the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Because of the lack of desire on the part of some White physicians for physical contact with Black patients, Black doctors had a better chance of working among their people than the Black lawyers. However, all too often Negro doctors had entered the profession to “increase their income and spend it on joyous living.” Instead of spending money without thought or care, Woodson argued that these doctors needed to focus on research and dedication to the Black community.

Woodson also felt that Black students should not limit their professional aspirations to medicine and law. Woodson also wanted African Americans to pursue careers in the arts. He wrote that African Americans had demonstrated an aptitude for the arts. However, because African Americans’ contributions were not always recognized in the United States, Woodson felt that the Black artist should seek appreciation for his or her craft in Europe or other places. “In Europe, the Negro artist is not seen as an imitator,” Woodson wrote. “There is a desire among Europeans to view the art of the African not from the vantage point of the oppressor, but from the Negro himself.”

Historical References

Woodson refers to two Supreme Court cases in this chapter, both dealing with segregation. Woodson first mentioned a U.S. Supreme Court case, which originated in Oklahoma, that tested the validity of "the exclusion of Negroes from Pullman cars." He was referring to the following case: *McCabe v. Atchison, T. & S.F. R. Co.*, 235 U.S. 151 (1915). The text for the case can be found at:

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?friend=nytimes&court=us&vol=235&invol=151>

Later, Dr. Woodson referred to a "segregation case of the District of Columbia" that was "brought before this highest tribunal by another Negro attorney." He was referring to the following case:

Corrigan v. Buckley, 271 U.S. 323 (1926). The text for this case can be found here:

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=271&invol=323>

Hundreds of civil rights court cases were fought across the country, although only a small number of them received national attention like *Brown v Board of Education* and its related cases.

Suggested Activity: De jure segregation is segregation of the races in public places by law. De facto segregation is the result of voluntary practices by individuals or groups. Have students create a survey of local schools to determine if de facto segregation exists and, if found, offer several explanations why it has occurred.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge

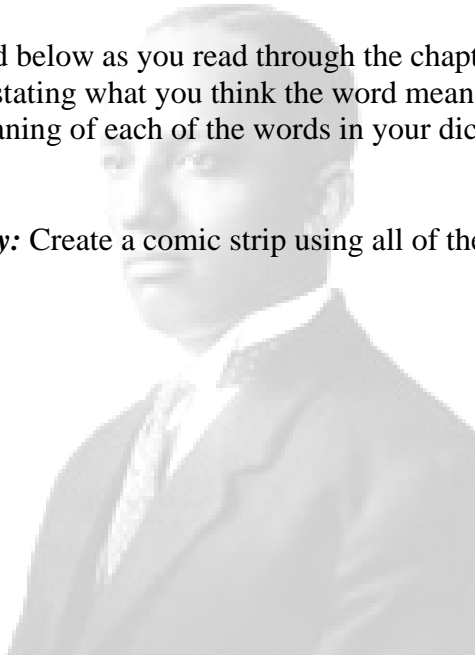
- What is the difference between having a job and pursuing a career?
- Identify three people you know who have a job. Identify three people you know who have a career. How did these people prepare for their job or career? Be specific.
- What career would you like to pursue?
- What are your reasons for choosing this career path?
- How do you intend to prepare yourself to pursue this career?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

Alternative vocabulary activity: Create a comic strip using all of the chapter's vocabulary words.

- cease
- prejudice
- practitioner
- manifest
- validity
- exclusion
- antebellum
- midwife



C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding.

In Chapter 16, Dr. Woodson poses the question, “Will he see it and live or continue the mere imitation of others and die?”

- Paraphrase this quote
- Write 2-3 sentences telling its main idea

Modern Day Connections

1. Many African Americans pursue careers in music and sports. Why do you think this is the case?
2. If someone does not have the talent to pursue a career in music or athletics, what alternative professions are available to them?
3. Choose three alternative careers that you would be interested in pursuing. For each of the careers:
 - a. Research the educational preparation necessary to pursue the career.
 - b. Research and find the proportion of African Americans in those fields.



Chapter 17 - Higher Strivings in the Service of the Country

Chapter Summary: In chapter 17, Woodson placed a great deal of emphasis on politics. Woodson maintained that in politics, African Americans should not only be concerned with issues that concerned them exclusively, but they should address problems facing others as well. Woodson also argues that in politics, African Americans should not join or vote for a political party to “reward the dead for some favors done in the distant past.” This is clearly a reference to the practice of Black voters in the past supporting the Republican party because of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond politics, Woodson called for Black Americans to fully participate in the American economy. In addressing economic issues, Woodson argued that African Americans could make improvements in their social lives and contribute to the advancement of the entire society.

Woodson suggested that African Americans ought to be radical in approaching economic and social change. This radicalism should come from within, or based on their experiences as formerly enslaved and impoverished workers in the American economy.

Historical References

A. Asa Philip Randolph (1889-1979) – Randolph was the founder, in 1925, of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In 1932, it became the first all-Black union admitted to the American Federation of Labor. In 1963, Randolph was the original sponsor of the March on Washington where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous “I Have a Dream Speech.”

B. W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) - Du Bois earned a PhD from Harvard University. He was the founder of the Niagara Movement in 1905 and a co-founder of the NAACP in 1909. He was the editor of the NAACP’s magazine, *The Crisis*, from 1911-1932. Dr. Woodson differed with Dr. Dubois over the role that Whites should play in Black advancement organizations.

C. Solid South – This refers to the fact that the Democratic party was in control of southern state governments from the Reconstruction era (1877) to the 1970s.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Building Background Knowledge/Anticipatory Set

1. Is there any difference between the word self-sufficient and independent?
2. The word “radical” refers to positive and negative activities. What are examples historically when radicalism was positive?
3. If you were elected to political office, what would you try to change? Why?

B. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- pilgrimage
- douceur
- exterminated

- assertion
- spur
- radical

C. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding

In Chapter 17, Dr. Woodson quotes the following:

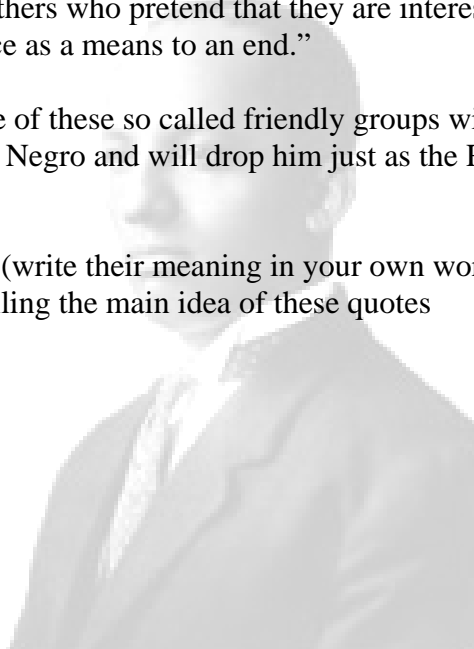
“History shows that it does not matter who is in power or what revolutionary forces take over the government, those who have not learned to do for themselves and have to depend solely on others never obtain any more rights or privileges in the end than they had in the beginning.”

“He must learn to do this for himself or be exterminated just as the American Indian has faced his doom in the setting sun.”

“The Negroes have always had sufficient reason for being radical, and it looks silly to see them taking the cause of others who pretend that they are interested in the Negro when they merely mean to use the race as a means to an end.”

“When the desired purpose of these so called friendly groups will have been served, they will have no further use for the Negro and will drop him just as the Republican machine has done.”

- Paraphrase each quote (write their meaning in your own words)
- Write 2-3 sentences telling the main idea of these quotes



Chapter 18 – The Study of the Negro

Chapter Summary: Dr. Woodson emphasizes again the importance of studying and knowing African American History. He explains how many Blacks “hate” their history, but are taught to respect others’ history.

Historical References

A. Euripides (480 BC-406 BC) – The quote “Whom the gods destroy they first make mad” is by the Greek playwright Euripides.

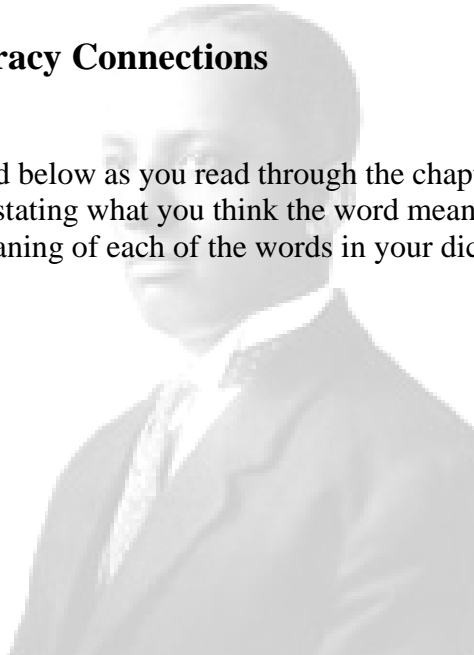
B. Cradle of Civilization – In the 19th and early 20th century, historians often referred to Africa as the Dark Continent. More recent research has demonstrated that the Greeks and Greek civilization borrowed heavily from Egyptian civilization in Africa. Therefore, contemporary scholars view Africa as the cradle of civilization rather than Greeks.

Language Arts and Literacy Connections

A. Vocabulary

Locate each of the words listed below as you read through the chapter. When you encounter the word, write a short definition stating what you think the word means. After you have read the entire chapter, look up the meaning of each of the words in your dictionary and compare the definitions to your own.

- Altruism
- Annihilate
- Docile
- Tractable
- Subjugate
- Imperialism
- Animus



B. What did he say? What did he mean? Paraphrasing for deeper understanding

Read and then paraphrase:

Paragraph 1 page 105

Paragraph 3 pages 108-109

Suggested Reading List:

1. *Black Folk Here and There Volumes 1 & 2* - St. Clair Drake
2. *From Slavery to Freedom* - John Hope Franklin
3. *The Destruction of Black Civilization* - Chancellor Williams

Modern Day Connections

A. Complete Handout #13 – Putting it all Together

In this final activity, you will be analyzing a famous address (Located in Appendix C) given by **Malcolm X** in 1964. In this speech, Malcolm X identifies many of the themes found in *The Mis-Education of the Negro*.

B. Continuing the Work of Woodson

1. Read and research one significant contribution of African American achievement on a monthly basis.
2. Visit www.blackhistory.com to learn more about African American history.
3. Find out if there will be Black History programs held at your church and school during the month of February.
4. Consider joining the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) and attending its annual meetings. Quarterly issues of the Journal of African American History (JAAH) are a benefit of this membership. Information on the organization can be found at: www.asalh.org.



Appendix A Handouts



Handout 1: Still Separate, Still Unequal?

Are schools in California still separate and unequal? The activities in this handout will help you explore this question.

First Read pages 6-11 of the article- *Separate and Unequal 50 Years after Brown: California's Racial "Opportunity Gap,"* (Oakes, 2004).

Next Write a statement about what conclusions can be drawn from the first and second graphs on page 11.

Finally Conduct a brief survey of your school's resources:

- Find your school's total enrollment
- Find out how many teachers there are at your school
- Calculate the student to teacher ratio* for your school
- Count the number of working computers available in your school
- Calculate the student to computer ratio for your school
- Find the total number of Advanced Placement courses available in your school
- Calculate the ratio of advanced placement courses to students at your school
- Display your findings in a table. Describe your findings in 3-5 sentences. What do your findings reveal?

Challenge

There are other aspects of your school's resources that you may survey. This can include the cleanliness and availability of restrooms, the availability of textbooks, athletic equipment, school counselors, school nurses, and school space (square feet per student). Can you think of others?

*Ratio

A ratio is a multiplicative comparison of two quantities. For example, if the ratio of cows to chickens on a farm is 1 to 6, then for every 1 cow, you can expect to find 6 chickens on that farm. We can also say that there are 6 times as many chickens on this farm as there are cows, or $1/6^{\text{th}}$ as many cows as chickens. Ratios are unique because they can be used to compare 2 or more different quantities. For example, we can compare the ratio of boys to girls in a classroom or the ratio of teachers to students.

Handout 2: Low-wage Workers

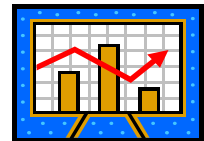
How much money does a person need to earn to support a family? To live comfortably? To just get by? In this activity, you will explore the crisis of unemployment and low-wage employment among African Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area of California.

First- Read pages 1-6 of the article: “Black Workers in the Bay Area: 1970-2000,” by Stephen C. Pitts and then answer the following questions:

- What is a low-wage job?
- What is the working age population?
- What is the definition for young workers?
- What is the difference between irregular work and part time work?
- Do you know anyone who does irregular work? What do they do?

Second- Study the charts and graphs on pages 23-27 of the report and complete the following exercises:

1. What percentage of the Bay Area Young Black Working Age Population was not in the labor force in 1970? What percentage was not in the labor force in 2000? What has been the percentage increase in this population between the years 1970 and 2000?
2. Examine Chart 17. What percentage of the low-wage, young workers were employed part time in 1970? In the year 2000? What was the percentage increase in part-time, low-wage workers between 1970 and 2000?
3. By how many percentage points did full-time, low-wage workers increase between 1970 and 2000?
4. Summarize the findings of Charts 18 and 19 in 2-4 sentences.
5. Prepare 2-4 sentences explaining the implications of these findings.



