

REPORT ON RECENT TRIP
(CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA; LONDON AND MANCHESTER, ENGLAND)

abdul alkalimat .

I was invited to speak at an educational colloquium held at the University of Cape Town. It was attended by people from 37 countries dealing with all levels of education in Africa. This meeting was convened by a research group led by Neville Alexander.

Neville is one of the Robbin Island vets (see reference in new Mandela autobiography), out of a Trot background (New Unity Movement), but widely respected for avoiding sectarian posture and staying out of the 4th international. My connection is that this research group is hooked up with several others around the continent (Uganda, Tanzania, Senegal, Zimbabwe, etc.) in which left intellectuals are grinding out research. At this point I am formally tied into work in South Africa (invited to come and speak on the US Black Power Movement in a national symposium to evaluate the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa sometime in the fall of 1995) and Zimbabwe (appointed as a senior research fellow at the SAPES in Zimbabwe to help develop their Diaspora program).

The 7th PAC has been sidelined with a move to Libya for 8th PAC in 1997. The moves are picking up speed on Islam and the high tech aspect. A major festival held in Ghana "PanaFest" was in large part funded by AT&T (based on their plan to grab the lions share of the continents phone market). This is a new period that requires a new plan, and people are beginning to put this together, and we are well placed to be involved - share our experiences and learn from over there. There will continue to be a connection between the African freedom movement and the Black liberation movement in the USA and we have an opportunity to contribute on the basis of the new class.

The colloquium was a mix between academic papers and political discussions to get at the root problems in the economic legacy of colonialism, neocolonialism and with the emergence of the new polarization and the new class. (agenda and my paper attached, and final declaration)

There is lots of interest in getting news of the class struggle from the USA as most of them are forced to deal with the USA as a positive role model in the funding world, or depending on the source either Germany or Sweden or ?? It is useful to get a good dose of political exposure. I wrote the internet part of the final resolution and got great support for using it to transfer info fast and cheap. We're set up to send the PT electronically at no cost so this is a win win situation. It would be useful to set it up also as a news service as I am sure that the articles would be reprinted with great regularity.

ON SOUTH AFRICA: The contradictions are moving fast as the Mandela government of national unity is facing rising spontaneity from several battlefronts. A new organization of homeless - the JoBerg tenants association - has waged several battles through take overs, and they have been fired on by the police. New rank and file trade union wildcat strikes have been challenging the leadership of COSATU (in and out of the gov't). Both the PAC and AZAPO are disorganized, fighting internally, and without a general

program to build a creditable opposition. It looks like the opposition will come from a split in the ranks of the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance. The general crisis is based on an overall demobilization of mass action, a growing dissatisfaction with the parliament (high rates of absenteeism, even to get a quorum in the cabinet) with Tutu leading a public outcry against "a gravy train" for high ranking officials, and continued arrogance by DeKlerk and big capital speaking out as in giving orders to the ANC to crack down more on crime and any continuation of a "confrontational" approach to change. There is some motion toward a mass workers party, but this is just beginning. There is very little change at this point in South Africa. There will be a crisis in Jan 1995 as Mandela promised education and cant deliver. Slovo has announced a cant deliver situation in housing. Jobs too.

The main base of resistance will come from the civic associations and militant rank and file trade unionists. These are the organizations that unite people at the community level dealing with practical problems, and it is at this level that a confrontation with state power draws a line between the past privileges of apartheid and the new demands for reallocation of the wealth and a rise in the quality of life for the masses. The ANC ended the UDF as a mass front and now is very keen on end the civics. There is a big debate on the class nature of the state, and whether the masses need to be organized independently of the state and the ANC. The only outcome can be a split, and both sides have strong representation on the new ANC Executive so any type of split will push one to the right and increase state violence, and the other side will have to go left to build a constituency. There are many MK (ANC) soldiers who have kept their weapons and are protesting the lack of pay and new jobs, and some have even suggested the need to think again about armed struggle. The worst situation would be demobilization at the mass level and sharp polarization of political forces so that the opposition is killed or jailed with no mass response. This would set the situation back decades.

ENGLAND: I went to London and attended a meeting of the planning committee of the 12th International Radical Black and Third World Book Fair. This will be held in March 1995 at four locations, mainly London. I am scheduled to speak three or four times over a week or so. The main topics are the impact of the new technological revolution and on the 50th anniversary of the 5th Pan African Congress. After that I went off to Manchester and gave a talk at the NIA Center sponsored by American Studies at the University of Manchester, scheduled to be published in an anthology on "Class and Race in Capitalist Cities." I am also on the international planning committee for the main 50th anniversary of 5th PAC to be a conference in Manchester in October 1995.

