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Education for black people: instrument of colonization or mechanism for liberation?

Andrée Nicola McLaughlin

University of Massachusetts Amherst

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EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE:
INSTRUMENT OF COLONIZATION
OR MECHANISM FOR LIBERATION?

A Dissertation Presented

By

Andre Nicola McLaughlin

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

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EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE:

INSTRUMENT OF COLONIZATION OR MECHANISM FOR LIBERATION?

A Dissertation

By

Andre Nicola McLaughlin

Approved as to style and content by:

Dr. Gloria I. Joseph, Chairman of Committee
Dr. Thomas Clark, Member
Dr. Johnnetta B. Cole, Member
Dr. Frederick Preston, Member

Dwight W. Allen, Dean
School of Education

January, 1974
DEDICATION

To my mother and father, my brother, Don, my sister, JoAnn, and my extended family who provided me with the motivation to do the analysis necessary for any fruitful participation in the liberation struggle through their love and apparent pride in my quest for truth...

To Gloria I. Joseph, my mentor and great friend who gave greatest contribution in helping to create the critical consciousness of which I am today in possession by her being the epitome of the "revolutionary educator" and the best example of her own leadership...

To the students of the Che-Lumumba School for Truth and my three godsons, Malik Chandler, Solomon Commissiong and Babatundi Ladipo, the young men and women who will transform today and construct our vision of tomorrow...

To all oppressed peoples who carry in their hearts the basic requisite for survival and struggle—faith...

This is for you, with my love and my promise to fight for liberation as long as there is breath in me.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In everyone's life there are certain people one remembers for their contribution to one's personal development—intellectually, spiritually and emotionally. Accordingly, my thanks go to the people who will always stay with me in spirit and in mind, and of whom I am so much apart, I do not know where my ideas end and their's begin: Rosa Blanco, who has encouraged my efforts through her own exemplary work ethic; Dee Clarke, who in her typing of this paper, eating when I ate, sleeping when I slept and working when I worked, taught me the meaning of real friendship; Paul and Rochelle Chandler, who helped to shape my commitment to the struggle via three years of shared discussions, debates and efforts—all towards the construction of the most viable agenda for education for liberation; Dr. Johnnetta Cole, whose commitment to liberation is attested to everyday by her level of versatile involvement in the struggle which constantly challenges me to try to do more; Dr. Wilesse Commissiong, with whom I shared my most personal and creative thoughts which only a sensitive artist like herself could appreciate; Simone Gouverneur, who broadened my framework for scientific analysis and action by selflessly sharing his years of research, travel, work and political activity; Caryn Hobbs, who showed me how to remember the "joy of living" through her own appreciation of nature's beauty and her enthusiastic quest for knowledge; Dr. Gloria I. Joseph, who taught me the responsibilities of a progressive educator and person, and of the beauty and duty of black womanhood through her own actions; Acklyn Lynch, who, through his
teaching, provided me with methods for determining the dimensions of oppression and the profound responsibilities of those who choose to wage the struggle; and my brother, Don, who unhesitantly challenged me to resolve contradictions between rhetoric and action. I also extend my appreciation to Dr. Thomas Clark and Dr. Fred Preston who were generous in the provision of their time and assistance towards the completion of this paper. To all of them, I give thanks for having known them and for their contribution to this work in a multiplicity of ways for which words cannot do justice.
EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE:
INSTRUMENT OF COLONIZATION OR MECHANISM FOR LIBERATION?

(January, 1974)

Andre Nicola McLaughlin  B.S., Cornell University, Ithaca, New York
M. Ed., University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. Gloria I. Joseph

ABSTRACT

As a candid and uncompromising examination of the intent behind the failings of education in the United States of America and societies dominated by capitalist production, this study specifies the dimensions of the failure of colonial education with regards to oppressed peoples, and provides a theoretical framework for the construction of independent educational alternatives designed to assist in the altering of the objective condition of oppressed peoples.

With specific attention to peoples of African descent in the United States of America, this dissertation constitutes an interdisciplinary approach in the determination of: a definition of politics; the political nature of education; the inter-relationship of education and colonization; the socio-political implications of colonial education for the oppressed; the economic and political trends that determined the history of education for Africans in America; the intent of State-supported educational alternatives for black people; the
fundamental dimensions of an educational philosophy that will aid in the release of African people from imperialist domination; the significance of existing socialist models of education to the African condition; a progressive definition of education; the value of revolutionary education as measured by the mobility of ideas; the role of the new educator; the ideology and value system that should govern revolutionary education; and a plan for a pedagogy of the oppressed as it relates to African people in America. It calls into view past and current writings and research in anthropology, education, history, sociology, and political science, upon which the analysis is built. As is applicable to education and the collective condition of the colonized, this study lends analysis to popular notions such as "equal opportunity" and "economic mobility," social definitions such as "uneducable" and "underdeveloped," and current social realities in education such as "black studies," "community control," and the "open classroom."

With two-fold intent, the dissertation clarifies how colonial education has been historically utilized as a political tool for the intensification of class distinctions and the perpetuation of color imperatives in order to sustain colonization and maintain an unegalitarian social and economic order; and how education, as a redefined factor within a radically different framework as it applies to purpose, direction, content, and structure, can be a mechanism for the transformation of the social realities to which the oppressed are victim.

The analysis acknowledges the inter-relationship of education and
capitalism as factors related to the reduction of oppressed people in every facet of their social existence; and mandates an active, methodological disengagement from the system of colonial education and its ideas, on the part of the colonized, the goal being liberation.
FOREWORD

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IF WE MUST DIE

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

Claude McKay
FOREWORD

The writing of this dissertation finds me near the termination of my 25th year, with 20 of those years being in the confines of academia. The content of the paper, however, represents the intellectual understanding that I have developed of the nature of man's historical social development and education in that context after only five years of participation in the struggle for the liberation of all African peoples, after only two years in the struggle for the liberation of peoples of the Third World, and after only one year in the struggle for the liberation of humankind from the wretchedness wrought by capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and sexism. So I confess that I am a "babe" in league with the forces that are fighting for global social transformation.

My major impetus for this writing, then, would be the fact that I am an 'old' woman with regards to the objective conditions of economic exploitation, cultural domination, racial oppression and sex discrimination that I have endured personally as a member of an oppressed class, and not so personally, but that I have endured nonetheless.

What circumstances generated the content of this paper? Summarily, my experience as a tenant of the worst slumlord in the 20th century — American education. Therefore, I offer this work, EDUCATION FOR BLACK PEOPLE: INSTRUMENT OF COLONIZATION OR MECHANISM FOR LIBERATION? as an analysis of oppressed peoples' relationship to education, in the
hopes that all persons struggling against the degradation of any human and for
the total emancipation of humankind can find some use for this analysis in
their day-to-day struggles.

It is my further hope that this work will offer food for great thought
and for greater action for those members of oppressed national groups who
believe, at this juncture in world history, that educational reform and token
positions of authority will redeem the dignity of the world's millions of op-
pressed peoples.

What is proposed herein is the challenge of the twentieth century—
education for liberation.
INTRODUCTION

For nearly five hundred years, race and profit have been major dynamics which have determined man's relationship to man. In contemporary times, these two factors still define the realities of the great majority of the world's population. Manifest in the phenomena commonly referred to as racism, capitalism and imperialism, race and profit are the dynamics dominating man's existence. In societies dominated by the dynamics of race and profit, education emerged for the purposes of intensifying class distinctions and generating and perpetuating color imperatives.

History attests to the fact that education in capitalist societies emerged with the capitalist relatives of production and is entirely subordinate to the law of profit. Wherever capitalism dominates the economy, education is designed in such a manner as to protect the national interest, specifically, the class nature of society. Therefore, the education that the people of a class society receive must imbue them with values, principles, codes, etc. that justify the low station of life for many people in society and simultaneously offer them hope for social equality and economic mobility in the broader society. One of the ideas that is socially acceptable in capitalist societies is racism. Due to the fact that it is, many times, people of color that occupy the low station of life in capitalist society, racism sanctions their position vis-a-vis their assigned quality of "barbarism." Racism, as an idea, arose with the specific purpose of disguising the shortcomings of the capitalist course of social development.

Since the advent of capitalism, much of the world's population exists
under colonial domination wherein their societies, and most importantly, their economies are dominated by others outside of their societies and not by the indigenous people. Colonialism as a dynamic has institutionalized the interests of capitalism in all facets of society, including education. Consequently, the interests of persons under colonial rule are subverted in favor of the interests of those who control with the assistance of an education designed to transform the younger generation in accordance with the colonizer's perception of the world, for the purpose of consolidating capitalist or imperialist rule.

An education designed to serve the interests of a few, a privileged elite, or to sustain colonization (i.e. bourgeois education) is exploitative and cannot qualitatively service the masses of the world, nor can it alleviate or eliminate their objective conditions including poverty, loss of self-esteem, etc. So bourgeois education or education that exists as an instrument of exploitation and/or colonization via the perpetuation of color imperatives and the intensification of class distinctions is the initial problem to which this dissertation addresses itself.

In the development of the analysis, the ideas of great political theorists and philosophers of the past and present are called upon with the aim of generating the clearest and most viable theoretical framework of a pedagogy for the oppressed. There are points of great variance among many of these people, historically and in their works, yet, without foresaking historical fact and logical development, it is with the intent of "taking the best and leaving the rest" that their ideas are incorporated into this work.
The relationship that the analysis in the first part of the thesis has to black people in the United States of America is most significant in view of the black population's quest for equal education as a seeming prerequisite for equal work. The fact, however, is that the black population represents a domestic colony. Black people's occupying the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder in the United States and being victim to racism are parts of the national agenda of the country. Thus, black people made a major leap forward in their demands for community control of education in the cities and relevant education on the campuses, primarily because the educational system of the colonial power, the United States of America, received the blame for the objective condition of the black masses for which it was, in fact, largely responsible. In response to these demands, President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" saw the construction of many deceptive educational programs that would ultimately accrue little or no benefits to its recipients, due to their being designed to serve black interests only as tangential to their primary intent to satisfy profiteering interests. With the impending failure of its "new bottles," education, from its use of drugs to control black children to its maintenance of large numbers of undirected black youth on its campuses, is increasingly playing a custodial role with regards to the black population.

Black people are coming to the realization that there must be a fundamental change in education from its very core. Just as the painting of a car a new color does not guarantee its greater performance, the frilled education of black people will not offer the black population any more mileage out of the
American system. The futility of reform as it applies to education will come to the attention of the black masses in the next few years as the endangered economy of the country threatens to deny equal work for blacks despite their credentials symbolizing equal education. Only a philosophy of education that is radically different from the one to which the black population has been victim, and that is put into practice, will provide the conditions for altering the harsh realities in the Americas. Section II of the dissertation poses the historical consequences of educational reform in the United States with regards to the black population, and points up the necessity for a black philosophy of education.

The primary shortcoming of the efforts of black people in their demands made upon American education, was that the efforts were without an ideological framework, or one that was a radical alternative to that which the United States promotes. Only nations that have a new ideological basis, as in the cases of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Peoples Republic of China and the Republic of Cuba, can qualitatively alter their objective conditions. This is the subject of Section III.

Unless black people accept the challenge to change the ideological basis of our existence, the mental and physical violence in the schools is destined to continue. The platform for the transforming of our aspirations and ideas into reality is clear; over fifty percent of the black population is seventeen years of age and under. Yet, the educational system of the United States can offer them nothing different from what it offered their parents.
Already, independent educational projects, constructed by black educators, have sprung up around the nation to perform the great task of the re-education and education of the black masses. In order to be of service to the black population, these programs cannot content themselves with successfully developing proficiency in the 3 R's, but must provide the knowledge, skills and experiential opportunities for the development of a new black generation, clearly with the intent of social transformation. We must rip the sheet off of the ghost of American education, expose the skeleton, and proceed to provide the education necessary within the framework of a new ideology, philosophy and value system leading to world revolution.

This is the challenge to all educators. The future course of education for black people—INSTRUMENT OF COLONIZATION OR MECHANISM FOR LIBERATION?—is dependent upon our actions in the present. The concluding section of this dissertation offers a theoretical scheme for education for black liberation.
1. "Education: A Critique From China; Pedagogical Theory: Bourgeois Or Socialist", Far East Reporter, p. 11
The nature and cause of the conflict is influenced by the development of productive forces. That is, in any given class formation, whether it be feudalism, capitalism or any other type of society, the institutions and ideas associated with it arise from the level of productive forces and the mode of production.

Kwame Nkrumah,
The Class Struggle in Africa
CHAPTER I

WHY EDUCATION IS POLITICAL

The topic of education has been the subject for many progressive analyses, including education's relationship to other existing institutions in a given society; its impact with regards to facilitating certain social phenomena; its relationship to the maintenance of the relations of production in a given society; and its role in sustaining the societal infrastructure. Much of such analyses acknowledge education's political character as resultant from its operative functioning in relationship to a particular system of government. These analyses, however, are often limited to characterizing education as political "by association." In such characterizations, education to a large degree is not viewed as political in its essence, but only political in its complexion—to the extent that educational systems of various societies are in some manner affected by the controls of the governance structures of those societies.

While a significant segment of the population of the United States would agree that education functions for the welfare of the State, education's political character in relation to its hypostasis is imperceptible to the general American public. In keeping with this fact is the current reality that within societies dominated by the economic system of capitalism, the word "politics" is invariably equated with electoral politics or the workings of a government system. It is significant that the peoples of such societies do not have
a broader consciousness of politics or a basic understanding of the political nature of their existence, for "politics" is mystified to illicit a view of it as a domain in which only a "sophisticated few" are and should be involved to any large degree. Although people of socialist-aspirant societies and socialist consciousness accept a broader understanding of politics wherein the word "politics" is not limited to mean "having to do with systems of government," and the arena of politics is not viewed as the restricted domain of a few, often politics is limited to clarifying man's relationship to man since the advent of imperialism.

A consideration of education's political character cannot be separated from the analyses developed by Mikahil Bakunin, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Mao Tse Tung, Karl Marx and Kwame Nkrumah. The written works of these men constitute the groundwork for a better understanding of the political nature of man's social development and existence. It is with the support of their ideas that the political nature of education will be explored, education representing just one facet of man's social existence.

Preceding a discussion of "Why education is political?", a more appropriate discussion would be "When did politics begin?" and "What is politics?". The premise herein is that politics began with the establishment of ideology or an ordered set of ideas peculiar to a given society or community. There are various theories about how societies arose including evolutionist, idealist, etc., yet pertinent to this discussion is the fact that basic to any
society is a form of production which forges a commonality in the principles, values, attitudes that comprise its identity and distinguishes it from other societies.

Consciousness: The Result Of Man's Struggle With His Social And Natural Circumstances

If it is true that man is a product of his environment or a product of his social and natural circumstances, then man's consciousness is developed in relationship to those circumstances and his struggle to survive in that context. Primitive man's adaption of nature to suit human needs predated his development of language. This fact would suggest, then, that it was initially man's natural and social realities that determined his consciousness. The following statements of Mikahil Bakunin concur with this premise:

"All we can say with full certainty is that those ideas, were not conceived spontaneously by the miraculously enlightened intelligences of isolated and inspired individuals. They were the product of the collective, in many cases hardly perceptible, mental labor of all the individuals belonging to those societies...The subject matter of those thoughts was not the spontaneous creation of man's mind, but was at first given to him by the actual world—whether external or internal." (emphasis mine)

Accordingly, the ideas that man generated were based on his natural or external world and his social or internal world. These natural and social circumstances defined the material condition of man. Irrespective of what constituted the first thoughts or ideas, both developed in specific relationship
to man's struggle with his material condition. This notion is fundamental to

a statement by Marx wherein he states that, "It is not the consciousness of

men that determines their existence, but the contrary, their social existence
determines their consciousness."  

The Character Of The Struggle Gives Social Identity

Initially, man operated as many other lower forms of animal life in the adaptation of nature to meet human needs. It was man's creation of a process of production that made his functioning in the world distinct from other living things. Karl Marx has said: "They (humans) themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence." The basic distinguishing factor amongst men, therefore, would be the kind of production process they engaged in to meet their needs.

The "mode" of production would, in turn, be crucial to the identity of the given society. In Karl Marx's writing, "The Materialist Conception of History", he states that, "The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual process of life." Cheikh Anta Diop gives a poignant example of how the kind of process of production of different ancient societies influenced the identities of those societies, in The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa:
"It was the Indo-European nomads of the Eurasian steppes...who introduced cremation and the worship of fire to the Mediterranean. The agricultural peoples who lived in this region practiced burial."

"The nomadic origin of cremation and the sedentary, agricultural origin of burial...Cremation was the only means for a people with no fixed dwelling place to carry the ashes of their ancestors and to worship. Tombs and statues are meaningless in a nomadic life."

"The question is...of the same religious thought—ancestor worship—differently interpreted by the nomads and the sedentary people.""

Herein is an example of how the production processes influenced the character of two different societies. Although both the nomadic and sedentary peoples believed in ancestor worship, their modes of production, hunting or farming, determined the character of a particular spiritual process—ancestor worship—and thus, affected the character of the general societies or their differing community identities.

Within the context of varying modes of production, humankind developed ideas that were aimed at gathering a better understanding of their objective world—nature and man—as they sought to make nature more adaptable to human needs. The composite of interlinked ideas which constitute ideology, and which developed much later in humankind's history, was aimed at social development based on the material condition in which the society found itself. Central to a discussion of ideology and social development are definitive contentions about both.
Ideology Expresses The Social Identity And Marks The Course Of Social Development

Firstly, in *Political Work — The Lifeline of All Work*, it is stated that "the entire history of social development is above all one in which people enter into certain relations of production for engaging in material production." Concerning ideology, it is the contention of Nkrumah, in "Society and Ideology" that "ideology aims at uniting the actions toward specific goals and seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society." Accordingly, a community's ideas about the nature of social development or the quality social order they desired to create were, in effect, ideas about a desired relation of production which would reflect the material condition of that society and the society's understanding of the laws of the objective world. Broadly speaking, ideology would thus seek to create, reinforce, transform and/or eliminate a certain mode of production. The development of ideology represented the community's conscious endeavor to unite the social efforts in determining the quality of the community's social existence. Moreover, an ideology would reflect the collective experience of the society it sought to unite— their ideas as determined by the people's historical struggle with their material condition. This is why Nkrumah says that ideology is the key to a society's identity.

The establishment of a system of ideas represented the second basis of politics, the first being the production process, for with the establish-
ment of ideology concerning a desired social existence, there were realized human-generated laws, principles, codes, etc., that would determine man's relationship to man or a group of people's inter and intra-relationships as these relationships facilitated the development of a specific order via certain relations of production. Given the fact that fundamentally, it is ideology which governs a given society's relationships, ideology clearly represents political thought.

Politics ensue when a community's social existence is not wholly guided by its social and natural circumstances (i.e. subsistence), but by the ideas which it projects as desirable for the success of a certain production process. In discussing social development, _Political Work—The Lifeline of All Work_ makes mention of the fact that "The main difference between man and other animals is that the former can consciously create and use different tools to transform objects of nature and make them suit his needs." Therefore, the ideas that man projects would determine the use and the form of the tools as they apply to transforming his objective world. Supportive of this contention is Frederick Engels statement: "Man who for the first time becomes the real conscious lord of nature because he has now become master of his social organization."
The Political Complexity Of Social Organization Corresponds With The Integration Of The Political Thought Into Society

Politics implies social organization—a society where there is governance by the political thought of the given society. Not limited to affecting the quality of man's struggle with nature, political thought assumes a dynamism with regards to the societal context out of which it develops. According to Bakunin:

"Later... (ideas)... having become solidly established in a well-ordered system in the intellectual consciousness of a given society, they become the causal agents of new phenomena, phenomena of a social and not of a purely natural order. They end by modifying and transforming... human customs and institutions—in a word, the whole field of inter-relationships in a society..."

Similarly, Nkrumah argues that "It is ideology which gives countenance to the ensuing social milieu." Thus, politics is not only operative in terms of the governing man's relationships but it assumes a dynamism that seeks to realize itself in the concrete facets of the social existence of man. The political nature of man's existence is compounded when the historical, pre-established political thought or ideology begins to influence the 'new' thought; when it is the basis for all of men's actions in the society; and when it takes root in the traditions, values and aesthetics of a society. Karl Marx has said: "Theory too becomes a material force as soon as it grips the masses." The political complexity of man's existence is, therefore, in direct proportion to the ideology's integration into man's social existence.
Philosophical Basis Of Ideology Is Society's Understanding Of Its Historical Struggle

It was noted earlier that ideology reflected a given society's understanding of their condition. The understanding which hinged on society's struggle with its material condition was crucial in characterizing the quality ideology. It was man's understanding of the laws of the objective world that was key to the quality ideology for it constituted the ideology's philosophical basis. Karl Marx is renown for having classified the two philosophical basis which have generated ideology—materialist and idealist.

The materialist perception of the world acknowledges man's development from lower forms of life, and is founded on objective fact or what can be scientifically determined. A materialist consciousness views man's development as a natural one and recognizes the worth of man as the superior development of nature. It requires that a society function for the collective good of all men. On the contrary, idealism is founded in suppositions, ideas, and conceptions that have no scientific basis. An idealist consciousness acknowledges man's entry into the world with sin, and human dignity is only realized in proportion to man's submission to God. The idealist thought was not generated wholly from society's struggle with its social and natural condition, but from the consciousness of men. Bakunin argues the points of divergence between materialism and idealism as such:
"...the theoreticians of materialism start from the concept of matter and arrive at the ideas, whereas the idealists, taking for their starting point the pure, absolute ideas, and constantly reiterating the old myth of original sin — which is the only symbolic expression of their sad destiny — relapse, in theory and in practice, in to the realm of matter from which they seemingly find it impossible to disentangle themselves." 14

Bakunin further argues the differences in the two schools of thought:

"Materialism starts from animality in order to establish humanity; idealism starts from divinity in order to establish slavery and doom the masses to perpetual animality. Materialism denies free will and ends in the establishment of liberty. Idealism, in the name of human dignity, proclaims free will and founds authority on the ruins of every liberty." 15

Parallel to Bakunin's arguments are those of Nkrumah that state that the intrinsic value of his man as based upon a material view of the world "stands refreshingly opposed to the Christian idea of the original sin and degradation." In specifying the matter of materialism, Bakunin addresses himself to the "dignity, integrity and value of man" of which Nkrumah talks, as the manifestation of "closely interlinked evolutions":

"By these words, matter and material, we understand the totality, the heirarchy of real entities, beginning with the most simple organic bodies and ending with the structure and functioning of the brain of the greatest genius: the most sublime feelings, the greatest thoughts, the most heroic acts, acts of self-sacrifice, duties as well as rights, the voluntary renunciation of one's own welfare, of one's egoism..." 16

The philosophical basis, materialist or idealist, determined the substance of the ideology. The ideology or the intellectual consciousness
of the given society was generated into the social existence of the society by means of its institutions, architecture, literature, etc., and all these things reflected the philosophical basis of the ideology.

The Quality Social Organization Reflects The Quality Ideology

As a society's thoughts and ideas developed, they, in turn, influenced man's social existence. Ideology—"a material force when realized as the intellectual consciousness of a society"—was reflected by the quality of society. Conversely, the society reflected the ideology and most significantly, the philosophical basis of that ideology.

Historically, there has existed two major kinds of societies. One kind of society was based on the welfare of man and another on the welfare of things. The social organization of such societies similarly corresponded in construction. Accordingly, we note the existence of African civilization wherein social organization was designed in relationship to man—the family, the clan, the tribe, the nation. Parallel to that kind of social organization is the existence of social orders based on property—the city, the region, the federation or the state. With regards to African social organization, Walter Rodney has stated in *Groundings With My Brothers*:

"What is most fundamental is an attempt to evaluate the African contribution to the solution of problems posed by man's existence in society; and hence the stress placed in this paper on matters pertaining to social relations: codes of hospitality, processes of the law, public order and social and religious toler-
ance. In each of those areas of human social activity, African norms and practices were given a high value by Europeans themselves. They often reflected that the hospitality they saw in an African village was lacking in their communities; that the security of goods and persons in Africa stood in marked contrast to brigandage and degradation in Europe; and that the restraint of African law with respect to capital punishment was to be set off against the fact that dozens of offences were still punishable by death in Western Europe up to the 16th century."

Clearly, the character of African society operated to the benefit of humans.

In a social organization based on man, we see that laws, etc. and the very nature of the social structures are in deference to man or human needs. Contrarily, social organization based on property fostered inequities in social relations, for it permitted poverty, hunger, and other nuances of the degradation of man, because man's welfare was secondary to the man-given value of things. This is reflected in the social orders of many contemporary societies wherein the kind of social organization mandates a secondary consideration of man.

These contrasting forms of social organization, with us in the present, represent fundamentally different understandings of the objective world—materialist and idealist. Accordingly, in the latter form of social organization, social phenomena, such as the disproportionate distribution of goods, egalitarian human conditions, etc. receive sanctity in "god's will", "divine hierarchy", "manifest destiny" and the like, as exemplified in slave, feudal and capitalist societies. Such inequities receive no justification in a philosophical
understanding grounded in objective fact because they do not constitute social relations based on man's material condition. Further, in keeping with Bakunin's thoughts on the divergence in materialism and idealism, a humanist constructed social order would deny free will for the good of the collective and work towards true freedom, while social organization based on things will proclaim free will and preserve inequities wrought by free will (e.g. disproportionate accumulation of land by individuals, permissiveness, etc.), by refuge in ideas that have no basis in objective fact.