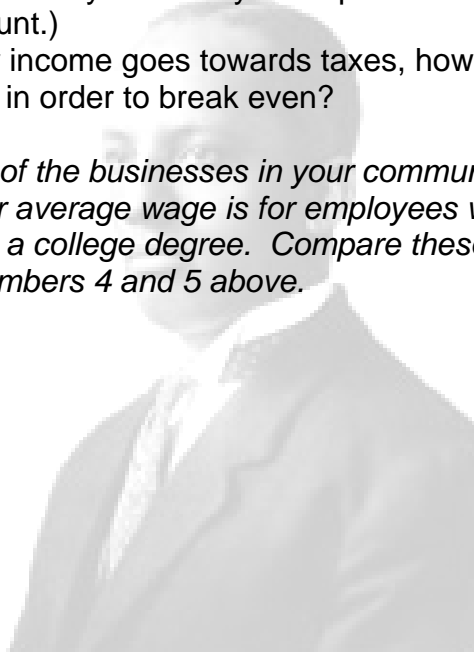
Third- Prepare a financial plan.

The cost of living in many U.S. cities is increasing. In this activity, you will create a personal financial plan. How much money do you need to make in order to own a home or rent an apartment, and pay for transportation?



- a. Create a list of the monthly expenses of a single adult. (Some expenses that you should include are food, transportation, rent/mortgage, and utilities.)
- b. Estimate the monthly cost for each of these expenses. Base your estimates on average costs of these expenses in your city/community.
- c. Calculate your total monthly expenses.
- d. Based on your total monthly expenses, how much money will you need to earn per hour to break even if you work 20 hours per week? If you work 30 hours per week? If you work 40 hours per week? (to break even means to make enough money to cover your expenses with nothing left over for a saving's account.)
- e. If 28% of your income goes towards taxes, how much money will you need to make in order to break even?

Challenge: *Make a survey of the businesses in your community. Ask the owners of these businesses what their average wage is for employees with a high school diploma and what it is for those with a college degree. Compare these hourly wages to the figures you computed in numbers 4 and 5 above.*



Handout 3: Going to College



Are you planning on going to college? What steps are you taking to make college a reality? Every year, millions of youths who graduate from high school do not go on to college. Why might this be? Talk to a college planner of your choice and develop a list of at least six steps that must be taken to prepare for college.

In this activity, you will familiarize yourself with the college-going rates of various racial and ethnic groups in the United States.

- **First-** Read pages 2-3 of the report, “Minorities in Higher Education.” Write a 1-paragraph summary of this report.
- **Second-** Study Table 3: “Educational Attainment Rates for 25- to 29-Year-Olds and Persons 25 Years Old and Over, by Race/Ethnicity and Gender: 1985 to 2005”
- **Third-** Prepare graphs that summarize the information in this table. Choose a format for your graphs that is appropriate for the information that you are displaying. Here is a list of graphs that you should include:
 - A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for whites between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for African Americans between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph displaying four-year high school completion rates for Hispanics between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for whites between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for African Americans between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph displaying four-year college completion rates for Hispanics between 1985 and 2005.
 - A graph that compares high school completion rates across race.
 - A graph that compares college completion rates across race.

Prepare a written summary of your graphs. Make sure to tell what you think the most important findings from these graphs are.

Challenge: *Graphs can tell important stories based on how they are organized and displayed. Come up with other ways to display the data in the various tables in this report. What stories do your graphs tell?*

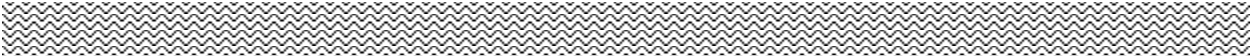
Handout 4: Textbook Trivia



At the time when Woodson prepared *The Mis-Education of the Negro*, textbooks in the United States rarely mentioned Black Americans or the various cultures of Africa. Africans were not viewed as having people who made important contributions to the world in the past. How have textbooks changed? Do today's textbooks reflect the many cultures that make up the United States society?

- Acquire a high school U.S. history textbook
- Examine the table of contents for each chapter
- How many of the chapters focus on African American culture?
- How many of the chapters focus on other cultures? Which cultures?
- Select 2, 25-page samples in your textbooks. Examine the pictures that you see on these pages. Which groups and cultures are represented in these pictures?
- Prepare a graph displaying your findings.

Challenge! History textbooks are not the only ones where we should see multi-cultural representations. Complete the same activity above with your math, science, and language arts textbooks. What patterns do you find?



Handout 5: It's Jeopardy!

Which cultures are acknowledged and celebrated in our modern media? *Jeopardy*, one of the most popular television game shows, requires contestants to have knowledge of history, religion, trivia and popular culture. Which histories, religions, and cultures does Jeopardy reference?

Tonight for homework, watch an episode of the popular game show, *Jeopardy*. As you watch, keep a tally of the clues and to which cultures they refer. Your table may look something like this:

Cultural Referent	Frequency	Percentage
African		
Asian		
European		
Latino		
Pacific Islander		
Native/indigenous culture		
Other		
none		

- Prepare a chart that contains the frequency of the cultural referents.
- Prepare another chart that contains the cultural referents by percent.
- Which chart represents the best display of data (frequency or by percentage)? Justify your answer.
- Create graphs that display your findings.
- Explain why you chose to use these types of graphs.
- Write 3-5 sentences discussing the patterns that you found in this data. Be prepared to discuss these patterns with your classmates.

Challenge! *Television is a major source of entertainment for youth. But, does television reflect the diversity of those who watch it? Choose 1 television station and watch it for 1 complete hour (without changing the channel). Observe the racial and cultural representations that you see during this hour (including the commercials). Take note also of the roles that different racial groups have during this hour (professionals, sports figures, mothers, etc.). Record and graph your observations in the most appropriate format. What did you find?*

Handout 6: High School Havoc

In this activity, you will compare 3 high schools in the Los Angeles area: Crenshaw High, Fremont High, and El Camino High.

First

Read pages 2-4 of the report- *Separate and Unequal 50 Years after Brown: California's Racial "Opportunity Gap,"* (Oakes, 2004).

Second

Study the Educational Opportunity charts for each of the 3 high schools.

Crenshaw Senior High

Crenshaw Senior High enrolls 2,501 students.			
White 0%	African-American: 66%	Hispanic: 33%	Asian: 0%
Filipino: 0%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 14%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 82%		

Crenshaw Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	78%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	72%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	49%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	50%	82%

El Camino Real Senior High

El Camino Real Senior High enrolls 4,017 students.			
White 51%	African-American: 8%	Hispanic: 26%	Asian: 11%
Filipino: 4%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 8%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 26%		

El Camino Real Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	94%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	92%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	86%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	89%	82%

Fremont Senior High School

Fremont Senior High enrolls 4,615 students.			
White 0%	African-American: 11%	Hispanic: 89%	Asian: 0%
Filipino: 0%	American Indian: 0%	Pacific Islander: 0%	Multi: 0%
English Learner: 45%	Free and Reduced Lunch: 86%		

Fremont Senior High & California	School	State
Access to High Qualified Teachers		
Fully Credentialed teachers	80%	91%
Math teachers with appropriate credential to teach College Prep Math	73%	84%
California High School Exit Exam		
% of class of 2006 who passed math section by grade 12	45%	80%
% of class of 2006 who passed English section by grade 12	51%	82%

Third

Complete the following exercises

1. Compare the ratio of passing on the math section of the Exit Exam to the passing on the English section of the Exam for each school. Is the relationship between the passing rates weak or strong? Explain.
2. Find the ratio of passing rates on the Exit exam (both math and English) to the passing rates in the state of California for each of the 3 schools. Is this relationship weak or strong? Explain.
3. Compare the percentage passing rates on the math section of the Exam to the percentage of teachers credentialed to teach College Prep Math for each of the 3 schools.
4. Students at Crenshaw, El Camino and Fremont pass the math Exit Exam at what percentage of the state of California passing rate?
5. Teachers at Crenshaw, El Camino and Fremont are fully credentialed at what percentage of the state credentialing rate? Which of the 3 schools has the highest rate of credentialing in relation to the state?
6. Write 5-7 sentences summarizing the information in these charts. What message do you think these charts tell?

Challenge: Reports of educational opportunity can be found for each high school in California at the website:

<http://www.idea.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/index.html>

Visit the site and conduct comparisons between more schools. Try to find any patterns that emerge. Try to locate similar data for your state or county.

When was your school desegregated? Although all public facilities (including schools) were legally mandated to desegregate in 1954, many states, cities and counties engaged in methods of delay. Review the documentary film, *The Clinton 12*, which tells the story of the integration of the first public high school in the south as a result of the Supreme Court *Brown v Board of Education* decision at:

www.greenmcadoo.org.

Handout 7: The Wealth Gap

Wealth is based on what you own: your mp3 player, your clothes, your games, the part of your car and home that is paid off, businesses, vacation property, stocks and bonds. If what you owe is equal to what you own, then you have no assets. If what you owe is more than what you own, then you have negative net worth. What is your wealth? What is your family's wealth? In the following activities, you will explore the wealth of Black, Hispanic, and White Americans.

- **First-** Read the introduction to the report, "The Wealth of Hispanic Households 1996 to 2002," located on pages 3 and 4.
- **Second-** Study Tables 1, 5 and 7 and Chart 1. Write a 2-3 paragraph summary which presents the study's findings and its implications.
- **Finally-** Compile a survey of your family's wealth. Use Table 6 in the PEW report as a guide. Ask adult family members for help with fill in the information you do not know. What is your family's wealth?



Handout 8: Community Status Survey

The financial health of a community is often determined by the value and number of business enterprises located there. In the following activities, you will examine the financial health of your community.



FIRST

Survey the businesses in the 3-square blocks surrounding your school and/or home. If there are no businesses near your school or home, locate the closest businesses and conduct the survey there. In your survey include:

- The number and types of businesses (retail store, medical office, restaurant, supermarket, insurance company, etc.)
- The clientele of the businesses (Who are the people who use these businesses? Do they live inside or outside the neighborhood?)
- The number of employees in each business
- The number of years that the businesses have been in operation.
- The average hourly wages paid to employees
- Summarize your findings both visually (in graphs and charts) and in words.

SECOND

Survey the social and medical services and resources near your school and/or home, including parks, recreation centers, libraries, hospitals, schools, museums, etc. In your survey include:

- The number and types of organizations and facilities available (retail store, medical office, insurance company, etc.)
- The clientele of the organization (who are the people that use these resources? Does the clientele for the most part live inside or outside of the neighborhood?)
- Inquire about the estimated number of people that make use of the facilities on a daily basis.
- The number of years that the facilities have been in operation.
- Summarize your findings both visually (through graphs and charts) and in words.

THIRD

- Prepare a report that describes the financial health of your community and your school's community based on your findings. In your report include recommendations that you think will improve the financial health of the communities that you researched.

Handout 9: Running for President

Senator Barack Obama will be the Democratic candidate for U.S. President. If elected, he will be the first African American president in United States history. However, Senator Obama is not the first African American to run for this office. Can you name the other African Americans who have run for president? What do you think would be the significance of having an African American as president? You will explore these questions and other issues in this activity.

FIRST

- ❖ Name at least 2 other African Americans who have run for president. Write a short description of each of these candidates. Include information such as their background, their party, the years they ran, and the issues they were addressing.

SECOND

- ❖ Provide a 2-3 paragraph description of Senators Barack Obama and John McCain. Include information on their background, political work, and the issues that they are hoping to address.

THIRD

- ❖ What do you think are the most important issues facing Americans today? What do you think are the most important issues facing African Americans today?
- ❖ You are running for president. Prepare your speech for the upcoming campaign. In your speech, discuss what you believe to be the most important issues facing your nation and how you plan to address each of them.



Handout 10: Black Elected Officials

“No taxation without representation” was a powerful slogan used to rally American colonists against the British. At the culmination of the Revolutionary War, the Founding Fathers created a system of government based on their beliefs in the idea of political representation. All citizens had the right to elect officials who represented their beliefs, needs, and desires. While African Americans have been a significant population of this nation (since at least 150 years before the Revolutionary War), they were not always represented in elected/public office for many years. In this activity, you will explore the topic of Black Elected Officials and consider the importance of these representatives for our nation.

First

Read pages 5-13 of the report entitled, **“Black Elected Officials: A Statistical Summary 2000.”**

Write a 2-3 paragraph summary of the information that you have read.

Second

Study Table 3 on page 20 of the report. Write a brief summary explaining what this table is displaying.

Third

Analyze the table by answering the following questions:

1. Which state* has the largest Black voting age population by percentage?
2. Which state has the smallest Black voting age population by percentage?
3. Examine the row of numbers preceding the state of Illinois. Write a sentence telling what each of these numbers means. Are African Americans represented well in the state of Illinois? Explain your answer.
4. In which states do African Americans have the best representation? In which states do they have the worst representation?
5. How did the creators of this table arrive at the figures found in the “Percent of Total” column?
6. If the state of Louisiana had a net change of -13 in the year 2000, what were the total number of Black elected officials in the year 1999?
7. Examine Table 2 on page 18. Prepare a bar graph that displays the number of Black elected officials by the following categories: Federal, state, sub-state (regional) and county. Make sure to accurately label your graph and to give it an appropriate title.