ATTACHED:

1. Cape Town Speech by Abdul
2. Cape Town Declaration

Antiracist Education as a Political Process

Abdul Alkalimat USA

This presentation is on the general topic of antiracist education in the United States. At this time in world history it is a burden and a challenge to speak in such a forum from a base in the United States. The burden we bear results from the position of dominance seized by the US ruling class at the end of the cold war to impose its will on the world, as former President Bush called it, the new world order. However, if you run things in a unipolar world then you must accept responsibility. This class is not the American people, and we are not responsible for what they do, but we must contest their rule for they claim our consent. This is a ridiculous claim as they rule in the opposite form, for example only 40% of the US electorate voted in the recent 1994 elections. The challenge is to confront what is actually a new world disorder. This is a challenge we share with you, for everywhere in the world at the end of this century it is possible to contest this disorder and fight for a new vision of a just and equitable society. It is in this context that I will make my remarks.

The topic of antiracist education would be easier if one could give a progress report that summed up the end of racism. None of us have such a joyful task, not here in South Africa, not anywhere in Africa, nor in the USA. The fact is that with most fundamental issues things change, yet they remain the same. Class exploitation, male supremacy, and national oppression all change in form and content, and yet they are continually being reproduced from one generation to the next and so it has been with racism.

My focus for this talk is on this very contradiction, the continuity and change of racism in the USA, specifically from the vantage point of the political paradigms that set the context for antiracist education. It is important that such a talk be given in this conference for at least three reasons. 1. We are living in a unipolar world dominated by the United States, so an understanding of its inner workings is important for everyone. 2. Within this, the African American experience is an African link to this inner crisis, and as such to the US achilles heel of resistance. And 3. It is essential to demythologize the myth of US supremacy and counteract its dominance in global culture. To grasp the Black experience in the USA is to know that the USA is not to be emulated, but defeated and transformed.

My talk is brief and consists of 4 main theses.

1. Antiracist education is political education.
2. The objective context for antiracist education is defined by the political economy and demographic profile of the African American people.
3. The current economic polarization of the USA is forcing the beginning of a social revolution, at this stage mainly from the right, within which new initiatives of ideological and institutional racism are gaining popularity.
4. The economic polarization is producing revolutionary possibilities not experienced since the 19th century US Civil War that ended slavery.

The US is a country founded by European invaders. The issue of antiracist education becomes a social imperative from this basic historical process. This is something we are all aware of in light of the global ideological struggle over Christopher Columbus, and his role in initiating the genocide and colonization of the region at the end of the 15th century some 500 years ago. The main point here is that the US was established, like South Africa, as a settler colony, developed economically on the basis of racial slavery, and expanded through the appropriation of land from Mexico, and the demographic control of a selective racist immigration policy.

This US history has been distorted as part of a racial teleology, a grand design of manifest destiny, the god sanctioned adventure of civilizing a world. US textbooks were among the greatest ideological weapons because they concealed the class interests of the rulers by mobilizing European immigrants to the USA to share this holy work of protecting whiteness which became the main symbol of the American Dream, the American way of life.

Racism has been one of the central ideological features of the US mainstream. Its main point is that non Europeans, especially Africans and their descendants, are inferior to whites. Whether the focus is biological, cultural, or social the bottom line is inferiority. Ideological racism produces legitimacy for racist policies and actions. In the end racism is codified as beliefs, deep seated assumptions that frame a persons world view, that make up the normal social consensus. Racism legitimates privilege for whites, at least the illusion of privilege if not the actual material rewards. On the other hand it has been argued that in fact the illusion itself is some kind of non material psychological reward (false consciousness). But the main objective fact is that racial domination and accumulation is carried out on the basis of power and in the end primarily serves the interest of the ruling class.

So all antiracist education hits at ideological beliefs whether explicit as laws or formal journalistic conventions, or cultural beliefs reflected in common everyday speech. But, it has to go further and find the link between the power of control and the accumulation process. Then, and only then, can antiracist education make the kind of diagnosis of what is wrong on which one can devise a prognosis to set things right.