Ideology: Bourgeois Or Socialist

Human-generated laws which govern man's behavior or social relations can be seen as stemming from two kinds of ideologies—a materialist based ideology and an idealist based ideology. Bakunin classifies such laws as follows:

1) "laws based on what are natural economic and social laws inherent in things, in relations, in situations, the natural development of which is expressed by those laws and
2) those laws imposed upon men by men." 18

Due to the fact that an idealist grounded ideology is potentially exploitative because it does not seek to order man's social existence by virtue of his objective world, the historical fact is that such an ideology has resulted in the exploitation of man by man. The social relations resulting from an idealist ideology does not project what is natural as "inherent in things, in relations, in situations," but the contrary. Lenin has classified such ideology as "bourgeois",

always implicitly for the collective good of the people of the society. With the introduction of government structure, the philosophical basis of the ideology as reflected in the social existence of the people, would determine the nature of the governance structure.

What is key is that the government system, as other social structures, reflect an ideology with a specific philosophical basis. It is the ideology which governs and is the determinant of all social relations. It is not the structure or government system itself that define politics, but the ideology of the society which determines the actions of members of its society. So the government structure is not politics, though it may facilitate politics. The necessary requisite for politics is ideas not structure.

It was essential that the structure of governance be based upon human organization as opposed to an organization around property interests, for the latter would allow a relative minority to determine the social existence of society and the social order would be susceptible to reflecting the ideas of that minority, specifically those controlling the structure, instead of reflecting the collective experience of the people. Social organization determined by property and specifically private property relations, created the need for an apparatus that would defend the philosophical basis of idealism as opposed to the collective democratic administration of affairs. This kind of government structure that would develop from the interests of private property, would preclude the general society's involvement in the production of ideas
meaning to serve the interests of the capitalist or exploiting class. The ideology which realizes a humanist form of social organization based on "natural laws" and serves the collective society is classified by Lenin as "socialist."

The materialist philosophical understanding which characterizes the social organization and development termed "socialist", is spoken to by Nkrumah in his comments about traditional African societies:

"The traditional face of Africa includes an attitude towards man which can only be described, in its social manifestation, as being socialist. This arises from the fact that man is regarded in Africa as primarily a spiritual being, a being endowed originally with a certain inward dignity, integrity and value." 19

An ideology based on the intrinsic value of man then, would be reflected in socialist social structures of the society. Nkrumah in his comments about "Society and Ideology" makes reference to this in relationship to Africa:

"This idea of the original value of man imposes duties of a socialist kind upon us. Herein lies the theoretical basis of African communalism. This theoretical basis expressed itself on the social level in terms of institutions such as the clan, underlining the initial equality of all and the responsibility of many for one." 20

Ideology: The Realm Of The Masses Or The Realm Of A Few?

Another dimension of politics developed when the ideology lent itself to structural governance to ensure the stabilization of the set of ideas. Here, politics via the governance structure became responsible for generating the ideology thereby, influencing, modifying and/or transforming the set of ideas,
determining their social relations. When this happens, the masses of the people of a given society become irresponsible for generating ideas basic to the ideology which was to reflect their collective experience. This reality, best exemplified in the U.S.A., led James Boggs in *Racism and the Class Struggle* to call the American people "the most politically backward nation," for the people are no longer responsible for generating their ideology or political thought, but instead comfortably view it as the domain of a few. The American people, thus, no longer act as interpreters of their collective experience based on their objective condition, but unknowingly allow a few persons to determine their social relations and the overall character of their society. Consequently, the people do not control their destiny.

**Bourgeois Or Socialist Ideology: The Cause Of Social Conflict**

Ideology or political thought is everchanging to reflect the ongoing experience of the society. Bourgeois ideology, however, changes as is necessary for the interests of a few as opposed to the collective society. In societies where the collective good is not cared for and all of human's concrete needs are not satisfied—a characteristic of all capitalist societies—the material condition of the society does not necessitate the exploitative social relations, but reflects elements in the ideology, essentially its philosophical basis, which accommodated room for ideas for exploitation. A most lucid example is that sited by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau in *To Serve the Devil*: 
"The colonizers came to the New World believing that colored people were inferior, and used that ideology to justify the enslavement of Blacks, the killing of Indians and Mexicans, and the importation of Oriental labor for work considered unfit for whites. The identification of colored skin with evil, with the devil, with inferiority, infused the entire culture of the Anglo-Saxons during the first centuries of colonization.

"In each case, the racism coincided with economic need for slave labor and for land."22

Politics becomes more complex when there exists more than one ideology within a society and between or among societies that govern man's relationship to man. The fact that different ideologies—bourgeois and socialist—stem from fundamentally different understandings of the objective world, accounts for human conflict. Concerning different ideologies between societies, Nkrumah says:

"While societies with different social systems can co-exist, their ideologies cannot."23

Concerning differing ideologies in a given society, he states that:

"In societies where there are competing ideologies, it is still usual for one ideology to be dominant. This dominant ideology is that of the ruling group."24

Different ideologies account for differing courses of social development and variances in the ensuing social relations. Therefore, differences in ideology are generally the casual agents in conflicts between different societies or groups within a given society.
Education's political character is inextricable from the political nature of man's social existence. Nearly everything which comprises man's objective condition is political in its essence, for their state of being reinforces certain relations of production which give character to the social order and man's social existence, reflecting the intellectual consciousness of society. This is true of the simple tangible objects in a society as well as its social structures. The existence of certain social structures in a given society—educational, religious, etc.—are products of the society's ideology and function in such a manner as to maintain and develop the ideological foundation of society. Such is true of the psychology of man in any given society. Ideology accepted as the intellectual consciousness begins to determine his social existence and his thoughts which, in turn, determine man's behavior. Ideology predetermines the behavior of individuals of a society. In effect, ideology determines the psychology of the entire society. Supportive of this is Bakunin's refutation of the notion of innate ideas and his acknowledgement of their existence only in the historical development of the human mind through the ages.

It is his view that the well-established intellectual consciousness of a given society, through its institutions, the inter-relationships in society and its embodiment in common objects are tangible and perceptible even to children. "The process of solidifying the intellectual consciousness," according to Bakunin:
"... is so thorough that every new generation becomes permeated with it from a tender age; and when it reaches the age of maturity, when the work of its own thought begins to assert itself—a work accompanied by a new criticism—it finds within itself, as well as in the surrounding society, a whole world of established thoughts and ideas which serve as the starting point, the new material, the texture for its own intellectual and moral labor. Those ideas comprise the traditional and everyday notions created by imagination which the metaphysicians—deceived by the wholly unsensory and unnoticeable way in which those notions, coming from the outside penetrate and impress themselves upon the child's brain, even before they reach his consciousness—erroneously call innate ideas." 27

Given the fact that man's entire existence is permeated with the society's ideology, all resulting education is political.

Education begins with the transmission of ideology or the intellectual consciousness to members of a society. The transmission thereof may be deliberate or unintentional. The deliberate transmission of any part or aspect of that ideology can be referred to as formal education. This includes the media of education such as television, books, etc. Informal education can be distinguished as that process whereby a person learns through his everyday experience and via the tangible and intangible, although such may be constructed in conformity to the intellectual consciousness of the society. The education process, nonetheless, is a political process. Moreover, formal education clearly has political intent, for it represents the deliberate transmission of ideology for purposes of stabilizing the ideology and thereby stabilizing certain relations of production which governs man's social relations. Educational
Institutions are, in fact, the instruments of ideology.

In most contemporary societies, the government system has assumed the responsibility for formal education by establishing and funding social structures (i.e. schools, colleges, universities) for this purpose. Even in instances where they do not establish all such social structures as in the case of private schools, colleges, and universities, they are still, however, empowered to determine whether the curriculum is in keeping with government guidelines—or more explicitly, whether the ideas that schools seeks to transmit coincide with the ideology of the society. Today, formal education is political, not primarily because it is affected by the controls of a political structure, but due to the fact that a significant part of the educational process constitutes the transmission of political thought.

When ideology, consisting of ideas for the maintenance of inequitable relations of production and for the benefit of a few as opposed to the collective society, is transmitted, this represents bourgeois education. Socialist education, on the other hand, seeks to maintain relations of production that serve the collective interests of the members of a given society, reflecting what is natural as is "inhérent in things, in situations, and in relations." Education represents either the materialist or idealist view and promotes the development of either a socialist (humanist) or bourgeois (property-designed) social order, respectively.

Where an ideology does not reflect the interpretive experience of the
collective society; where it dominates for the maintenance of inequitable relations of production between men and society; and where it exists for meeting the needs of a few at the expense of many—these phenomena characterize a form of social existence commonly called colonialism.

Given the fact that colonialism exists for exploitation, colonial education transmits bourgeois ideology. Colonial education is similar to bourgeois education in that both exist for exploitation purposes. However, the minor difference is that colonial education represents the imposition of the ideology of a given society on another society(s). Accordingly, it is no accident that the establishment of educational institutions is one of the first acts of the colonizing force. This represents the attempt to substitute the intellectual consciousness of the victimized group or society with that of the colonizer, or more definitively, to establish a political process consisting of political thought not forged from the material condition of the colonized or their understanding of that condition. It is in this view that Kwame Nkrumah opens up the introduction to Consciencism with:

"The lines of partition of Africa naturally affected the education of the colonized Africans. Students from English speaking territories went to Britain as a matter of course, just as those from French speaking territories went to France as a matter of course. In this way, the yearning for formal education which African students could only satisfy at great cost of effort, will, and sacrifice, was hemmed in within the confines of the colonial system."28

The quality education, formal or informal, in a given society is deter-
mined by the quality ideology of the society. A bourgeois ideology defines a bourgeois education as does a socialist ideology define a socialist education. Political structures or government systems are engaged in a multiplicity of efforts to effect a certain course of social development via the transmission of a certain ideology. Formal education represents just one such effort, but a significant one.

More than the fact that education is an instrument of politics it is the quiddity of education—ideology—that determines its political character. It is this essential quality that implicates education in the efforts to maintain or change man's social existence as determined by bourgeois or socialist ideology. In the circumstances of these efforts comprising the dynamic which is today governing man's relationship to man and a given society's inter and intra-relationships, education is not unaffected; it is an extension of the political nature of man's social existence.
SUMMARY

Ideology is a crucial determinant in all of man's behavior for it governs man's social relations. It is a system of ideas developed in relation to struggle with his material condition. Politics is operative ideology—ideas governing the behavior of members of society towards a certain course of social development. The philosophical premises for ideology are materialist and idealist. The latter is the premise for bourgeois ideology which consists of ideas for the profit of a privileged few, while the materialist premise constitutes the basis for socialist ideology which is comprised of ideas for the common good of all men in society. Without ideology or a set of ideas, politics cannot exist for there would be no scheme by which man's behavior is governed other than by his material condition. Politics is the fate of man—"homo sapien" or "thinking man."

It is ideology which governs man's social existence. As a material force, it determines the course of social development in a given society, which in turn, determines the character of all other facets of man's social existence. The manner in which it permeates society gives a political character to all the social structures, social relations and the infrastructure. Education is no exception. Any education to be had in a given society, formal or informal, is therefore, permeated with the pervasive thought of the society. Basic to a socialist education would be socialist ideology. Bourgeois education represents the transmission of bourgeois ideology. The same is true of
colonial education, with the minor difference being that colonial education constitutes the imposition of bourgeois ideology upon one nation by another nation.

The education process is a political process—one in which all societies have vested interests in order to stabilize their chosen course of social development.


6. Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

7. Ibid., p. 49.


11. Ibid., p. 9.


15. Ibid., p. 64.

16. Ibid., p. 67.


20. Ibid., pp. 68, 69.

22. Paul Jacobs; Saul Landau; Eve Pell, To Serve the Devil: Colonials and Sojourners, p. xxi.


24. Ibid., p. 57.


26. Ibid., p. 234.

27. Ibid., p. 238.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND COLONIZATION

Having established that the process of education involves the transmission of an ideology or a certain political thought, education is, summarily, a political process. Education in any society is constructed in accordance with the political thought of the given society. Those societies whose relations of production have been imposed or are externally controlled and are not the derived relatives of their collective experience, however, suffer the imposition of a quality political thought foreign to their ethos, and education in such societies reflect the inapplicability of this foreign ideology through the degenerating state of the masses of people. This degenerating state is the unilateral characteristic of colonialism, the continued existence of which is the purpose of colonial education.

Given the fact that social organization or the relations of production amongst people in the world are established in either of two fashions (with variations thereof)—socialist, whereby the means of production and distribution are collectively owned by the people and are controlled through the government in the collective interests of the people, and capitalist, whereby the relations of production are based on private property, competition and the production of goods for profit wherein the labor of many is exploited to effect capital gains for a few—only capitalist societies can, theoretically and practically, effect colonialism, to the extent that the masses of people of a given society do not
benefit from the quality social organization.

In order to accomplish capitalism and imperialism, colonialism is necessary. Colonialism is the policy by which the 'mother country', the colonial power, binds her colonies to herself by political ties with the primary object of promoting her own economic advantage. The stabilization of capitalism as a form of social development, or a basis by which human society is organized, necessitated colonization with education as the primary tool for perpetuating a privileged elite on one hand, and an increasing number of oppressed peoples who are the exploited labor of the privileged elite, on the other hand. Colonial education reflects an ideology grounded in idealism. Such education does not reflect the objective material reality, the interests, or the collective experience of the people it proposes to socially organize.

The accomplishment of capitalism represents the development of a certain ideological foundation whose ideas constitute the total ideology which may be modified and transformed to facilitate social development. This ideology represents the ongoing experience of the society and is everchanging to meet the demands of that experience. Capitalism represents the dialectical culmination of idealist-grounded ideas and exploitative social relations. Formerly, these ideas established feudalism and slavery as modes of social development, and for the most part, were peculiar in their origins to Europe.

With regards to social development or the "process of production", John Eaton in Political Economy states that this was the "labour process", 
and "is the process by which labour converts the material supplied by nature into wealth, the process of changing nature to serve the needs of man." Concerning the character of capitalism, Eaton had this to say:

"The societies which emerged from this 'primitive communism' have been class societies in which the basic class divisions have been between those who own the land or other things (such as buildings or plants) needed for production and those who are compelled to produce for others—exploiters and exploited."4

Capitalism as a means of social development or a process of production did not coincide with the production of material goods to serve the needs of the total society, but the production of material goods was for capital gain of those who claimed ownership of the means of production.

The following comments by Walter Rodney relate, in general terms, when and how capitalism consolidated itself as an ideology determining social development in a global context:

"By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the capitalist division of the world was complete. It was a division which made capitalists dominant over workers and white people dominant over black. At that point, everywhere in the world, white people held power—this goes without saying. In the Americas the white had committed mass murder as far as many 'Red Indian' tribes were concerned and they herded the rest into reservations like animals or forced them into the disadvantageous positions, geographically and economically, in Central and South America. In Australia and New Zealand, a similar thing had occurred on a much smaller scale. In Africa, Europeans reigned supreme except in a few isolated spots like Ethiopia; and where whites were actually settled, the Africans were reduced to the status of second class citizens in their own country. All this was following upon a historical experience
of 400 years of slavery, which had transferred millions of Africans to work and die in the New World. In Asia, Europe's power was felt everywhere except in Japan and areas controlled by Japan."5

This type of social organization, which emerged for profit, violated what Bakunin refers to as the "natural economic and social laws", and conflicted with the dominated man's understanding of the laws of the objective world.

The authors of To Serve the Devil site an historical example of this violation and conflict:

"The emerging American system was based on the increase of land holdings. Land was the great stake, and the whites always won any fight for it. They won not only because they had more deadly arms, but because Indians, Mexicans and Hawaiians did not understand the white European's view of the land or the depths of their desire for it. Individual possession and use of land was not a concept people like the Indians understood. They believed in a mystical relationship between Earth and the Sun, and thought that the land was for everyone. Sitting Bull once said his people were willing to 'yield to our neighbors, even our animal neighbors, the same right as ourselves to inhabit this land.'

"Such concepts, forged from a sense of collective identity, were unknown in the Old World, and so were foreign to most white Americans."6

Moreover, the consolidation of capitalist domination crystallized the violation of the dialectics of normal social development as Stalin explained genuine social development in Anarchism or Socialism:

"History teaches us that the class or social group which plays the principal role in social production and performs the main functions in production must, in the course of time, inevitably take control of that production."7
With the stabilization and importation of capitalism, and the consequent domination of land and rape of the wealth of the land, the colonizers stabilized their ideology or political thought, and the colonized lost the power of governing their affairs as determined by their indigenous political thought, and therefore, the power of determining their destines.

The nonhumanist and nonmaterialist nature of capitalism allowed the bourgeois ideology to travel and settle ruthlessly. Accordingly, this fact permitted the ideology of capitalism to instill itself at will. Successful efforts to transport these relations of production, i.e. the idea of capitalism and its all encompassing ideology, culminated in colonialism, for capitalism could not have developed as it has today without the New World and its markets. The original intent of colonialism was specifically for the purposes of guaranteeing the economic security of individuals who benefited from the capitalist relatives of production. The reasons for the desire for colonies by the European capitalist social orders are put forth by Nkrumah as such in *Towards Colonial Freedom*:

"(i) in order that they may have access to the raw materials of the colonies; (ii) in order to have markets for sale of the manufactured goods of the home country; and (iii) as a field for the investment of surplus capital."³

Nkrumah sites the measures taken by the colonial powers to safeguard the (afore-mentioned) first (i), and most important reason for colonial domination as such:
"(i) to make the colonies non-manufacturing dependencies; (ii) to prevent the colonial subjects from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries; (iii) to make colonial labour; and (iv) to prohibit the colonies from trading with other nations except through the 'mother country.'"9

Colonialism generated class imperative in the colonies as existed in the mother country, for the person who did not own property and did not have ownership of any of the means of production had to sell his labor in order to secure material goods for his needs. The working person thus was the exploited or oppressed person, placed in an economic stranglehold. The amelioration of his condition stood in direct opposition to capitalist objectives—the intensification of class imperatives for greater profit.

The reality of colonization marks it as a crucial determinant in the relations among persons, groups and societies. Eaton states that "The production relations in their totality constitute what are called the social relations..."10 As capitalism and imperialism permeated the social existence of man, these social relations became "power" relations representing the capitalists and the laborers or the oppressor and the oppressed.

Education conveniently fits into the scheme of colonization for imperialist domination, primarily because the substance of education in colonial societies represents the intellectual consciousness as it developed from capitalist relatives of production. The educational institutions established by the colonizer are for the purpose of transmitting this intellectual consciousness, thereby stabilizing capitalism and maintaining the exploitative nature of social relations.
that define the oppressor and the oppressed.

As capitalist nations pursued the course of imperialist domination, the resulting social order was rationalized through ideas not implicit or explicit in the material condition of man. Accordingly, the social order was represented as civilization juxtaposed to the representation of the dominated societies as "uncivilized", "savage", "barbaric", and the like. This representation justified their invasion and was the foundation of the imperialist logic. In "Colonialism and Imperialism", Nkrumah makes reference to the statements of one Albert Sarraut of France who refuted the "mission civilisatrice" policy in colonization:

"What is the use of painting truth? At the start, colonization was not an act of civilization, was not a desire to civilize. It was an act of force motivated by interests. An episode in the vital competition, which, from man to man, from group to group, has gone on everincreasing; the people who set out for taking and making of colonies in distant continents are thinking primarily only of themselves, and are working only for their own power, and conquering for their own profits...The origin of colonization is nothing else than enterprise of individual interests, a one-sided and egotistical imposition of the strong upon the weak." 11

Yet the notion of "mission civilisatrice" was incorporated into the bourgeois ideology which was institutionalized via bourgeois social structures. In this context, that of colonialism, educational institutions became one of the most decisive social structures for the imposition of the idealist conception of the objective world.

From the onset, colonial education was a powerful instrument for
generating bourgeois ideology which included among its ideas the imperialist logic for colonization. Colonial education, commencing with the Bible teachings through tutelage by missionaries, presupposed the savagery of the colonized, and thus, the colonized was schooled in the primitiveness of his social order, the barbarian habits of his society, the savagery of his customs, etc. The efforts to bring Christian education to the colonized was, in effect, designed to imbue him with an idealist understanding of his world and educate him to his inferiority for imperialist designs. The relationship between imperialism and Christianity is implied in the following comments by Eaton:

"The "supernatural" religions did not appear until later when class society began to emerge and the authority of the rulers representing propertied classes came to find reflection in the religious picture of a divine authority and divine hierarchy." 12

Christianity, as imported to the domains of colonialism, arose with the intensification of capitalist relations of production that were reflected in slave, feudal and capitalist societies. Such notions of "divine authority" and "divine heirarchy" upheld by the Christian teachings, permitted exploitation by the propertied classes. One instance of this historical fact is sited by Richard Moore in Caribs, "Cannibals" and Human Relations which concerned the colonization of the indigenous people of Trinidad: "The sanction of the Catholic rulers made it possible for Spanish colonizers to label the indigenous people "cannibals" and proceed to enslave them." 13 This was done on behalf of the propertied interests of Spain including the crown. Thus, Christianity was
instrumental in the transmission of bourgeois ideology and its role in colonial education is not to be undermined.

Inherent in the agenda of colonial education by means of the Christian dogma was the destruction of the colonized's cultural identity. Colonial education, hence posed itself to systematically destroy the history, the language, the tradition—in short, the identity of the colonized. Colonial education fostered this cultural domination by means of an education permeated with the ideology of the colonizer, including the inferiority of the colonized as a preliminary assumption of imperialism. The distortion of history, the eradication of tradition and the imposition of values all marked the mode of cultural domination through colonial education.

Frantz Fanon says of colonialism and the history of the colonized:

"Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the natives' brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today."14

Albert Memmi discusses the impact of colonial education as it relates to the history of Africans colonized by the French:

"The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him is not his own. He knows who Colbert or Cromwell was, but he learns nothing about Khaznadar; he knows about Joan of Arc, but not about El Kahena. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. He and his land are non-entities or exist only with reference to the Guals, the Franks or the Marne."15
With similar intent Carter G. Woodson stated of the education of the colonized Black in the U.S.A.:

"In history, of course, the Negro had no place in this curriculum. He was pictured as a human being of the lower order, unable to subject passion to reason, and therefore useful only when made the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for others. No thought was given to the history of Africa except in so far as it had been a field of exploitation for the Caucasian. You might study the history as it was offered... and you would never hear Africa mentioned except in the negative."16

As it does with history, colonialism also obliterates the tradition of the colonized or represents it as barbaric and twists its meaning. In Caribs, "Cannibals" and Human Relations, Robert Moore relates how the remains of human bones which the Carib people conserved as relics of their dead kinsmen construed by the Spanish conquerers as the remains of cannibal feasts. Such falsifications exist to the present day.

The African tradition of burial has been similarly misconstrued to portray savagery. Diop quotes Piganiol (Les Origines de Rome) who attributes this tradition to other than the material conditions of a sedentary people.

"The man who practices burial lives in a constant state of terror, where as the man who believes in cremation reminds one of a free thinker."18

"The peoples who worship the heavens have in their minds the idea of a kinship between the fire in their hearths, the atmosphere and the sun. By means of fire, the offerings which are burnt are scattered across the earth which is identical with the great god who is dispersed everywhere; and this invisible god condenses and become tangible in the flames. The earth worshippers communicate with their gods by
bringing their offerings to caves, by throwing them into abysses or by letting them slowly sink into swamps.

Such distortions receive sanctuary in colonial education. The colonized is educated to believe that his traditions are primitive and uncivilized and that he must conform to the habits and customs of the colonizer in order to be civilized.

Colonial education further puts forth that the language of the colonized is backward and underdeveloped and forbids the colonized's usage of his language. Due to language being a solidifying force and a definite link with one's culture, it is juxtaposed to the intents of cultural domination. Carter G. Woodson imparts the following as part of the reality of colonialism and education for Blacks in America:

"In the study of language in school, pupils were made to scoff at the Negro dialect as some peculiar possession of the Negro which they should despise rather than directed to study the background of this language as a broken-down African tongue— in short to understand their own linguistic history, which is certainly more important for them than the study of French Phonetics or Historical Spanish Grammar. To the African languages as such no attention was given except in case of the preparation of traders, missionaries and public functionaries to exploit the natives."

Similarly, when the United States of America assumed colonial rule of the island of Puerto Rico:

"The Americans constructed a system of free public schools for all...Puerto Ricans were instructed to model their school system as that of Massachusetts. English was, in most grades, to be the language of instruction...In the schools the language question
was bound up with loyalty to the United States. English was insisted upon--not as a second language, but as the official language of the schools. Thus, a child who had spoken Spanish from infancy and whose parents read Spanish newspapers, had to learn long division in English. His teachers was usually poorly educated and only barely able to speak English, let alone teach it. One of the most important factors in the President's choice of a commissioner of education was the man's attitude toward the primacy of the English language. ... A school system was established, but few children learned."

Justification for the obliteration of the language of the colonized is that it is equally victim of the savagery of the colonized. It is further claimed that the language is not a written language and/or that it has no words for explaining the modern technological existence of man.

The process of colonial education is in and of itself a process of value-imposition. The colonizer continually seeks to impose through the curriculum specific values that reinforce bourgeois ideology—the values, of course, reinforcing the social order generated by capitalist relatives of production. Colonial education brought with it, therefore, values of individualism, excessive consumption, value of private property and competition— all of which substituted the indigenous peoples' values of collective responsibility, modest consumption, the intrinsic worth of man and cooperation.