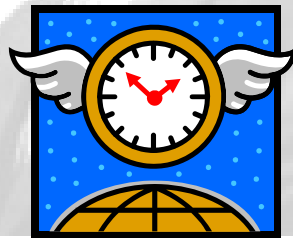
*including Washington DC and the Virgin Islands

Handout 11: Getting with Woodson's Program

There are many things that you can do now to improve your chances for success in life. Here are some suggestions that will help you "Get with the Program" that Woodson spoke about:

- Research organizations within your community that provide social, economic, and political programs involving youth. Volunteer at one of these organizations.
- Commit to learning more about the history of African Americans as well as people of other cultures.
- Recognize the sacrifice that enslaved black workers made to the freedoms that we experience today.
- Become aware of the traps that get youth into trouble such as teenage pregnancy, drug use, violence, low grades, and apathy. Create a plan to avoid such traps such as joining an after school youth group, tutoring and mentoring youngsters in your community, staying active in sports, and getting an internship with a local business.
- Make a commitment to complete high school on time and attend and graduate from college in order to fulfill your duties as a responsible adult.

Write 2-3 paragraphs describing how you will get with Woodson's Program. Later, you will share your program with your classmates.



Handout 12: Graduation Rates in the Red

One of the strongest indicators of future success as an adult in this country is whether or not you graduate from high school and college. Workers 18 and over with bachelors degrees earn an average of \$51,206 a year, while those with a high school diploma earn \$27,915 (U.S. Census Bureau). What do you think the average salary is for those without a high school diploma?

Graduation rates are reported in many different ways. **The College Opportunity Ratio (COR)** is a 3- number figure that tells how many students graduate and how many pass the courses required for admission to California universities compared to each 100 students enrolled as 9th graders. For example, a COR of 100:90:50 means that for every 100 9th graders, 90 graduated 4 years later, and 50 passed courses required for admission to California state universities. The COR is reported here for all students and for African American, Latino, and American Indian students who are underrepresented in California's colleges. In this activity, you will analyze data for 3 California senior high schools: Crenshaw, Fremont, and El Camino. Study the charts and then complete the exercises that follow.

For the class of 2006:

Crenshaw Senior High School

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for Crenshaw Senior High	100:32:14
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for Crenshaw Senior High underrepresented students	100:32:14

Fremont Senior High

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for Fremont (John C.) Senior High	100:13:6
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for Fremont (John C.) Senior High underrepresented students	100:13:6

El Camino Real Senior High

COR for the State of California	100:66:25
COR for El Camino Real Senior High	100:68:40
COR for underrepresented students across California	100:54:15
COR for El Camino Real Senior High underrepresented students	100:49:19

1. What was the COR for California's class of 2006?
2. What was the COR for underrepresented students in the state of California during this year?
3. Using your own words, explain in writing what a COR of 100:80:35 would mean.
4. Why do you think the number 100 was chosen as the quantity from which to calculate the COR?
5. Compare the class of 2006 COR for the 3 high schools. Write a statement that explains what the 3 ratios mean.
6. Which school has the highest COR? Which has the lowest? How did you determine your answer?
7. What percentage of underrepresented students in California's class of 2006 graduated 4 years after they began 9th grade?
8. What factors might contribute to a school having a high COR? What factors might contribute to a school having a low COR.

Challenge:

Determine your school's class of 2006 COR. How does it compare to the COR for the California schools?





Handout 13

Putting it all together: Reflecting on the Message of *The MisEducation of the Negro*



Woodson's book addresses many issues of great significance. The purpose of this activity is to help you reflect on these themes and ideas and to help you think carefully about how to incorporate Woodson's "plan of action" into your own life and community.

First:

Read Malcolm X's 1964 address at the Founding Rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

Second:

Fill in the outline below with the 5 tenets of the OAAU charter.

- I. _____
- II. _____
- III. _____
- IV. _____
- V. _____

Third:

Choose 1 of the 5 tenets of the charter. Write a paragraph in which you describe what Malcolm X meant by this tenet.

Fourth:

Prepare a final essay or speech. Choose 1 of the following as your final assignment:

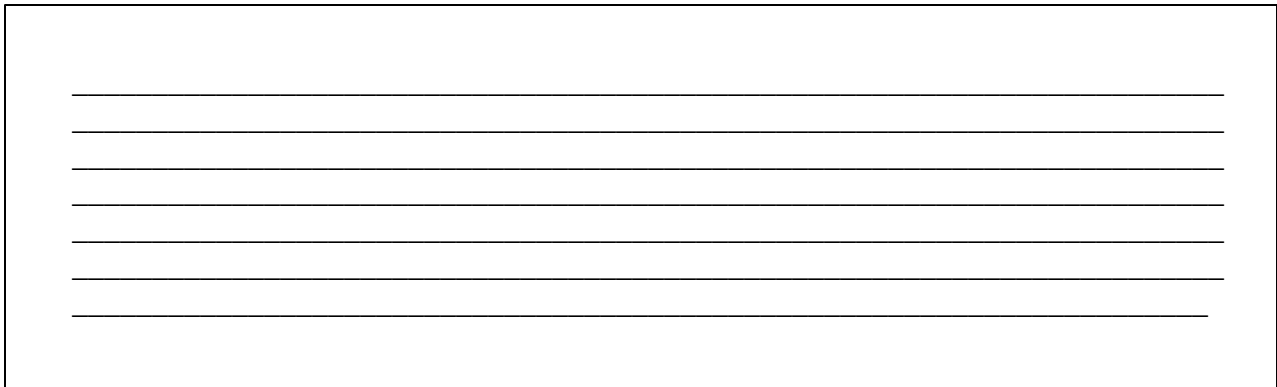
- A. Prepare an essay in which you compare and contrast the views of Woodson- as described in *The Miseducation of the Negro*- with the views of Malcolm X- as described in his address at the Founding Rally of the OAAU (Appendices C, Selected Speeches, Chapter 18). Your essay should include a cogent thesis statement supported by specific citations from Woodson's and Malcolm's works. Your essay should be at least 1,000 to 1500 words in length.
- B. Prepare a speech in which you address for your fellow students and members of your community one or more of the following social issues: community/gang violence, educational inequity, job opportunity, or racial and social injustices. In preparing your speech, make use of the views of Woodson and Malcolm X. Your speech should be at least 1,000 words and take up to 10-15 minutes.



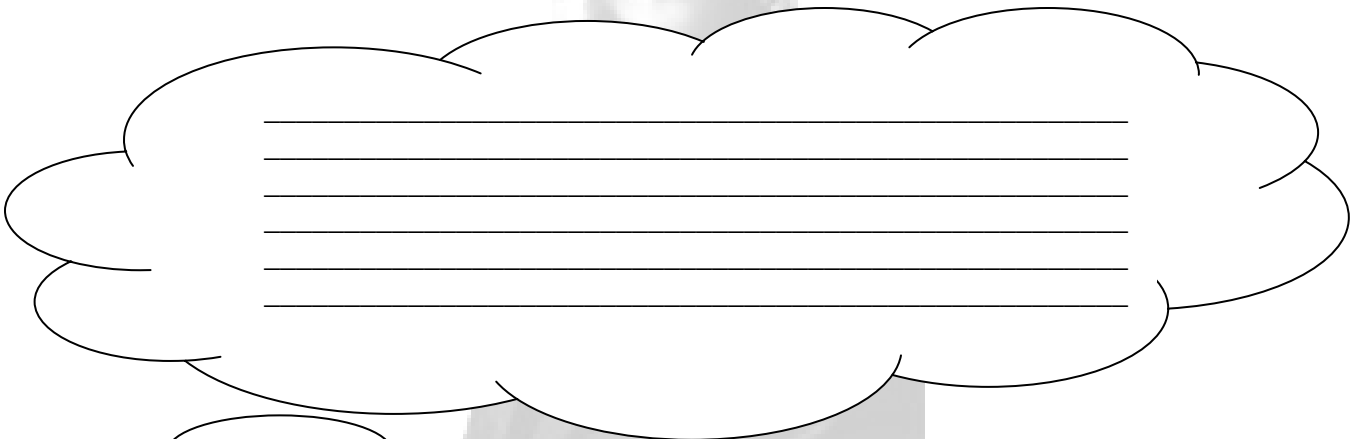
Appendix B Optional Paraphrase & Vocabulary Activities