When antiracist education is delinked from an indictment of power it is a limited exercise in moral symbolism, at best producing temporary changes in forms of racism. Social scientists in the USA often use social surveys to measure racial attitudes as a proxy for racism. Since the 1940s a set of questions have been used to measure trends empirically. These questions include such things as do you mind sitting next to a Black person on the bus, if a Black person moved into the house next door, or dated a family member. As a result of the 1950s and 60s people learned the correct answers, the nationally redefined though nominal public morality. The survey data began to show less and less racism. You don't hear the word nigger as much in public discourse, and the private tastes of white racists for Black erotic has been institutionalised in American popular culture. But what remains clear is that racism has not been eliminated. Black people remain poor and socially isolated, and consensus beliefs are that these conditions are their own fault.

So, my first thesis is that antiracist education is necessarily political education in that racism as an ideological weapon must be linked to the system of power and exploitation that feeds on the impoverishment and misery of Blacks.

The best historical case of this is the fight to abolish slavery. At the beginning of the 19th century the consensus of the white population was that slavery was acceptable, justified, and in fact a source of wealth. After the technological innovation of the cotton gin in the 1790s, cotton became king with slave labor as its main force of production. However, the abolitionist movement took up the ideological task of educating people to oppose slavery, sometimes whites, sometimes Blacks, and sometimes both together, and they were successful. Mainly through their independent newspapers and public meetings the abolitionists were master teachers, first against violent mobs and then with more support. The slave system was turned into an evil force for moral, religious, and political reasons. This was done in part because it was carried out as a celebrated cause by heroic dedicated men and women who captured peoples hearts and minds, and in part because deep in the American psyche is the New Testament ethics of helping the oppressed fight back. But the decisive factor was the fact that slavery was linked to a southern land owning class who dominated the federal government and was a fetter on the growth and development of northern industry, agriculture, and free wage labor. Once the moral/religious argument was linked to the fight against the political power of the slave owners, then it was possible for an antiracist education campaign to be won, as indeed it was.

White people outside of the slave states were convinced enough by this antiracist education of the abolitionists to fight a civil war. But it is also important to point out that antiracist education was even more successful among Blacks. Black men took up arms in great numbers. For all Black men, slave and free, aged 18 to 45, based on the 1860 census, 21% fought against slavery with the union army, and for Black men from free states 71% joined the union and army and fought. This antiracist education was not abstract but a call to arms to rise and defeat what they were against. In the end however, all that could be accomplished was the end of slavery as racism was transformed to reappear in new clothes, sometimes even promoted now by forces that formerly fought slavery.

The supreme political symbolism of the antiracist fight is the 14th amendment to the US constitution adopted in 1868 after the Civil War, and the 13th amendment of 1865 that legally ended slavery. This 14th amendment included the clause that the former slaves were due equal protection under the law. This equal protection clause has been the most consistent legal weapon against racism in that it formulates definition of democracy that confronts racism as ideology and provides a political tool to chop away at institutionalized racism.

However, for 100 years after the Civil War racism found little sustained or wide spread challenge. The Union army pulled out of the south opening the political scene to new forms of racist terror including the lynch rope. Black people were trapped into a semi slave condition as uneducated landless sharecroppers who continued to produce cotton with the same technology they used during slavery. Finally, the US Supreme Court in 1896 virtually ended the 14th amendment as a tool for radical sweeping change. US apartheid was born in the Plessy v Ferguson case. The court stated its view of the 14th amendment:

...in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either.

This changed the equal protection clause to mean separate but equal, and of course separate was never equal. Whether it was a de jure or a de facto condition, racism rendered Blacks into uneducated impoverished workers filling other peoples pockets.

There has always been a tradition of antiracist education in the Black community. And, where a sufficient Black population was gathered and resources were concentrated into institutionalized bases of mobilization, for example the church, the press, and various social and fraternal organizations, people were educated to resist. And some change took place. But, where the masses of Black people were needed in the cotton fields the fervor of the 19th century abolitionists was no where to be found or fell on deaf ears.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s provided the next major era of anti racist education. The moral authority of the antiracist position to end American apartheid was fought for and won by 1965. Perhaps the turning point was 1954 when the Supreme Court reversed the 1896 decision by stating that separate was inherently unequal. Why did this happen? There are at least 4 main reasons:

1. The mechanization of cotton production in the 1940s through the invention of the mechanical cotton picker ended the demand for uneducated field labor and thereby ended the main purpose of American apartheid.
2. Black people were gaining in political power (especially in northern cities) leading factions of white politicians to offer concessions in exchange for electoral support.
3. Black men fought in World War II in large enough numbers to provide an increased military capability in fighting racism.
4. The civil rights movement utilized the overwhelming participation of the Black middle class (especially lawyers as organised by Charles Houston, Dean of the Law School at Howard University) to hammer away for over a decade with co-ordinated action lading upto the 1954 decision.