Jacob's and Landau's account of the colonization of the Hawaiian gives an example of value imposition through colonial education, specifically that education engineered by the missionaries:

"The missionaries established a relationship with the chiefs and the royal family, just as the traders had
done. One important measure of their new relationship was the control they exercised in the education of Kings' and Chiefs' children. "22

"...From teaching the Chiefs' children, the missionaries moved to lecturing the Kings and Chiefs on political economy and land reforms. They...helped establish a hereditary Kingdom. "23

"...The missionaries were convinced that accumulation of private property, especially of land, was God's way, so they disrupted the native concept of land tenure. "24

One David Malo protested: "...The attention of the chiefs...turned more to themselves and their own aggrandizement and they do not seek the welfare of the people as a nation. "25

Prior to the arrival of the missionaries, however, the arriving traders had already begun to disrupt the Hawaiian value system:

"...The chiefs forced the common people to collect the wood from all over the Island and carry it, often for long distances, to the ports where it was sold to white traders."26

"...The chiefs began to exploit their own people in order to acquire the costly goods shown them by the foreign traders. "27

"...The chiefs became brokers, exchanging the labor of their people and the natural resources of the Island for the money and goods of the foreigners. "28

Initially wrought by the traders' influence, the infiltration of the colonial value system into Polynesian culture was perpetuated by colonial education via the missionaries.

The imposition of values continues in colonial societies today through the media and the mode of colonial education. The texts, the curriculum, the
teachers themselves expound individualism, value of private property, excessive consumption and competition.

The fact that cultural domination is inextricably intertwined with imperialism is exemplified by Gordon Lewis' comments about education in Puerto Rico:

"Even today there is hardly a (U.S.) Congressional committee that visits the island that does not sooner or later betray the presence of at least one member who angrily notes the absence of a mastery of English in the island's common people as evidence of dangerous successionist ideas at work in the educational structure." 29

Frantz Fanon has stated that "to speak... a certain syntax... means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization." Logically then, the denial of a peoples' right to use their language is to deny them the assumption of their culture—the weight of their civilization. The distortion of history has similar intent. The implanting of numerous historical myths in the minds of the students of the colonial society is to engender, on the part of student, a voluntary rejection of his culture, and an embrace of the colonizer's reality. The distortion of history is a necessity of colonization in order to obscure the fallaciousness of other myths, particularly the colonized's "primitiveness", "savagery"—the crux of imperialist logic. Tradition must be denounced and eradicated on similar basis—their barbarianism—for the continued practice of habits and customs would afford the colonized some connection with their culture. Too, the values of the colonized are considered obstructive to the imposed production process and thus, to capitalist industry.
Cultural domination is a mechanism for divorcing the colonized from his own perception of the world. Colonial education affords the most systematic means for doing this. Manuel Maldonado-Denis in Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation speaks to the intent of cultural domination via intellectual colonization:

"As is natural, a process of this kind must penetrate to the roots of the culture, for cultural resistance to the social and political changes imposed by the colonizers generally involves an affirmation by the masses of their own life style. Because domination is not only the material but also the spiritual suppression of one nation by another, in colonialism, soldiers, capitalists, priests, and teachers march hand in hand. The cultural assimilation of a colony by the colonial power is nothing but the culmination of the process by which the nationality of the occupied country is destroyed or dissolved. . ." 31

The efforts to culturally dominate another society are efforts to halt the fluidity of any set of ideas that are potentially disruptive to the ideology of the colonizer, and are simultaneously, efforts to facilitate the acceptance of certain ideas that will reinforce the relations of material production that the colonizers' promote. Colonial education is intertwined with these efforts and consequently the larger efforts of imperialism. Accordingly, Marx speaks to the relationship between mental production and material production in situations of economic dominance:

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same
time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance. "32

Colonial education is, thereby, a tool of the dominant for the purposes of instilling the ideas of the colonizer which uphold the dominating mode of material production.

It was noted earlier that the capitalist relatives of production is characterized by a minority who owns the means of production and those laborers who have to sell their labor to that minority in order to secure material goods for human needs—education having developed to reinforce the phenomena of capitalism. Although education has been projected as an extension of benevolence on the part of capitalist governments, and the people have accepted such as the route for social equality and economic mobility, quite the contrary is true. More often than not, education was imposed on the worker and the colonized, and was justified as a means to ameliorate their condition, when in fact, it was intended that the process of production be aided and facilitated by a sufficient yet limited number of educated laborers in pre-determined capacities, thereby expanding the wealth of production (through upgraded personnel) and concentrating it in the hands of the owners of the means of production, only intensifying the already existing gap between the have and the havenots.

The augmentation of economic and social stratification by means of edu-
cation is evident with close analysis. David Cohen and Marvin Lazerson in "Education and the Labor Force" speak to the development of education in the United States as a major extension of capitalist industry:

"In our view the main developments in education since the late nineteenth century involve the school's adaptation to industrialism and the conflicts this engendered... The school's role was to socialize economically desirable values and behavior, teach vocational skills, and provide education consistent with students' expected occupational attainment. As a result, the school's culture became closely identified with the ethos of the workplace. Schooling came to be seen as work or the preparation for work; schools were pictured as factories, educators as industrial managers, and students as the raw materials to be induced into the production process." 33

The notion that education is for jobs and earning power was a definitive extension of the purpose of education in the United States, that being to train the European immigrant children to occupy positions in the fast advancing industrial framework of the country. Cohen and Mazerous had this to say:

"The most prominent feature of the industrial system of schooling is the idea that education is essentially an economic activity; school is justified as a way to expand wealth by improving production." 34

Within the societies of the colonial power, tuition-free education and government expenditures for education was returned many times over by the accelerated advancement of technology due to the incorporation of mass skilled labor into the production process.

Although education via schooling was represented as a means for social reform and the reduction of class imperatives, the colonized within the society...
of the colonial power occupied a unique position with regards to education. The colonized were never intended in any sense, to be the beneficiaries of education as it developed in relationship to industry. The population outside of the colonized and within the society of the colonial power was sufficient manpower from which industry could draw its skilled labor. Moreover, of the social stratification which existed in the general society of which the colonized occupied the bottom rungs, education was not intended to reduce such class imperatives. Therefore, on the scale of relations of production, it was intended that the colonized and the great majority of the working class maintain their status as a reserve of laborers. This fact accounted for the working class’ opposition to the colonized attending school when tuition-free education in the societies of colonial powers was characterized by a common curriculum, for fear that the "social equality and economic mobility" that education offered would allow the colonized to compete in the labor market. Much of the opposition was moderated with the colonized’s exclusion from schools or separate and inferior schools designated for the education of the colonized. This was no solution for the colonized because these schools were not equipped to train them with marketable skills.

As technological development mandated increased job differentiation and the school accommodated with differentiated curriculum, there was less opposition to the colonized’s entrance into schools within the societies of colonial powers. Due to the facts that the schools had become "an increasingly
refined training and selection mechanism for the labor force," education was equipped to selectively decide the quantity and quality of skills and knowledge which were to be afforded to students of various social classes. Selective mechanisms decided, on the basis of need and ability, the character of a student's education. The re-organization of schools received justification in the "necessity" to tailor education to the needs and the abilities of the children. Thus, children of working class families and the colonized were channeled into vocational schools and tracks, "in the interests of providing an education to the later life of the students." Ability was also a determinant in the quality training a student would receive and this was determined by discriminatory testing.

For the most part, the students of working class backgrounds were not afforded the educational preparation for college and the subsequent occupation of management positions in industry. This option was only feasible for children whose upper class backgrounds and economic status had predetermined "need and ability." For the colonized, the criteria of ability and need were for the most part criteria of an alien cultural context. Combined with the cultural insensitivity of teachers and curriculum, a high drop out rate characterized their ranks. The ones who completed school often did so with a minimum of marketable skills putting them in the same category as the drop outs.

As the number of years schooling was associated with economic com-
pensation, the training of students of upper class backgrounds would be returned in high economic compensation for management personnel; the lesser training of students of working class backgrounds would provide them the compensation afforded to skilled laborers, while the minimum skills or unpreparedness of the colonized offered them compensation afforded laborers on the tailcoats of the economy.

So the quality education which, according to Samuel Bowles in "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of Hierarchical Division of Labor," determined one's place in the hierarchy of work relations, was predetermined by one's class status, thereby producing the hierarchial division of labor. Education not only did not reduce class imperatives, it intensified the social and economic distinctions between classes. According to Bowles, the class stratification of society was augmented by a concentration of capital at one end of the hierarchy of work relations. He further contends that education intensifies this by facilitating the capital owners' acquisition of a disproportionate amount of those types of education and training which confer access to high-paying jobs.

It is logical from the view of the interests of capitalism that the colonized, in the confines of the 'mother' country as well as in the colony, not be given access to skills and information that would afford them the possibility of competing for positions in the hierarchy of work relations. The positions of management and skilled labor are designed for those who are directly re-
sponsible for implementing the ideas of the ruling class. For the colonized to be in any way responsible for the development of the colonizer's economy is, from the view of the colonizer, at minimum, subversive. Too, this would undermine the intent of the colonizer—profit at the expense of the colony.

Accordingly, the colonizers, chose his skilled manpower from among the members of the mother country. This allowed the colonial power to build its own economy and simultaneously left it immune to the cost and the threat of training skilled laborers from among the members of the colonized whether in the social context of the mother country or the colony.

Yet, in order to best facilitate colonization, and minimize resistance, the myth of "social equality and economic mobility" need be promoted. Limited schooling opportunity helped promote this myth in addition to aiding in the provision of a minimum literacy of the language of the colonial power which was beneficial to the efficiency of the production process in that the laborers incorporated from the ranks of the colonized for menial tasks and nominal job positions could understand directions.

By selective mechanisms, only a minority of the colonized are allowed to continue schooling. Furthermore, the oppressed status of the colonized precludes the child's continuance of education via economic dependency on parents, and often times, necessitates their discontinuance at an early age.

It is in this vein that Ivan Illich states that "Two-thirds of all children in Latin America leave school before finishing the fifth grade..."
Due to the fact that in a colonial society the quantity of jobs for the colonized are limited, the illiteracy and unpreparedness, i.e. lack of skill, are needed factors to ensure that the labor force is not overloaded with the educated who cannot be absorbed by the economy, threatening the myth of education as a means to social equality and economic mobility when there are no jobs available for these persons. In reference to Africa where more demands are made for educational expansion so that greater numbers of the victims of colonization can benefit, G.E. Hard in *Education in Social Development* says:

"...Educational expansion does not directly affect the provision of jobs at all. What has happened as educational systems have expanded is that higher and higher levels of education are needed as 'qualifications' for the same job. Given levels of education are devalued. Thus, wherever educational systems act as agents of occupational selection, only a minority can be chosen. The difference between educational systems lies in the point at which selection is made." 40

In the United States as the lessened feasibility of continuing educational expansion is increasing, it is the colonized commonly referred to as the "minorities" that are first affected. This is exemplified in corresponding efforts by many States to displace the colonized from the realms of qualification for jobs by merging originally separate black and white institutions, and those of the federal government which have decreased the amounts of federal funds allocated for the higher education of the 'underprivileged' at white institutions of higher learning.
Due to the fact that the colonized are represented by conspicuous groups of people, skilled training by means of education, often times, still does not permit incorporation into the hierarchy of work relations and corresponding economic compensation. Studies in the not too distant past, have shown that in the United States, a black man of college education can expect to earn as much in his lifetime as a white man of eight grade education.

Although a minority of the colonized population are educated, their roles in the economy have been designed by imperialism. At one time, the expanding capitalist industry needed larger numbers of lower-level blue collar workers from among the colonized, and this colonial elite group was developed to staff the lower levels of the colonial bureaucracy. This elite, however, serviced the interests of the colonizer by maintaining colonial interests and simultaneously reducing antagonisms that the direct rule of the colonizer engendered. Indirect rule represented a subterfuge in that the interest of colonialism was still served and the masses of the colonized were deluded into accepting notions of "social equality and economic mobility" through education by the visible appearance of this minority in positions of 'authority'.

As resistance to any form of colonial rule mounted, the colonial societies won some semblance of independence. The education of the masses and the elite, however, did not account for a sufficient pool of technically skilled manpower to service the needs of independence, and consequently, the "independent" societies were forced to turn to the colonizer for technological assist-
ance to meet the production needs of the society. This assistance was reciprocated by acquiescence to the colonial power's economic and political interests. This remains true until today. Moreover, the fact of control and influence exercised by the bureaucracy of the elite in civil service is instrumental in diverting the best potential and ability from technical education; the most lucrative and influential positions awaited in the civil service. Furthermore, the universities of the colonial power continue to be the major source of higher education; thus permitting the colonial powers to have the advantageous prerogative of determining the quantity of students it will educate as well as in what programs of study such higher education will be afforded. So the prolongation of the technical dependency of colonial societies is ensured by imperialist interests in the society.

The social structures of such 'independent' nations, including education, still reflect the degree of dependency on the colonial power. Their curricula and testing systems are still in the images of the colonial power. To depart from the colonial power's design of such structures would deny a token minority access to social equality and economic mobility and would deny the masses the myth of such. Accordingly, a departure from the colonial educational system would lessen academic credibility in the eyes of the colonial power, and therefore, close the doors to higher education bequeathed by the colonial power, and subsequent occupations in the bureaucracy.

The upward mobility of this educated minority as a result of the edu-
cation poses a further myth. Manuel Maldonado-Denis speaks of this with regards to Puerto Rico:

"In the case of Puerto Rican society, therefore, we must point out an important characteristic of its basic social structure—the absence, for all practical purposes, of a well defined national bourgeoisie. Consequently I prefer to use the term colonial elite or creole elite to designate that group of people in Puerto Rican society who have more access to the material and spiritual goods of our society than other Puerto Ricans. With an economy dominated by a handful of corporations responsible to stockholders in the United States, the principal task of the creole elite has been to serve as intermediary between the hegemony of the colonial power and Puerto Rican society. This elite adjusts to the new order of things because its economic interests require it. Pressured from below by the mass of workers demanding their social rights, the colonial elite receives from the colonial power the protection necessary to continue its economic activity." 42

The education of this minority is in direct relationship to the interests of imperialist activity. The only economic advantage they have is by virtue of their education vis-a-vis that of the masses, and this education never offers them access to ownership of the means of the production. The lack of education of the masses is also designed in the interests of imperialist activity. These are the poor and the destitute who must work on the plantations or in the less desirous occupations of industry for little or nothing, thereby maintaining and increasing the profit return of the capitalists.

Education as a means of social equality and economic mobility and therefore, social reform, has lost all significance as the condition of the colonized progressively worsens. In The Pillage of the Third World, Pierre
Jalee introduces a summary of an economic analysis of production relations, trade and movements of capital in the Third World with these comments:

"... All tended to show that in the very peak of political decolonization imperialist exploitation not only persists but is becoming harsher. The international division of labor characteristic of imperialism becomes more and more marked, the underdeveloped countries produce and export more and more primary products (foodstuffs, power and raw materials), the industrialized capitalist countries produce and export more and more manufactured goods. The terms of trade continue to move against the former, the private capital of the latter invested in the Third World is still directed mainly to the development of petroleum and raw materials, and its purpose remains the direct or indirect extraction of the highest possible rate of profit. The supposedly original structure set up by imperialism (e.g. associate membership in the Common Market) serve to extend the life of the old colonial relationship while attempting to camouflage it. Only one new fact emerges: aid, or assistance. Imperialism, however, cannot but seek to distort this for its own benefit and the proportion which is, nevertheless, useful is too small to be effective. It is both a pittance and a mirage."43

If the colonial character of a society is to be most heavily measured in its economy, then most 'independent' societies, in the face of education for social equality and economic mobility, still stand victim to colonialism. The education of members of these societies had no corresponding impact on the economies of these societies as a whole. Cohen and Lazerous in "Education and the Labor Force" state that:

"The notion that schools were a mechanism of social reform rested on the idea that individual redistribution of wealth was preferable to across-the-board redistribution."44

As a mechanism for social reform, the facts point to education as a
hoax. Moreover, since the social and economic disparities between the colonized and the colonizer have increased, education would appear to be indicted in the existence of such disparities. Pierre Jalee in the *Third World in World Economy* comments on the per capita national income of countries of the Third World:

"The inhabitants of Asian and African countries of the Third World, for their part, have an individual income about one-tenth to one-eleventh that of the inhabitants of the advanced capitalist countries, while that of the Latin Americans comes to about one-fifth."45

This disparity in income exists also in the metropolis or the confines of the colonial power between national groups of Third World origin and the middle and upper classes.

"Formal" education developed with the capitalist relations of production and via cultural domination and unequal access to education, serving as a means of social control and as a mechanism of training a limited number of skilled laborers and maintaining a large number of unskilled laborers for the interests of capitalist employers. Since the reality of imperialist domination, education has been utilized as a ploy for the social and economic containment of various peoples in order to sustain colonialism. As a vehicle for the communication of capitalist values, attitudes, etc. and as a mechanism for weeding out the future exploited labor of capitalism, education has served to maintain a specific social and economic order within the society of the colonial power as well as within its spheres of colonial influence. Education serves as a sys-
tem of control for the colonizer.

As the technological revolution moves full speed ahead, the reduction in need of labor will undoubtedly reflect itself in the organization of education as well as the other institutions of society. For example, in the United States, the rapidly increasing penal population indicates that 85% of inmates made less than $4,000 annually prior to their institutionalization. We can safely assume that this included persons without any means of livelihood. The feasibility of social equality and economic mobility through education is discounted by Hard in the following comments:

"Whilst conceding that education's reform might possibly make some impression upon the status dimension of stratification it is difficult to see how it could significantly affect the distribution of wealth. To the extent that education has only a limited efficacy in bringing about economic change its function in changing stratification systems is similarly limited. The growth of a class of intellectuals who are professional educators, and who in many 'developing' countries exercise considerable influence is the only development that could not have taken place without formal education. For the rest, the determination of change in stratification lies elsewhere than in the educational system. And as long as elite positions exist in a mid-twentieth-century society with universalistic recruitment, the educational system will perform a selective or allocative function irrespective of the nature of the system, and the nature and content of the socializing process within the schools and colleges will be determined largely by the requirements of the occupational role."46

Education in societies dominated by capitalist relatives of production is an instrument of stabilizing this form of material production. As an instrument of colonization for the oppressed, education in this context cannot provide its victims with social equality and economic mobility, only the myth of such,
simply because the provision of this equality and mobility would negate the success of colonization.


4. Ibid., p. 8.


6. Paul Jacobs; Saul Landau; Eve Pell, *To Serve The Devil: Colonials and Sojourners*, p. 4.


9. Ibid., p. 10.


12. Ibid., p. 11.


19. Ibid., p. 51.


22. Ibid., p. 20.
23. Ibid., p. 23.
25. Ibid., p. 8.
26. Ibid., p. 17.
27. Ibid., p. 18.
28. Ibid., p. 18.
30. Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, p. 17.
34. Ibid., p. 184.
35. Ibid., p. 184.
36. Ibid., p. 222.
37. Ibid., p. 222.
38. Ibid., p. 227.
40. J. Lowe; N. Grant; T.D. Williams, Education and Nationbuilding in the Third World, pp. 129, 130.
41. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation, p. 79.
42. Ibid., p.79.


44. Richard C. Edwards; Michael Reich; Thomas E. Weisskopf, op.cit., p. 184.


46. J. Lowe; N. Grant; T.D. Williams, op. cit., pp. 131, 132.
CHAPTER III
THE SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION FOR THE OPPRESSED

The previous chapters have attempted to bring bearing on the fact that the ideas constituting political thought, which defines the social existence of man, have implications not exclusive of education. The profundity of these implications as they relate to education in particular, are augmented when examined in relationship to oppressed peoples. One of the major ideas of the political thought of capitalism or bourgeois ideology is racism. Much of the educational policy of educational social structures is determined by this idea or considerations of race. With examination, it is evident that social definitions including "uneducable", "non-achievers", "culturally deprived", "disadvantaged" and the like, incorporated into education as legitimate educational classifications, are invariably inclusive of members of a common race(s), specifically peoples of color. The significance of such definitions lies in the fact that they are fundamental points of departure for the education of people of color which aggravate the social existence of oppressed people. Most educators of capitalist societies will dispute the notion that such definitions are derivatives of racial considerations. Integral to any controversy ensuing concerning this notion though is the fact that social definitions emerge out of social theories. That much of the socio-political implications of bourgeois education for the oppressed lie in the social theory of racism, is the subject for
further discussion.

Where ideals of freedom and equality existed with the realities of exploitation and slavery, it was necessary to expand the bourgeois ideology containing these ideals to include some principles or ideas that would explain the existence of realities contrary to the ideals. As early capitalism proceeded on its course of expansion, the greatest common denominator in the existence of exploitation and slavery came to be "race". Racism, thus, became the idea that justified the expansionist course of capitalist societies and the magnitude of exploitation resulting.

Albert Memmi in the *Dominated Man* defines racism as "the generalized and final assigning of values to real or imaginary differences, to the accuser's benefit and at his victim's expense, in order to justify the former's own privileges or aggression." The critical word in this definition is 'benefit'. To be sure, it was this benefit that marked the development of racism.

In recounting the intervention of capitalist imperatives in the societies of the Caribbean, Walter Rodney has stated:

"...slavery in the West Indies started as an economic phenomenon rather than a racial one. But it rapidly became racist as all white labor was withdrawn from the fields, leaving black to be identified with slave labour and white to be linked with property and domination. Out of this situation where blacks had an inferior status in practice, there grew social and scientific theories relating to the supposed inherent inferiority of the black man, who was considered as having been created to bring water and hew wood for the white man. This theory then
served to rationalise white exploitation of blacks* all over Africa and Asia. The West Indians and the American South share the dubious distinction of being the breeding ground for world racialism."2

This statement by Rodney acknowledges that the development of racism paralleled the prospect of 'benefits', specifically the imperatives of capitalism and its social consequences, particularly colonialism. In relationship to this fact, the following comment presented in Political Work — The Lifeline of All Work has much bearing and significance: "New social ideologies and theories are born out of new social tasks set forth by the development of the society's material life." Hence, the social theory of racism emerged from the need to expand as determined by the development of capitalism in Europe.

The presumption that races of color were inferior people permitted the procession of imperialism.

"The Spaniards went to Central and South America, and robbed thousands of tons of silver and gold from Indians. The whole of Europe developed on the basis of that wealth, while millions of Indian lives were lost and the societies and cultures of Central and South America were seriously dislocated. Europeans used their guns in Asia to force the Asians to trade at huge profits to Europe, and in India the British grew fat while at the same time destroying Indian irrigation. Africa and Africans suffered from the greatest crime at the hands of Europeans through the 'Trade and Slavery in the West Indies and the Americas.'4

* The term blacks as used in this context is not exclusive to defining peoples only of African descent. Rodney uses the term in its broadest sense, to define "non-whites—the hundreds of millions of people whose homelands are in Asia and Africa, with another few million in the Americas."
The introduction of racism into the ideological foundation of European society clearly facilitated the expansionist course of capitalism in that society by providing justification for the exploitative relationships which ensued between Europe and nations of color throughout the world. To a large, extent, the inferiority of peoples of color was predicated on the basis of difference in the culture of such peoples to which the European attached a negative value.

In the "Analysis of the Racist Attitude", Memmi specifies four essential elements:

"1) Stressing the real or imaginary differences between the racist and his victim; 2) Assigning values to these differences, to the advantage of the racist and the detriment of his victim; 3) Trying to make absolutes by generalizing from them and claiming that they are final; 4) Justifying any present or possible aggression or privilege."\(^5\)

The elements specified herein, to be sure, marked Christopher Columbus, a crusader for the expansionist interests of Europe, as a racist. In *Caribs, Cannibals* and *Human Relations*, Richard Moore relates how it was Columbus who originated the connecting of the term "cannibal" with the Carib people of the Caribbean. Although the connection had no basis in fact, it was put to mystical use in characterizing the Carib people and their ritual and religious practices. This characterization facilitated the intent of Columbus' mission and was broadened to include "millions of the indigenous peoples of the Circum-Caribbean age—Arawaks, Tainos and others, beside Caribs." The fate of these "cannibalistic" people was very much in keeping with the mission of
Columbus.

"Driven to death in the mines, in diving for pearls, and on the fields, hunted by ravenous dogs trained for the purpose, and mowed down by Spanish crossbow, swords, and firearms, the native peoples were rapidly exterminated."6

Many of these people were also transported to Spain as slave laborers. To be sure, the enslavement, exploitation and death of the indigenous peoples of the Circum-Caribbean area was rationalized by the classification made easy by their distinctly different appearance. Although the connection of the Carib people with the term cannibal was imaginary in its origin, real differences, specifically those of the culture of these people, suffered pronouncements of cannibalism too. The conservation of human bones as relics of the Indians' dead kinsmen were construed by the Spanish as the remains of cannibal feasts. The derogation of these 'Indian' people justified the penetration of the Spanish into the Caribbean by virtue of a "civilizing mission".

The derogation of people by connection with names like cannibal however, has a profundity not initially made visible by the intent or fact of imperialism. Richard Moore said of such:

"The term cannibalism has been so loaded with repulsion that use of the word calls up automatically in the minds of most people the stereotype or picture of ferious, savage, beastly creatures, lusting for human flesh and blood. The label "cannibal" thus debases those so called even below the level of human kind, hence beneath human consideration and fit for slavery and the most ruthless treatment."8

The usage of such terms as cannibals, pagans, savages and the like were
words designed to reduce to nature the victims of such classifications, in that the terms imply lack of civilization and thus, no culture. The reduction to nature or the classification of any people outside of reference of humanity is fundamental, for culture comes from man's confrontation with nature. In effect, to have a culture is not to be reduced to nature. The physical and cultural differences between the oppressed and the oppressor, allowed the latter leverage for such denouncement of the former.