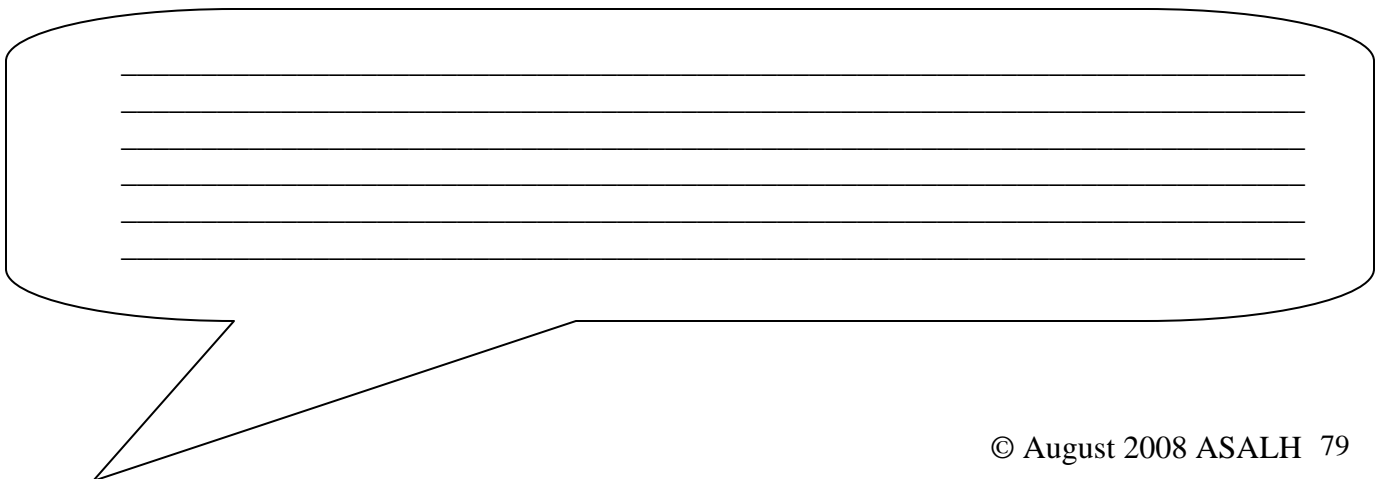
It Says



I Say

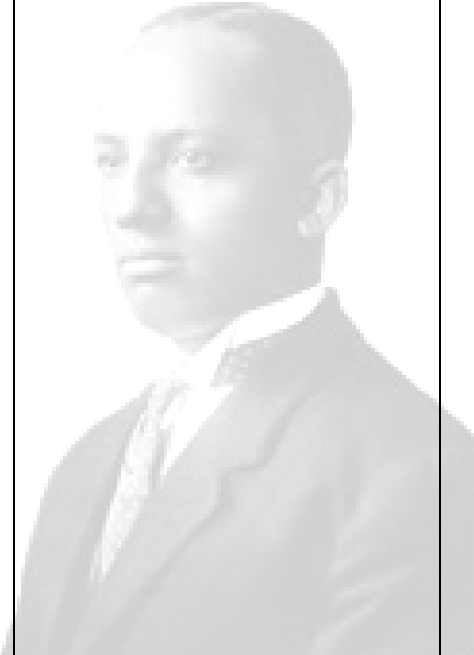


So What

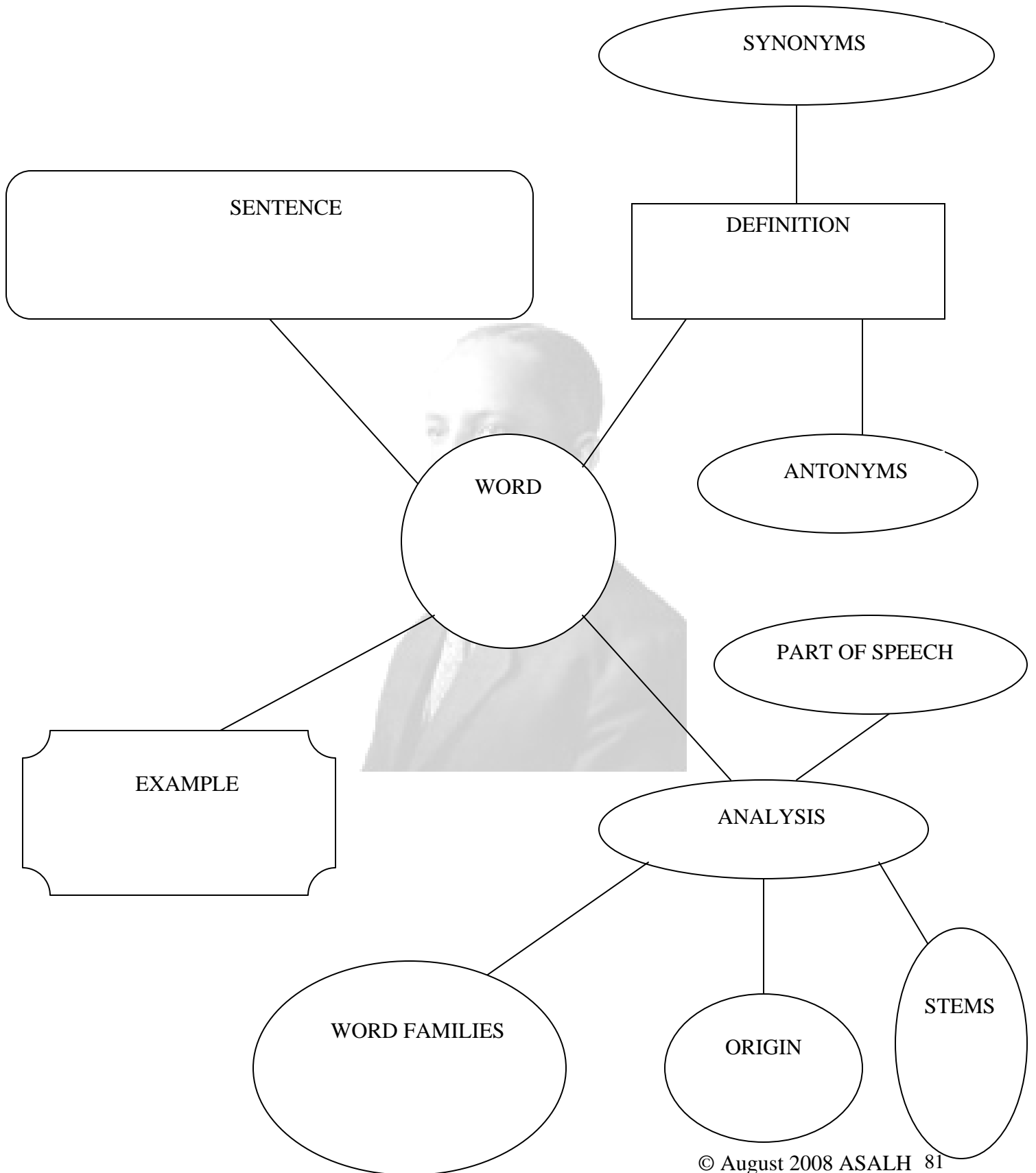


How Well Do I Know these Words?

Directions: Write each word into the appropriate column based on whether you know, think you know, or need help finding the meaning for each. For each word that you place in the **I Know a Meaning** column, jot down a quick definition beside the word.

I NEED HELP FINDING MEANING	I THINK I KNOW MEANING	I KNOW A MEANING
		

VOCABULARY WEB MODEL



Appendix C Selected Speeches



Resource for Chapter 11

The Drum Major Instinct

Delivered by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia
February 4, 1968

This morning I would like to use as a subject from which to preach: "The Drum Major Instinct." "The Drum Major Instinct." And our text for the morning is taken from a very familiar passage in the tenth chapter as recorded by Saint Mark. Beginning with the thirty-fifth verse of that chapter, we read these words: "And James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came unto him saying, 'Master, we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall desire.' And he said unto them, 'What would ye that I should do for you?' And they said unto him, 'Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory.' But Jesus said unto them, 'Ye know not what ye ask: Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of? and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' And they said unto him, 'We can.' And Jesus said unto them, 'Ye shall indeed drink of the cup that I drink of, and with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized: but to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared.'" And then Jesus goes on toward the end of that passage to say, "But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your servant: and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."

The setting is clear. James and John are making a specific request of the master. They had dreamed, as most of the Hebrews dreamed, of a coming king of Israel who would set Jerusalem free and establish his kingdom on Mount Zion, and in righteousness rule the world. And they thought of Jesus as this kind of king. And they were thinking of that day when Jesus would reign supreme as this new king of Israel. And they were saying, "Now when you establish your kingdom, let one of us sit on the right hand and the other on the left hand of your throne."

Now very quickly, we would automatically condemn James and John, and we would say they were selfish. Why would they make such a selfish request? But before we condemn them too quickly, let us look calmly and honestly at ourselves, and we will discover that we too have those same basic desires for recognition, for importance. That same desire for attention, that same desire to be first. Of course, the other disciples got mad with James and John, and you could understand why, but we must understand that we have some of the same James and John qualities. And there is deep down within all of us an instinct. It's a kind of drum major instinct—a desire to be out front, a desire to lead the parade, a desire to be first. And it is something that runs the whole gamut of life.

And so before we condemn them, let us see that we all have the drum major instinct. We all want to be important, to surpass others, to achieve distinction, to lead the parade. Alfred Adler, the great psychoanalyst, contends that this is the dominant impulse. Sigmund Freud used to contend that sex was the dominant impulse, and Adler came with a new argument saying that this quest for recognition, this desire for attention, this desire for distinction is the basic impulse, the basic drive of human life, this drum major instinct.

And you know, we begin early to ask life to put us first. Our first cry as a baby was a bid for attention. And all through childhood the drum major impulse or instinct is a major obsession. Children ask life to grant them first place. They are a little bundle of ego. And they have innately the drum major impulse or the drum major instinct.

Now in adult life, we still have it, and we really never get by it. We like to do something good. And you know, we like to be praised for it. Now if you don't believe that, you just go on living life, and you will discover very soon that you like to be praised. Everybody likes it, as a matter of fact. And somehow this

warm glow we feel when we are praised or when our name is in print is something of the vitamin A to our ego. Nobody is unhappy when they are praised, even if they know they don't deserve it and even if they don't believe it. The only unhappy people about praise is when that praise is going too much toward somebody else. (That's right) But everybody likes to be praised because of this real drum major instinct.

Now the presence of the drum major instinct is why so many people are "joiners." You know, there are some people who just join everything. And it's really a quest for attention and recognition and importance. And they get names that give them that impression. So you get your groups, and they become the "Grand Patron," and the little fellow who is henpecked at home needs a chance to be the "Most Worthy of the Most Worthy" of something. It is the drum major impulse and longing that runs the gamut of human life. And so we see it everywhere, this quest for recognition. And we join things, overjoin really, that we think that we will find that recognition in.

Now the presence of this instinct explains why we are so often taken by advertisers. You know, those gentlemen of massive verbal persuasion. And they have a way of saying things to you that kind of gets you into buying. In order to be a man of distinction, you must drink this whiskey. In order to make your neighbors envious, you must drive this type of car. (Make it plain) In order to be lovely to love you must wear this kind of lipstick or this kind of perfume. And you know, before you know it, you're just buying that stuff. (Yes) That's the way the advertisers do it.

I got a letter the other day, and it was a new magazine coming out. And it opened up, "Dear Dr. King: As you know, you are on many mailing lists. And you are categorized as highly intelligent, progressive, a lover of the arts and the sciences, and I know you will want to read what I have to say." Of course I did. After you said all of that and explained me so exactly, of course I wanted to read it. [laughter]

But very seriously, it goes through life; the drum major instinct is real. (Yes) And you know what else it causes to happen? It often causes us to live above our means. (Make it plain) It's nothing but the drum major instinct. Do you ever see people buy cars that they can't even begin to buy in terms of their income? (Amen) [laughter] You've seen people riding around in Cadillacs and Chryslers who don't earn enough to have a good T-Model Ford. (Make it plain) But it feeds a repressed ego.

You know, economists tell us that your automobile should not cost more than half of your annual income. So if you make an income of five thousand dollars, your car shouldn't cost more than about twenty-five hundred. That's just good economics. And if it's a family of two, and both members of the family make ten thousand dollars, they would have to make out with one car. That would be good economics, although it's often inconvenient. But so often, haven't you seen people making five thousand dollars a year and driving a car that costs six thousand? And they wonder why their ends never meet. [laughter] That's a fact.

Now the economists also say that your house shouldn't cost—if you're buying a house, it shouldn't cost more than twice your income. That's based on the economy and how you would make ends meet. So, if you have an income of five thousand dollars, it's kind of difficult in this society. But say it's a family with an income of ten thousand dollars, the house shouldn't cost much more than twenty thousand. Well, I've seen folk making ten thousand dollars, living in a forty- and fifty-thousand-dollar house. And you know they just barely make it. They get a check every month somewhere, and they owe all of that out before it comes in. Never have anything to put away for rainy days.

But now the problem is, it is the drum major instinct. And you know, you see people over and over again with the drum major instinct taking them over. And they just live their lives trying to outdo the Joneses. (Amen) They got to get this coat because this particular coat is a little better and a little better-looking than Mary's coat. And I got to drive this car because it's something about this car that makes my car a little better than my neighbor's car. (Amen) I know a man who used to live in a thirty-five-thousand-dollar

house. And other people started building thirty-five-thousand-dollar houses, so he built a seventy-five-thousand-dollar house. And then somebody else built a seventy-five-thousand-dollar house, and he built a hundred-thousand-dollar house. And I don't know where he's going to end up if he's going to live his life trying to keep up with the Joneses.

There comes a time that the drum major instinct can become destructive. (Make it plain) And that's where I want to move now. I want to move to the point of saying that if this instinct is not harnessed, it becomes a very dangerous, pernicious instinct. For instance, if it isn't harnessed, it causes one's personality to become distorted. I guess that's the most damaging aspect of it: what it does to the personality. If it isn't harnessed, you will end up day in and day out trying to deal with your ego problem by boasting. Have you ever heard people that—you know, and I'm sure you've met them—that really become sickening because they just sit up all the time talking about themselves. (Amen) And they just boast and boast and boast, and that's the person who has not harnessed the drum major instinct.

And then it does other things to the personality. It causes you to lie about who you know sometimes. (Amen, Make it plain) There are some people who are influence peddlers. And in their attempt to deal with the drum major instinct, they have to try to identify with the so-called big-name people. (Yeah, Make it plain) And if you're not careful, they will make you think they know somebody that they don't really know. (Amen) They know them well, they sip tea with them, and they this-and-that. That happens to people.

And the other thing is that it causes one to engage ultimately in activities that are merely used to get attention. Criminologists tell us that some people are driven to crime because of this drum major instinct. They don't feel that they are getting enough attention through the normal channels of social behavior, and so they turn to anti-social behavior in order to get attention, in order to feel important. (Yeah) And so they get that gun, and before they know it they robbed a bank in a quest for recognition, in a quest for importance.

And then the final great tragedy of the distorted personality is the fact that when one fails to harness this instinct, (Glory to God) he ends up trying to push others down in order to push himself up. (Amen) And whenever you do that, you engage in some of the most vicious activities. You will spread evil, vicious, lying gossip on people, because you are trying to pull them down in order to push yourself up. (Make it plain) And the great issue of life is to harness the drum major instinct.

Now the other problem is, when you don't harness the drum major instinct—this uncontrolled aspect of it—is that it leads to snobbish exclusivism. It leads to snobbish exclusivism. (Make it plain) And you know, this is the danger of social clubs and fraternities—I'm in a fraternity; I'm in two or three—for sororities and all of these, I'm not talking against them. I'm saying it's the danger. The danger is that they can become forces of classism and exclusivism where somehow you get a degree of satisfaction because you are in something exclusive. And that's fulfilling something, you know—that I'm in this fraternity, and it's the best fraternity in the world, and everybody can't get in this fraternity. So it ends up, you know, a very exclusive kind of thing.

And you know, that can happen with the church; I know churches get in that bind sometimes. (Amen, Make it plain) I've been to churches, you know, and they say, "We have so many doctors, and so many school teachers, and so many lawyers, and so many businessmen in our church." And that's fine, because doctors need to go to church, and lawyers, and businessmen, teachers—they ought to be in church. But they say that—even the preacher sometimes will go all through that—they say that as if the other people don't count. (Amen)

And the church is the one place where a doctor ought to forget that he's a doctor. The church is the one place where a Ph.D. ought to forget that he's a Ph.D. (Yes) The church is the one place that the school

teacher ought to forget the degree she has behind her name. The church is the one place where the lawyer ought to forget that he's a lawyer. And any church that violates the "whosoever will, let him come" doctrine is a dead, cold church, (Yes) and nothing but a little social club with a thin veneer of religiosity.

When the church is true to its nature, (Who) it says, "Whosoever will, let him come." (Yes) And it does not supposed to satisfy the perverted uses of the drum major instinct. It's the one place where everybody should be the same, standing before a common master and savior. (Yes, sir) And a recognition grows out of this—that all men are brothers because they are children (Yes) of a common father.

The drum major instinct can lead to exclusivism in one's thinking and can lead one to feel that because he has some training, he's a little better than that person who doesn't have it. Or because he has some economic security, that he's a little better than that person who doesn't have it. And that's the uncontrolled, perverted use of the drum major instinct.

Now the other thing is, that it leads to tragic—and we've seen it happen so often—tragic race prejudice. Many who have written about this problem—Lillian Smith used to say it beautifully in some of her books. And she would say it to the point of getting men and women to see the source of the problem. Do you know that a lot of the race problem grows out of the drum major instinct? A need that some people have to feel superior. A need that some people have to feel that they are first, and to feel that their white skin ordained them to be first. (Make it plain, today, 'cause I'm against it, so help me God) And they have said over and over again in ways that we see with our own eyes. In fact, not too long ago, a man down in Mississippi said that God was a charter member of the White Citizens Council. And so God being the charter member means that everybody who's in that has a kind of divinity, a kind of superiority. And think of what has happened in history as a result of this perverted use of the drum major instinct. It has led to the most tragic prejudice, the most tragic expressions of man's inhumanity to man.