As urban dwellers now, working in an industrial setting, Black people began to fight and win the support of key actors in ruling class politics. A notable example is the support given Martin Luther King by John Kennedy during the 1960 presidential election. Kennedy was the Abe Lincoln of the civil rights movement, and with the new use of television he help educate a nation to reject their form and style of racism.

But, John Kennedy was killed. His brother, Robert Kennedy was killed. Martin Luther King was killed. Malcolm X was killed. And the civil rights paradigm for antiracist education, which always had the education of whites as the main target audience, was changed forever. In February of 1965 Malcolm X was killed, and while

the newspapers portrayed it as a Black on Black crime the consensus in the Black community (then, as now) is that the US government was directly involved. By August of 1965 the Watts rebellion in Los Angeles was burning the city, and the US armed forces were mobilized against US citizens, descendants of the African slaves. By 1966 the cry of Black Power was issued forth and a new era was born.

If the Civil Rights movement was the basis for an antiracist education that sought to convince white people to open up the society to include Blacks as participants in mainstream institutions, then the Black Power movement was the basis for an antiracist education for Blacks that assumed whites would not change, or at least until they did change after however long a period of time. Now the imperative was to resist racism by healing Black people with positive self images and strengthening community through self help.

Racist powerful whites were responsible for an enforced separation, and until that could be changed it was possible and necessary to re-educate Blacks about themselves and to nurture internal strength. The irony is that the main arena for this paradigm shift was not in the totally excluded Black ghetto, but among Blacks who managed to gain entrance into previously all white institutions. For example, this was particularly taken up in educational institutions with the creation of Black studies. Further it created a struggle to redefine African studies in the USA toward the African American interest in Panafrikan identity and advocacy research to support the African revolution (as opposed to the interests to the US State Department and the CIA).

Closely following on this Black Power development was the origin of what has come to be called multiculturalism, akin to what was called in the late 1960s as a third world studies, but now came to include such marginalised groups as women, gays, and the physically challenged. If Black Power was the framework for a form of self determination for Black people, multiculturalism expanded this to all groups. Now, the myth of the melting pot was being replaced by the pragmatism of the autonomous cultural group.

All of this goes back to the fundamental role of education in reproducing the white myth of the national narrative. Public education moulded people into US citizens who came from everywhere, even though critical parts of it was based on lies and distortions. From the vantage point of the mainstream, that is the ruling class, it worked. OK, they would argue it was marred by racism, sexism and other things, but moulding the social order was worth it. Well, it wasn't. So what I've tried to suggest by my second point is that when it was possible to fight for change and mount a new and decisive antiracist educational campaign it was done. In the process we have discussed the development of three main models for antiracist education: the civil rights model of educating whites to open up and become more democratic, the Black Power approach which assumes white resistance to change and focuses on empowering Black to make the changes themselves, and finally multiculturalism which seeks to empower all national minorities which in the aggregate are fast becoming the new majority. The key point is that if these models are delinked from the class struggle they are doomed to fail.

Now my last two points can be discussed to clarify the current situation. These 3 points to new racist initiatives, and these 4 points to new antiracist possibilities.

Both are rooted in the current economic crisis. As I have been indicating, it is always important to place things in their historical context.

There is a fundamental economic restructuring well underway in the USA, indeed it has gripped the world. In general we can see at least three main trends on the global level: the main forces (mainly the G 7 countries) are lowering borders for trade in regional blocs and on the global level, are seeking to turn Russia and China into new markets for global capitalism, and are continuing to marginalize the masses of workers and peasants in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Each point is wrecking havoc: the US with its NAFTA lowers wages for US workers while employing Mexican workers who don't make enough to buy what they produce; in Russia the main form of capital accumulation these days is murder, robbery, and extortion, and on the world scale 800 million people are living in deep poverty with little hope of any sustained work or income to buy the necessities of life.

Within the US, the crisis deepens. Now we have a recovery, but this recovery is new because it is a jobless recovery. Not only are 3,000 jobs being lost every day in the USA, but 18% of all full time workers make so little income they live below the official government poverty line. And, over half of the new jobs are called throw away jobs in that they are temporary, part time, with no benefits. For Black people it is even worst, as Black people face unemployment two to three times the national average, with some urban neighbourhoods going as high as 90%.