"The first form of racism consists of stressing a difference between the accuser and his victim. . . The assertion that there is a difference takes on a special significance in the racist context: by emphasizing the difference, the racist aims to intensify or cause the exclusion, the separation by which the victim is placed outside the community or even outside humanity."9

Consequently, the proponents of capitalist imperatives, in using terminology that renders a projection of images of savagery and barbarism, attempted to make the negative value they attached to differences of the colonized man and his former social existence a biological fact—a law of nature that could not be changed. In *Racism and Psychiatry* the authors site examples of American colonial efforts to rationalize the exploitation of Blacks via the assigning of biological differences.

"A classical statement of the "primal difference" among races was elaborated in 1840 by Dr. Samuel G. Morton, a physician and professor of anatomy at Pennsylvania College. . . He measured the capacity of skulls by filling them with white pepper seed. . . and he became convinced by his craniometric research that the brain of the various races of man became "successively smaller" as one "descended" from the Caucasian to the Ethiopian."10
The authors of *Racism* and *Psychiatry* give other examples wherein different whites of the biological and behavioral sciences stated that the "barbarism" of races of color conformed to the laws of nature:

"Another major tenet of "scientific racism" based on a superficial reading of Darwin, holds that various human groups exist at different stages of biological evolution... According to this hypothesis, the younger races still have juvenile minds. The development of every individual's psyche recapitulates the history of his race from savagery to civilization. The "lower races" have less to recapitulate. Their mental development terminates earlier, "in conformity with the biological law that the higher the organisms the longer they take to evolve", said Herbert Spencer, one of the principle architects of this scheme."11

"...the assumptions of phylogenetic thinking were long pervasive. One of the most influential proponents of the concept was "the father of child study" in his country (America), G. Stanley Hall, founder of the "American Journal of Psychology"... and first president of the American Psychological Association... Hall describes his achievement in making his contemporaries more aware that "every child, from conception to maturity, recapitulates every stage of development through which the human race from its lowest animal beginning has passed." Hall believed that the child must be permitted to work out his vestigial compulsions specific to each phylogenetic stage (savage, barbarian, nomadic, wanderer, etc.), or else the repressed demands would later assert themselves in a distorted form. Certain primitive races, like children, are in a state of immature development and must be treated gently and understandingly by more developed peoples... Hall describes Africans, Indians and Chinese as members of "adolescent races" in a stage of incomplete growth."12

Efforts to give scientific explanation to the inferiority of colored peoples were endeavors to imply that the colonial condition of such people was their
just lot due to their biological state of being. Logically then, at the hands of the colonizer, the colonized's culture was to become a natural fact. Hence the culture of the colonized, was viewed as part and parcel of their "barbarism"—an extension of their biological state of being.

It is necessary to note that, in general, the victims of imperialism and colonization suffered the unique distinction of similar derogatory classifications.

"Looking lastly at general charges of cannibalism, it becomes apparent that such have been made widely against peoples of Africa, Asia and Australasia, as well as indigenous people."13

The idealism in which European ideology is grounded facilitated the social entrenchment of these new and exploitative theories and ideas. Reference to the idea of God, and his will, as conveniently interpreted by the proponents of capitalist expansion, provided refuge for racism. In "Myths from the Past", Thomas and Sillen provide an example of this:

"As proof of the black's predetermined deficiency, it was once considered sufficient to invoke Scriptural authority. According to Genesis, Noah was so enraged at his son Ham for beholding him naked that he thundered a curse dooming all the descendants of Ham to be servants of servants. This passage was interpreted with the customary latitude by plantation owners who identified their slaves with the doomed tribe of Ham, thus providing unassailable Biblical support for the thesis that blacks are inherently subordinate creators."14

The idealist origin of "divine hierarchy" and "divine rule" which fostered the development of feudalism in Europe, similarly promoted the notion of the
"civilizing mission" which justified exploitation and slavery via imperialism and the idea of "manifest destiny" which permitted the expansionist intents of Europeans in America.

Combined with imperialism, the social theory of racism mutated the relations amongst people in the world. This mutation was aided by the institutionalization of racism in the social structures wherever capitalism dominated. This social theory, today, characterizes the infrastructure of colonial powers—its notions about art, religion, morals, justice, etc.

The significance this has to education is primarily that education, in its conception, was not immune to racism. As it developed with the capitalist relatives of production, its ideological foundation was an extension of the same ideas necessary for the maintainance of capitalism. Thus, the notion of 'pagan' in the contemporary Christian church as well as the notion of 'uneducable', 'culturally deprived', etc. represented institutional variations of the imperialist designed accusations of "savagery" and "barbarism". Such definitions are, undeniably, extensions of various social theories which are all tainted by their predecessor, the social theory of racism. The fact that these social definitions, specifically those in education, put the weight of their meaning on the victims of such definitions illuminates their colonial antiquity. For aren't these definitions just another variation of exploitation which is explained away by the exploited's biological state—in this case, his inherent inability to learn. Thus, the problematic phenomena in education, as in the
case of the broader capitalist society, are explained away by the individual—his biological state or his psychology as a result of his biological condition. This way of explanation leaves the structure immune; it leaves the root causal agent immune—the defined and implemented mode of production.

Similarly, the colonial educational system which developed as an extension of capitalism is left immune, and educational reformists just look to new ways of explaining and/or attacking the problematic phenomena in education, never attacking their cause. In the view of the colonizer, it is necessary that the burden lie with the problem or the oppressed, for nothing can be conceded—the oppressed's humanity, their ability to learn, etc.—without sacrificing the principle—racism—one of the myths upon which capitalism and imperialism are built and are perpetuated.

The education of the oppressed in the framework of the colonizer's educational system, departs from theorems which predicate their biological state of inferiority—their inherent inability to learn—the backwardness of their culture—in short, their barbarism.

The delapidated or inadequate physical condition of schools in colonized nations or countries still dominated by imperialism are more often viewed as indications of the impoverished state of the nation. Indirectly, this may be true, but the condition of such schools bear relationship to the thinking of the regime(s) of the colonial power which view those schools as adequate for the colonized. A clearer example of this is the decrepit schools in the United
States which are frequented by the populations of Blacks, native Americans, and Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other colonized populations. This reality has been documented repeatedly, inclusive of relatings of actual experience in such as told by Jonathan Kozol in Death at an Early Age, to the relatings of researched evidence of such decrepit conditions, as told by Kenneth Clark in Dark Ghetto. This had been allowed to persist up to the present day for basically the reason that the colonizer views these facilities as sufficient for the "disadvantaged".

Programs of study implemented in the educational systems for the colonized presuppose their inferior intellect from the classifications of "Educable Mentally Retarded" for Mexican Americans in the Southwest to "Special Education Classess" for Black and Puerto Ricans in New York. Florence Howe and Paul Lanter reported in their article "How the School System is Rigged for Failure" how in Washington D.C. that. . ."in 1966, 71 percent of the students were Black, and 84 percent of the students were in schools without any honor track."

The most revealing factors in education which indicate the presence of the European social theory which expounds the animality of people of color are the teachers and the discipline methods.

There are a variety of means by which a teacher's effectiveness in the positive education of a student can be weighed, a few being praise, encouragement, positive response to student ideas, etc. Yet, many studies of the colonized students' interaction with teachers of the colonial power show that signifi-
cant disparities are prevalent. A report released by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in March of 1973 reveals the prevailing negative attitudes of the Anglo teacher with regards to Mexican American students.

"One teacher, working in a predominately Mexican American school complained to Commission staff on the problem she faced: "I am a good teacher, I think. And if I had a normal bunch of kids I could teach, but this certainly is not a normal bunch of kids.""16

The report goes on to say:

"Evidence from other studies suggest that many teachers actually believe Chicano pupils are not as capable of learning as other children. Teachers in one elementary school in a predominately Mexican American town reported that she thought that Chicano students were basically low or dull-witted. Another study reported teachers to have said: "Look, so many Spanish American children have to repeat the first grade two to three times. They just can't learn as fast as Anglo American children. If you don't believe me check their scores."17

The disciplinary methods utilized by the colonizer with the students of the colonized population again calls to mind imperialist assumptions of barbarism or savagery on the part of the colonized. The willful and unnecessary slaying of students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in 1972 by State polic: is a classic example of methods deemed justifiable by the colonizer, only because they presume the savagery of the colonized from the onset. Physical abuse (See Appendix A) and the administration of drugs (See Appendix B) are other methods that the colonizer justifies in order to maintain "control" in the classroom.
In 1972 a news article revealed that a drug called Ritalyn was being used most heavily on so-called "problem children" who happened to be from poor families of New York, Michigan and California. Despite cases of artery damage, shock, dizziness, and the prospect of permanent mental damage with overdosage, a California doctor who prescribed Ritalyn for over 2,000 students justified the administration of drugs by stating that, "Now, I want you to understand we aren't curing these kids; we're just keeping them under control." The need for control implies animalism—uncontrollable behavior—a gorilla is kept under control by a locked cage; a horse is controlled by a whip; and the colonized are controlled by education.

Social definitions in education including "non-achievers," "uneducable," "disadvantaged," "culturally deprived" are all terms that presume savagery, i.e. those without the ability to achieve, those incapable of being educated, those of inadequate mentality and those without culture. With the increasing failure of the schools, there is a corresponding increase in refuge in such sociological theory. The social theory of racism, embedded in the infrastructure of colonial powers, has influenced science and has been argued as a major point of departure for the education of the colonized.

Arrah B. Evart, a physician and writer of the article "Dementia Praecox in the Colored Race", had this to say:

"It is fact recognized by all that the individual in his development relives the history of the race. Upon this fact is built one of the fundamental principles of pedagogy: that a child should be allowed to develop in sympathy with his race trend."
The comments of another scholar of 'scientific' racism, one Dr. Robert Benne\(\text{t}\) Blan, paralleled the meaning of Evart with this statement: "We are forced to conclude", he said, "that it is useless to elevate the Negro by education or otherwise, except in the direction of his natural endowments." In 1969, Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkley, updated these notions with similar intent. The notion of innate inferiority of peoples of color compounded with its indispensable mate—imperialism—account for suggestions such as that "by American educational advisors like Professor Hollingshead, for example, (which) comes pretty close to urging that the insular educational system (of Puerto Rico) ought to be converted into a training school for the rational exportation of Puerto Rican laborers to the American employment market."

Herein lies the danger of accepting or even using the social definitions of the colonizer with regard to the colonized. The acceptance of such definitions or words is simply the prelude to the accepting of the ideas behind the social definitions, for words compose ideas. The reality is, however, that it is those in power who define and the powerless who accept such definitions. It is in the acceptance of these definitions that the colonized have wrought the most serious consequences of colonial education and against themselves.

The refusal to look at the basis of the pedagogical error diminishes the possibility of rectifying this error. The acceptance of the social definitions of the colonizer by the colonized contributes to further colonization and oppres-
sion of the latter, for to accept such is to accept the ideas and theories that
presume the savagery and primitiveness of the colonized, and thus their in-
ability, by virtue of it being a "law of nature", to change their objective con-
dition. This characterizes the "colonial neurosis", for which colonial educa-
tion is largely responsible.

The manifestations of the colonial neurosis are varied and complex,
but it has three major characteristics: 1) the colonized's vision of himself
through the eyes of the colonizer; 2) the colonized's rejection of himself; and
3) the colonized's alienation from his people.

The first characteristic is what W. E. B. DuBois defines as the 'double
consciousness':

"...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a
veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American
world—a world which yields him no true self-con-
sciousness, but only lets him see himself through
the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar
sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of
always looking at one's soul by the tape of the world
that looks in amused contempt and pity." 21

Colonial education has further consequences with regard to the colonized; ed-
ucation engenders a rejection of his sense of worth and alienation from others
like himself. Carter G. Woodson speaks to this in specific relationship to the
colonized African in America:

"The same educational process which inspires and
stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he
is everything and has accomplished everything worth-
while, 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." 22

The colonized who accepts the social definitions of the oppressor sees himself through the eyes of the oppressor. He thus, views himself and his people as the savages, the barbarians, the primitive types that are promoted by the colonial social structures to which he is victim. The colonized's embracement of his dehumanization is illuminated by his efforts to appear and behave like those he has been educated to believe are "human", "civilized", "developed" and "advanced"—the colonizer. When this does not relieve his objective condition, the colonized may want for some alternative which will, but the conscious or unconscious acceptance of the ideas inherent in the social definitions will limit his actions, because he believes that as a member of the people termed "uneducable", "non-achievers!", "culturally deprived", he cannot rectify his social existence. The conflict is manifest in inner turmoil; double aims that cannot be reconciled because they are contradictory.

"The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world." 23
No aspect of the social existence of the oppressed can be positively changed, including education, unless the oppressed initially reject the social theories by which their existence is defined. In other words, the oppressed cannot radically alter his social existence unless he rejects the essence of colonial education—the political thought upon which it rests. An affirmation of the humanity of the oppressed is needed by the oppressed before oppression can be escaped—an affirmation which is juxtaposed to the complexion of the capitalist superstructure and its social structures. A reaffirmation of the humanity of races of color by the victims of racism is essential to the demise of oppression. The battle to be fought in education and the broader society appears to be one concerning color, but in its essence it is one between ideas that sanction and justify the dehumanization of man, and those that extol the non-exploitation of man by man. Since racism has its foundation in bourgeois concepts of economics, only the ending of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism and the construction of a non-exploitative social order can provide the conditions for the obliteration of oppressive ideas.
14. Thomas; Sillen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2.

Before the present system of education was initiated some two generations ago, education was only for the "elite," to prepare them to govern over their subjects. Then came "mass education," to prepare the great majority for labor and to advance a few out of their ranks to join the elite in governing. This system is now falling apart as a result of its own internal contradictions, with the cost being borne at present time by the black community.

Grace Boggs,
Education To Govern
CHAPTER IV
THE IMPERIALIST DOMINATED HISTORY OF EDUCATION FOR AFRICANS IN AMERICA

Traditional American education, in its conception, was an instrument of colonization as it related to African* peoples in that it was designed to assist in the denial of self-determination for Africans. Public, higher, and compensatory education systematically operate to the detriment of Africans—socially, politically and economically. By subscribing to imperialism and racism, the tenets of colonization, American education is fundamental to the past and continued exploitation and dehumanization of African peoples in America.

Due to the fact that the system of education in America developed with the imperatives of capitalism, education can logically have no less intent than what the imperatives of capitalism dictate. The intellectual consciousness of America, characterized by exploitation and dehumanization, defines American education. Whereas American education has been represented as the solution for social equality and economic mobility, it is in fact, an institutional mechanism for the stabilization of that social order excluding and abusing African people. In effect, it is an agent of the imperialist American order.

The history of education for Africans in America can be viewed as one characterized by imperialism, the fact being, that although opportunity and

* The term Africans is used interchangeably with Blacks and Negroes.
generosity in terms of education existed at points and time in the history of the African residence in America, the opportunity and generosity, more often than not, reflected the interests of imperialism. Despite the representation of American interests—federal or state, public or private—on the whole, the interests have been and continue to be one—that of imperialism. There may be intermediary objectives in the education of Africans, those being to acculturate, to pacify or to profit by, but these objectives stands as guardians and reinforcers of the primary goal, American imperialism. Fundamental to this thesis, is the fact that Africans in American designate a colony. With regards to this point, Stokley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton in Black Power state the following:

"... black people in this country form a colony and it is not in the interests of the colonial power to liberate them... One normally associates a colony with a land and a people subjected to and physically separated from the "Mother Country." This is not always the case, however; in South Africa and Rhodesia, black and white inhabit the same land—with blacks subordinated to whites just as in English, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish colonies. It is the objective relationship which counts, not rhetoric or geography... Under classic colonialism, the colony is a source of cheaply produced raw materials which the "Mother Country" then processes into finished goods and sells at high profit—sometimes back to the colony itself. The black communities in the United States do not export anything except human labor... Essentially, the African colony is selling its labor, the product itself does not belong to the "subjects" because the land is not theirs... Black people in the United States have a colonial relationship to the larger society..."1

Therefore, in a survey of the history of education of Africans in America, the
history must be in the context of their objective condition, that of domestic colonialism.

The education of Africans in the United States began during the era of slavery in the Americas. Although, the educational system i.e. public schools had not yet developed, there were schools in the American nation. The great majority of slaves were forbidden education, yet "... of the 488,070 free Negroes in the United States in 1860, 32,629 were attending school..." Many of the schools for the education of Africans were maintained either by missionary workers or African freedmen. In the slave states, however, the education of African slaves was forbidden by law. The education of Africans was viewed as subversive by white plantation owners, and the denial of education was effected in strict laws designed to protect the economic interests of the slave owners.

In 1863, following the Civil War and the dissolution of legal constraints of the education of blacks, emerged what W. E. B. DuBois refers to as the "ideal of book learning." After several centuries of dehumanization and exploitation, education was projected by Africans and others as the means by which social equality and economic mobility could be attained. In the Negro in the American Social Order, Horace Mann Bond said of this period:

"At no time or place in America has there been exemplified so pathetic a faith in education as the lever of racial progress." 3

It was in the temper of these times that missionaries rushed to the South to fill
the void for teachers. Churches and missionary societies dispatched teachers
to the South and assisted economically in the African endeavors for education.
Though the financial contributions of Northern wealthy individuals did not
singularly stem from altruistic motives, funding from these people supported
the establishment of schooling for Africans in the South. Of such contributions,
Horace Mann Bond said:

"By pouring finds into the South for this purpose they
partook vicariously of the obligations which warfare
imposed more directly upon the soldiers in the fields.
The economic issues between the two sections were
obscured in the belief that the Northern cause was pri-
marily one of unselfish humanitarianism."4

As the intent of Northern contributors were tainted, so were those of the
missionaries. The motivations of many of these early teachers of the African
is specified by by Carter G. Woodson:

"This undertaking, too, was more of an effort toward
social uplift than actual education. Their aim was to
transform the Negroes, not to develop them."5

The ideals of Puritan morality characterized the missionary established
institutions of learning for Africans.

"The academic standing of the students was determined
largely by the extent to which they had developed a "re-
ligious spirit". The "religions spirit" of the students was
measured by the extent to which they submitted to the re-
quirements concerning attendance at the chapel exercises...
at prayer meetings. . . There was some resentment among
the students. . . they submitted silently. . . They seemed to
suffer from an unjustifiable fear that if they did not exhibit
a "spirit of cheerful gratitude" towards the white norther-
ers, they would be expelled from school. The only con-
cession made to the Negro's culture was that the students
were required to sing Spirituals for the white visitors. ... the required religious activities were designed to wean them from the religious emotionalism of the Negro."6

The educational success of Africans was thereby determined in proportion to the degree that they assumed the Euro-American perception of reality. This perception, in theory and practice, presumed the inferiority of Africans.

In 1865, the Freedman's Bureau developed to consolidate the efforts of the various church societies. This governmental agency established institutions of higher learning, and with the assistance of the black Reconstruction State governments, helped in the establishment of free schools, for which various state constitutions provided. Directly attributable to the efforts of the Bureau was the formation of 4,239 separate schools. Most of the major black colleges (Howard, Fisk, Morehouse, etc.) were founded or received aid as a result of the Bureau. Lack of financial support and Southern racist hostility facilitated the demise of the Bureau in 1872.

During the time of the Bureau, the Reconstruction era had seen the development and incorporation of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments into the U.S. Constitution in 1865, 1868, 1870, respectively. The passing of these amendments, legal affirmations of the equality of Africans, were paralleled by the formation of the Klu Klux Klan, The Knights of White Camelia, and numerous other white supremacist organizations that conducted a reign of terror against the freedmen. Hundreds were killed in staged riots. Reconstruction Acts which gave the African voting privileges that kept the
the Democratic party in power from 1874-1877 and thus, the financing of the public schools by taxation, were not left unaffected by the augmenting racism of Southern whites. The free public school system, for whose development is credited by DuBois to the black Reconstruction government, became victim to white racism.

"For the first success of the Negro schools, the South deserved little praise. From the beginning, most of the Southern states made the Negro schools just as bad as they dared to in the face of national public opinion, and every cent spent on them was taken from Negro rents and wages, and came back to the property-holders tenfold in increased opportunities for exploitation. Wherever there was retrogression, particularly in Negro schools, it can be traced to the increased power of the county and district administrators. Finally, the movement that saved the Negro public school system was not enlightened Southern opinion, but rather that Northern philanthropy which at the very beginning of the Negro education movement contributed toward the establishment of Negro colleges. The reason for them at first was to supply the growing demand for teachers, and was also a concession to Southern prejudice, which so violently disliked the white teachers in the Negro school." 

The entire Reconstruction era was marred by racist hostility. The rejection of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendment, Civil Rights Bill and Reconstruction Acts by non-reconstruction legislatures ended the rights of Africans in these states to attend school. Former slave states had passes Black Codes limiting the travel of Africans and restricting them to work in menial occupations. Allegations of corruption and ignorance assailed the Reconstruction legislatures as the white Southerners' fear of African voting privileges mounted. There were massive campaigns against the election of black officials in the Recon-
struction states; Blacks' voting privilege was denied by devious means and economic pressure was brought to bear on the officials and their families.

In 1877 a compromise was struck between the North and South which was to put African people out of the political arena and inevitably, on the tailcoats of the American economy. In exchange for "home rule", the South conceded the Presidency to Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes. "Home Rule" gave the South "the right to deal with the Negro in its own way, a suspension in fact, of constitutional safeguards which protected the Negro..." withdrawal of troops, an end to agitation of the Negro question, a tacit agreement that the South would be allowed to deal with the Negro in its own way." James Boggs says of the Missouri Compromise of 1877:

"The unique character of the Negro question in the United States stems from the infamous raw deal of 1877 which permitted the Southerners to keep the Negroes in servitude as long as the Northern industrialists could industrialize the country and accumulate capital and the white workers could have homesteads in the West to provide the foodstuffs needed for an industrialized East. It is this deal which had given the Negro struggle both its class and race character."11

With the Missouri Compromise, the North renounced its interest in the welfare of Africans. Just as the Northerners' philanthropic efforts were designed to appease the Southerners, so was the intent for their recession from the defense of the rights of Africans, including that of education. The Northern withdrawal of support was designed to remove the economically hampering issue of "negro rights" out of the picture.
"The North was tired of "the eternal nigger"; businessmen wanted to get back to business as usual; the violence in the Southern states was playing havoc with profits."12

Immediately, thereafter, poor whites came into power in the legislature. Within several years time, most of the Southern states enacted legislation that demanded a separation of public facilities for Africans and whites. The integrated schools that arose during black Reconstruction were to see their demise with the emergence of "Jim Crow".

The empowered white small farmers were devoted to the continuance of the public school system, however. As the industrial movement mounted and the availability of job opportunities increased, not only did the conservative legislatures reduce the expenditures for African schooling, but school funds were diverted for the education of white children in order that these children would ultimately, outdistance blacks in the competition for jobs.

Segregated facilities and disproportionate per capita expenditures defined the educational lot of most African peoples up until the twentieth century. Although Africans made appeals for the correcting of the state of affairs, the ebbs of influence were involved in capitalist expansion; Europe was preoccupied with its division of Africa and the broader American society was concerned with the United States' involvement in the Caribbean. Africans found no redress for segregation as they were run between the Courts and Congress; the Civil Rights Bill was overturned in 1883 and this was compounded by the explicit specifications of the Morrill Act of 1890 which stated that the land grant funds should be
"equitably divided" between the white and Negro Colleges. There was procrastination with regards to even the division of these funds. This state of affairs was all possible due to the consolidation of Southern racist and Northern capitalist interests in the Compromise of 1877.

The restoration of "white supremacy"; the concurrent disfranchisement of Africans; segregation of public facilities (including schools); and a diversion of funds away from black schools defined the context out of which Booker T. Washington, a black educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute, emerged. Booker T. Washington's program of industrial education, articulated at the Atlanta exposition in 1895, had a tremendous impact on the nation—North and South, black and white. Washington's program advocated the rejection of "political power, civil rights and higher education" on the part of Africans in exchange for schools of industrial education as a means for creating a black economy. It was patently a program for economic mobility at the expense of social equality. In the end, it brought neither, for the interests of racism and capitalism combined to make Washington's program ineffective.

To the South, the program represented a genuine opportunity for placid continuance of racial segregation. Northern organizations, including those of Rockefeller, Slater and Rosenwald, lent their financial support to the program; the program represented a submission to white supremacy and thus, a prime opportunity to ease tensions between the North and South. For the Northern
industrialists, such a program, too, provided a foundation for greater access to an economic foothold in a steadily, industrializing South. In addition, the schools of industrial education to be established would replace the diminutive number of schools for Africans due to monies withheld by Southern legislatures; and with the provision of an opportunity to imbue capitalist ideas in the minds of Africans, Northerners could also ease the disillusionment that had set in among black people following the Missouri Compromise.

For Africans in the South, the program of industrial education suggested immediate as well as long range economic benefits. "Schools and colleges hoping thereby to obtain money worked out accordingly makeshift provisions for such instruction, although they could not satisfactorily offer it." The practiced teaching of handicrafts, however, was preparation for dying sectors of the economy. Further, the "...schools of so-called industrial education were supposed to instill in their students a spirit of humility and an acceptance of their inferior status." Ultimately, the opposition of white workers to the employment of blacks would keep Africans out of modern industry in the South, specifically, textile mills.