The other day I was saying, I always try to do a little converting when I'm in jail. And when we were in jail in Birmingham the other day, the White wardens and all enjoyed coming around the cell to talk about the race problem. And they were showing us where we were so wrong demonstrating. And they were showing us where segregation was so right. And they were showing us where intermarriage was so wrong. So I would get to preaching, and we would get to talking—calmly, because they wanted to talk about it. And then we got down one day to the point—that was the second or third day—to talk about where they lived, and how much they were earning. And when those brothers told me what they were earning, I said, "Now, you know what? You ought to be marching with us. [laughter] You're just as poor as Negroes." And I said, "You are put in the position of supporting your oppressor, because through prejudice and blindness, you fail to see that the same forces that oppress Negroes in American society oppress poor White people. (Yes) And all you are living on is the satisfaction of your skin being white, and the drum major instinct of thinking that you are somebody big because you are White. And you're so poor you can't send your children to school. You ought to be out here marching with every one of us every time we have a march."

Now that's a fact. That the poor White has been put into this position, where through blindness and prejudice, (Make it plain) he is forced to support his oppressors. And the only thing he has going for him is the false feeling that he's superior because his skin is white—and can't hardly eat and make his ends meet week in and week out. (Amen)

And not only does this thing go into the racial struggle, it goes into the struggle between nations. And I would submit to you this morning that what is wrong in the world today is that the nations of the world are engaged in a bitter, colossal contest for supremacy. And if something doesn't happen to stop this trend, I'm sorely afraid that we won't be here to talk about Jesus Christ and about God and about brotherhood too many more years. (Yeah) If somebody doesn't bring an end to this suicidal thrust that we see in the world today, none of us are going to be around, because somebody's going to make the mistake

through our senseless blunderings of dropping a nuclear bomb somewhere. And then another one is going to drop. And don't let anybody fool you, this can happen within a matter of seconds. (Amen) They have twenty-megaton bombs in Russia right now that can destroy a city as big as New York in three seconds, with everybody wiped away, and every building. And we can do the same thing to Russia and China.

But this is why we are drifting. And we are drifting there because nations are caught up with the drum major instinct. "I must be first." "I must be supreme." "Our nation must rule the world." (Preach it) And I am sad to say that the nation in which we live is the supreme culprit. And I'm going to continue to say it to America, because I love this country too much to see the drift that it has taken.

God didn't call America to do what she's doing in the world now. (Preach it, preach it) God didn't call America to engage in a senseless, unjust war as the war in Vietnam. And we are criminals in that war. We've committed more war crimes almost than any nation in the world, and I'm going to continue to say it. And we won't stop it because of our pride and our arrogance as a nation.

But God has a way of even putting nations in their place. (Amen) The God that I worship has a way of saying, "Don't play with me." (Yes) He has a way of saying, as the God of the Old Testament used to say to the Hebrews, "Don't play with me, Israel. Don't play with me, Babylon. (Yes) Be still and know that I'm God. And if you don't stop your reckless course, I'll rise up and break the backbone of your power." (Yes) And that can happen to America. (Yes) Every now and then I go back and read Gibbons' Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. And when I come and look at America, I say to myself, the parallels are frightening. And we have perverted the drum major instinct.

But let me rush on to my conclusion, because I want you to see what Jesus was really saying. What was the answer that Jesus gave these men? It's very interesting. One would have thought that Jesus would have condemned them. One would have thought that Jesus would have said, "You are out of your place. You are selfish. Why would you raise such a question?"

But that isn't what Jesus did; he did something altogether different. He said in substance, "Oh, I see, you want to be first. You want to be great. You want to be important. You want to be significant. Well, you ought to be. If you're going to be my disciple, you must be." But he reordered priorities. And he said, "Yes, don't give up this instinct. It's a good instinct if you use it right. (Yes) It's a good instinct if you don't distort it and pervert it. Don't give it up. Keep feeling the need for being important. Keep feeling the need for being first. But I want you to be first in love. (Amen) I want you to be first in moral excellence. I want you to be first in generosity. That is what I want you to do."

And he transformed the situation by giving a new definition of greatness. And you know how he said it? He said, "Now brethren, I can't give you greatness. And really, I can't make you first." This is what Jesus said to James and John. "You must earn it. True greatness comes not by favoritism, but by fitness. And the right hand and the left are not mine to give, they belong to those who are prepared." (Amen)

And so Jesus gave us a new norm of greatness. If you want to be important—wonderful. If you want to be recognized—wonderful. If you want to be great—wonderful. But recognize that he who is greatest among you shall be your servant. (Amen) That's a new definition of greatness.

And this morning, the thing that I like about it: by giving that definition of greatness, it means that everybody can be great, (Everybody) because everybody can serve. (Amen) You don't have to have a college degree to serve. (All right) You don't have to make your subject and your verb agree to serve. You don't have to know about Plato and Aristotle to serve. You don't have to know Einstein's theory of relativity to serve. You don't have to know the second theory of thermodynamics in physics to serve. (Amen) You only need a heart full of grace, (Yes, sir, Amen) a soul generated by love. (Yes) And you can be that servant.

I know a man—and I just want to talk about him a minute, and maybe you will discover who I'm talking about as I go down the way (Yeah) because he was a great one. And he just went about serving. He was born in an obscure village, (Yes, sir) the child of a poor peasant woman. And then he grew up in still another obscure village, where he worked as a carpenter until he was thirty years old. (Amen) Then for three years, he just got on his feet, and he was an itinerant preacher. And he went about doing some things. He didn't have much. He never wrote a book. He never held an office. He never had a family. (Yes) He never owned a house. He never went to college. He never visited a big city. He never went two hundred miles from where he was born. He did none of the usual things that the world would associate with greatness. He had no credentials but himself.

He was only thirty-three when the tide of public opinion turned against him. They called him a rabble-rouser. They called him a troublemaker. They said he was an agitator. (Glory to God) He practiced civil disobedience; he broke injunctions. And so he was turned over to his enemies and went through the mockery of a trial. And the irony of it all is that his friends turned him over to them. (Amen) One of his closest friends denied him. Another of his friends turned him over to his enemies. And while he was dying, the people who killed him gambled for his clothing, the only possession that he had in the world. (Lord help him) When he was dead he was buried in a borrowed tomb, through the pity of a friend.

Nineteen centuries have come and gone and today he stands as the most influential figure that ever entered human history. All of the armies that ever marched, all the navies that ever sailed, all the parliaments that ever sat, and all the kings that ever reigned put together (Yes) have not affected the life of man on this earth (Amen) as much as that one solitary life. His name may be a familiar one. (Jesus) But today I can hear them talking about him. Every now and then somebody says, "He's King of Kings." (Yes) And again I can hear somebody saying, "He's Lord of Lords." Somewhere else I can hear somebody saying, "In Christ there is no East nor West." (Yes) And then they go on and talk about, "In Him there's no North and South, but one great Fellowship of Love throughout the whole wide world." He didn't have anything. (Amen) He just went around serving and doing good.

This morning, you can be on his right hand and his left hand if you serve. (Amen) It's the only way in.

Every now and then I guess we all think realistically (Yes, sir) about that day when we will be victimized with what is life's final common denominator—that something that we call death. We all think about it. And every now and then I think about my own death and I think about my own funeral. And I don't think of it in a morbid sense. And every now and then I ask myself, "What is it that I would want said?" And I leave the word to you this morning.

If any of you are around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell them not to talk too long. (Yes) And every now and then I wonder what I want them to say. Tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize—that isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have three or four hundred other awards—that's not important. Tell them not to mention where I went to school. (Yes)

I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to give his life serving others. (Yes)

I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King, Jr., tried to love somebody.

I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. (Amen)

I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. (Yes)

And I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. (Yes)

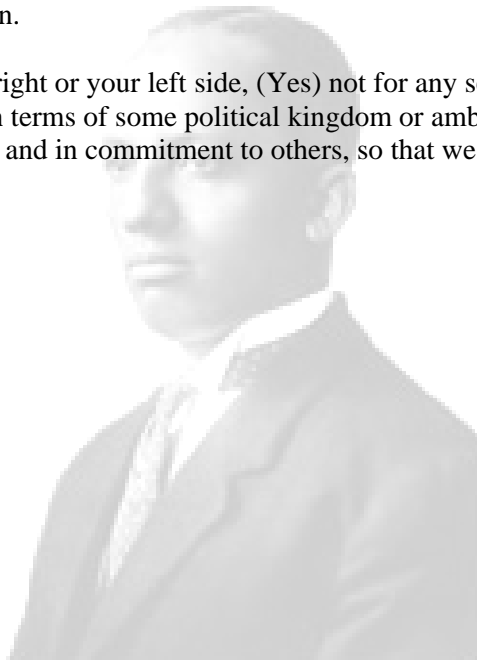
I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. (Lord)

I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity. (Yes)

Yes, if you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. (Amen) Say that I was a drum major for peace. (Yes) I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter. (Yes) I won't have any money to leave behind. I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind. (Amen) And that's all I want to say.

If I can help somebody as I pass along,
If I can cheer somebody with a word or song,
If I can show somebody he's traveling wrong,
Then my living will not be in vain.
If I can do my duty as a Christian ought,
If I can bring salvation to a world once wrought,
If I can spread the message as the master taught,
Then my living will not be in vain.

Yes, Jesus, I want to be on your right or your left side, (Yes) not for any selfish reason. I want to be on your right or your left side, not in terms of some political kingdom or ambition. But I just want to be there in love and in justice and in truth and in commitment to others, so that we can make of this old world a new world.



Resource for Chapter 18

Malcolm X's Speech at the Founding Rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity

Malcolm X's life changed dramatically in the first six months of 1964. On March 8, he left the Nation of Islam. In May he toured West Africa and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, returning as El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. While in Ghana in May, he decided to form the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). Malcolm returned to New York the following month to create the OAAU and on June 28 gave his first public address on behalf of the new organization at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. That address appears below.

Salaam Alaikum, Mr. Moderator, our distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, our friends and our enemies, everybody who's here.

As many of you know, last March when it was announced that I was no longer in the Black Muslim movement, it was pointed out that it was my intention to work among the 22 million non-Muslim Afro-Americans and to try and form some type of organization, or create a situation where the young people – our young people, the students and others – could study the problems of our people for a period of time and then come up with a new analysis and give us some new ideas and some new suggestions as to how to approach a problem that too many other people have been playing around with for too long. And that we would have some kind of meeting and determine at a later date whether to form a Black nationalist party or a Black nationalist army.

There have been many of our people across the country from all walks of life who have taken it upon themselves to try and pool their ideas and to come up with some kind of solution to the problem that confronts all of our people. And tonight we are here to try and get an understanding of what it is they've come up with.

Also, recently when I was blessed to make a religious pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca where I met many people from all over the world, plus spent many weeks in Africa trying to broaden my own scope and get more of an open mind to look at the problem as it actually is, one of the things that I realized, and I realized this even before going over there, was that our African brothers have gained their independence faster than you and I here in America have. They've also gained recognition and respect as human beings much faster than you and I.

Just ten years ago on the African continent, our people were colonized. They were suffering all forms of colonization, oppression, exploitation, degradation, humiliation, discrimination, and every other kind of -ation. And in a short time, they have gained more independence, more recognition, more respect as human beings than you and I have. And you and I live in a country which is supposed to be the citadel of education, freedom, justice, democracy, and all of those other pretty-sounding words.

So it was our intention to try and find out what it was our African brothers were doing to get results, so that you and I could study what they had done and perhaps gain from that study or benefit from their experiences. And my traveling over there was designed to help to find out how.

One of the first things that the independent African nations did was to form an organization called the Organization of African Unity. This organization consists of all independent African states who have reached the agreement to submerge all differences and combine their efforts toward eliminating from the continent of Africa colonialism and all vestiges of oppression and exploitation being suffered by African people. Those who formed the organization of African states have differences. They represent probably every segment, every type of thinking. You have some leaders that are considered Uncle Toms, some leaders who are considered very militant. But even the militant African leaders were able to sit down at the same table with African leaders whom they considered to be Toms, or Tshombes, or that type of

character. They forgot their differences for the sole purpose of bringing benefits to the whole. And whenever you find people who can't forget their differences, then they're more interested in their personal aims and objectives than they are in the conditions of the whole. Well, the African leaders showed their maturity by doing what the American White man said couldn't be done. Because if you recall when it was mentioned that these African states were going to meet in Addis Ababa, all of the Western press began to spread the propaganda that they didn't have enough in common to come together and to sit down together. Why, they had Nkrumah there, one of the most militant of the African leaders, and they had Adoula from the Congo. They had Nyerere there, they had Ben Bella there, they had Nasser there, they had Sekou Toure, they had Obote; they had Kenyatta I guess Kenyatta was there, I can't remember whether Kenya was independent at that time, but I think he was there. Everyone was there and despite their differences, they were able to sit down and form what was known as the Organization of African Unity, which has formed a coalition and is working in conjunction with each other to fight a common enemy. Once we saw what they were able to do, we determined to try and do the same thing here in America among Afro Americans who have been divided by our enemies. So we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro American Unity which has the same aim and objective – to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people by any means necessary.

That's our motto. We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary. We don't feel that in 1964, living in a country that is supposedly based upon freedom, and supposedly the leader of the free world, we don't think that we should have to sit around and wait for some segregationist congressmen and senators and a President from Texas in Washington, D. C., to make up their minds that our people are due now some degree of civil rights. No, we want it now or we don't think anybody should have it.