The most fundamental point to be addressed here is that people are being replaced by new technology, especially the computer and the robot. Manufacturing workers were 50% of the US workforce in 1940, but by 1990 this was down to 22%. During the 1980's nearly 1 million manufacturing jobs were lost. Ford Motor Company has just built a new plant to manufacture auto transmissions in Detroit, a city over 75% Black. 10 years ago this plant would have had 4,000 workers, but with robots to replace people they only hired 200. Today only 3 % of the US workforce produces all of the agriculture. We are now seeing this happen to industry.

The summation of this is that mainly on one end of the poles of wealth and poverty, Black people are being forced into permanent forms of unemployment. This sets new conditions for antiracist education, because the first attack to disguise this fundamental economic process is a racist assault against the Black poor. There is a blame the victim campaign underway.

Ideological racism is being reborn with increased legitimacy being given to genetically based notions of mental inferiority. Further these new race theorists make a causal link from race genes to low intelligence to all forms of social pathology, being poor, being arrested, and being militant. A good example of this is a recent best selling book THE BELL CURVE. These authors allege that while the average I.Q. for whites is 100, for African Americans it is about 80 and for Africans about 75. All Black people, according to these authors, are slightly (if at all) ahead of mentally retarded whites. They argue the following:

...the underclass are in that condition through no fault of their own but because of inherent shortcomings about which little can be done. Politicians and intellectuals alike

will become much more open about the role of dysfunctional behavior in the underclass, accepting that addiction, violence, unavailability for work, child abuse, and family disorganization will keep most members of the underclass from fending for themselves. It will be agreed that the underclass cannot be trusted to use cash wisely.

On this basis they point to a new state form they dub "the custodial state."

In short, by custodial state, we have in mind a high tech and more lavish version of the Indian reservation for some substantial minority of the nation's population, while the rest of America tries to go about its business. In its less benign forms, the solutions will become more and more totalitarian.

This could be laughed at and discarded if it wasn't a best seller and co-authored by the late chairperson of the Psychology Department of Harvard University. Every major magazine of all political persuasions have had special sections or even whole issues on this book. The Wall Street Journal, the major daily newspapers for capitalists, developed a full page excerpt and several editorial comments. This is a serious ideological offensive. This allows for the criminalization of the poor. In the recent crime bill that passed into law the government responds to youth crime by making 13 year olds eligible for the death penalty. This provision was introduced by a Black woman, Carol Mosely Braun!

My last point on this new racism is to warn you about the new Republican controlled Congress. Only 40% of the US electorate voted, and with half of that they proclaimed that they have a mandate to rule and restructure government. The right wing Republicans have said that in the first 100 days beginning in January they intend to destroy all aspects of the welfare state. This is way past the Thatcher or Reagan Bush offensive. They intend to repeal such things as the Food Stamp Act of 1977, the Child Nutrition Act of 1966, the National School Lunch Act of 1946, and the Emergency Food Assistance Act of 1983. Clinton has already eliminated the only congressional committee that dealt with hunger. The new racism is that this attack on poor people is going to happen to Black first and more extensively, but make no mistake about it this racist attack in part of a class war, and must be fought that way.

This is my last point. As the end of slavery required the unity of Blacks and the workers, now the end of this criminal poverty requires the same. There is no link between school and work for poor people if there are no jobs. There is no social order if more and more people are outside of the social contract with no legitimate income and the society with no way to otherwise circulate goods and services to them. We have explained the social revolution from the right, so what is it from our side?

Here it is very simple, because the most revolutionary task is to teach. The most important lesson is that all of us have a right to the wealth of society, indeed the wealth of the world. In all antiracist education the key task is to link our fight against ideological racism with this ideological campaign for economic security and social justice. It was hard for the abolitionist to establish the moral principle that required great sacrifice to end slavery. We are entering the time in the USA when such

sacrifices will be made by more and more people. The new antiracist education is necessarily linked to the fight against poverty that Black people are being forced into.

We have never stopped fighting since the slave ship, but we have not always been in a position to win. In the 1960's we wanted a revolution and couldn't have one. Now a social revolution is here whether we want it or not. Our tasks are clear, and more and more of us know what to do.