The shortlived wave of industrial education had no impact on the economic conditions of Africans. Racism had prevented Africans from receiving adequate sources of livelihood, and the industrialists acquiesed to permit the growth of industry with an already sufficient supply of manpower, specifically white laborers. Capitalism and racism were inseparable co-partners in this
mockery as they had been in the Missouri Compromise of 1877.

In the meantime, the political arena was giving legal approval to what the industrialists were supporting financially... racially segregated schooling. The Supreme Court decision of 1896, Plessy vs. Ferguson, came within a year after the introduction of Washington's program which relinquished political and civil rights. The decision set down the principle of "separate but equal" public facilities for whites and blacks, cementing and sanctioning the segregation that was already existing in the South. The Plessy vs. Ferguson ruling represented a legal approbation of blacks being in their places, and this justified the continued assignment of Africans to inferior stations in every realm of American life.

The doctrine of "separate, but equal" did not only become engrained in America's educational system, but became an engrained way of life. Inferior education became the pretext for subsequent economic deprivation. "The classless society of which Americans are so proud is the society in which white workers have been able to climb on the backs of others out of the working class into the middle class. This back climbing has only been possible because there has always been a Negro under-class at the bottom of society."

Africans who had migrated to the Midwest with the hopes of securing a more stable economic footing, on the whole, were subject to a variation of the inequality that characterized their existence in the South. Education was no exception. In addition to the texts used in the public schools which abused the humanity of Africans and deteriorated facilities, there were disproportion-
ate allocations for the education of Africans.

In 1915, the promise of economic opportunity in the North as a result of the need for labor in the defense industries vis-a-vis the stark existence of an intensification of segregation in the life in the South and in the federal government, and the rampant lynchings of African peoples, spurred a great migration of Africans northward to the big industrial centers. Although black people found more employment during the period of World War I than they had since emancipation, the temporary semblance of progress was counterbalanced by the increased lynchings of Africans who had remained in the South and acute racial discrimination against Africans employed in the armed services of America.

During the War years and up until 1925, America witnessed the birth of a fast growing organization of Africans defined by their platform of "returning to the continent of Africa," and led by one Marcus Garvey. The impact of this organization together with that of the Pan-African efforts of W. E. B. DuBois, the major opponent of Booker T. Washington's industrial educational program, introduced notions of "freedom", "pride", "liberation" and "self-determination" to the masses of African people in America. A relatively high enrollment of black students in white educational institutions commenced during the period between 1910 and 1925 to counter the growing consciousness of the African population. This recruitment was accompanied by a rash of efforts of "scientific racism" assaulting the intellect and abilities of the black people in America. Public conflict between
Garvey and DuBois over the destiny of Africans in America, and the appearances of progress with the white patronage of African artists and intellectuals, namely, the Harlem Renaissance, created the conditions for the United States government's effective removal of Garvey from the American scene, having levied charges of mail fraud against him.

The 1920's, however, saw the re-stabilization of African recruitment percentages in white institutions of higher learning to the original nominal percentages, and a decline in the employment of Africans in industry during what was then, international peace times. The decrease in employment opportunities accounted, in large part, for the increase in high school enrollment among Africans. "Where Negroes are concerned, it is probable that the greatest factor working upon the recent and prodigious increase of the Negro high school enrollment has been the closure of avenues of employment to Negro adolescents."18

The 1920's ended with the emergence of the Depression and collapse of the American stock market. Most African people who were employed in any sector of the economy were dismissed from employment and had to seek public relief to survive. Discrimination in the realm of organized labor made the situation more difficult.

In the North where Africans were being educated in mixed schools, technical unpreparedness due to the selective mechanisms and differentiated curriculum made black people more vulnerable to the bleak possibilities resulting from unemployment. In The Education of The Negro In The American Social Order, Horace Mann Bond makes mention of discriminatory counseling and
guidance in the Northern schools which accounted for Africans being ill-prepared to assume any foothold in the American economy. The subsequent efforts to secure vocational education for Africans in the northern school system were likewise, failures. Ironically, vocational education represented a kind of bottom-of-the-totem-pole education, yet it was designed for the children of the working class families in preparation for future positions in industry as skilled labor. For the most part, however, the education of Africans in the North bore striking resemblance to the education available in the South.

"In the year 1933, there appears a startling similitude in the educational problems of education of Negroes in the North which were violently argued in the decade before and the one after 1833. There is no index to shifting trends of racial relations more reliable that the agitation regarding separate schools... At present time, and for the last few years, there has been a growing tendency to segregate Negro children enrolled in Northern cities. To date, the tendency has not found its way into legislations, but it is reflected in numerous actions of boards of education, city superintendents, and patrons, black and white... in southern Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey, there are separate schools for the two races today, and that the elementary schools for Negroes in Philadelphia and in other smaller communities throughout a larger portion of southern Pennsylvania are separate."19

The only real variation in the education of Africans in the North from that of education in the South was that the teachers were white. Yet, these teachers, imbued with the social theorems which supported the notions of inferior intellect and psychological abnormalcy with regards to Africans, only contributed to the mis-education of the American public in general, and African people in
particular.

Similarly, in the black colleges, the status quo of the American economic and social order was kept intact by a method of "indirect rule" wherein the black educators, following the example of the missionary teachers, contributed to mis-education in order to maintain employment. E. Franklin Frazier discussed the implications of their role:

"The segregated schools in which Negro teachers had to find employment were generally under the autocratic control of Negroes chosen by the whites who gave financial support to the schools, or the white educational authorities in charge of the schools. Often when Negro teachers became resistive under this system of control, they were warned that they could not find some employment outside of Negro schools. In fact, some teachers were placed upon a "blacklist," indicating that they were not fit to teach in Negro schools because they did not have the "right" philosophy of racial adjustment. Under such a system of tutelage the Negro teacher has been able to teach students only an opportunistic philosophy with reference to the race problem or the economic problems facing the country."20

Many of these teachers were the products of the American counterbalance to the black nationalist efforts in the 1920's which saw a temporary influx of black students in white educational institutions. Allen B. Ballard says this of many of them:

"First, they felt pride in being the small number of blacks to attend a white institution of higher education. One need only talk to 1920's and 1930's graduates from Iowa, Harvard, Amherst or Yale to understand the deep sense of accomplishment they still feel in having completed their education there rather than at a black institution in the South.

...A natural concomitant of this pride was an al-
most inevitable attitude of deprecation toward other blacks, and a kind of schizophrenia prevailed." 21

Yet, not all black graduates of white institutions harbored schizophrenic feelings about other blacks as a result of their education.

"Many graduates of white institutions did indeed take on a noblesse oblige attitude toward less privileged blacks, but many also felt compelled to turn their energies toward their race. To have been plunged into a white educational environment and to still remain black created a subtle but forceful dialectical process. Instead of preparing blacks to be content to enter the mainstream of American life, the white educational structure created its anti-thesis—blacks all the more aware of the contrast between the ideals of America and the condition of the black masses." 22

One group of such people who was aware of this contrast and was determined to make America reconcile the differences in the rhetoric of "democracy" and the reality of African oppression was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples.

In 1933, the N.A.A.C.P. made its first attack against educational segregation and discrimination in a suit against the University of North Carolina. A technicality accounted for the loss of this case, but the organization won landmark cases in a number of succeeding court battles, including the elimination of wage differentials between black and white teachers 23 (Gibbs vs. Board of Education), the provision of legal education for blacks "as soon as it provides for" whites (Sipuel vs. University of Oklahoma), and its most memorable victory, the Supreme Court decision of 1954 (Brown vs.
the Topeka, Kansas Board of Education).

Although the American economy was growing, education afforded an insignificant proportion of the African population any economic mobility. White racism found a strong ally in organized labor and precluded any economic opportunity for the black masses. With the emergence of a second World War, Africans only found a place in the economy following the threats of A. Phillip Randolph and other black leaders to march on Washington if the national defense program was not desegregated, thus providing jobs for Africans in war and government industries. Mass (black) employment was temporary however, and was greeted with race riots precipitated by violent opposition coming from white workers. Following the end of the war, the N.A.A.C.P. made a formal appeal to the United Nations concerning racial injustices in America. Although the war had made jobs available to blacks, strict segregation laws and racist policies prevented blacks from receiving any vantage.

Protest continued against the segregation of public facilities. Another organization, The Congress of Racial Equality, formed and sent out its first group of Freedom Riders to protest the segregation laws. The N.A.A.C.P., however, was in the forefront of the battle against segregation in education. Having laid the groundwork by means of successful court outcomes, the N.A.A.C.P. won its most significant battle in the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which declared racial discrimination in public education unconstitutional. At the time of the Brown vs. Board of Education (Topeka,
Kansas) decision, educational segregation was not peculiar to the South, but characterized Northern mixed schools that were segregated within.

The Court's enactment met with resistance on every imaginable level. Covert and overt, illegal and legal means were utilized to thwart the implementation of the decision. Physical violence, local political maneuvers and discriminatory mechanisms such as neighborhood school plans and voluntary transfer were some of the various means of opposition.

Black protest mounted. The emergence of Rev. Martin Luther King as a leader in the fight against segregation and discrimination, increased Freedom Rides and the activity of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee made the political climate of the United States one of a potential inferno. This political activism culminated in the March on Washington in 1963, wherein hundreds of thousands of American citizens traveled to the nation's capital to protest racial injustices. White resistance to African efforts for civil rights was violent, however, and aggravated the already tense climate of the American nation. The United States government only attempted to reckon with the grievances of the black population when the potential for retaliatory violence seemed imminent. Accordingly, only a few days following the murder of Medger Evers, a civil rights activist in Mississippi, President Kennedy sent to Congress a civil rights bill which guaranteed equal rights in access to public facilities, and gave the Attorney General the power to file suits to force compliance with the fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments.
Racism being the key factor for the increasing wage differentials between white and black workers and the great exploitation of the latter, gainful employment for Africans in 1963 was at an all time low. Nearly ten years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the schools were still visibly segregated. The protest that had originated in the South effectively captured discontented Africans in Northern ghettos. Malcolm X, an articulate spokesman emerging from the ranks of the Black Muslims, gave new dimensions to the African struggle. Reminiscent of the Garvey era, the impact of Malcolm X was nationwide. His articulate illumination of the motives and essence of American racism, his rebuking of passive tactics that permitted the untolled murders of Africans, his call for black unity and black resistance, his linking up of the struggle of Africans everywhere and other colonized peoples—all presented a realistic alternative, too threatening to the stability of the American social order. The widespread appeal of Malcolm X's teachings to Africans in the urban ghettos of the North put fear in the very heart of racist, imperialist America.

Black protest and white resistance culminated in confrontations throughout America during 1963. With the assassination of President J. F. Kennedy in the fall of that year, "the new President, Lyndon Baines Johnson...moved swiftly to reknit the broken bonds of community between 25 black America and the White House." The national political structure responded with the passing of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill, originally proposed by Kennedy, which included provision for public school desegregation. To
disguise the lack of effective enforcement of this legislation that was to be forthcoming, President Johnson's administration promoted the concept of the "Great Society" which promised social equality and economic opportunities for all of America's citizenry. Out of this context emerged a number of federal programs which were supposed to be the avenues for acquiring both equality and opportunity. As did the programs for industrial education, these programs, in the final analysis, were in behalf of industrialist or corporate interests, and were in no way designed to qualitatively alter the social realities of Africans in America.

Due to the fact that there was no enforcement of the legislation of 1964, on the whole, the benefits thereby accrued, were in the interests of those other than Africans. In The Choice, Samuel Yette speaks of the attempts to appease racist hostility to the legislation through economic compensation:

"Title IV offers federal money for local (white) school districts to learn how to desegregate; Title IV would cut off funds to schools which did not desegregate, that is to say, they would receive federal money if they obeyed the law."26

Racist hostility was further appeased by the dispersion of multi-billion dollar sums of funds through the States as opposed to a supervisory body of the government for which Title I made provision. These funds were supposed to assist in the education of the poor as specified by the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.
Yet, it was the big industrialists who had bigger reason for considerable interest in the Civil Rights legislation of 1974. Millions of dollars of E.S.E.A. funds were dispensed to the industrialists in exchange for educational gadgets. Reminiscent of early industrialism where the development of public schools was facilitated by legislation in order to supply industry its skilled labor, in 1964 the government was enacting legislation wherein education was providing actual capital to industry.

The American economy found much stability in this arrangement. According to Samuel Yette in The Choice, education was the new industry where profit-sweeping production could be had. The industrialists involved in education were the same military industrialists supplying machinery, artillery, etc. in the Viet Nam War in Southeast Asia, in which the United States was involved. Mounting protest against the War by American citizens made education an appealing alternative to the war industry in the event of the War's termination.

Millions of dollars from the budget of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (H.E.W.) were dispensed to the industrialists for high costing gadgets that were intended to help in the education of the "culturally deprived." The big industries such as Litton Industries, Xerox and IBM were some of the contractors. These industries were further contracted in the development of institutions of higher learning. "Litton Industries, for example, put together a commu-
nity college in Oakland, Michigan, performing every chore right down to de-
vising the curriculum and teaching the teachers how to implement it."

Outside of the government programs and in the broader society, there was, as to be expected, nominal changes in the state of affairs that existed prior to the enactment of the Civil Rights legislation in 1964. Segregation, unemployment and poor housing were still prominent factors that figured into the character of African existence in America. These conditions for blacks in America precipitated the black rebellions which wrought multi-
million dollars worth of damage to the American economy. Finding that the rebellions arose "out of the historical Negro-white relations of America," the United States Riot Commision Report of 1968 ascertained what the vast majority of African people already knew; pervasive discrimination and segregation were the fundamental sources of the crisis. With regards to educa-
tion for Africans, the Commission determined that the vast majority of schools were segregated and suffered overcrowdedness, poor facilities, ir-
relevant curricula, less qualified teachers and disproportionate fund allotments.

The growing militancy of Africans was a natural response to their social existence. This growth was reflected in the emergence of nationalist movements during the mid and late 1960's. "Black Power" as articulated by Stokely Carmichael called for the social, political and economic control of the black communities by black people. Capitalist interests intervened in this movement and attempted to direct it in a manner that would appease the African population and simultaneously, reinforce the interests of the
American power structure. What ensued bore similarity to the industrial education wave of the late 1890's and early 1900's.

The demand for community control of schools by African people, a logical extension of "Black Power", was met with the intervention of Northern 'philanthropy.' It began with the appointment of McGeorge Bundy, President of Ford Foundation, as the head of a committee on decentralization during the school crisis in New York City. Robert Allen in Black Awakening in Capitalist America reveals the intent of Bundy's involvement:

"Bundy was well aware of this escalating tension... he also knew that the teachers had in their union an established mechanism for channeling their discontent. The parents had no such channel, and there was always the danger that their anger, having no institutionalized outlet, might escalate into violence. Hence, it was an urgent necessity for the parents in some way to be "reconnected" to the schools if disruptive conflicts were to be avoided. The mechanism for accomplishing this end appeared to be limited school decentralization, which would allow some parent participation—thereby, mitigating dangerous clashes—while at the same time, precluding genuine community control of the schools by masking central control over a new facade."29

Limited decentralization was not the only means that would be used to "cool-out" the black population; the "innovative" notion of paraprofessionals was introduced; and the federal government gave funds to white institutions of higher learning and local school districts to educate and train these people to assume control over their children's education. The bulk of the funds, of course, went into the administration of such programs.
Numerous other pacification efforts were put into effect. The government gave monies to many white educational institutions for the creation of special education programs, and the corporate structures, by means of their private foundations, offered scholarships for higher education and set up compensatory education projects for black youth in the cities.

The college programs were designed to fail. Their programs made no allowances for the poor quality education which Africans had received in the public schools. There were not adequate support services on the campuses to counter this and black students were channeled into the humanities or social sciences and were directed away from the natural or technical sciences. For the most part, black students either flunked out, dropped out, or were permitted to continue, gaining minimal skills that could not alter the quality of life in their former communities.

Compensatory education programs were organized in every major city with a substantial black population. Their failure was an in-built one. In a speech in Syracuse, in 1969, Ivan Illich, educator, pointed out H.E.W.'s admission to the fact that its own studies substantiated that it would cost eighty billion dollars, in comparison to the then allotted one and one half billion dollars, to implement educational programs providing the quality education that would correspond to standard education. However, the compensatory education programs did more than fail to provide educational betterment for Africans:
"Headstart, a program to give deprived preschoolers a better chance to compete with rich kids by first grade, was perverted into a white Southern strategy for prolonging school segregation. Throughout America, it became the forerunner of a new scheme for "documenting" in various studies, the inferior learning capability of deprived children."30

These compensatory programs that were supposed to compensate for the historical dehumanization and exploitation of African people in America were, in fact, designed to dehumanize and exploit.

Another extension of the compensatory programs was the phenomenon of open-admissions on the community college level. Engineered into effect following the black rebellions, open-admissions allowed the entrance of working class, high school graduates of urban cities into the two year college programs. This compensated for the four year institutions' inability and unwillingness to absorb many of the black youth classified as low-achievers. The facts that nearly 75% of the students drop out before completion of their two years and that the average number of years that the student remains in these programs is less than 1.2 years, however, reflects the nil potential of open-admissions programs as it applies to correcting the status of the black population through education.

The provision of educational opportunities to Africans came under the assault of science and social theorists as it had in the early 1900's. In an article in the "Harvard Educational Review", one Arthur Jensen presented statistics proorting the inherent inferiority of black people and stating the
purposelessness of higher education and compensatory programs for Africans. The education of blacks in higher education, however, was of a much more profound intent. While many of the compensatory programs in urban cities were designed to take black youth off the streets to mitigate the possibility of urban violence, four year college programs were aimed at creating a sufficient number of "black elite." It is significant that the recruitment of black students at white institutions were stabilized at 3 - 4% and that no special government funds were given to black colleges for the education of Africans. In Black Awakening in Capitalist America, Robert Allen outlined the basic intent of that scheme:

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

The education of the paraprofessional was for similar motives. Some of the most vocal parents and organizers were included in the programs, thereby terminating their criticism and efforts of community mobilization with the prospect of a college education.

At this time, a new myth was being rounded in its dimensions in Washington, D.C.—that of black capitalism. This idea of creating a black economy was predated by similar notions expressed by Booker T. Washin-
The introduction of this idea also served to detour the masses of Africans away from questioning the racist and class nature of society. In effect, government and private gestures of opportunity were geared in such a manner as to not only protect the corporate interests, but to keep the basis of society—racism and capitalism—intact. All these efforts were, in the long run, designed to quell the black nationalist efforts while ill-preparing black people to meet the challenges of their communities.

The student activism on black campuses which had earlier supported efforts for voter registration, education desegregation, etc., persisted. Their activism was encouraged by the emergence of a new organization, the Black Panther Party. The influence of the Party was felt amongst African students on both the black and white college campuses. Many black students rejected European ethnocentrism as a point of departure for education, and demanded relevancy to their lives and their needs. The struggle, initially against racism, manifested itself in the demand for black studies departments, the conversion of "Negro" colleges into black colleges, and the elimination of racism and discriminatory practices in all aspects of the campus life.

National campus takeovers ensued, and as the struggle progressed, the platforms of blacks and other Third World peoples as well as radical whites transcended the boundaries of academia. The struggle mounted into protest actions against economic exploitation home and abroad, and
was in itself, an indictment against capitalism and imperialism, most particularly as the latter elements demonstrated themselves in the Viet Nam War.

The college campuses, including those with special programs, became the breeding grounds of militant activism opposing racism and capitalism.

The impact that the college campus events had on the nation was evidenced by high school rebellions, and a steadily, mounting protest against the Viet Nam War on the part of the general American public. Visibly, the campuses represented a very perspicuous threat against the basis of American society. With the impending failure of its agenda to mitigate disorder and create the desired kind of "black elite," the power structure of the United States met the threat of increasing political consciousness and activism with increasing political repression.

Although the educational efforts to acculturate, to pacify, and to profit-by Africans are still realities, these pacification techniques are being increasingly replaced by the Machiavellian dictum of "brute force", after the dictums of persuasion and purchase have failed. In 1971, Samuel Yette described the imminent trends in higher education as:

"The projected near-total exclusion of black students from traditional colleges and universities, accompanied by a white establishment take-over of the traditionally black colleges; and the projected nazification of all campuses including the tactic of declaring "emotionally ill" any and all students and teachers who dare demonstrate in protest of such national policies as pursuing the wars in Southeast Asia and the repression of black citizens."33
The trends in education that Yette described are being increasingly realized in American society. With the termination of the Viet Nam War, and the devaluation of the American dollar, the American economy is in a more precarious position than ever before. The merging of black colleges with white colleges, and the cut back in federal funding for compensatory programs and the college education of Africans in America vis-a-vis President Richard Nixon's "new federalism," represents the impending end of efforts on the part of the American superstructure to pacify Africans. The government cannot feasibly continue to provide jobs commensurate with the number and educational preparation of students that the educational institutions are graduating.

As the history of Africans in America supports, the social fact of racism requires that black people suffer the hardest when economic crisis exists, and too, receive last options for the scarcity of any economic opportunities. With its own survival at stake, America has run out of costly games that disguise imperialist designs, and that proort social equality and economic mobility in order to appease the black population in America. The present circumstances of education for blacks in American society, predicted by Samuel Yette, already bears out this fact.
1. Stokely Carmichael; Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power, pp. 5, 6
2. W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction, p. 638
3. Horace Mann Bond, The Negro in the American Social Order, p. 23
4. Ibid., p. 25
5. Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-education of the Negro, p. 17
6. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, pp. 67, 68
7. Horace Mann Bond, op. cit., p. 29
8. Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower, p. 187
10. Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower, p. 187
11. James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle, p. 28
12. Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower, p. 217
15. Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-education of the Negro, p. 12
16. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, p. 63
17. James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle, p. 10
18. Horace Mann Bond, op. cit., p. 223
19. Ibid., pp. 373, 374
20. James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle, p. 68
22. Ibid., p. 33
23. Lerone Bennett, *Before the Mayflower*, p. 393
24. Ibid., p. 345
25. Ibid., p. 352
27. Ibid., p. 51
28. Ibid., p. 51
30. Samuel Yette, *op. cit.*, p. 40
32. Samuel Yette, *op. cit.*, p. 262
CHAPTER V
STATE-SUPPORTED ALTERNATIVES: ILLUSORY CONCESSIONS

The educational philosophy of the United States can be described as a theoretical specification of goals and aims determined by the national interests. These interests are class and color imperatives which reflect the ideological foundation of the American social order.

"Social milieu affects the content of philosophy, and the content of philosophy seeks to affect social milieu, either by confirming it or by opposing it. ...In the case where the philosophy confirms a social milieu, it implies something of the ideology of that society."1

It is this American educational philosophy which theoretically defends the American social order that characterizes it as an instrument of bourgeois ideology. This is particularly true in light of the fact that mass education in America arose to complement the mode of material production in America, specifically, capitalism. In specifying the "Legal Basis for the Public Schools," the authors of Public School Law have the following to say with regards to the functioning of public school education in America:

"States, through their own constitutional and statutory provisions, regulate and control public education. ...While the legislature of a state may do all except that which the constitutions of the state and federal government prohibit it from doing. ...In exercising this wide power over education, the states have established uniform systems of public schools for the purpose of protecting the state."2
This statement is supportive of the fact that the social structures of the United States are operated in accordance with the welfare of the overall American social order. This is true of the operation of even most private educational institutions, the parameters of whose functioning is determined by enforceable laws.

The fact that American education is an extension of the bourgeois ideology makes it impossible for American education to generate alternatives that will qualitatively alter the objective social existence of the colonized, for to do so would mean its own demise. This fact renders any State-controlled alternatives to American education as token compensatory programs and illusory concessions that do not seriously undermine the exploitative philosophy inherent in the educational system of America. For educators to state that qualitative alternatives that will ameliorate the condition of the colonized are feasible within the context of the social structures of bourgeois ideology is tantamount to suggesting that the colonized may find alternatives to their oppression in the economic structure, i.e. imperialism, which is the initial premise for their oppression.

The notion that there are alternatives for the colonized within the structures of colonization denies logic. This reasoning is reformist in nature because it does not deter the intent of colonization and its instruments, but only alters the manner in which that intent is expressed. In sum and substance, the sanctioning of Black Studies, community control, and the open
classroom as ends or means in education wherein the objective reality of colonization can be undermined, and the class and color imperatives of American society can be diminished, amounts to little more than a diminutive gesture for generating hope in American education, in particular, and American society, in general.

Unless token compensatory programs can alter the balance of power, the benefit they offer is nil. At present, the balance of power favors the colonizer. Walter Rodney defines it as "White Power." "White Power" is the power of whites over blacks without any participation of the blacks. White Power rules the imperialist world as a whole." Created by White Power to appease the discontented elements of society, "these token programs are illusory concessions designed to control and detour those who question the class essence of American education and the society it serves."

Although Black Studies emerged out of the black student demand for an education relevant to the needs of African people, the administrations of white colleges have been successful in co-opting this demand. Black Studies programs represent a virtual ghetto—poor, inadequate and wreaking of the smell of death—with regards to programs of study that can equip students with the tools necessary to wretch power out of the hands of the colonizer.