The purpose of our organization is to start right here in Harlem, which has the largest concentration of people of African descent that exists anywhere on this earth. There are more Africans in Harlem than exist in any city on the African continent. Because that's what you and I are Africans. You catch any White man off guard in here right now, you catch him off guard and ask him what he is, he doesn't say he's an American. He either tells you he's Irish, or he's Italian, or he's German, if you catch him off guard and he doesn't know what you're up to. And even though he was born here, he'll tell you he's Italian. Well, if he's Italian, you and I are African even though we were born here.

So we start in New York City first. We start in Harlem– and by Harlem we mean Bedford – Stuyvesant, any place in this area where you and I live, that's Harlem with the intention of spreading throughout the state, and from the state throughout the country, and from the country throughout the Western Hemisphere. Because when we say Afro American, we include everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent. South America is America. Central America is America. South America has many people in it of African descent. And everyone in South America of African descent is an Afro-American. Everyone in the Caribbean, whether it's the West Indies or Cuba or Mexico, if they have African blood, they are Afro Americans. If they're in Canada and they have African blood, they're Afro Americans. If they're in Alaska, though they might call themselves Eskimos, if they have African blood, they're Afro Americans.

So the purpose of the Organization of Afro American Unity is to unite everyone in the Western Hemisphere of African descent into one united force. And then, once we are united among ourselves in the Western Hemisphere, we will unite with our brothers on the motherland, on the continent of Africa. So to get right with it, I would like to read you the "Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro American Unity;" started here in New York, June, 1964.

"The Organization of Afro American Unity, organized and structured by a cross section of the Afro American people living in the United States of America, has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity which was established at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May of 1963.

"We, the members of the Organization of Afro American Unity, gathered together in Harlem, New York:

"Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all our people to control our own destiny;

"Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are central objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro American unity;

"Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

"Inspired by our common determination to promote understanding among our people and cooperation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

"Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained;" – And by "conditions of peace and security," [we mean] we have to eliminate the barking of the police dogs, we have to eliminate the police clubs, we have to eliminate the water hoses, we have to eliminate all of these things that have become so characteristic of the American so called dream. These have to be eliminated. Then we will be living in a condition of peace and security. We can never have peace and security as long as one Black man in this country is being bitten by a police dog. No one in the country has peace and security. "Dedicated to the unification of all people of African descent in this hemisphere and to the utilization of that unity to bring into being the organizational structure that will project the Black people's contributions to the world;

"Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights are the principles in which we believe and that these documents if put into practice represent the essence of mankind's hopes and good intentions;

"Desirous that all Afro American people and organizations should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well being of our people will be assured;

"We are resolved to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a nonsectarian, constructive program for human rights;

"We hereby present this charter.

"I-Establishment.

"The Organization of Afro American Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters on the African continent." Which means anyone of African descent, with African blood, can become a member of the Organization of Afro American Unity, and also any one of our brothers and sisters from the African continent. Because not only it is an organization of Afro American unity meaning that we are trying to unite our people in the West, but it's an organization of Afro American unity in the sense that we want to unite all of our people who are in North America, South America, and Central America with our people on the African continent. We must

unite together in order to go forward together. Africa will not go forward any faster than we will and we will not go forward any faster than Africa will. We have one destiny and we've had one past.

In essence, what it is saying is instead of you and me running around here seeking allies in our struggle for freedom in the Irish neighborhood or the Jewish neighborhood or the Italian neighborhood, we need to seek some allies among people who look something like we do. It's time now for you and me to stop running away from the wolf right into the arms of the fox, looking for some kind of help. That's a drag.

"II—Self Defense.

"Since self preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro American's right to self defense.

"The Constitution of the United States of America clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

"We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within our rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary." I repeat, because to me this is the most important thing you need to know. I already know it. "We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within our rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary."

This is the thing you need to spread the word about among our people wherever you go. Never let them be brainwashed into thinking that whenever they take steps to see that they're in a position to defend themselves that they're being unlawful. The only time you're being unlawful is when you break the law. It's lawful to have something to defend yourself. Why, I heard President Johnson either today or yesterday, I guess it was today, talking about how quick this country would go to war to defend itself. Why, what kind of a fool do you look like, living in a country that will go to war at the drop of a hat to defend itself, and here you've got to stand up in the face of vicious police dogs and blue eyed crackers waiting for somebody to tell you what to do to defend yourself!

Those days are over, they're gone, that's yesterday. The time for you and me to allow ourselves to be brutalized nonviolently is passé. Be nonviolent only with those who are nonviolent to you. And when you can bring me a nonviolent racist, bring me a nonviolent segregationist, then I'll get nonviolent. But don't teach me to be nonviolent until you teach some of those crackers to be nonviolent. You've never seen a nonviolent cracker. It's hard for a racist to be nonviolent. It's hard for anyone intelligent to be nonviolent. Everything in the universe does something when you start playing with his life, except the American Negro. He lays down and says, " Beat me, daddy." So it says here: "A man with a rifle or a club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or a club." That's equality. If you have a dog, I must have a dog. If you have a rifle, I must have a rifle. If you have a club, I must have a club. This is equality. If the United States government doesn't want you and me to get rifles, then take the rifles away from those racists. If they don't want you and me to use clubs, take the clubs away from the racists. If they don't want you and me to get violent, then stop the racists from being violent. Don't teach us nonviolence while those crackers are violent. Those days are over.

"Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with people who are moral or a system that is moral. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American person and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, against bombers, against lynchers, against floggers, against brutalizers and against exploiters.

"I might say right here that instead of the various Black groups declaring war on each other, showing how militant they can be cracking each other's heads, let them go down South and crack some of those crackers' heads. Any group of people in this country that has a record of having been attacked by racists – and there's no record where they have ever given the signal to take the heads of some of those racists – why, they are insane giving the signal to take the heads of some of their ex-brothers. Or brother X's, I don't know how you put that.

III– Education

"Education is an important element in the struggle for human rights. It is the means to help our children and our people rediscover their identity and thereby increase their self respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs only to the people who prepare for it today."

And I must point out right there, when I was in Africa I met no African who wasn't standing with open arms to embrace any Afro-American who returned to the African continent. But one of the things that all of them have said is that every one of our people in this country should take advantage of every type of educational opportunity available before you even think about talking about the future. If you're surrounded by schools, go to that school.

"Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest run schools in the city of New York. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children." They don't understand us, nor do they understand our problems; they don't. "The textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country."

And they don't. When we send our children to school in this country they learn nothing about us other than that we used to be cotton pickers. Every little child going to school thinks his grandfather was a cotton picker. Why, your grandfather was Nat Turner; your grandfather was Toussaint L'Ouverture; your grandfather was Hannibal. Your grandfather was some of the greatest Black people who walked on this earth. It was your grandfather's hands who forged civilization and it was your grandmother's hands who rocked the cradle of civilization. But the textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro Americans to the growth and development of this country.

"The Board of Education's integration plan is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in New York City's school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure before it even starts." "The Board of Education of this city has said that even with its plan there are 10 percent of the schools in Harlem and the Bedford Stuyvesant community in Brooklyn that they cannot improve." So what are we to do? "This means that the Organization of Afro American Unity must make the Afro American community a more potent force for educational self improvement.

"A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the 10 percent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community itself." Since they say that they can't improve these schools, why should you and I who live in the community, let these fools continue to run and produce this low standard of education? No, let them turn those schools over to us. Since they say they can't handle them, nor can they correct them, let us take a whack at it.

What do we want? "We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools." Meaning we want Black principals and Black teachers with some textbooks

about Black people. " We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to our people before they can be used in these schools.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education." And this is very important.

"Through these steps we will make the 10 percent of the schools that we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people from ail over the nation." Instead of them being schools turning out pupils whose academic diet is not complete, we can turn them into examples of what we can do ourselves once given an opportunity.

"If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. And when these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro Americans, we will then return our children to them.

"The Organization of Afro American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. The Afro American parent must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly." This whole thing about putting all of the blame on the teacher is out the window. The parent at home has just as much responsibility to see that what's going on in that school is up to par as the teacher in their schools. So it is our intention not only to devise an education program for the children, but one also for the parents to make them aware of their responsibility where education is concerned in regard to their children.

"We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their does as they are here. We must unite our efforts and spread our program of self improvement through education to every Afro American community in America.

"We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our own children to become scientists, to become mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which automation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self respect through their own efforts.

"IV – Politics and Economics."

And the two are almost inseparable, because the politician is depending on some money; yes, that's what he's depending on.

"Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic power and political power, with social power being derived from those two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political, and social. This can only be done through organization.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and its potential; we will start immediately a voter registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an independent voter."

We won't organize any Black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out. Both of them have sold us out; both parties have sold us out. Both parties are racist, and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party. I can prove it. All you've got to do is name

everybody who's running the government in Washington, D. C., right now. He's a Democrat and he's from either Georgia, Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, from one of those cracker states. And they've got more power than any White man in the North has. In fact, the President is from a cracker state. What's he talking about? Texas is a cracker state, in fact, they'll hang you quicker in Texas than they will in Mississippi. Don't you ever think that just because a cracker becomes president he ceases being a cracker. He was a cracker before he became president and he's a cracker while he's president. I'm going to tell it like it is. I hope you can take it like it is.

"We propose to support and organize political clubs, to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community." We don't support any Black man who is controlled by the White power structure. We will start not only a voter registration drive, but a voter education drive to let our people have an understanding of the science of politics so they will be able to see what part the politician plays in the scheme of things; so they will be able to understand when the politician is doing his job and when he is not doing his job. And any time the politician is not doing his job, we remove him whether he's White, Black, green, blue, yellow or whatever other color they might invent.

"The economic exploitation in the Afro-American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America." In fact, it is the most vicious practiced on any people on this earth. No one is exploited economically as thoroughly as you and I, because in most countries where people are exploited they know it. You and I are in this country being exploited and sometimes we don't know it. "Twice as much rent is paid for rat-infested, roach crawling, rotting tenements."

This is true. It costs us more to live in Harlem than it costs them to live on Park Avenue. Do you know that the rent is higher on Park Avenue in Harlem than it is on Park Avenue downtown? And in Harlem you have everything else in that apartment with you roaches, rats, cats, dogs, and some other outsiders disguised as landlords. "The Afro-American pays more for food, pays more for clothing, pays more for insurance than anybody else." And we do. It costs you and me more for insurance than it does the White man in the Bronx or somewhere else. It costs you and me more for food than it does them. It costs you and me more to live in America than it does anybody else and yet we make the greatest contribution.

You tell me what kind of country this is. Why should we do the dirtiest jobs for the lowest pay? Why should we do the hardest work for the lowest pay? Why should we pay the most money for the worst kind of food and the most money for the worst kind of place to live in? I'm telling you we do it because we live in one of the rottenest countries that has ever existed on this earth. It's the system that is rotten; we have a rotten system. It's a system of exploitation, a political and economic system of exploitation, of outright humiliation, degradation, discrimination – all of the negative things that you can run into, you have run into under this system that disguises itself as a democracy, disguises itself as a democracy. And the things that they practice against you and me are worse than some of the things that they practiced in Germany against the Jews. Worse than some of the things that the Jews ran into. And you run around here getting ready to get drafted and go someplace and defend it. Someone needs to crack you up 'side your head.

"The Organization of Afro American Unity will wage an unrelenting struggle against these evils in our community. There shall be organizers to work with our people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program." Instead of waiting for the White man to come and straighten out our neighborhood, we'll straighten it out ourselves. This is where you make your mistake. An outsider can't clean up your house as well as you can. An outsider can't take care of your children as well as you can. An outsider can't look after your needs as well as you can. And an outsider can't understand your problems as well as you can. Yet you're looking for an outsider to do it. We will do it or it will never get done.

"We propose to support rent strikes." Yes, not little, small rent strikes in one block. We'll make Harlem a rent strike. We'll get every Black man in this city; the Organization of Afro-American Unity won't stop until there's not a Black man in the city not on strike. Nobody will pay any rent. The whole city will come to a halt. And they can't put all of us in jail because they've already got the jails full of us.

Concerning our social needs I hope I'm not frightening anyone. I should stop right here and tell you if you're the type of person who frights, who gets scared, you should never come around us. Because we'll scare you to death. And, you don't have far to go because you're half dead already. Economically you're dead- dead broke. Just got paid yesterday and dead broke right now.

"V Social.

"This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and the Afro-American community." This organization is not responsible to anybody but us. We don't have to ask the man downtown can we demonstrate. We don't have to ask the man downtown what tactics we can use to demonstrate our resentment against his criminal abuse. We don't have to ask his consent; we don't have to ask his endorsement; we don't have to ask his permission. Anytime we know that an unjust condition exists and it is illegal and unjust, we will strike at it by any means necessary. And strike also at whatever and whoever gets in the way.

"This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and numerically. We believe that our communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually, and culturally in the struggle for human rights and human dignity.

"The community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect, and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality." Yes. There are some good policemen and some bad policemen. Usually we get the bad ones. With all the police in Harlem, there is too much crime, too much drug addiction, too much alcoholism, too much prostitution, too much gambling.