These are the times we dream about. In 1992 the rebellion was in South Central Los Angeles. Next, our dream cried out in Chiappas Mexico. The main task is to educate the American people with a vision of a future worth living, one in which the devil of racism is dead and buried forever. Isn't it also true that this task remains vital for global economic security and justice as well.

Thank you.

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**PANAFRICAN COLLOQUIUM:
EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA
STATEMENT OF THE PANAFRICAN COLLOQUIUM ON EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN
POST-COLONIAL AFRICA**

Introduction

On 12 - 15 December 1994, 140 educators from 37 African states as well as a few observers and participants from Asia, North America and Europe came together at the University of Cape Town in South Africa in order to consider

- * what educational reforms and innovative practices had been carried out with success in post-colonial Africa;
- * the lessons to be derived from the experiences of all the independent African countries;
- * what kind of educational strategies would be most effective for educational renewal on the African continent, and
- * whether and which joint (regional and sub-regional) projects and programmes could be launched by way of intra-African mutual aid.

Global economic and political context

We agree that the present state of economic dependency of almost all the countries of Africa will make it very difficult to break through the material constraints which hamper all serious attempts at social transformation on the continent.

In order to change this situation, we undertake to do everything in our individual, representative and collective power to help to create the political will and the organisational capacity required to break out of the suffocating grip of unequal international economic political and scientific relations and exploitation in terms of class, gender, and "race".

We accept that differing conditions in the different countries of Africa will give rise to different strategies and tactics but we are all committed to the strategic goals of genuine African independence and mutual aid.

Democratisation of society in all its dimensions is a precondition for sustainable educational reform. The belated recognition of this fact spurs us on to appeal to all educators to support all attempts at opening up the structures of rule and the decision-making mechanisms and processes of our specific societies to the scrutiny and the creative intervention of all the citizens.



**Abdul Alkalimat
USA**

Regular colloquia on education in Africa

In order to sustain the momentum generated by this first colloquium, we undertake to hold regular colloquia in three-yearly cycles if possible. The fundamental purpose of these colloquia should be to review the progress made on the continent and in individual countries and to plan for the attainment of realistic targets and the diffusion of sustained innovations. As soon as possible, these colloquia should be funded by means of our own resources.

To this end, we agree to set up a rotating secretariat whose main task will be to organise the next colloquium.

Electronic Networking

The unity of African peoples, especially educators, can be increased and isolation overcome by adding new forms of electronic communication to the existing forms. Electronic networking, e.g., Internet, provides such an opportunity in an easy cost-effective manner. We propose a special needs assessment evaluation for electricity, telephones, computers, and appropriate software for the African continent. Specifically, we propose a special effort be made to set national, regional, continental and international goals and time tables for the utilisation of the electronic networking as the basis of a new era of educational research and policy formulation in Africa. As a first step, we propose that all future colloquia include a technology fair and training workshops in as many languages as possible.

Joint research projects and programmes

We agree to establish thematically based research teams to investigate, among others, the following areas and to report back regularly to the constituency serviced by the Panafrican Colloquium through a yet to be established Journal of African Education.

- * Language-in-Education in Africa, including:
 - Language, culture, mathematics, science and technology nexus;
 - Multilingualism and language in education policy;
 - Adult and early literacy programmes;
- * An All-African series of books of creative literature for the senior primary and junior secondary school;
- * Educational publishing;
- * Rural and community education;
- * Democratisation of policy, governance and of educational process;
- * The financing of educational reform;
- * Paradigms and methods of research in education
- * Higher education;
- * Education in relation to production processes;
- * Gender and education;

- * Autochthonous knowledge and educational systems of Africa;
- * Curriculum development and the professional development of teachers;
- * Social change and Comparative Education;
- * Education and the media;
- * Alternative educational systems and pedagogies;
- * Environmental and ecological education;
- * Learners with Special Educational needs.

We realise that much research is already taking place in many of these areas. We want to develop new conceptual frameworks for research towards the goal of social transformation that will deal with the problems of poverty and inequality that confront all the countries of Africa.

The research teams will liaise closely with existing educational research networks. They are, however, enjoined to define their agenda and to approach their tasks from the point of view of the African continent as a whole. The co-convening organisations of the Panafrican Colloquium are hereby mandated to drive the implementation of this agenda during the next three-year period.

Finally, we see these projects as the necessary, if modest, beginning for unlocking the vast creative potential of Africa's people in general and of Africa's educators in particular.

University of Cape Town, South Africa

Thursday, 15 December 1994