Loss of a sense of historical continuity is reflected throughout the subjects offered by Black Studies programs. The content of courses in education, sociology, literature, etc., are all confined within the experience of Afri-
cans in America, commencing with slavery. It is almost perfectly in keeping with the colonial contention that Africans had no cultural history prior to colonization, thereby justifying the civilizing mission of colonization. Although this practice is by no means absolute in its uniformity, it is certainly one of the general characteristics of many Black Studies courses offered on white campuses. This shows how Black Studies is a reformist extension of the American philosophy of education. Extricating the experience of Africans in America from the African experience in Africa has been a fundamental mechanism in the oppression of black people. Lack of knowledge concerning the state of civilization in Africa prior to colonialism has impeded the black masses' grasp of the crux and harsh irony of their situation as a colony in America in present times. Malcolm X said of the necessity to deal with the total history of African social existence:

"When you deal with the past, you're dealing with history, you're dealing actually with the origin of a thing. When you know the origin, you know the cause. If you don't know the cause, you don't know the reason, you're just cut off, you're left standing in mid-air. So the past deals with history or the origin of anything—the origin of a person, the origin of a nation, the origin of an incident. And when you know the origin, then you get a better understanding of the causes that produce whatever originated there and its reason for originating and its reason for being. It's impossible for you and me to have a balanced mind in this society without going into the past. When you go back into the past and find out where you once were, then you will know that you weren't always at this level, that you once had attained a higher lev-
el, had made great achievements, contributions to a society, civilization, science and so forth. And you know that if you once did it, you can do it again; you automatically get the incentive, the inspiration and the energy necessary to duplicate what our forefathers formerly did. But by keeping us completely cut off from our past, it is easy for the man who has power over us to make us willing to stay at this level because we will feel that we were always at this level, a low level. That's why I say it's so important for you and me to spend time today learning something about the past so that we can better understand the present, analyze it, and then do something about it. 5

The lack of a sense of historical continuity in the programs of study in Black Studies is compounded by a lack of course offerings in communications, the natural and technical sciences and economics—the skills of which are essential to social development in a modern historical context.

Historically, the colonizers have controlled the social existence of colonized peoples in such a manner as to keep the tools of power, specifically technology, out of their reach. The administrations of white educational institutions will undoubtedly argue that the incorporation of such courses into the Black Studies program will duplicate what is already available in the broader campus. Black Studies programs, for the most part, have not even established any mechanisms for advising students of why it is necessary and how to make usage of the institutional offerings in these fields. The majority of black students on white campuses are majoring in the humanities and social sciences, and not in the areas that will equip them to concretely
and effectively alter their social existence. The essence of self-determination eludes most black students and programs of Black Studies. The following comments by Walter Rodney have implications concerning the inherent danger of such programs:

"In response to the demand for more black culture and history, the national bourgeoisie of the United States of America has adopted a technique. ... Having the security which comes from the possession of capital, they feel confident in making certain concessions to black culture in their educational institutions. ... As always they concede the lesser demand to maintain the total structure of white capitalist domination, hoping to siphon off young blacks in a preoccupation with African history and culture divorced from the raw reality of the American system as it operates on both the domestic and international front. Imagine the juicy contradiction—... Black revolutionaries study African culture alongside of researchers into germ warfare against the Vietnamese people."

The Black Studies programs under attack by black students for the inadequacy of the programs of study have rationalized the deficiency in courses outside of the humanities and social sciences by stating that the knowledge that the students request is to be had in the broader campus—"Go get it!" Such a position presumes that the knowledge to be gotten in the broader campus is "pure," meaning that "microbiology is microbiology" whomever is teaching it. This ignores the social fact that the entire society—its social structures, knowledge, etc.—is permeated with the ideology of the society. To paraphrase Mao Tse Tung, "in a class society all knowledge is permeated with the class character of that society." This is why
an advanced technological society like the United States cannot service the
needs of its total population; the ideology determines the application of
technology such that the needs of certain classes and races are not met.
If the white educational administrations block efforts to establish viable
programs of study in the interests of Africans, then it should be incumbent
upon Black Studies programs to at least attempt to give the black student
population an ideology which, if it does not engender them to acquire techni-
cal skills, it will minimally provide an understanding of the necessity for
such.

The colonizers have maintained their position of power in the world
because of their technological advantage. It is essential that African peoples
begin to assume the responsibility for mastering certain technical skills
and in the proper ideological framework in order to change the balance of
power. White institution's restrictions upon Black Studies is comparable
to another extension of the colonizer's trickery to detour African peoples
from the genuine goal of self-determination.

Finally, many Black Studies programs are further deficient because
of the Western influence of ethnocentrism; these programs do not want to
deal with anything that is "unblack." Lack of knowledge of man's genuine
social history and authentic African history permits this position to prevail.
Consequently, it is the posture of many of these programs to leave the
study of Viet Nam or China, Puerto Rico or Chile, etc. to the departments
of Southeast Asian and Asian Studies and Latin American Studies, etc. of
the white educational institutions. Many Black Studies programs are content not to look beyond the world which is visibly black, thereby allowing the colonizer's social structures to define the world for them.

Historical discontinuity, non-technical subject matter and intellectual insulation characterize many of the courses in many Black Studies programs on the white campuses. Due to the fact that black students did not have the power to control the manner in which their original demand would be implemented, the quest for relevant education was able to be side-tracked by trickery designed to appease.

The demand for community control of schools by black parents in large urban cities in the United States initially emanated as a call for an internal overhauling of public schools that black children attended. Community control was just one of the dimensions of the concept of "Black Power" which required black control of black communities for black control of the destinies of black people. In 1968, Imamu Baraka, one of the leading advocates of community control in Newark, New Jersey defined it as such:

"I think in the cities it means the mobilization of black people with black consciousness to take control over that space which they already inhabit and to achieve programs so that they can defend and govern that space and survive the onslaughts of white society."7

The demand for community control of schools developed in response to the high drop out rate and low achievement records of black students in the public schools; to the militaristic manner in which student protests for
relevancy were being handled; to the contrasting and considerable control that the middle class parents had with regards to the education of their children in their communities; to the racism experienced by black students at the hands of the administration and teachers and as indicated by the curriculum and ability tests; and to the poor and dangerous conditions of the physical facilities in which black children were being educated.

In 1966, the struggle for community control of schools commenced in Harlem when the request of black parents to participate in the selection of the principal of Harlem's I.S. 201 was denied by the New York City Board of Education. The demands for which the black parents and community leaders sought relief were as follows:

1. District boundaries defined by the communities themselves—organized on the basis of one district for each intermediate or junior high school complex.

2. School board election procedures developed by the school communities and held by the communities. This includes determining the number of members, qualifications and voter eligibility.

3. Full employment of community residents. All available positions to be filled by residents first.

4. Accountability of all administrative and teaching staff. Teachers must believe in our children's ability to learn; teachers must respect the children and the community.

5. Full utilization of school buildings. Facilities must be available to the communities for afternoon, night and weekend use.

6. Availability of adult education programs for all, including both academic and job training courses.
7. Abolition of all testing until tests can be developed which are relevant and geared to the requirements of individual communities.

8. Control of all school construction and maintenance funds.

9. Free breakfast and lunch programs for all children. No more soup and bread and butter sandwiches. Nutritious and appealing meals, including soul food, rice and beans and Chinese food will be served.

10. Establishment of educational programs which teach modern day awareness of the real world. This includes Puerto Rican, Black and Chinese culture and history, problems of unemployment, poor housing, malnutrition, police brutality, racism and other forms of oppression.

11. An end to all suspensions, dismissals and other abuses against children until fair procedures can be devised to deal with each individual case.

12. Development of programs to deal with drug addiction.

13. Establishment of student participation in the decision making process, both at junior high and high school levels.

14. Immediate repair of all deteriorated school buildings and start of new construction to reduce over-crowding. Renovation of city-owned, but abandoned, structures to be considered for this purpose.

15. Immediate changes in the teacher and supervisory licensing and certification procedures so as to eliminate practices which have been used to exclude minority group persons from teaching and supervisory positions. Abolition of the Board of Education, which exists only in New York City.

16. Development of bi-lingual classes and programs at all levels.

17. Establishment of medical and health services for all children. Mandatory assignment of at least one full-time doctor and one full-time nurse to each school.

18. Establishment of equitable grievance procedures to protect the rights of parents, children and students.

19. Free access to their children's records for all parents, as is their
legal right. Nothing to be put in children's records unless approved by parents.

20. Abolishment of the tracking system which was declared unconstitutional and discriminates against Black, Puerto Rican and poor children. 8

These demands clearly went beyond the mere desire of correctional procedures in the schools themselves. The black parents wanted a considerable and permanent portion of power over the education of the students and moreover, the parents sought power on behalf of the general Harlem community.

The response to the issue of community control of schools by black parents in the nation was dealt with in either of three ways: 1) token appointments of blacks to teacher and administrative positions; 2) the construction of paraprofessional programs to educate blacks and to eventually assume teacher positions in the schools; and 3) the appearances of decentralization of power wherein the black community residents could participate.

The appointment of a few black persons to teaching and administrative positions in some areas of the country still did not address itself to the larger concerns of education. It gave the visible appearance of a concession to the demands for community control without any substantive change in the balance of power having taken place. The policies and procedures of the school district remained unaltered.

The employment and education of paraprofessionals was another
form of appeasement which put government funds in the possession of white educational institutions of higher learning and local school districts for educating and training black community residents to assume eventual 'control' of the classrooms of the schools in their communities. The money to the school district was compensation for any hostility they might harbor towards the idea of having black parents on school premises during the entire school day. The program only offered relief to parents who already had a high school education. The hidden objective of these Career Opportunity Programs was to temper the active protest for community control of schools by incorporating into the programs the organizers and most articulate advocates of the protest.

Yet the biggest hoax in the movement for community control of schools was the efforts for decentralization of the school districts. What happened in New York City is, very likely, a prototype of what happened in numerous other cities where the issue of community control had come to the fore. In New York City, McGeorge Bundy, President of Ford Foundation, intervened as head of a special committee on decentralization. In the guise of private philanthropy, Bundy represented the interests of the corporate structure. He was able to channel the efforts for community control into various local school boards that had no decision-making authority. The effect was to minimize the possibility of violent recourse on the part of the black community in Harlem while maintaining the control of the New York City Board of Education under the illusion of parent participation.
"Tension between teachers and black parents had risen as a result of a three-week teacher's strike that fall. The teachers thought parents were attempting to usurp their professional rights and privileges. The parents, on the other hand, attacked the teachers as racists and the destroyers of their children. Bundy was well aware of this escalating tension... But he also knew that the teachers had in their union an established mechanism for channeling their discontent. The parents had no such channel..."9

Bundy was instrumental in constructing a mechanism which would allow limited and ineffectual parent participation, and the illusion of decision-making authority and community control.

Two facts combined to effect the inevitable co-optation and demise of the protest for community control. Compounding the fact that most black advocates of community control did not perceive that the American educational system could never effectively make room for their interests due to its institutionalized inequities designed to protect American imperialism, was the fact that many of the people did not have any definitive contentions about what constituted power and control. This latter fact was grounded in the reality that the advocates of "Black Power" (which was one of primary catalysts of the community control movement) could offer no protection to the definition of "Black Power." Harold Cruse addresses this issue in Rebellion or Revolution:

"The ambiguity, the lingering vagueness over the exact definition of Black Power is rooted, first of all, in an exceedingly faulty and unscientific interpretation of Negro historical trends in the United States. This faulty interpretation of black social trends in America negates any at-
tempt to deal theoretically with the Black Power concept in any definitive way. In other words, the subjectively faulty way in which Negro history has been interpreted by all conservative, liberal, and left schools has cut the ground from under any possibility of setting up a theoretical structure around both the nationalist-separatist-black power trends and the civil rights protest-integrationist trends. The result is the black American as part of an ethnic group has no definitive social theory relative to his status, presence, or impact on American society. It is for this reason that when a Black Power phase repeats itself in the Sixties, it comes at such a crucial moment in the history of American race relations that a Black Power movement cannot escape being taken over and commandeered by a revolutionary anarchist tendency. Coming at a moment of racial crisis in America, there has been no school of social theory prepared in advance for Black Power that could channel the concept along the lines of positive, radical, and constructive social change."

The major impact that continued efforts by blacks for community control of schools can have is that of heightening the contradictions in American education, in particular, and in the American social order, in general.

Afram Associates, a resource center in New York, sees the general effort for community control as follows:

"The community control movement represents an effort to develop at the top level, the ability to hold this nation accountable, and to employ dissent as an instrument to reshape the relationship between the have-nots and the haves. It is an attempt to mobilize communities to improve the lot of the masses."
Although there is some value in the intent of community control as specified by Afram Associates, unless the mobilizing efforts are given an ideological context, tactics of appeasement will still be able to be effectively employed.

A more recent State-supported alternative within the American schools is that of the "open classroom." Unlike Black Studies and the 1960's protest for community control of schools, this alternative was provided for without the direct request or demand of black people in America. Indirectly, however, it was a response to the era of protest and rebellions which characterized the 1960's. The militant means utilized by blacks to express their grievances about the American social order and its institutions had brought unanticipated attention to the bankruptcy represented in American education. Outside of the different Third World national groups in America, many liberal parents and educators were uncomfortable with the vivid reality that the curricula of American education was so blatantly racist and discriminatory. The militancy of the sixties provided the impetus to develop modes of alternative education—some good and others wholly reformist. One reformist alternative was the "open classroom"—a facade constructed to minimize the visibility of the racist and inequitable nature of education in American schools and to offer a kind of education with less apparent shortcomings to the middle class white parents.

The open schoolroom is designed in a manner such that the classroom
presents a various assortment of ways and options for learning. Much of the learning materials are computerized and can be operated by the children themselves. The open classroom is constructed to be child-centered, with the teacher's role being that of a resource person. Essentially, the open schoolroom is designed to be one in which the child is responsible for his growth or lack of it; for his open-mindedness or narrowness; etc. This open-structured setting is extolled for its neutrality and its ability to service the needs of any child from any ethnic group.

The supposition that the open schoolroom offers the "unbiased curriculum" because of its mode of operation, eludes the truth, however. The materials of instruction are permeated with the ideas and values of whomever they are constructed or produced by. In Chapter I, specific note was made of the fact that man's intellectual consciousness creates his social existence. The instructional materials which are computerized materials are products of corporate industrialism and reflect bourgeois ideology.

The open classroom projects a new gimmick by which to promote bourgeois ideology. In short, it is a new means to the same ends. Set in the bourgeois value system of the United States, this do-your-own-thing motif of learning is just another dimension of the individualism represented in the broader society.

The immense danger of this kind of education for blacks, however, is acceptance of the notion that the education offered by the open classroom is "unbiased" and further, that an unbiased education can change the objec-
tive condition of black people in America. To accept the notion of neutral education, providing that such is possible, is to accept the degenerated state that defines the lot of the black masses in America and in the world. The fact that this 'unbiased' education reflects the biased intellectual consciousness of America, would make the neutrality of blacks a contributory factor in their own oppression.

The historical reality is that the State will support nothing that endangers its existence. The endangerment of color and class imperatives that determine the oppression of African people and upon which American education is built, however, is necessary for the rectification of the objective condition of Africans. The illusory concessions of Black Studies, community control of schools and the open schoolroom, in and of themselves, are not means which offer the values, knowledge and skills necessary to alter oppression because the context in which they find themselves, that of American education, has made no change in its philosophy. These appeasement tactics constitute counter-revolutionary means by which the black challenge to the American social order is detoured, thereby stabilizing and perpetuating the race and class nature of society.
1. Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, p. 56
2. Kern Alexander; Ray Corns; Walter McCann, Public School Law, p. 19
3. Walter Rodney, Groundings with My Brothers, p. 31
4. "Education: A Critique From China; Pedagogical Theory: Bourgeois or Socialist," Far East Reporter, p. 6
5. George Breitman, ed., Malcolm X on Afro-American History, pp. 4, 5
6. Walter Rodney, Groundings with My Brothers, p. 1
7. Robert Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, p. 136
9. Robert Allen, op. cit., p. 151
10. Harold Cruse, Rebellion or Revolution, pp. 202, 203
11. Afram Associates Materials
CHAPTER VI

THE NECESSITY FOR A BLACK PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

In the decade of the seventies, African peoples everywhere must seriously take on the task of constructing education in terms of their interests as black people. The overwhelming interest that African people have in common is that of self-determination. The overwhelming consideration in the construction of an education that will realize their interests is that the education must contribute to qualitative change in the status quo.

Since the advent of imperialism, the destinies of African peoples have been subject to external manipulation by those who control the means of production. In the United States, it is the Euro-American; in Brazil, it is the Portuguese; in the Caribbean (excepting Cuba), it is the European and his transported brethren—the Euro-American; and in Africa, it is the French, the British, the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the Euro-American. To regain control of their destinies, African peoples must struggle to control the means by which nature is transformed for material production.

In America, the fact that black people have no decisive authority in the way nature is transformed and thus, in the way that their material and spiritual needs are met, accounts for a major part of their wretched social existence. In 1972, 7.9 million African people in the United States were classified below the poverty line. The fact that man's spiritual state of being is largely dependent upon whether his material needs have been met accounts
for such startling statistics as the following: that 25% of all blacks over 1
18 years of age suffer from hypertension; that within the last 20 years the
2 suicide rate for black women has risen 80%; that schizophrenia admission
rates to State mental hospitals for nonwhite children are three times as
3 high as the corresponding rates for white children; that mental illness
4 strikes two times as many black persons as white; that 75% of drug related
deaths in New York City in 1970 were Black and Puerto Rican and half of
5 the victims were less than 23 years of age; that 62% of all persons arrested
for murder in the United States are black and that 55% of their victims are
6 black. When considered in conjunction with the fact that reported cases of
certain physical illnesses, of suicide, mental illness, drug-related deaths
and murder correspond to the economic stratification of the population, with
the greater percentages being attributable to peoples of the American lower
classes, these statistics implicate the class imperatives of the production
process in the manifestations of spiritual conflict. Power over the way
nature is transformed to meet the needs of man is necessary for change in
the status quo.

Education for African peoples has two fundamental requisites —
that it be for 1) change and for 2) power. A philosophy that will theoretically
defend these aims  is the foundation for a philosophy for black education.
The philosophy of American education on the other hand, is a theoretical
defense of the status quo. Much in the same fashion that present day im-
perialism maintains its domination under a new face, namely neo-colonialism wherein multi-national companies and economic power have replaced direct political control, colonial education has similarly attempted to guise its ineffectual role with regards to altering the objective condition of oppressed peoples. Within this contextual reality, State-supported alternatives in American education are alternatives in the mode of operation and not in the fundamental philosophical premises of American education which defend the conditions for African peoples not being independent to determine their destinies. The American philosophy of education requires that the education process be selective and discriminatory in order to maintain the selective and discriminatory nature of man's social existence in America. Not only does this philosophy support the degenerated state of African social existence, but it is supportive of imperatives contrary to actual life. A black philosophy of education, mandating change and power, opposes the status quo of society, and too, the ideological foundation of the society.

"In the case where the philosophy confirms a social milieu, it implies something of the ideology of that society. In other cases in which philosophy opposes a social milieu, it implies something of the ideology of a revolution against that social milieu."7

Due to its philosophical defense of the ideological foundation of America, American education is a vehicle for transmitting those ideas which constitute the knowledge of the society via its operation. Caught in the exploitative process compounded by distortions of facts that rationalize this process, American education cannot offer the oppressed any opportunity to
discover their capacity to transform their realities. This reality along with others, suggests very strongly that the goal of self-determination cannot be accomplished in the social structures of America or Europe. Paulo Freire speaks to this in the "Adult Literary Process":

"Alienated men, they cannot overcome their dependency by "incorporation" into the very structure responsible for their dependency."8

Nor can self-determination be achieved by a philosophy that theoretically defends the ideological basis of those societies. Clearly, only an independent mechanism whose purpose and agenda are minimally as comprehensive as those of bourgeois education and within the context of a radically different philosophy can counter and ultimately, alter the fact of oppression. A black philosophy of education would determine the dimensions and substance of such a mechanism.

Education for Africans must be included in the larger, political struggle of Africans' quest for social transformation. A black philosophy of education must support the ideas of change. A philosophy is based upon ideas. A theoretical defense of anything requires ideas to defend. A black philosophy of education would therefore, select the ideology it chooses to defend. Assuming that there are only two fundamental categories of ideologies—bourgeois and socialist—and having determined that the ideology of American society constitutes bourgeois ideology, a philosophy of education that elicits change must be supportive of socialist ideology.

A black philosophy of education based on socialist ideology mandates
a methodological disengagement from oppression. This disengagement can only be facilitated through "struggle." There is no change without struggle which is the primary vehicle for social transformation.

Struggle for change and power in service of the African revolution would operate on three fronts: 1) survival; 2) resistance; and 3) liberation. These three fronts of struggle are designed to facilitate the waging of a successful struggle against bourgeois ideology and its exploitative production process. The objective is both short-ranged and long-ranged.

In the first, a black philosophy of education must seek the immediate relief of the impending possibility of the termination of African life. This may require a seemingly reformist posture since, often, the only channels wherein relief can be sought immediately, are those of the oppressor. In defense of a black philosophy of education, an educator might have to seek relief for black people in the courts, in the schools, in the hospitals, etc. This level of activity would also require offensive action through the creation of programs of action that deal directly with the problems of nutrition, health and drugs which significantly figure in the question of black survival. What defines this activity as progressive is the fact that the action for black survival is executed in the interests of the long-range objectives of struggle—resistance and liberation.

Resistance, the second front of struggle, requires action against repression and containment. A black philosophy of education would necessitate concrete opposition to the social structures of the oppressive social
order that practice such inhumane activity as sterilization and psychotherapy. It would also resist the ideological and military supports of the colonial regime. Resistance is ongoing as long as African people are oppressed. It does not singularly imply reaction, however. It implies action too. Therefore, when the oppressed opposes the social milieu outside of that action called for in situations of crisis, he is initiating positive action.

The third front of struggle that a black philosophy of education will require is that of liberation. This process seeks to free African minds of bourgeois ideas and equips them with tools that require comprehension and mastery of scientific/analytical methodologies and skills necessary to effect change. It would further provide them with the tools for understanding history in a manner necessary for pursuing truth. This front, liberation, would also facilitate the creation of values in keeping with socialist ideas. In this sense, it will seek to facilitate the growth of new attitudes and behaviors that will enable the oppressed to employ knowledge and abilities in the interests of social transformation and the creation of a humanitarian social order.

Primary in the black philosophy of education is the need for re-definition, in terms of what the African mind determines as truth as a result of struggle with his objective world. Words are then defined in terms of the African perception of reality. A black education cannot accept the meaning of words such as "black" as presently defined by the colonizer. Redefinition of words, images, etc. is necessary to eliminate the psychological impedi-
ments to the struggle imprinted in black minds via definitions which are retardative and oppressive to black people's survival.

A black philosophy of education would be undergirded by a new value system. "The value system is how you live, (and) to what end." New values would determine what would constitute revolutionary behavior and counter-revolutionary behavior, or behavior for change and behavior against change. For example, a value of "collectivism" would mean that any action that did not conform to the collective interests of all African peoples (and ultimately, those of humanity) is not revolutionary because it is restricted in its ability to substantively change the nature of social existence. This counter-revolutionary behavior is supportive of the already existent bourgeois value system that determines the support of individualism, private property, competition, and the capitalist process of production. A new value system suggests a value system that would mandate change in all facets of man's social existence.

As previously mentioned, the implementation of a new learning system to achieve social metamorphosis is also fundamental to a black philosophy of education. The learning system of American education, based on memorization and regurgitation is, at best, programmatic—not real learning. This is consumption which constitutes acquisition of knowledge by exclusively consuming the ideas of others. A serviceable learning system must not divorce the subject matter from the objective world via separate compartments of information, but must connect all knowledge to man's natural and social realities. A learning
system in service of the African revolution seeks to help black people develop a critical consciousness — a way of determining their relationship to the objective world by scientific investigation. This way of learning allows for the uncovering of new facts and therefore, offers allowances for change.

In effect, a philosophy of black education that will qualitatively alter the social existence of the oppressed must seek social transformation. Social transformation means that the key goals of a black philosophy of education must be education for change and for power. As such, the education process and the struggle for black people's liberation is synonymous both philosophically and operationally. Further, a philosophy for black education must require new definitions, values and a new learning system to insure that the struggle is effective. Summarily, a black philosophy of education supports the ideas that will engender a revolution in the status quo.
1. Jack Slater, "Hypertension — Biggest Killer of Blacks," Ebony, p. 74
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
7. Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, p. 56
Revolution and education are the same thing.

Fidel Castro,
Educacion y Revolucion
CHAPTER VII
SOCIALIST MODELS IN EDUCATION

The political reality of colonization is a global phenomenon that haunts the social existence of the great majority of the populations of the Third World. Consequently, many of these peoples are subject to colonial education and its philosophy that have perilous consequences for its recipients. Yet, there are nations which have fought and broken the bonds of colonization and imperialism, enabling these nations to construct educational systems that concur with the new ideological basis of their nations. The educational systems of the United Republic of Tanzania, The People's Republic of China and the Republic of Cuba hold much relevance and significance to peoples struggling to develop models of education that correspond to their legitimate needs and interests which colonial education has proven incapable of doing. It is the fact that the philosophies of these educational systems—which deny racism and capitalism as points of departure for social development—point up a different ideology that makes them unique in the possibilities they offer the African people in America.

The philosophical basis of the educational systems of Tanzania, China and Cuba reflects the political thought of their nations—that of socialism.

It was noted in Chapter I that socialist ideology stems from a materialist understanding of man and nature, and in Chapter II, that by definition, socialism cannot theoretically and practically, produce the capitalist-inspired social phenomenon of colonialism.
Under socialism, the means of production are collectively owned by the people and material production is in the collective interests of the people. In view of this, social development and education in a socialist context function in order to meet the legitimate needs of the people and is for the collective interests of the society. Kwame Nkrumah speaks to this point in the following comments:

"Under socialism...this study and mastery of nature has a humanist impulse, and is directed not towards a pro-fiteering accomplishment, but the affording of ever-increasing satisfaction for the material and spiritual needs of the great number."