So it makes us suspicious about the motives of Commissioner Murphy when he sends all these policemen up here. We begin to think that they are just his errand boys, whose job it is to pick up the graft and take it back downtown to Murphy. Anytime there's a police commissioner who finds it necessary to increase the strength numerically of the policemen in Harlem and, at the same time, we don't see any sign of a decrease in crime, why, I think we're justified in suspecting his motives. He can't be sending them up here to fight crime, because crime is on the increase. The more cops we have, the more crime we have. We begin to think that they bring some of the crime with them.

So our purpose is to organize the community so that we ourselves since the police can't eliminate the drug traffic, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized gambling, we have to eliminate it. Since the police can't eliminate organized prostitution and all of these evils that are destroying the moral fiber of our community, it is up to you and me to eliminate these evils ourselves. But in many instances, when you unite in this country or in this city to fight organized crime, you'll find yourselves fighting the police department itself because they are involved in the organized crime. Wherever you have organized crime, that type of crime cannot exist other than with the consent of the police, the knowledge of the police and the cooperation of the police.

You'll agree that you can't run a number in your neighborhood without the police knowing it. A prostitute can't turn a trick on the block without the police knowing it. A man can't push drugs anywhere along the avenue without the police knowing it. And they pay the police off so that they will not get arrested. I know what I'm talking about I used to be out there. And I know you can't hustle out there without police setting you up. You have to pay them off.

The police are all right. I say there's some good ones and some bad ones. But they usually send the bad ones to Harlem. Since these bad police have come to Harlem and have not decreased the high rate of crime, I tell you brothers and sisters it is time for you and me to organize and eliminate these evils ourselves, or we'll be out of the world backwards before we even know where the world was.

Drug addiction turns your little sister into a prostitute before she gets into her teens; makes a criminal out of your little brother before he gets in his teens drug addiction and alcoholism. And if you and I aren't men enough to get at the root of these things, then we don't even have the right to walk around here complaining about it in any form whatsoever. The police will not eliminate it. "Our community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect, and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality."

Where this police brutality also comes in the new law that they just passed, the no knock law, the stop and-frisk law, that's an anti Negro law. That's a law that was passed and signed by Rockefeller. Rockefeller with his old smile, always he has a greasy smile on his face and he's shaking hands with Negroes, like he's the Negro's pappy or granddaddy or great uncle. Yet when it comes to passing a law that is worse than any law that they had in Nazi Germany, why, Rockefeller couldn't wait till he got his signature on it. And the only thing this law is designed to do is make legal what they've been doing all the time.

They've passed a law that gives them the right to knock down your door without even knocking on it. Knock it down and come on in and bust your head and frame you up under the disguise that they suspect you of something. Why, brothers, they didn't have laws that bad in Nazi Germany. And it was passed for you and me, it's an anti Negro law, because you've got an anti-Negro governor sitting up there in Albany – I started to say Albany, Georgia – in Albany, New York. Not too much difference. Not too much difference between Albany, New York, and Albany, Georgia. And there's not too much difference between the government that's in Albany, New York, and the government in Albany, Georgia.

"The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction."

This is absolutely necessary. When a person is a drug addict, he's not the criminal; he's a victim of the criminal. The criminal is the man downtown who brings drug into the country. Negroes can't bring drugs into this country. You don't have any boats. You don't have any airplanes. You don't have any diplomatic immunity. It is not you who is responsible for bringing in drugs. You're just a little tool that is used by the man downtown. The man that controls the drug traffic sits in city hall or he sits in the state house. Big shots who are respected, who function in high circles those are the ones who control these things. And you and I will never strike at the root of it until we strike at the man downtown.

"We must create meaningful, creative, useful activities for those who were led astray down the avenues of vice." "The people of the Afro- American community must be prepared to help each other in all ways possible; we must establish a place where unwed mothers can get help and advice." This is a problem, this is one of the worst problems in our. . . [A short passage is lost here as the tape is turned.]

"We must set up a guardian system that will help our youth who get into trouble." Too many of our children get into trouble accidentally. And once they get into trouble, because they have no one to look out for them, they're put in some of these homes where others who are experienced at getting in trouble are. And immediately it's a bad influence on them and they never have a chance to straighten out their lives. Too many of our children have their entire lives destroyed in this manner. It is up to you and me

right now to form the type of organizations wherein we can look out for the needs of all of these young people who get into trouble, especially those who get into trouble for the first time, so that we can do something to steer them back on the right path before they go too far astray.

"And we must provide constructive activities for our own children. We must set a good example for our children and must teach them to always be ready to accept the responsibilities that are necessary for building good communities and nations. We must teach them that their greatest responsibilities are to themselves, to their families and to their communities.

"The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due to him and the procedure for obtaining them."

Many of our people have sacrificed their lives on the battlefield for this country. There are many government benefits that our people don't even know about. Many of them are qualified to receive aid in all forms, but they don't even know it. But we know this, so it is our duty, those of us who know it, to set up a system where— in our people who are not informed of what is coming to them, we inform them, we let them know how they can lay claim to everything that they've got coming to them from this government. And I mean you've got much coming to you. "The veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using GI loans," and all other items that we have access to or have available to us.

"Afro Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro American community, for it is our home and it is our power," the base of our power.

"What we do here in regaining our self respect, our manhood, our dignity and freedom helps all people everywhere who are also fighting against oppression." Lastly, concerning culture and the cultural aspect of the Organization of Afro American Unity.

" 'A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself.' "

"Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery. We came from Africa, a great continent, wherein live a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing about it."

This is no accident. It is no accident that such a high state of culture existed in Africa and you and I know nothing about it. Why, the man knew that as long as you and I thought we were somebody, he could never treat us like we were nobody. So he had to invent a system that would strip us of everything about us that we could use to prove we were somebody. And once he had stripped us of all human characteristics stripped us of our language, stripped us of our history, stripped us of all cultural knowledge, and brought us down to the level of an animal – he then began to treat us like an animal, selling us from one plantation to another, selling us from one owner to another, breeding us like you breed cattle.

Why, brothers and sisters, when you wake up and find out what this man here has done to you and me, you won't even wait for somebody to give the word. I'm not saying all of them are bad. There might be some good ones. But we don't have time to look for them. Not nowadays.

"We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of White supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people." A cultural revolution. Why, brothers, that's a crazy revolution. When you tell this Black man in America who he is,

where he came from, what he had when he was there, he'll look around and ask himself, "Well, what happened to it, who took it away from us and how did they do it?" Why, brothers, you'll have some action just like that. When you let the Black man in America know where he once was and what he once had, why, he only needs to look at himself now to realize something criminal was done to him to bring him down to the low condition that he's in today.

Once he realizes what was done, how it was done, where it was done, when it was done, and who did it, that knowledge in itself will usher in your action program. And it will be by any means necessary. A man doesn't know how to act until he realizes what he's acting against. And you don't realize what you're acting against until you realize what they did to you. Too many of you don't know what they did to you, and this is what makes you so quick to want to forget and forgive. No, brothers, when you see what has happened to you, you will never forget and you'll never forgive. And, as I say, all of them might not be guilty. But most of them are. Most of them are.

"Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they can depend on the Afro-American community for support, and Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American community for inspiration."

Our artists we have artists who are geniuses; they don't have to act the Stepin Fetchit role. But as long as they're looking for White support instead of Black support, they've got to act like the old White supporter wants them to. When you and I begin to support the Black artists, then the Black artists can play that Black role. As long as the Black artist has to sing and dance to please the White man, he'll be a clown, he'll be clowning, just another clown. But when he can sing and dance to please Black men, he sings a different song and he dances a different step. When we get together, we've got a step all our own. We have a step that nobody can do but us, because we have a reason for doing it that nobody can understand but us.

"We must work toward the establishment of a cultural center in Harlem, which will include people of all ages and will conduct workshops in all of the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, and the entire spectrum of Afro American history.

"This cultural revolution will be the journey to our rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the level of the lower animals." When you have no knowledge of your history, you're just another animal; in fact, you're a Negro; something that's nothing. The only Black man on earth who is called a Negro is one who has no knowl-edge of his history. The only Black man on earth who is called a Negro is one who doesn't know where he came from. That's the one in America. They don't call Africans Negroes.

Why, I had a White man tell me the other day, "He's not a Negro." Here the man was Black as night, and the White man told me, "He's not a Negro, he's an African." I said, "Well, listen to him." I knew he wasn't, but I wanted to pull old whitey out, you know. But it shows you that they know this. You are Negro because you don't know who you are, you don't know what you are, you don't know where you are, and you don't know how you got here. But as soon as you wake up and find out the positive answer to all these things, you cease being a Negro. You become somebody.

"Armed with the knowledge of our past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past." And to quote a passage from *Then We Heard the Thunder* by John Killens, it says: "He was a dedicated patriot: Dignity was his country, Manhood was his gov-ernment, and Freedom was his land." Old John Killens.

This is our aim. It's rough, we have to smooth it up some. But we're not trying to put something together that's smooth. We don't care how rough it is. We don't care how tough it is. We don't care how backward it may sound. In essence it only means we want one thing. We declare our right on this earth to be a man, to be a human being, to be respected as a human being, to be given the rights of a human being in this society, on this earth, in this day, which we intend to bring into existence by any means necessary.

I'm sorry I took so long. But before we go farther to tell you how you can join this organization, what your duties and responsibilities are, I want to turn you back into the hands of our master of ceremonies, Brother Les Edmonds.

[A collection is taken. Malcolm resumes.]

One of the first steps we are going to become involved in as an Organization of Afro-American Unity will be to work with every leader and other organization in this country interested in a program designed to bring your and my problem before the United Nations. This is our first point of business. We feel that the problem of the Black man in this country is beyond the ability of Uncle Sam to solve it. It's beyond the ability of the United States government to solve it. The government itself isn't capable of even hearing our problem, much less solving it. It's not morally equipped to solve it.

So we must take it out of the hands of the United States government. And the only way we can do this is by internationalizing it and taking advantage of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Charter on Human Rights, and on that ground bring it into the UN before a world body where in we can indict Uncle Sam for the continued criminal injustices that our people experience in this government.

To do this, we will have to work with many organizations and many people. We've already gotten promises of support from many different organizations in this country and from many different leaders in this country and from many different independent nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. So this is our first objective and all we need is your support. Can we get your support for this project?

For the past four weeks since my return from Africa, several persons from all walks of life in the Afro-American community have been meeting together, pooling knowledge and ideas and suggestions, forming a sort of a brain trust, for the purpose of getting a cross section of thinking, hopes, aspirations, likes and dislikes, to see what kind of organization we could put together that would in some way or other get the grass roots support, and what type of support it would need in order to be independent enough to take the type of action necessary to get results.

No organization that is financed by White support can ever be independent enough to fight the power structure with the type of tactics necessary to get real results. The only way we can fight the power structure, and it's the power structure that we're fighting we're not even fighting the Southern segregationists, we're fighting a system that is run in Washington, D. C. That's the seat of the system that we're fighting. And in order to fight it, we have to be independent of it. And the only way we can be independent of it is to be independent of all support from the White community. It's a battle that we have to wage ourselves.

Now, if White people want to help, they can help. But they can't join. They can help in the White community, but they can't join. We accept their help. They can form the White Friends of the Organization of Afro-American Unity and work in the White community on White people and change their attitude toward us. They don't ever need to come among us and change our attitude. We've had enough of them working around us trying to change our attitude. That's what got us all messed up. So we don't question their sincerity, we don't question their motives, we don't question their integrity. We just encourage them to use it somewhere else in the White community. If they can use all of this sincerity in the White community to make the White community act better toward us, then we'll say, "Those are good

White folks." But they don't have to come around us, smiling at us and showing us all their teeth like White Uncle Toms, to try and make themselves acceptable to us. The White Friends of the Organization of Afro American Unity, let them work in the White community.

The only way that this organization can be independent is if it is financed by you. It must be financed by you. Last week I told you that it would cost a dollar to join it. We sat down and thought about it all week long and said that charging you a dollar to join it would not make it an organization. We have set a membership joining fee, if that's the way you express it, at \$2.00. It costs more than that, I think, to join the NAACP.

By the way, you know I attended the NAACP convention Friday in Washington, D. C., which was very enlightening. And I found the people very friendly. They've got the same kind of ideas you have. They act a little different, but they've got the same kind of ideas, because they're catching the same hell we're catching. I didn't find any hostility at that convention at all. In fact, I sat and listened to them go through their business and learned a lot from it. And one of the things I learned is they only charge, I think, \$2.50 a year for membership, and that's it. Well, this is one of the reasons that they have problems. Because any time you have an organization that costs \$2.50 a year to belong to, it means that that organization has to turn in another direction for funds. And this is what castrates it. Because as soon as the White liberals begin to support it, they tell it what to do and what not to do.

This is why Garvey was able to be more militant. Garvey didn't ask them for help. He asked our people for help. And this is what we're going to do. We're going to try and follow his books.

So we're going to have a \$2.00 joining fee and ask every member to contribute a dollar a week. Now, the NAACP gets \$2.50 a year, that's it. And it can't ever go anywhere like that because it's always got to be putting on some kind of drive for help and will always get its help from the wrong source. And then when they get that help, they'll have to end up condemning all the enemies of their enemy in order to get some more help. No, we condemn our enemies, not the enemies of our enemies. We condemn our enemies.

So what we are going to ask you to do is, if you want to become a member of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, it will cost you \$2.00. We are going to ask you to pay a dues of a dollar a week. We will have an accountant, a bookkeeping system, which will keep the members up to date as to what has come in, what has been spent, and for what. Because the secret to success in any kind of business venture – and anything that you do that you mean business, you'd better do in a businesslike way – the secret to your success is keeping good records, good organized records.

Since today will be the first time that we are opening the books for membership, our next meeting will be next Sunday here. And we will then have a membership. And we'll be able to announce at that time the officers of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. I'll tell you the top officer is the chairman, and that's the office I'm holding. I'm taking the responsibility of the chairman, which means I'm responsible for any mistakes that take place; anything that goes wrong, any failures, you can rest them right upon my shoulders. So next week the officers will be announced.

And this week I wanted to tell you the departments in this organization that, when you take out your membership, you can apply to work in. We have the department of education. The department of political action. For all of you who are interested in political action, we will have a department set up by brothers and sisters who are students of political science, whose function it will be to give us a breakdown of the community of New York City. First, how many assemblymen there are and how many of those assemblymen are Black, how many congressmen there are and how many of those congressmen are Black. In fact, let me just read something real quick and I'll show you why it's so necessary. Just to give you an example.

There are 270,000 eligible voters in the twenty first senatorial district. The twenty first senatorial district is broken down into the eleventh, seventh, and thirteenth assembly districts. Each assembly district contains 90,000 eligible voters. In the eleventh assembly district, only 29,000 out of 90,000 eligible voters exercise their voting rights. In the seventh assembly district, only 36,000 out of the 90,000 eligible voters vote. Now, in a White assembly district with 90,000 eligible voters, 65,000 exercise their voting rights, showing you that in the White assembly districts more Whites vote than Blacks vote in the Black assembly districts. There's a reason for this. It is because our people aren't politically aware of what we can get by becoming politically active.

So what we have to have is a program of political education to show them what they can get if they take political action that's intelligently directed. Less than 25 percent of the eligible voters in Harlem vote in the primary election. Therefore, they have not the right to place the candidate of their choice in office, as only those who were in the primary can run in the general election. The following number of signatures are required to place a candidate to vote in the primaries: for assemblyman it must be 350 signatures; state senator, 750; countywide judgeship, 1,000; borough president, 2,250; mayor, 7,500. People registered with the Republican or Democratic parties do not have to vote with their party.

There are fifty eight senators in the New York state legislature. Four are from Manhattan; one is Black. In the New York state assembly, there are 150 assemblymen. I think three are Black; maybe more than that. According to calculation, if the Negro were proportionately represented in the state senate and state assembly, we would have several representatives in the state senate and several in the state assembly. There are 435 members in the United States House of Representatives. According to the census, there are 22 million Afro Americans in the United States. If they were represented proportionately in this body, there would be 30 to 40 members of our race sitting in that body. How many are there? Five. There are 100 senators in the United States Senate. Hawaii, with a population of only 600 thousand, has two senators representing it. The Black man, with a population of in excess of 20 million, is not represented in the Senate at all. Worse than this, many of the congressmen and representatives in the Congress of the United States come from states where Black people are killed if they attempt to exercise the right to vote.

What you and I want to do in this political department is have our brothers and sisters who are experts in the science of politics acquaint our people in our community with what we should have, and who should be doing it, and how we can go about getting what we should have. This will be their job and we want you to play this role so we can get some action without having to wait on Lyndon B. Johnson, Lyndon B. Texas Johnson.

Also, our economics department. We have an economics department. For any of you who are interested in business or a program that will bring about a situation where the Black man in Harlem can gain control over his own economy and develop business expansion for our people in this community so we can create some employment opportunities for our people in this community, we will have this department.

We will also have a speakers bureau because many of our people want to speak, want to be speakers, they want to preach, they want to tell somebody what they know, they want to let off some steam. We will have a department that will train young men and young women how to go forth with our philosophy and our program and project it throughout the country; not only throughout this city but throughout the country.

We will have a youth group. The youth group will be designed to work with youth. Not only will it consist of youth, but it will also consist of adults. But it will be designed to work out a program for the youth in this country, one in which the youth can play an active part.

We also are going to have our own newspaper. You need a newspaper. We believe in the power of the press. A newspaper is not a difficult thing to run. A newspaper is very simple if you have the right motives. In fact, anything is simple if you have the right motives. The Muhammad Speaks newspaper, I

and another person started it myself in my basement. And I've never gone past the eighth grade. Those of you who have gone to all these colleges and studied all kinds of journalism, yellow and black journalism, all you have to do is contribute some of your journalistic talent to our newspaper department along with our research department, and we can turn out a newspaper that will feed our people with so much information that we can bring about a real live revolution right here before you know it.

We will also have a cultural department. The task or duty of the cultural department will be to do research into the culture, into the ancient and current culture of our people, the cultural contributions and achievements of our people. And also all of the entertainment groups that exist on the African continent that can come here and ours who are here that can go there. Set up some kind of cultural program that will really emphasize the dormant talent of Black people.

When I was in Ghana I was speaking with, I think his name is Nana Nketsia, I think he's the minister of culture or he's head of the culture institute. I went to his house, he had a – he had a nice, beautiful place; I started to say he had a sharp pad. He had a fine place in Accra. He had gone to Oxford, and one of the things that he said impressed me no end. He said that as an African his concept of freedom is a situation or a condition in which he, as an African, feels completely free to give vent to his own likes and dislikes and thereby develop his own African personality. Not a condition in which he is copying some European cultural pattern or some European cultural standard, but an atmosphere of complete freedom where he has the right, the leeway, to bring out of himself all of that dormant, hidden talent that has been there for so long.

And in that atmosphere, brothers and sisters, you'd be surprised what will come out of the bosom of this Black man. I've seen it happen. I've seen Black musicians when they'd be jamming at a jam session with White musicians – a whole lot of difference. The White musician can jam if he's got some sheet music in front of him. He can jam on something that he's heard jammed before. If he's heard it, then he can duplicate it or he can imitate it or he can read it. But that Black musician, he picks up his horn and starts blowing some sounds that he never thought of before. He improvises, he creates, it comes from within. It's his soul, it's that soul music. It's the only area on the American scene where the Black man has been free to create. And he has mastered it. He has shown that he can come up with something that nobody ever thought of on his horn.

Well, likewise he can do the same thing if given intellectual independence. He can come up with a new philosophy. He can come up with a philosophy that nobody has heard of yet. He can invent a society, a social system, an economic system, a political system, that is different from anything that exists or has ever existed anywhere on this earth. He will improvise; he'll bring it from within himself. And this is what you and I want.

You and I want to create an organization that will give us so much power we can sit down and do as we please. Once we can sit down and think as we please, speak as we please, and do as we please, we will show people what pleases us. And what pleases us won't always please them. So you've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Do you understand that? You've got to get some power before you can be yourself. Once you get power and you be yourself, why, you're gone, you've got it and gone. You create a new society and make some heaven right here on this earth.

And we're going to start right here tonight when we open up our membership books into the Organization of Afro-American Unity. I'm going to buy the first memberships myself – one for me, my wife, Atillah, Qubilah, these are my daughters, Ilyasah, and something else I expect to get either this week or next week. As I told you before, if it's a boy I'm going to name him Lumumba, the greatest Black man who ever walked the African continent.

He didn't fear anybody. He had those people so scared they had to kill him. They couldn't buy him, they couldn't frighten him, they couldn't reach him. Why, he told the king of Belgium, "Man, you may let us free, you may have given us our independence, but we can never forget these scars." The greatest speech – you should take that speech and tack it up over your door. This is what Lumumba said: "You aren't giving us anything. Why, can you take back these scars that you put on our bodies? Can you give us back the limbs that you cut off while you were here?" No, you should never forget what that man did to you. And you bear the scars of the same kind of colonization and oppression not on your body, but in your brain, in your heart, in your soul, right now. So, if it's a boy, Lumumba. If it's a girl, Lumumbah.

[Malcolm introduces several people from the platform and from the audience, then continues:]

If I passed over some of the rest of you, it's because my eyes aren't too good, my glasses aren't too good. But everybody here are people who are from the street who want some kind of action. We hope that we will be able to give you all the action you need. And more than likely we'll be able to give you more than you want. We just hope that you stay with us. Our meeting will be next Sunday night right here. We want you to bring all of your friends and we'll be able to go forward. Up until now, these meetings have been sponsored by the Muslim Mosque, Inc. They've been sponsored and paid for by the Muslim Mosque, Inc. Beginning next Sunday, they will be sponsored and paid for by the Organization of Afro American Unity.

I don't know if I'm right in saying this, but for a period of time, let's you and me not be too hard on other Afro-American leaders. Because you would be surprised how many of them have expressed sympathy and support in our efforts to bring this situation confronting our people before the United Nations. You'd be surprised how many of them, some of the last ones you would expect, they're coming around. So let's give them a little time to straighten up. If they straighten up, good. They're our brothers and we're responsible for our brothers. But if they don't straighten up, then that's another point.

And one thing that we are going to do, we're going to dispatch a wire, a telegram that is, in the name of the Organization of Afro-American Unity to Martin Luther King in St. Augustine, Florida, and to Jim Forman in Mississippi, worded in essence to tell them that if the federal government doesn't come to their aid, call on us. And we will take the responsibility of slipping some brothers into that area who know what to do by any means necessary.

I can tell you right now that my purpose is not to become involved in a fight with Black Muslims, who are my brothers still. I do everything I can to avoid that because there's no benefit in it. It actually makes our enemy happy. But I do believe that the time has come for you and me to take the responsibility of forming whatever nucleus or defense group is necessary in places like Mississippi. Why, they shouldn't have to call on the federal government – that's a drag. No, when you and I know that our people are the victims of brutality, and all times the police in those states are the ones who are responsible, then it is incumbent upon you and me, if we are men, if we are to be respected and recognized, it is our duty. . . [A passage is lost here through a defect in the tape.]

Johnson knew that when he sent [Allen] Dulles down there. Johnson has found this out. You don't disappear. How are you going to disappear? Why, this man can find a missing person in China. They send the CIA all the way to China and find somebody. They send the FBI anywhere and find somebody. But they can't find them whenever the criminal is White and the victim is Black, then they can't find them.

Let's don't wait on any more FBI to look for criminals who are shooting and brutalizing our people. Let's you and me find them. And I say that it's easy to do it. One of the best organized groups of Black people in America was the Black Muslims. They've got all the machinery, don't think they haven't; and the experience where they know how to ease out in broad daylight or in dark and do whatever is necessary by any means necessary. They know how to do that. Well, I don't blame anybody for being taught how to do

that. You're living in a society where you're the constant victim of brutality. You must know how to strike back.

So instead of them and us wasting our shots, I should say our time and energy, on each other, what we need to do is band together and go to Mississippi. That's my closing message to Elijah Muhammad: If he is the leader of the Muslims and the leader of our people, then lead us against our enemies, don't lead us against each other.

I thank you for your patience here tonight, and we want each and every one of you to put your name on the roll of the Organization of Afro- American Unity. The reason we have to rely upon you to let the public know where we are is because the press doesn't help us; they never announce in advance that we're going to have a meeting. So you have to spread the word over the grapevine. Thank you. Salaam Alaikum.



About Woodson

Carter G. Woodson was born on December 19, 1875, in New Canton, Virginia, a small town in Buckingham County. His parents, James Henry and Anne Eliza Woodson, were ex-slaves who owned a small farm. As a child, Carter G. Woodson, along with his siblings, worked to support the family and was able to attend school only irregularly. In his late teens, he moved to West Virginia, where he labored building railroads and then in a coal mine. Just before his twentieth birthday, Woodson started high school. His quest for knowledge led him to Berea College, Lincoln University, the University of Chicago, the University of Paris, and Harvard University, where he completed his doctorate in history in 1912.

For a decade, Woodson taught in the public schools of Washington, D.C. He served as dean at Howard University and West Virginia Institute before retiring from teaching in administration.

Woodson spent the bulk of his career building the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, which he established in 1915. Founded on the idea that people of African descent had to correct the historical record and demonstrate their role in history to take their proper place in the world, the Association established the *Journal of Negro History*, now *The Journal of African American History*. In 1926, Woodson initiated Negro History Week, which an increasing portion of the world now celebrates as Black History Month. In 1937, at the urging of Mary McLeod Bethune, he established *The Negro History Bulletin*, now *The Black History Bulletin*, for teachers and younger readers. Woodson's desire to put the truth about peoples of African descent before the world led him to incorporate the Associated Publishers in 1921.

Woodson authored and edited numerous books. They include *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1915); *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918); *The Negro Church* (1921); *The Negro in Our History* (1922); *The Negro as Businessman* (with John H. Harmon, Jr. and Arnett G. Lindsay, 1929); *The Negro Wage Earner* (with Lorenzo Greene, 1930); *The Rural Negro* (1930); *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933); *The Negro Professional Man and the Community* (1934); *The African Background Outlined* (1936) and several others.

Woodson's work and intellectual interests carried him from the Philippines to Africa. In common with many of his generation, Woodson was a Francophile, delighting in French plays and literature. He won numerous awards, including the NAACP's coveted Spingarn Medal in 1926. Woodson remained a bachelor, and kept close ties with his relatives throughout his life. He passed away on April 3, 1950.