Unlike the American educational system, education in Tanzania, China and Cuba does not constitute competition for academic credentials that would allow one to sell his labor at a higher price for the benefit and profit of a minority of individuals who own and control the means of production. The relevance that the educational systems in these nations have to Africans in America—as reflected in their philosophies and determined by the ideology of their respective societies—socialism—is related to the political basis of education in Tanzania, the relationship of education to culture in China, and the methods employed in the development of an effective system of education in a relatively short amount of time as exemplified in Cuba.

In Tanzania, education is undergoing fast and radical change in order to reinforce the political thought of the nation, socialism. The method of education in the nation is designed to reinforce the three principles that the nation has set forth for itself and outlined in the Arusha Declaration towards
the creation of a socialist society: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by the efforts of the people of the nation; and work by everyone and exploitation by none. * Self-reliance is the overriding theme in Tanzanian social development so as not to depend upon others whose interests are contrary to the creation of a socialist society.

Having suffered the experience of colonization wherein the educational social structures were directed at exclusively meeting the needs of the former colonial power and its appointed elite, Tanzania had to assume as its initial task the re-education of its people to rid them of exploitative values, attitudes and behavior that would impede nation-building in a socialist context. Part of the revolution of education in Tanzania is, therefore, designed to remove the vestiges of British-determined elements in the system of education, including elitism, division of academia and work, respect accrued to book learning, and the lack of the practical participation of students in the work forces. A post-Arusha directive issued by Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, addressed the inherent dangers of the colonial remnants, thereby reaffirming the principles by which Tanzania guides itself.

The ideological basis of Tanzania society mandated new modes of educating the society for accomplishing national aims. The processes of opening

* "The Arusha Declaration marked a turning point in Tanzanian politics. The ideology of the country was made explicit by it; also the introduction of 'leadership qualifications', and the measures for public ownership began a new series of deliberately socialist policy initiatives." 2
farms and establishing workshops and undertaking other nation-building
tasks were designed to make the schools become the communities by having
the work of the school population be an integral part of the general commu-
nities' efforts for social development. All persons belong to a community and
are expected to contribute their share to the production process in the com-
munity. By facilitating social development in a collective and egalitarian
manner, the entire community is supportive of Tanzania's political intent.
In accordance with socialist ideology, Tanzania has confronted the country's
present inability to afford 12 years of education to all members of its society
at national expense; the age for beginning schools has increased so that stu-
dents who attend are at an age where they are able to learn more rapidly.
In this manner, the education of the people can be of more immediate service
to social development.

Self-reliance is emphasized in Tanzanian life and education. The
school populations are expected to organize themselves cooperatively with
the communities such that there is "equality in work and return." Julius
Nyerere has said that the aims of such work is to "convert schools into econo-
mic communities as well as educational communities."

"We want each school...taking pupils and staff together...
to be eventually responsible for doing...or meeting the
costs of...its own maintainance, apart from the strictly
academic expenses."

School and society are closely linked in the transformation of Tanzania. The
principles of hard work and cooperation for the common good as required by
the educational system of Tanzania reinforces its political ideology of socialism that requires each member to contribute his share to transforming nature for material production in order that there be no exploitation in the production process.

"In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent." 4

The integration of work into the curriculum and the increase of the age of attending school are efforts designed to make education an integral part of the production process and Tanzanian social development. Emphasis is on the student's ability to produce rather than consume. Accordingly, all education is geared for service to the many.

Selective mechanisms such as examinations in education have been deleted in order that a Tanzanian's contribution to the production process is not weighed by the capital work of his academic credentials, but by his actual work efforts. Those persons that receive more education at the monetary expense of the Tanzanian people are expected to compensate the society by the quality services they render in the future.

Education is constructed to facilitate a critical consciousness in the people, whereby they support the political direction of the nation because they understand its value. Appropriately, there is emphasis on a scientific approach to learning, such that the learner is engaged in all stages of a partic-
ular production process so that he comprehends the significance of each stage. This kind of education seeks to impart to the participant a thorough understanding and therefore, appreciation of all workers engaged in socialist production.

The curriculum, the methods and the organization of schools in Tanzania are constructed to support the interlinking set of ideas that comprise socialism. By the relating of work in education to the concrete social existence of Tanzanians, and by the participation of all citizens in the transformation of nature in an egalitarian manner, Tanzania endeavors to foster an understanding of the worth of collective work and responsibility. The work among teachers, students and workers is for the purpose of realizing a family social unity—"Ujamma"—that is fundamental to socialism. Education is further designed to impart an understanding of the social fact that man's consciousness is developed with his confrontation with his material condition. The necessity for the element of "practice" in the education process is related by Nyerere:

"We cannot integrate pupils and students into the future society simply by theoretical teaching, however well designed it is."5

Moreover, there is no given structure which characterizes the mode of education because considerable flexibility is necessary for the specific needs of a given school-community in order that nature is transformed in a fashion that is in the interests of the total school-community.
The genuine education of the Tanzanian citizenry for the meeting of their own needs and interests required a fundamental change in the social structures of Tanzanian society and the mode of production that would determine the nature of social relations in the society. Education is the mechanism that the United Republic of Tanzania has chosen for the discarding of bourgeois ideas and for replacing the colonial ideology with new ideas bred from the people's struggle with their objective world. A revolution in the Tanzanian educational system, itself, was necessary in order to eliminate the inequitable system of privileges that the old colonial model fostered. Emphasis on self-reliance, struggle with the social and natural realities, and collective work are the essential features of Tanzanian education, and all reinforce the three major political principles of the Arusha Declaration.

Yet, it is not the view of the Tanzanian people that the political independence of their nation symbolizes liberation. According to President Nyerere, the struggle for liberation has a broader and much more profound aim:

"Is it enough for Africans to say we have these pieces which we inherited from colonialism and these pieces are now independent?... Seven years old... Tanzania is child, and is, in a sense, a product of colonialism. And so the real historic development is the development of the African world... This is our historic mission, here, within Tanzania. But we hope that what we are doing will be a contribution to this liberation of Africa, because we can't see development in Africa, in any other sense, except as an instrument of liberating Africa."
Nyerere views the revolutionary transformation of Tanzanian society as an ongoing struggle which has just begun.

"...we have not reached the end. We have just seized the first instruments of power in beginning our historical march." 7

The revolution in education is an integral part of the society's goal to prepare people for membership and service in a liberated and humanitarian world of the future for which Tanzania struggles.

As in Tanzania, socialism defines the ideology of the People's Republic of China and is the basis upon which the educational system is built and functions. The Cultural Revolution in China was aimed at radically transforming the behaviors of the people of the nation, which, theretofore, were determined by values, attitudes and ideas that had generated unegalitarian conditions in the social existence of the Chinese people. The Chinese Proletarian Cultural Revolution set in motion the conversion of China's system of education, for it was education that was first addressed by the Cultural Revolution.

The purpose of transformation in the education system was to change its mode of operation and to eliminate the values, attitudes and ideas that were breeding a privileged elite in China. Fundamental to the educational revolution also, was the intent to rejuvenate the commitment to "serve the people." It was specifically designed to prevent the educated few from dominating the masses.

The new ideas that the educational revolution sought to introduce in Chinese society via the Cultural Revolution were those of collective work and
responsibility; respect for manual labor and all work in the socialist production process; honor in service; and self-reliance. The goal, as specified by Chairman Mao Tse Tung, the head of State, was to permit "everyone who receives an education to become a worker with socialist consciousness and culture." The means by which China undertook this task are some of the more salient features of the Cultural Revolution.

Due to the fact that the Cultural Revolution sought a major vehicle by which this transformation of culture was to be achieved, the initial act of China was to make education available to the masses. Schools were constructed in even the most remote districts and all the members of the community were encouraged to be integral parts of the educational process in all capacities.

In the schools, there was considerable effort to eliminate the distinction made between different elements of the population. Accordingly, the classroom incorporated the peasant and worker into the learning process, and the production process incorporated the students and teachers. One of the objectives of this was to make all elements of the population participants in the learning and working processes thereby, minimizing the possibilities for unequalitarian distinctions that placed a negative value with manual laborers and a positive value with the intellectuals.

In addition to the efforts to combine the labor process with mental production, schooling was designed to facilitate productive labor. Means to ensure the stability of this practice were instituted at various levels of the
educational process. The members of the communities where the schools are located, determine what persons should receive special training at the university level based on each person's work experience and exemplary commitment to the social development of the community. Cooperation and contribution to the general society determines one's eligibility for special training, thereby making an individual's personal social existence contingent upon his contribution the general welfare of the community. Such means of reorganization in education were conducive to the development of the value of collectivism as opposed to that of individualism.

The educational revolution in China sought the elimination of selective mechanisms that were inadequate measurements of a person's commitment to values that would aid socialist development. Accordingly:

"-No marks are given
-No homework is set
-Children are encouraged to cooperate, and forbidden to compete when doing assignments
-There are no examinations, and all the members of a class are promoted at the end of the year." 9

The afore-mentioned practices are designed to eliminate competition and individualism and maximize cooperation for the collective good of the total society.

The efforts to make a substantive change in the consciousness of the people of Chinese society is reflected also in the manner in which schooling is handled at an administrative level. Decentralized control represents an attempt to insure that the people develop consciousness in relationship to
their ongoings experiences with the objective world. This is indicated by what is considered educational activity in the community. The possibilities of exploitation and alienation is nullified in this way, in that a given community's consciousness develops in specific relationship to their genuine material reality, and their mode of transforming nature does not represent an imposed set of ideas alien to their material condition. Therefore, the schools are not directed by a central governmental agency, but are directed by the communities in which the schools reside. The Revolutionary Committees that govern the schools are composed of teachers, students, peasants and/or workers. Everyone in the local community has responsibility for the manner in which the school is administrated. The Revolutionary Committees make decisions about what persons will be sent to the universities, admission at the universities being based on the needs of the districts.

Education is no longer detached from reality in China, for at every level, participants in the educational process are required to contribute to the transformation of society. Learning and practice are inextricable factors of the educational process. After graduation from the secondary schools, all students are required to work full-time in their respective communities—in the factory or on the farm—before consideration for university qualification can be determined. On the campuses of the universities, learning is combined with work in the factories or in the communes on the part of the students as well as teachers. The combination of labor and study is practiced at the civil and administrative levels of China also, where public ser-
vants are required to work at the grass-roots level in rural and urban settings. The educational process clearly projects that the value of study is in order to serve the Chinese people and the collective development of the society through productive labor. To most effectively realize the aims of the Cultural Revolution, education in China has undergone further transformation.

The curriculum and quality and length of study reflect the concrete needs of the Chinese people. Concentrated training in different programs of study have been instituted; and the period of time for courses of study has been limited in order to meet the immediate needs of the people. One such product of these kinds of programs is the "barefoot doctor":

"China needs doctors...The application of Mao's ideas to this field had led Chinese medical science to concentrate on mass producing doctors and technicians for the countryside. While continuing to train specialists and surgeons, it has instituted a crash program of three and four year courses to turn out large numbers of people who are equipped to provide the basic medical services most Chinese need."10

Education in China is clearly aimed at a basic change in the value system of Chinese people such that their behavior constitutes qualitative contributions to social development. That education is a part of the broader task of constructing a socialist society is spoken to by Lu Ting-Yi in Education Must Be Combined With Productive Labor:

"The purpose of socialist revolution and socialist construction is to do away with all exploiting classes and all systems of exploitation including their remnants and to bring into being a communist society in which
the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" is carried out, and the difference between town and country and between mental and manual labor eliminated. This is precisely the purpose of socialist education.

By collective action between the communities and the universities, between the workers and peasants and intellectuals, between the rural and urban communities, a common socialist identity and a new Chinese culture can be forged. The goal in the educational revolution is to produce new men and women with socialist consciousness that will generate the development of a new and revolutionary Chinese culture as manifest in their tools and arts as well as their values, habits and behaviors.

The Cuban educational system also seeks the creation of a revolutionary culture in Cuban society. In 1973, Cuba has developed an efficient educational system under the revolutionary government headed by Fidel Castro.

The means by which Cuba was able to construct an educational system that benefits the masses of Cuban people commenced in 1961 with the establishment of the Ministry of Literacy. Denouncing illiteracy as a vestige of imperialism which did not serve the interests of a socialist Cuba, Castro was able to mobilize the nation's people around this concern. One aim of the Cuban government—to forge a new political culture—was facilitated by the intent of the campaign and its mode of operation. The participation of the Cuban people was fundamental to the way Cuba was able to construct an expansive educational system, servicing the needs of the great majority. In
Cuba, "in both theory and practice, participation is viewed as organically related to socialization."

By employing all literate elements of the population in Cuban society in the campaign for literacy, Cuba was able to locate and project the numbers of illiterate persons; convince illiterate persons to sign up for instruction; and form brigades of literacy workers to provide instruction, in less than a year. Literate adults, "Alfabetizadores populares", who were spare-time workers in the campaign; "Conrado Benitez brigadistas", brigade young workers who instructed in their communities; "Brigadistas obreros", brigades of young workers who went off to the countryside; and "Schoolteacher brigadistas", regular full-time teachers, launched the educational campaign in 1961. These cadres were developed to set up and run educational institutions and to go into the homes of the Cuban people to educate them.

The themes of the Cuban revolutionary government provided the context for the operation of the literacy workers and the illiterates in the campaign for literacy: struggle and the promise of utopia. In The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba, Richard Fagen explains the themes as such:

"The millennial vision justifies the hardships of the moment, for the political kingdom is not easily won; many must suffer and some must die before the promised land is reached." 13

The country closed all secondary and pre-university schools during the course of the campaign in order that the students and teachers could contribute to the campaign. Later, the different organizations and interest
groups in Cuba formed campaigns against illiteracy within their own ranks by participating in census-taking; canvassing houses to persuade illiterates to seek instruction; and forming brigades of literacy workers.

Uniform curriculum materials which were mass produced in an inexpensive format and widely distributed throughout the island consisted of an instructor's manual, *Alfabeticemos* (Let's Alphabetize) and a new primer, *Venceremos* (We Shall Triumph). The educational materials and actual instruction combined literacy training with political education.

The attention of all sectors of Cuban society was directed towards the campaign against illiteracy as a result of the scope of the campaign, the massive participation of all strata in Cuban society, and propaganda. The massiveness of the mobilization effort permitted every Cuban citizen to be involved as teacher or as student. It was the spirit in which the campaign was conducted, however, which accounted for much of its success. Much attention was paid to this factor throughout the campaign, especially in the training centers.

"Their main concern was the ambiente, or spirit, of the training center and the infusion of this spirit into the brigadistas. The young people were urged to head toward the countryside,"fully conscious of their revolutionary obligations;...dedicated to the betterment of the peasantry; and ready to overcome all obstacles." They were to form the "elite corps" of the "army of education.""14

The Cuban mass media paid considerable attention to the campaign. Efforts were made to involve the entire public by the variety and amount of publicity
employed:

"Auto races, tree-planting expeditions, athletic contests, beauty pageants, dances, songfests, literary events, inspirational talks, radio programs, television shows, symbolic displays, and even Coca-Cola advertisements all carried the same message: "Whoever you are, wherever you are, this is your campaign, participate in whatever way you can."15

Immediately following the termination of the official campaign, the Schools of Revolutionary Instruction were set up to follow up the intent of the campaign. The schools are designed to provide socialist ideology and training in academic areas. The continued efforts of education for the Cuban people also take place via the established interest groups and study groups, the transporting of schools into the countryside, and the integration of scholarly work in the universities with productive activities in the nation.

Although the immediate objective of the Cuban education campaign was the elimination of illiteracy, its broader objective was to facilitate the development of a new political culture by creating new Cuban men and women with values and behaviors that reinforced socialist goals. The efforts for the transformation of the Cuban consciousness via education was not separate from the general efforts for social transformation. The extending of education to the masses of Cuban people was very much related to Cuba's endeavors to eliminate all the vestiges of imperialist intervention in Cuba, and to create a genuinely, socialist society. By the expansion of schooling into the fields and factories via the literacy campaign, and later, the establish-
ment of more schools, study groups, etc., Cuba endeavors to create a classless, egalitarian society. The development of educated and skilled workers with a new political consciousness—socialist consciousness—hastens Cuba’s own socialist development and lessens the possibility of Cuba’s dependency upon another nation—economically, politically, etc.

The significance the systems of education in Tanzania, the People’s Republic of China and Cuba have to African people in America is undeniably profound. The fact that the contexts out of which these systems emerged are fundamentally different from that in which Africans in America exist, however, gives testimony to the impossibility of transporting these revolutionary experiments in their totality. Cuba and China emerge following successful national revolutions, and Tanzania, following political independence. These nations, for the most part, are in a post-revolutionary stage, whereas the conditions in the United States have not, as of yet, reached a pre-revolutionary stage. Yet, the revolutions in education in these societies offer guidance in the construction of an educational program in the United States that can alter the actual misery and degradation of the daily existence of the black population. Socialism, where work and return is based on ability and need calls for a fundamentally different kind of interaction with the objective world than capitalism, which dictates the exploitation of labor and accounts for the black population’s state of oppression. The prospect of cultural action, through participation in the transforming of their realities in a cooperative and collective fashion, undermines the moral premises of capitalism, inclusive of competition, elitism and individualism which further
oppress black people in America. Redefinition of the education process, a new value system, and methods of mobilizing mass participation as exemplified by the nature of the revolutions in education in Tanzania, China and Cuba have obvious relevancy to the transformation of the whole of American society and the creation of a new intellectual consciousness.
1. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, p. 76
3. Ibid., p. 411
6. Courtland Cox; Geri Stark, "An Interview with President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania", *Black World*, pp. 5, 6
7. Ibid., p. 5
9. Neale Hunter, "Chinese Education for Total Class Integration", *New York University Education Quarterly*, p. 15
10. Ibid., p. 17
11. Lu Ting-Yi, *Education Must Be Combined With Productive Labour*, p. 3
13. Ibid., p. 12
14. Ibid., p. 44
15. Ibid., p. 57
You must work together and in unison; you must evolve and support your own social institutions; you must transform your attack from the foray of self-assertive individuals to the massed might of an organized body. You must put behind your demands, not simply American Negroes, but West Indians and Africans and all the colored races of the world.

W. E. B. DuBois,
Dusk of Dawn
CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION AS A REDEFINED FACTOR

Education has been defined by many educators of many nations to mean "the transmission of knowledge to the preceding generation for the maintenance and development of society." Although an examination of the education process of many different societies as they exist will support that this definition does characterize education in those societies, this definition is not sufficient in its dimensions. It is the incompleteness of this definition which allows education to serve the purpose of perpetuating the status quo and restricts the transformation of society. By this definition, education becomes stagnation. Revolutionary education necessarily entails progressive transformation or change in the status quo. By accepting "the transmission of knowledge" as the definitive framework of the education process, colonized peoples would accept the maintenance of their objective situations.

In order for education to facilitate genuine social development, it must require the pursuit of truth and scientific investigation of the material world. Herein, lies the difference between revolutionary education and indoctrination or the "transmission of knowledge to the preceding generation for the maintenance and development of society." Revolutionary education is education for change or education for social transformation. It cannot perform that task if the education process is limited to consuming ideas from
generation to generation and does not employ means other than theorizing to determine their validity.

Education for change hinges on man's activity in the transformation of his social existence and nature by which he learns the relations between himself and his social and natural realities. While this activity has as its aim, social transformation, it is the primary objective of this education process—the pursuit of truth for better meeting the material and spiritual needs of all men in society—that gives meaning to the process and the aim. The objective of bourgeois education, on the other hand, invalidates its content and process for the liberation of oppressed people.

What constitutes truth or "the known" in bourgeois education is determined by the interests of the dominant class. Mao Tse Tung has stated that all knowledge is permeated with a class character.¹ In keeping with this is the fact that under capitalism much of the knowledge is distorted by fictions represented as truths in order to justify the inequality and inhumanity existing in capitalist societies. Theorems thusly tainted are interwoven into much of the knowledge of capitalist societies, including anthropology, economics, history, sociology, etc.

Bourgeois education, in its being a mere "transmission of knowledge" for the majority of its recipients, is a contrived act. Not premised upon the citizenry's interaction with the objective world, much of the knowledge that is transmitted has no correlation between the oppressed man and his social and natural realities. An education process of this kind does not require
that the oppressed man engage in scientific investigation to ascertain his relations to nature and the world. It is imperative, however, that the oppressed man engage in scientific study and experiment. This is necessary since much of what he perceives and consumes as truth has a great quantity of misrepresentation of facts as rationalizations for imperialism. Genuine social development, the objective of revolutionary education, cannot be acquired outside the realms of truth. Revolutionary education views knowledge as relative truth as determined by scientific investigation of the objective world. Accordingly, Mao Tse Tung speaks to the nature of knowledge in the following statement:

"In the absolute and general process of development of the universe, the development of each particular process is relative, and that hence, in the endless flow of absolute truth, man's knowledge of a particular process at any given stage of development is only relative truth. The sum total of innumerable relative truths constitute absolute truth."^2

Therefore, it is quite possible that certain knowledge may be inaccurate because of a certain 'truth' (s) that is validated by man's confrontation with the objective world at a given point and time in history is later found false. In order for genuine social development to take place, man must examine and experiment with the truth he knows, and build on these truths with other truths as emanating from scientific investigation of the material world. Man's interaction with the objective world (i.e., dialectical materialism) is fundamental to revolutionary education. In order for knowledge to have any validity, according to Mao Tse Tung, "he must bring his ideas into correspondence with
the laws of the objective world."\(^3\)

Yet, the way in which the oppressed man transforms nature is externally controlled and in the cultural context of the colonizer, and the oppressed person is alienated from the capitalist production process by reason of its physical and cultural oppression of him. Fundamental to revolutionary education and its objective—pursuit of truth—is the oppressed man's activity in the transformation of his social and natural realities in a socialist context. By engaging in production, oppressed people assume responsibility for interpreting their collective experience based upon the understanding of the world that they acquire from this activity. It is through this struggle with his material condition that critical awareness is developed:

"Man's knowledge depends mainly on his activity in material production, through which he comes gradually to understand the phenomena, the properties and laws of nature, and the relations between himself and nature, and through his activity in production, he also gradually comes to understanding, in varying degrees certain relations that exist between man and man."\(^4\)

The oppressed then exercise their growing critical consciousness in social activity designed to transform their objective condition. He attempts to bring his knowledge into correspondence with the laws of the objective world. In effect, it is in the application of knowledge that gives knowledge itself any validity. Marx holds that man's social practice is the criterion of the truth of his knowledge of the external world. The revolutionary education process is associated with man's testing, modifying and creating in the historical process.\(^5\)
Employed to change the quality of social existence of man for the betterment of the collective society, knowledge gained through the revolutionary education process realizes its functionality. Through activity in material production and combined with social action, the mystification surrounding the knowledge of capitalist societies is removed. The oppressed recognize this mystification vis-a-vis the products of his own activity, and he gains further confidence in his ability to transform his objective condition. He exercises his right to determine his role in the education process with regards to his interaction with the world, thereby permitting the organic quality of education that is necessary for social change.

Revolutionary education does not require that the oppressed reject all knowledge and attempt to reconstruct man's historical social development. It requires that the oppressed exert critical analysis in his relationship to the world via his participation in social transformation for the benefit of humankind. As a redefined factor in the struggle for the development of man and society, education is a humanizing force. Education in service of the revolution—personally, collectively and internationally is what this definition points up.
1. "Education: A Critique From China; Pedagogical Theory: Bourgeois or Socialist," Far East Reporter, p. 10

2. Ibid., p. 15


4. Ibid., p. 86

In the struggle for transforming the social existence of man, specifically that struggle designed to alter the realities of dehumanization and exploitation, counter-revolution intervenes to impede or stop this change. Where the colonized seek revolution in the social order, conditions and tactics will emerge to counter this endeavor.

The danger that bourgeois education poses to social transformation is in its role with regards to the pervasiveness of the ideological rationalization for imperialism. In the intellectual consciousness of the people and their subconscious, and reflected in the infrastructure of the society, imperialist thought has permeated man's social existence so thoroughly that it threatens any act to transform society by reason of the people's intellectual and emotional bind to the logic of imperialism.

Bourgeois education teaches man to be fearful, blind and indifferent. Man is taught to fear military machinery as if it operated by its own force. He has learned to fear the wrath of God; to fear the loss of material possessions; etc. Man is taught to be apathetic to his surrounding world. He is taught this by the news media which reports crime, murder, hunger, etc., as facts unconnected to the conditions of society; by a bureaucracy that has no sensitivity to special human conditions and needs; etc. Man is taught to be blind by an education that does not equip him to think, analyze and critique,
but only to recall; by the acceptance of academic credentials as the criterion for knowledge. Similarly such ideas permeate man's social existence thereby fostering the development of fear, indifference and blindness.

Whereas the possibility of counter-revolution emanating from individuals and groups of citizens of the colonial regime is a result of their defense of the ideological rationalization for imperialism, counter-revolutionary "tactics" are calculated efforts designed to protect certain imperialist interests and are generally engineered by the power structure. Although there are an infinite number of tactics in counter-revolution, it characterizes itself by one of three modes.

Firstly, counter-revolution can attempt to distort the ideas promoting social change. An example of this is America's successful attempt to distort "Black Power" to mean "black capitalism." It was able to do this because it controlled the means of communication. As Marshall McLuhan has stated: "To control the medium is to control the message." Secondly, counter-revolution will co-opt the ideas promoting social transformation. Generally, co-optation means money is involved. With the promise of dollars or earning power (i.e., jobs), it attempts to close the door to change. Sometimes it will take the form of adornment. So ideas for a relevant education or education for a change in the status quo are met with the old, stagnant ideas housed in fancy buildings, new classrooms and/or elaborate equipment (e.g., Black Studies, open schoolroom). Finally, counter-revolution may entail the employment of brute force or militarism to destroy the ideas promoting social change. If the
ideas are housed in the mind of a person and he is the major source of their being generated then he will be destroyed or threatened with destruction (e.g., Angela Davis). If the idea is contained in a structure which is the primary source of generating the ideas then it will be destroyed (e.g., The Black Panther Party, U.S.A.). This mode of counter-revolution destroys the ideas by violence or by threat of violence.

Where is the protection of ideas that seek to foster social transformation? In the people.

"We must never forget that it is the people who change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating."²

This statement by George Jackson does not imply that conditions of fear, blindness and indifference just disappear or that revolutionary consciousness is spontaneous. Those with revolutionary consciousness must endeavor to instill consciousness amongst the masses of people. The ideas constituting this consciousness, however, only receive validity in their application. Ideas for social transformation ultimately have no social utility if they are not a part of the people. Therefore, the only protection for ideas promoting social transformation is in the people themselves.

"The only effective challenge to power is one that is broad enough to make isolation impossible. . ."³

In effect, the only means by which counter-revolution can be effectively countered is by the mobility of ideas. Revolutionary ideas cannot remain in isolation and expect that counter-revolution not affect them. They must receive a broad enough base such that there is no possibility of their suppres-
sion. This suggestion does not imply that the possibility of repression of the people is detered, but the ideas cannot be removed once they are entrenched among the people.

The ideas for social transformation must have more than spacial mobility. They must be mobile in their dialectics. Ideas must correspond to what is effective for social transformation considering conditions, time, space, etc. What is a revolutionary idea or connotes social transformation at one point in the historical development of man, may be archaic and/or anachronistic at another time. Revolutionary ideas must have mobility in their dialectics.

"It isn't revolutionary or materialist to disconnect things. To disconnect revolutionary consciousness from revolutionizing activity... is idealistic rather than revolutionary." 

Revolutionary education's worth is bound up with the need for the mobility of ideas. There can be no revolutionary education if there is no mobility of ideas. The spacial mobility of ideas facilitates the prospect of change and the dialectical mobility of ideas insures the quality of change. The pursuit of truth by means of scientific study and experiment cannot be accomplished if ideas are in isolation, or if they are in static motion, dialectically. The factor of counter-revolution will effectively present itself if this is the case. Only the mobility of ideas can counter counter-revolution.
2. *Ibid*, p. 15
3. *Ibid*, p. 29
CHAPTER X

The role of the new educator is determined by what is required in education. In Chapter VIII, education is defined as "the pursuit of truth by means of scientific study and experiment for genuine social development." Revolutionary education, by definition, seeks new truths by which to transform nature for material production to meet all mankind's needs. By reason of this definition, the role of the new educator is to facilitate social transformation, or "to make revolution."

In contemporary society, there is much distinction between the role of the new educator and that of the traditional educator. The traditional educator functions in specific relationship to the incomplete definition of education. His role has been limited to transmitting the knowledge of the society of the preceding generation. It is this singular function that defines the traditional educator. The traditional educator is committed to the provision of knowledge, through book study, exclusive of the fact of the relativity of the 'truths' which constitute knowledge. The student's performance is judged solely by how much of the knowledge he contains. With little variation, the basic requirement of the student is his unquestioning consumption of what he is told. The student is the indoctrinated, and the educator is the indoctrinator. Paulo Freire refers to this concept of education as the "banking" concept:

"Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the
can be pursued. This is not done exclusive of his students or the struggle with material reality. The purpose of this is to ascertain new ways to learn and to educate.

III. Critic

In this function, the educator recognizes that he is educating for a different lifestyle. It is therefore his obligation, and that of his students, to expose contradictions in the social order and the actions of society as they have analyzed those factors impeding social change.

IV. Exemplar

The educator assumes the task of making changes internally such that he can best service social transformation. He seeks to encourage students by setting an example of what behavior is conducive to facilitating social change.

V. Agitator

In this capacity, the educator actively seeks to create the conditions for social change in his broader social milieu. He seeks to foster commitment to social change, on the part of others, by incorporating them into the process of social transformation.

The new educator must work in all these capacities in order that he be in the best service of the revolution. These roles are not exclusive of students, they are reciprocal roles. It is the person's proficiency in all
teacher is the depoisor. Instead of communicating the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat."

This concept of education is counter-revolutionary because implicit in it is the premise that "what is known is absolute and correct forever." Under this presumption, man is victim of his social existence eternally. The traditional educator thus functions as oppressor who protects the status quo.

The new educator seeks to have the student transform society. His role is to make change by facilitating the student's acquisition of the tools by which to pursue truth scientifically. As perceived by this writer, the new educator has five functions:

I. **Assimilator**

The educator is required to continuously investigate the nature of man's social existence and the history of social development. He orders the knowledge that he uncovers into a meaningful context that has function and relevance to the student's objective world and the latter's ongoing experience in that world. The purpose is to engage the learner in dealing with his natural and social realities in a context that has meaning. This has value to the student and the educator through opening up avenues for critical analysis and therefore, the development of critical consciousness.

II. **Creator**

The educator calls into focus his creative potential in finding new ways and means by which objective facts or truth
these capacities that defines him as the new educator. A person not willing to do scientific study and experiment (Assimilator); to seek new ways to facilitate social change (Creator); to confront contradictions that impede social change (Critic); to seek perfection in his own life that will best service social transformation (Exemplar); and to actively create the conditions for social change in and outside his classroom (Agitator) cannot say he is the new educator.

Promoting social transformation is at the crux of the question posed by Don L. Lee in From Planet to Planet: "Where are the educators that are educated blackly"? In effect, the question asks where are the educators who will serve the interests of African people by servicing the revolution—by promoting social transformation. The educators who do not consciously promote social change are the ones who maintain the status quo; they work for a system that perpetuates class and color imperatives. This is basic to who is classified as a "qualified" educator in capitalist societies. For the most part, persons who are most thoroughly imbued with the ideas for social stagnation as indicated by their successful passage through the different levels of the educational social structure are considered best suited for the job of educating. The unqualified educator, on the other hand and in a capitalist context, is less equipped to perpetuate the status quo by virtue of his passage through lesser levels of the educational social structure; by virtue of his position as a member of an oppressed group of people; and/or by virtue of his conscious commitment to social change. Although this latter factor—
conscious commitment to social change—disqualifies a person from consideration as a traditional educator, it is, for qualification as the new educator, the primary criterion.
1. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p. 58
CHAPTER XI

THE INVISIBLE EDUCATION: VALUES AND IDEOLOGY

All education is guided in its course by ideology and values. This fact is not immediately visible by simple examination of the education process. Many people would say that education is guided by books, educators and the common tangible objects that are employed in the educational process. The educator's behavior and the text's content, however, are determined by ideology. Man's entire social existence reflects the intellectual consciousness of society. Likewise man's behavior is reflective of certain ideas. Although values may determine man's commitment to perform or not to perform a certain behavior, values are an intermediary factor; ideology determines values.

All ideology is developed in relationship to a particular production process for social development. If the ideology points towards capitalism, then acceptable behavior will reflect the basic tenets of capitalism. The type of values are determined by the quality production process. In a capitalist society, if man's behavior indicates any values such as collectivism, cooperation, etc., he would be frowned upon by the broader society because his behavior does not promote the ideas of capitalism, but another set of ideas. Ideology aims at uniting the actions of people in the society for purposes of the production process; the ideas determine the "permissible ranges of conduct" in the society."1

"...ideology seeks to bring a specific order into the total life of its society. To achieve this, it needs
to employ a number of instruments. The ideology of a society displays itself in political theory, social theory and moral theory, and uses these as instruments.  

A value system would be an instrument of ideology which would govern the actions of members of society. It, in effect, determines what actions are good and what are not.

There is no purpose to values without an ideological referant, for values determine behavior as it applies to supporting ideas for a certain course of social development. Values, when internalized, facilitate concrete realization of the ideology. Ideology and values are thereby inextricable requisites in the determination of behavior. In this sense, both factors have need of being addressed in an education designed for social transformation and therefore, genuine social development.

The political context for education for transformation has already been outlined as socialism. A value system that mandates social transformation for socialist development has been developed by one Maulana Ron Karenga, known as the "Seven Principles of Nguzo Saba." It is introduced as a point of departure for revolutionary education. Revolutionary education cannot be generated within the value system supportive of capitalist ideology, for such values as individualism, opportunism and competitiveness are not conducive to a changed behavior that will qualitatively alter the condition of the world.

The Nguzo Saba is especially applicable to Africans in America because it has an African referant that will link the people culturally to their original ethos. Yet, "this value system is rational and modern enough in its
orientation to allow the exchange of goods and services within the society (America) yet never become a reflection of it on the level of values and lifestyle."\(^3\)

The Seven Principles of Nguzo Saba are:\(^4\)

**UMOJA** - Unity: To strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race.

**KUJICHAGULIA** - Self-Determination: To define ourselves, create for ourselves, and speak for ourselves.

**UJIMA** - Collective Work and Responsibility: To build and maintain our community together and make our brothers' and sisters' problems our problems and to solve them together.

**UJAMAA** - Cooperative Economics: To build and maintain our own stores, shops and other business and to profit from them together.

**NIA** - Purpose: To make as our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.

**KUUMBA** - Creativity: To do always as much as we can in the way we can in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it.

**IMANI** - Faith: To believe with all our heart in our parents, our teachers, our leaders, our people, and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.

The Nguzo Saba principles facilitate the realization of a change in the objective condition of oppressed people. The incorporation of these seven principles in a pedagogy for Africans offers identity, purpose and direction. It is a basis for a new morality. "A morality is a network of principles and rules for the guidance and appraisal of conduct."\(^5\)
The rejection of the bourgeois morality which impedes change, and the acceptance of Nguzo Saba which promotes socialist behaviors are essential to the goal of social transformation. A new value system, namely, the Nguzo Saba will guide the actions and decisions of African people in a new manner that is in keeping with their concrete needs and interests.
1. Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, p. 60


3. Don L. Lee, *From Plan to Planet: Life Studies: The Need for African Minds and Institutions*, p. 79


CHAPTER XII

THE PLAN: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION

Education for liberation is summarily education for social transformation. Pursuit of truth by means of scientific study and experiment for social development is an integral part of the necessary overall struggle which seeks to free colonized peoples from oppression. Redefinition is fundamental, however, to any successful efforts for social transformation.

Redefinition is a weapon by which to fight counter-revolution. If oppressed peoples define what constitutes an educator, then they do not lose the talents, expertise and skills of a person which can assist the struggle for social transformation. It is the prerogative of the oppressed to define what is necessary to free him from exploitation and dehumanization. The oppressor will only define as "good" what is necessary to maintain the oppressed in their present condition because it is necessary to the former's interest.

Revolutionary education is a means by which to facilitate the collective struggle of oppressed peoples everywhere. The only validity of revolutionary education, however, is in its ability to create a base among the people due to the fact that it is the people who will transform the society. It is an impossible task for a few individuals.

One means by which to implement this effort is the development of independent education. This does not imply structures, exclusively. The school of revolution is housed in the minds of the people. Accordingly, creative means must be employed by which revolutionary education can take place. African people in America have such avenues open to them.
The placement of the masses of oppressed peoples in a central location, i.e., ghettos, can be turned to the advantage of black people. It is in the oppressed communities that there resides a significant segment of the black population who can provide the force that will execute revolutionary activity against the status quo and create the conditions for social change—the unemployed. In the bars, barbershops, on porch stoops and just hanging out in the streets are the most disenfranchised elements of the black population, and at the same time, the greatest reservoir of revolutionary potential because they accept the need for social transformation by reason of their own wretched status in society. This source of strength can be tapped via revolutionary education.

Revolutionary education finds in this segment of the black population, people who are the least integrated into American society. Rendered expendable and surplus laborers by the advanced level of technological automation of the United States, they see no future in America for themselves. Their history, their current subjugated position in society, the degraded conditions under which they live; their exploitation by landloards, merchants, etc.; the brutality and harassment that they experience at the hands of law enforcement agents remind them daily that they are in a position of "powerlessness." Revolutionary education affords them a future and power by arming them with direction, purpose and goals.

The objective condition of the oppressed can be used as the premise for the development of revolutionary activity. Liberated from the necessity
to work, the disenfranchised blacks can be organized to perform community work tasks that are in concert with their own interests. Furthermore, in the oppressed community, situations of crisis will inevitably arise that can be used to heighten the contradictions between the rhetoric and reality of American society that will aid in the development of critical consciousnesses among the oppressed. On another level, the black unemployed can be quickly mobilized behind issues for resistance and/or positive action.

There is also a need for skill acquisition. The teaching resources can be maximized by establishing a base of educators. The special expertise of the unemployed and working people can be utilized in the programs for revolutionary education. Similarly, such programs can make use of the quantity of skill areas that are available in urban settings via black doctors, journalists, radio technicians, etc.

The overall structure for independent education for blacks is definable in terms of the philosophy of education for blacks. The alternative school is the alternative philosophy of the participants. The school is only an alternative or independent school to the extent the philosophy which engendered its creation is an alternative to or independent of the traditional philosophy of American education which reduces black people to a level of dependency, powerlessness, etc. The school, hence, becomes whatever resources, i.e., structural, human, material, experiences, etc., that are employed in the active, methodological disengagement from the black man's objective political reality, specifically, colonization. Ideally, the entire community of colonized
blacks becomes the school.

The process of the black philosophy of education would be projected as the desirable lifestyle of the community—struggle. The process would operate on three fronts: 1) survival; 2) resistance; and 3) liberation in accordance with the needs of black people. Accordingly, to some extent, resources would be directed toward seemingly reformist postures that deal with black survival, e.g., welfare, health, legal. To a further extent, the school/community would support and endorse viable acts designed to resist repression and containment. The school, being designed to liberate black people from the state of colonization, would also engage itself in learning experiences that facilitate creative mastery and comprehension of the military forces of violence; the instruments of communication, and the tools of production such that black people are able to wage a successful struggle, and to transmit these skills, understanding, etc. into attitudes, behaviors and forms that promote the post-struggle stage.

In the process of struggle, the community would be involved in re-education and education. The key word for the content and acts of learning experiences would be "functional"—as it (the word functional) relates to survival, resistance and liberation.

Because of the formidable nature of the tenets of colonization, i.e., exploitation, and dehumanization, the creation of new values, Nguzo Saba, that release us from imperatives of capitalism must be an integral part of struggle. The struggling persons must consciously divorce themselves
of capitalist-motivated notions, and concurrently, equip themselves with functional attitudes, perspectives and behaviors that will destroy instruments of colonization, i.e., its institutions, and foster the creation of institutions that serve humanitarian interests, and therefore, the interests of black people.

Through struggle the black man must re-create himself—struggle with his natural and social conditions. Re-creation calls for man's intellectual and spiritual forces to act in concert. The process of struggle will give him identity, a sense of historical continuity, a sense of his cultural uniqueness and release his creative potential. His creative actions leading toward liberation and humanization will mark him as the "whole" black man.

Due to the fact that the community is the school, there would be no structural heirarchy as in the traditional structures of education, e.g., school board—community—school. The supporting apparatus of the education community would be developed in terms of political awareness vis-a-vis political actions. The community—as a school—as a basis of operation—would generate concentric circles, the community itself being the nucleus. Each circle would denote an arena of action, be it acquisition of skills, survival, resistance, liberation. The innermost circle would be the most miniscule, but a significant aspect of social transformation. The outermost circle would symbolize liberation. There is no beginning and no end; all actions are in relation to each other in accordance with the needs and interests of black people. There are no beginners as the oppressed community is the school, and there are no graduates from the school since the struggle for liberation is
ongoing. Graduation is only a reality when black people emerge from the process of education, i.e., struggle, as whole black men and women in a humane and liberated world, free of the exploitation of man by man.
CONCLUSION

WHERE TO START? EVERYWHERE!

Revolutionary education is the unequivocal factor upon which the elimination of the subjugation and degradation of oppressed people of the world hinges. Its primary purpose must be to equip the oppressed with an awareness of their rights and capacities as human beings to transform their social realities and determine their destinies. In process, revolutionary education is a humanizing force that will provide the conditions for the restoration of the dignity of man and the obliteration of the exploitation and the dehumanization of man by man. Social transformation, thereby, becomes the means and the ends. It is this method and aim of revolutionary education that forecasts the upheaval of existing social orders where man does not receive the fruits of his labor and that predicts the irradication of oppressive ideas that classifies any human being outside of humanity. Yet, it is the fact that revolutionary education is within a new ideological framework, upon a new philosophical basis, and with new content and structure that provides the preliminary and final ebb of potentiality which promises to throw off the shackles of oppression. Not bound by the restrictions of age, sex, race and class, upon which bourgeois education depends, revolutionary education symbolizes a method, and in a sense, a goal that can be realized in all societies and in all facets of man's social existence. Therefore, in a mandate for action and in response to the inevitable question of "Where to start?", the reply is "Everywhere!".
The world is our classroom! The masses are the students/teachers! And every facet of our social existence has potential to be a learning experience. In the ghettos, the shanty towns, and the mountains—within the schools the churches, the prisons, the factories, the mines and the plantation fields—are the arenas for revolutionary education. Among the workers, the peasants and the students; women and men; girls and boys; old and young; the black, brown, yellow, red and the white; the poor and the middle class—within these minds, a new consciousness can be born.

By equipping themselves with the knowledge of humankind's historical social development and their cultural history in that context, and with an understanding of the contradictions of the phenomenon of capitalism, the oppressed can direct their energies into channels that will render a qualitative impact upon their objective condition. Through positive action, inclusive of rigorous study, organizing, agitating, resistance and armed struggle for social change, a true education that will generate a critical consciousness among the oppressed, is to be had. The critical consciousness gained by people in this struggle will leave no room for the premises of capitalism—exploitation, colonialism, and neo-colonialism—and its ideological rationalizations, including the oppressive ideas of racism, sexism, etc. By interpreting their own collective experiences as a people within their own cultural context, the oppressed assume a cultural identity that, in itself, disrupts the fluidity of the colonial course. Through active engagement in the struggle to transform their realities, the oppressed realize their own creative potentials. Within the framework of revolutionary
education, the masses of the world learn that they are able to effect the destruction of the inhumane system of capitalism and its consequences. Moreover, they realize that they have the capability to transform the world—to construct something better.

Out of the struggle waged against the schizophrenic morality of capitalist societies, oppressed peoples can reclaim the dignity of man. Born from this struggle will be the new man and the new woman. This is the essence of Malcolm X's statement that "In every Negro, there's a potential black man."

With the universe as our school, and world liberation and peace as our goals,

The Struggle Continues...
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A suit will be filed in Boston seeking a restraining order barring alleged physical mistreatment of nine juvenile inmates at the Hampden County Training School in Feeding Hills and seeking their immediate release.

The suit to be filed in U.S. District Court by Stephen W. Silverman, counsel for the Hampden County Civil Liberties Union, also asks that a neutral observer be appointed to monitor the school.

The suit was being filed by Silverman in behalf of the nine juveniles and listed Sam Tyler, III, head of the Massachusetts Council of Crime and Correction, as a plaintiff with the youths.

Tyler visited the school during the day along with county Commissioner Armando Dimauro and The Rev. Paul Engle, who runs a settlement house. The three looked over conditions at the school and gathered affidavits from nine of the inmates, Tyler said.

“If one-tenth of the material in those affidavits is truth, there is enough there to send several of the staff members of the county training school to jail for criminal assault,” Tyler said.

“All say they’ve been abused: either hit with a fist or an instrument such as a leather strap or broom handle,” Tyler said. “The minority group members - blacks and Puerto Ricans - say they have been subjected to racial insults.”

Tyler said the group also gathered affidavits from seven boys recently released from the school “affidavits which show a clear pattern of assault, verbal and physical harassment and such inhumane acts as forcing kids to eat their own vomit.” Tyler said he turned copies of the affidavits over to the district attorney who was instructed by the county commissioners Tuesday night to investigate the school, located at a 400-acre farm.

Det. Lt. James J. Fitzgibbon, who is attached to the office of Dist. Atty. Matthew J. Ryan, Jr., also was at the school on Wednesday.

Tyler said the school, run by the county, has a staff of 18 and a budget of $200,000 a year. Tyler said inmate population was down to four boys last summer.

The council is a private, nonprofit organization headquartered in Boston.

Earlier in the day, Philip H. Lauro, a staff member of Neighborhood Legal Services in Springfield, said that that organization had planned to file similar suits in Boston next week.

Lauro, a third-year law student at Western New England College, said he was working with HLS staff attorney Francis X. Spina in the preparation of the suits.

The federal avenue for redress of alleged grievances was taken because the children's constitutional rights are involved, Lauro said.

Copies of affidavits from the children were turned over to Dist. Atty. Ryan as well.

Tyler, Fr. Engle, Dimauro, Lt. Fitzgibbon all talked with boys at the school Wednesday.

Dimauro said last night that he and Fr. Engle, president of Downey Side Homes, Inc., would be willing to participate as observers at the school.

Dimauro contacted the office of Gov. Sargent Wednesday in connection with the school, but the governor said parole authority did not rest with him.

He said he would explore what role he could play.

The governor called the present system of committing youngsters to institutions for school-related offenses or truancy, absenteeism and social misbehavior as “archaic.”

Sargent said he supported replacing institutional treatment with community-based care.

(Reprinted from Springfield Times-Union.)
NEW YORK (LNS)—Thousands of hyperactive children—kids who can't sit still and "learn"—in elementary schools all over the country are being doped up to enable teachers and administrators to keep order in their schools.

Scientists have discovered that "Ritalyn", a stimulant used in the 50s for depressed old people, has the opposite effect on children who have not reached puberty.

Faced with the natural bored response to overcrowding, irrelevant school work, and poor homes, teachers and administrators are prescribing Ritalyn. Pressure is then put on parents who have no place to send their kids other than public school to let the kids "take the pill or stay out of school".

A dose of Ritalyn every four hours blocks out real feelings of fatigue, hunger, nervousness, and discomfort and enables the child to concentrate on schoolwork. Dr. David Martin, a California doctor who has prescribed Ritalyn for over 2,000 students was pretty straightforward:

"Now I want you to understand we aren't curing these kids; we're just keeping them under control. Usually we'll start your three or four year old with five milligrams a day, then up it to 15 milligrams a day by the time they are eight or nine. We can go as high as 100 to 140 milligrams a day if we have to, and that's a pretty big slug for a little kid. Of course we have to be careful of an overdose—too much medication makes them a vegetable."

But how much is "too much"? A study made at Los Angeles County University found that "long-term use of amphetamines (Ritalyn is an amphetamine) produces a toxic reaction which damages the lining of small and medium sized arteries."

There have been reports of artery damage, children going into shock or being seized by dizziness on taking their first pill and changes in sugar metabolism. And if Ritalyn proves to be as addictive as other amphetamines, there will soon be an army of junkies in the public schools, dependent on the school system for their next fix.

But don't let that upset you because as one "education expert", Careth Ellings, warned, "It would be a disaster if a fearful and uninformed public response (to the use of Ritalyn for Children) were to sweep away the only chance that a great many children have to function normally (sic) in the classroom."

One reporter seemed to disagree on whether there was too much undeserved paranoia: "One doctor has used a check list which defines 'deviancy' as doing anything disapproved by the teacher; it lists as abnormal behavior a child's dismantling his ballpoint pen, propping up his desk with a pencil or stopping on the way back from the pencil sharpener to talk with someone or to look at things on a teacher's desk."

CIBA Pharamaceuticals, the Summit, New Jersey company that manufactures Ritalyn (and makes $13 million a year profit from it) has started a large advertising campaign to convince educators that the drug will eliminate "problem children'. These advertisements say things like:

"Today there is a growing recognition that the hyperactive 'problem child' may indeed have a medical problem. Minimal Brain Dysfunction (MBD) is meant to refer to children of near or above average intelligence with certain learning or behavioral disabilities ranging from mild to severe, which are associated with deviations of function of the central nervous system.


"What's wrong with a child like this who may exhibit all or some of these symptoms in varying degrees of severity? His behavioral problems may be manifestations of MBD. If so, he is not alone. By one estimate this disorder affects 5% or more of our child population."

Five per cent of the child population? There are 38,498,000 people under 13 years of age in the U.S. today, so about seven million children may be in "need" of Ritalyn.

At the present time, Ritalyn is being used most heavily on poor children in New York, Michigan, and California. But tranquilizing school children is being considered, if not actually in effect, in most states in the country, according to the House subcommittee hearings held in September, 1970.

In Omaha, Nebraska, in June 1970, 5-10% of all elementary school children were on the drug.

The National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), so far the only organization to come out strongly against the use of the drug, says that "there is no justification for presuming the drug is safe to use on children."

In July, 1971, they filed a suit with the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) demanding that the label, package insert and advertising of Ritalyn be altered to reflect the widespread opinion that it is hazardous and that the FDA ruling that Ritalyn is safe to be revoked until it is proven safe.

As NWRO says, "This society finds drugging children easier than dealing effectively with the problems of poverty."